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A
GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
View of the World:
EXHIBITING
A COMPLETE DELINEATION OF THE
NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL FEATURES
OF
EACH COUNTRY

AND A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE OF
THE ORIGIN OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS, THEIR POLITICAL
REVOLUTIONS, AND PROGRESS IN ARTS, SCIENCES,
LITERATURE, COMMERCE, &c.

The whole comprising all that is important in the Geography of the
Globe and the History of Mankind.

BY JOHN BIGLAND,

Author of

"LETTERS ON ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY," "ESSAYS ON VARIOUS
SUBJECTS," &c. &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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VIEW OF THE WORLD.

PORTUGAL.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—
Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—
Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—An-
tiquities—Artificial Curiosities.

PORTUGAL, situated between 37° and 42° north latitude, and between 7° and 10° west longitude, extends about 300 geographical miles in length from north to south, and about 100 in breadth; and its content is computed at about 32,000 square miles. It is bounded by Spain on the north and east, and on the south and west by the Atlantic Ocean.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country is greatly variegated, and has in general an agreeable appearance, although not in a high state of cultivation. The great variety of hill and dale, the numerous vineyards, and the groves of orange trees, combine with chrysal streams and rushing torrents to beautify the landscapes, of which few countries present a greater diversity.

Mountains.]—The general aspect of the country is such as in England would be called mountainous; but

no elevations are seen that can be compared with the Alps or the Pyrenæes. The mountains of Portugal in height, as well as in composition, rather resemble those of Spain. The Serra d'Estrella, in the province of Beira, is the most elevated chain; but the height is estimated at no more than 5,000 or 6,000 feet. Near the summit is a beautiful lake of an almost circular form; which, from its romantic situation, completely enclosed among high and rugged rocks that throw a dark shade over its waters, has received the name of Lagao Escuro. At some distance from this, is also another lake, called Lagao Longa, the long lake, but less romantic and striking in its appearance. The granitic mountains of Gerez on the northern frontier, present a rugged and dreary tract, affording some pasture for cattle; but extremely infested with wolves, which are rarely seen on the Serra d'Estrella, a circumstance owing, no doubt, to the better population and culture of the surrounding country.* The Spanish chain of mountains to the north of Madrid enters Portugal near the town of Guarda, and pursuing its course to the south-west, extends itself in those of Arrabida in Estramadura, which appear to be a continuation of one of its branches, and afford excellent marble. Monte Junto, the ancient Sagrus in Estramadura, was formerly celebrated for an excellent breed of horses, as it is yet for its rich pasturage.†

Rivers.] - Portugal has no rivers of note except those which traverse it, in passing from Spain to the Ocean. The Tagus, after its entrance into Portugal, becomes a noble stream; and its vast estuary forms the capacious harbour of Lisbon, as the Douro does that of Oporto. The chief of the native streams of this coun-

* Linn's Travels, p. 342—353.

† Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 362.

try is the Mondego, which rises in the Serra d'Estrella, and passes by Coimbra; but its navigation is difficult, even for small vessels; and a dangerous bar impedes its entrance.*

Canals.]—In Portugal, no attention whatever has been paid to inland navigation. Canals, indeed, do not here seem indispensably necessary in a country of inconsiderable breadth, with an ample extent of sea-coast.

Lakes.]—The lakes of this country are so few and insignificant, as scarcely to merit a place among its geographical features. Those already mentioned, which are seen near the summits of the Serra d'Estrella, are remarkable only for their singular situation, and romantic appearance.

Mineralogy.]—The mineralogy of Portugal is almost wholly neglected, although there were formerly mines of gold at Adissa, near the mouth of the Tagus.† These mines, however, were wrought at a great expence, and soon abandoned after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India, in consequence of which it was found more profitable to import the precious metals from that country, and afterwards from Brazil. Small veins of gold have been discovered in some of the mountains, particularly in those of Goes and Estrella, and grains of that metal are found in some of the rivers. Tin was formerly found in various parts of the northern provinces, but now seems to have disappeared. There are also mines of lead with a great intermixture of silver. The iron mines are neglected from a deficiency of fuel. The country, however, is not quite destitute of coal, as the pits of Buareos supply the royal foundery at Lisbon.

* Link's Trav. p. 316.

† Murphy's Portugal. p. 43.

Several of the mountains afford excellent granite, and a variety of beautiful marbles. Amianthus is found in vast quantities; and near Castel Branco are mines of quicksilver. Portugal, in fine, abounds with metals and minerals; but if industry were more active than it appears in this country to be, the want of fuel is an insuperable obstacle to the success of mining and metallic manufactures. In the northern provinces are seen immense mines, supposed to have been wrought by the Romans.* The mouth of the largest, cut through the solid rock, is half a league in circumference, and above 500 feet deep; and the mine measures 2,400 feet by 1,400 at the bottom. Subterraneous passages perforate the mountain in various directions, and the whole work appears to have been conducted on the grandest scale. When these mines were wrought, the woods in these parts, probably, had not been cut down, and fuel was consequently more plentiful. Besides, the Romans of that period had not the same means of procuring metals from abroad as the modern Portuguese; and might, for that reason, pay greater attention to their mines.† The mountains afford excellent granite, and a variety of beautiful marbles. Some precious stones, as rubies, jacinths, and beryls, are also found in Portugal.

Mineral waters.]—A country so abounding in minerals, and so variegated with mountains, cannot be supposed to be destitute of mineral waters. Of these the baths of Caldas, amply described by Link, are the most celebrated. The town of Caldas, however, makes only a mean appearance; the houses are small, gene-

* Murphy's Port. p. 25.

† For the mines of Portugal or Lusitania, as well as of Spain, see Pliny's Hist. Nat. lib. 33, cap. 5.

rally consisting of merely a ground floor, and only a few have windows. There is only one inn, which would be called wretched in France or England. The company, who resort to this place, always lodge in the private houses. Here are no balls, concerts, nor plays. From these outlines, such as have been at Brighthelmstone or Bath, or even at Scarborough, Harrowgate, or Buxton, will form no exalted idea of this fashionable bathing place, which the nobility and the opulent merchants of Lisbon visit twice a year, in May and September. The town, however, is continually increasing.*

Soil.]—The soil of a mountainous country always admits of a great variety in a small extent. This is the case in Portugal, which presents many barren sandy heaths, in the plains; and fertile valleys among the mountains, of which the higher parts afford extensive pastures for cattle, and the declivities exhibit corn fields and vineyards.

Climate.]—The climate of Portugal is hot, dry, and very salubrious. At Lisbon, the days of fair weather, throughout the year, are computed at 300 on an average, and the medial heat at about sixty degrees.

Vegetable productions.]—The vegetable productions of so varied a soil, in so genial a climate, are numerous in species, but from the predominance of aridity and the imperfect state of agriculture, the quantities are not abundant. Their ploughing is very ill performed, and, in many places, the operation of the harrow is little regarded. The Portuguese peasantry, however, are not deficient in industry, as they have sometimes been represented: the principal defect is the want of agricultural skill, and of proper implements of hus-

* Link's Trav. p. 269.

bandry. Instead of threshing, the corn is trodden out by oxen, which evidently shows that the science of farming is yet in its infancy. In some places, however, a better cultivation prevails, and tolerable crops of corn are produced. Olive trees abound in most parts of Portugal, and the Portuguese oil is in general better than that of Spain.* But the vineyards are the most important feature of Portuguese husbandry. Their culture supports a very considerable part of the population; supplies a staple article of trade; for vast quantities, not only of port wine, from the banks of the upper Douro, but also of that of Carcavelos, near Lisbon, and of those of St. Ube's, are exported to foreign countries. The tract of land which produces the port wine is somewhat more than four geographical miles in length, by three in breadth, and, in 1781, contained a population of 44,660, in seventy-eight parishes, consisting of 12,895 houses. The annual produce of wine was reckoned at 90,000 pipes.† The whole district consists of steep hills and narrow vallies; and it requires much labour and expence to convey the grapes to the press. After treading, the proper port wine for exportation is left seventy-two hours standing on the hulls, but only twenty-four if designed for home consumption. When the wurt is put into casks, the best brandy to the amount of about one-twelfth part is added. No port wine, designed for exportation, is free from this mixture.‡

* Link's Travels, p. 368.

† This account, in which one would almost suspect some mistake, in respect of the extent of the district, is given by M. Links, on the authority of the third volume of the *Memorias Economicas* of the Lisbon Academy, and confirmed by information obtained on the spot.—Link's Travels, p. 362.

‡ Link's Travels, p. 374.

Almost all the Portuguese wines have some quantity of brandy added to them before they ferment. It is said to be impossible to preserve them without this addition, especially as there are no wine cellars in Portugal, the wine being kept in warehouses above ground.* The wines produced here are as soon as possible conveyed to Oporto, where they remain in the warehouses three years before they are exported. The company of the upper Douro, established in 1756, has, if not an absolute, at least an indirect monopoly of this trade. They are obliged to take the wine from the farmers at a fixed price; but if the grower can sell it to greater advantage, he may dispose of it as he pleases, on allowing the company six per cent. but the most restrictive circumstance attending this institution is, that an account having been taken of the produce of each vineyard, during five years, no person was permitted to sell a larger quantity either to the company or to any one else.† Thus the increase of this species of husbandry is entirely stopped, and the quantity of port wine regulated according to the demand. The original design of the government, in establishing this company, was to prevent the adulteration of the port wine, and the variation of its price. To this view of the vegetable system of Portugal it may not be amiss to add, that it abounds in figs and oranges, with various other fruits; but timber is scarce, and few forests are seen, except on the ridges and declivities of mountains. The cypress of Portugal is a beautiful tree resembling the cedar of Lebanon, and is common in some parts of the country.

Zoology.]—The zoology, as well as the botany of Portugal, may in general be regarded as the same

* Link's Travels, p. 374.

† Ibid. p. 377.

with that of Spain; but the horses are much inferior. The oxen are sometimes of a good size; but horned cattle in general are far from being numerous; cows are rare, and scarcely any butter is produced, for which oil is used as a substitute. The sheep are neglected, and few in number, except in the upper parts of the Serra d'Estrella. They range about like those of Spain, descending into the plains of Alentejo in September, and returning in May to the mountains.* Their wool is, in fineness, next to that of Spain, and with care might, perhaps, be improved to an equality. Swine abound, and their hams are much esteemed.

Natural curiosities.—There are few natural curiosities in Portugal that can be deemed peculiarly striking; but romantic and singular scenes of rock, water, and evergreen groves, abound in the mountainous districts of this beautifully variegated country.

Artificial curiosities and antiquities.—The curiosities of art are here less numerous and striking than those of nature. They consist chiefly of a few Roman monuments of less magnificence, than many that are seen in several other countries, and of a few Moorish remains greatly inferior to those of Spain. To these may be added, that noble monument of the middle ages the monastery of Batalha, in Estremadura, about sixty miles from Lisbon. This structure was founded about the end of the fourteenth century, by John I. in commemoration of a decisive victory gained over the king of Castile, and is described by Murphy as one of the most magnificent specimens of the Gothic style of architecture.

* Link's Travels, p. 396.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

LISBON, the capital of the kingdom of Portugal, is situated on the banks of the Tagus, in $38^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude. It stands upon three hills, of which that beginning at the bridge of Alcantara, and extending to the Rua de San Bento, or St. Benedict's-street, is much the highest, and may almost be reckoned a mountain. The upper part is famed for its salubrious air; but the streets, in this quarter, are so steep that walking in them is a work of difficulty. In the time of a heavy rain the water rushes down the streets with such violence as often to render them impassable; and both men and horses have sometimes been carried away by the torrent, and almost precipitated into the river. This inconvenience, however, is attended with the advantage of washing away all the dirt. This part of the town was one of those that were the least affected by the earthquakes, and on that account, as well as for the salubrity of the air, it is now the favourite residence of foreigners, as well as of the opulent Portuguese, and contains many handsome houses, interspersed among a number of others of a different appearance. The streets are, besides being steep, irregularly built, ill paved, and most of them narrow. In this quarter is the English burial-ground, which is beautifully shaded with cypresses and Judas trees

trees in the Oriental manner; and here are deposited the remains of the celebrated Henry Fielding, the accurate delineator of life. The second hill may be considered as a continuation of the first, from which it is separated by a valley of no great depth. The streets, except a few of the principal, are narrow, crooked, and irregular; and those which lead to the banks of the river are horridly dirty. On the eastern declivity is the opera-house, and also the residence of Quintella, the great dealer in diamonds, and the richest merchant in Lisbon. Above the public promenade, beyond the Praça de Rocio, this hill rises to a considerable elevation, with a steep side, and commands a magnificent prospect. In the valley beneath appears the finest part of the city; on the left are olive gardens, interspersed with villas, monasteries, and churches; opposite is the high steep hill, on which the castle is situated, and to the right, the Tagus covered with ships.

This hill is succeeded by a valley of considerable extent, which forms the broadest part of the city. All this level quarter was entirely destroyed by the earthquake; but it has since been rebuilt. In this valley, and on the bank of the river, is the Praça de Commercio, a large and handsome square, 610 feet by 550, formerly the terrace or parade of the royal palace. The quay far excels any thing of the kind in London or Paris. The three principal streets, which have been rebuilt since the earthquake, lead from this square to that of Rocio. They are straight and broad, and have good causeways. The Praça de Rocio is of considerable extent, and like the Praça de Commercio, unpaved in the middle. The great palace of the inquisition, and the square used for bull fights,

lights, are not far distant. In proceeding eastward, the third hill begins with an eminence, on which stands the *Castello de Mouros*, and continues, with some interruption of plains, to the eastern extremity of the town. The streets in this quarter are narrow, ill-paved, and irregular; and from the style of building, this appears to be the oldest part of Lisbon; the houses being high, consisting of many stories, and loaded with Gothic ornaments, a mode of building justly exploded in a country so subject to earthquakes. However, it is singular that the effects of that tremendous convulsion, which forms so memorable an æra in the history of Lisbon, were entirely confined to the lower and level parts of the city, and scarcely perceived in the higher situations, and on the steep declivities of the hills, a circumstance for which naturalists are at a loss to account. Neither the public nor private edifices display any elegant models of architecture. The patriarchal church, however, is singularly magnificent, and its revenue is computed at 114,000*l.* sterling. From this description, however, it will appear, that a striking difference exists between the old and the new parts of Lisbon, and that the terrible earthquake of 1755, in which, according to the most accurate accounts, above 24,000 persons are said to have perished, although a temporary disaster of the most tremendous magnitude, has, like the conflagration of London, in 1666, been productive of great permanent advantages, in regard to the improvement of the city, and the conveniences of posterity.

The whole length of the city, along the banks of the Tagus, reckoning from Belem to the eastern extremity, cannot be less than four English miles and a half;

half; and from the continuation of houses and villages to the eastward, along the banks of the river, a stranger can scarcely perceive where the city ends. Its breadth, however, is extremely irregular; in many parts small, and in some quite inconsiderable; scarcely exceeding one street, but never much more than a mile and a half. The city is quite open, having neither walls, gates, nor fortifications, except the Castello de Mouros, a place of inconsiderable strength, and some batteries or small forts on the river.

The view of Lisbon from the opposite side of the Tagus is uncommonly grand. The vast expanse of water, from six to nine miles broad, the numerous shipping, the widely extended city, with its crowd of churches, monasteries, and cultivated heights adorned with country houses, covering a vast amphitheatre of hills, and the majestic pointed mountains of Cintra in the back ground of the landscape, compose an extraordinary assemblage of magnificent objects, and altogether form a prospect which few places in the world can equal. In crossing the river the spectator has still the same objects in view, and on his nearer approach the picture becomes more distinct without any diminution of its beauties. The Tagus, which washes the foundations of the houses throughout the whole length of Lisbon, is, towards the eastern part, about six miles in breadth, or about nine in taking it to the extremity of the reach. On the opposite side, are the dark heaths of Alemtejo. Nearly opposite to the Praça de Commercio, it becomes more contracted, and as far as its mouth, is only about three miles broad. The opposite banks also rise and form steep precipices towards the river. Lisbon is certainly one of the finest ports in Europe; and large ships of the
line

line can lie opposite to the city. In 1797, the number of merchant vessels that entered was 1526, exclusive of English and Portuguese ships of war.* Lisbon may therefore be reckoned the second port in Europe, being next to London, and superior to Amsterdam. The origin of Lisbon is not marked in history. It was called by the ancients Ulyssippo, and its foundation fabulously ascribed to Ulysses. It appears to have been, from time immemorial, a place of some trade; but its aggrandisement first arose from the Portuguese discoveries and conquests in Africa and the East; and its commercial greatness is supported by the rich colony of Brazil.

The population of the Portuguese metropolis, like that of the whole kingdom, it is difficult to ascertain. In the year 1790, the number of houses in the forty parishes of that city was 38,102. To these Mr. Murphy assigns six inhabitants per house, or 228,200 for the whole; which, with the religious in the convents and monasteries, the soldiers and Gallician labourers, who have no fixed habitation, and are very numerous, as also a fluctuating mass of strangers, seamen, &c. must amount to more than 240,000. But the number assigned by Murphy to each house, is evidently too small, and in the census of 1790, neither Belem nor Campo Grande were included: if, therefore, Lisbon be taken in its full extent, Professor Link thinks that the population may be confidently estimated at more than 300,000, exclusive of the military. If these, at least, be included, this estimate can scarcely appear exaggerated.†

The police of this metropolis is very defective. Of this the extreme dirtiness of the streets, and still more,

* Link's Travels, p. 260.

† Ibid, p. 168.

the number of robbers and murderers, by whom the city and its environs are infested, are evident proofs. The boldness of these desperadoes is astonishing; and such is the ill-timed compassion of the Portuguese, that every one will assist a criminal in his escape. Sometimes, almost every night is marked with murder, which is generally the consequence of jealousy or revenge; for robbers mostly content themselves with menaces. Many of these robbers are negroes, of whom there is a greater number than in any other city of Europe. Every negro who has served his master seven years in Europe is free, and several of them become honest and industrious citizens. The number of vagabonds of all descriptions, in Lisbon, is almost incredible. Idle and disorderly persons from all parts of Portugal, come in torrents to the metropolis, where the police suffers them to remain without molestation; and hence proceed the multitudes of beggars that are seen in the streets. But the Gallegos are a class of people that merit attention and encouragement. They are natives of the Spanish province of Galicia; a hardy and robust race of men, who leave their poor native country, and emigrate, some into the other parts of Spain, and some into Portugal, to earn money by the severest labour. They are harvest-men, porters, water-carriers, and servants, in all kinds of drudgery; and their general character is that of being inoffensive, honest, and extremely laborious. Sometimes, when they have earned a little money, they settle in Portugal, and set up tipping houses, or small grocers' shops; but most of them return with their savings to their own country. The common people of Lisbon and the environs are, in general, a robust and hardy race, being capable of supporting great fa-

ligue with a very scanty fare. There is no want of courtezans at Lisbon; but they are neither more plentiful, nor more importunate, than those of London, Paris, and some other large cities.

The society of Lisbon is dull and melancholy, when compared with that of Paris or London, or even with that of Madrid and other great cities of Spain. The opera house is large and handsome, and affords a favorite amusement to the rich: there is also a theatre which is but little frequented by persons of distinction. Here, as well as in Spain, the bull-fights are one of the principal amusements of all ranks of people.

The Portugueze capital is not destitute of scientific and literary institutions; but they must not be compared with those of Paris or London, or of several other European cities. The first in importance is the academy of sciences founded by the present queen, soon after her accession. There is also a geographical academy, an academy of marine, and another of fortification. The college of nobles, founded in 1761, is a handsome and extensive building. Lisbon has also some public libraries, which, although far from ranking in the first class, are not so contemptible as they have sometimes been represented. There are also museums, botanical gardens, &c. which, however, are of little importance, and several observatories, but ill furnished with instruments. The royal hospital of San Jose may be reckoned one of the best public institutions of the Portugueze metropolis. The sick are well attended, and a great number of cures is performed.

The environs of Lisbon consist entirely of hills, which, particularly on the east and north sides, are, for the most part, covered with extensive gardens surrounded

rounded with high walls. These large gardens, by the Portuguese called Quintas, are planned both for use and pleasure; generally containing plantations of orange and olive trees, and sometimes even vineyards and small fields of corn. On the western side of the city, the country is not so well cultivated, and presents some naked and rocky hills. But where these are not too stony, they are luxuriantly fertile, and the flora, in the vicinity of Lisbon, is extremely rich. The trees are chiefly the orange and the olive, with some cypresses, elms, judas-trees, and poplars; but no oaks, nor beeches; and willows are exceedingly rare. One tree frequently bears 1500, and sometimes 2000 oranges.* At Lisbon they are not very cheap; but in many of the provinces the best may be had at a farthing sterling a piece. Close to the north side of Lisbon is that grand work of art, the aqueduct, by which water is brought to the city from some springs at the distance of nine miles. Its length is near half a mile, and it is planned with great magnificence. When the water enters the town, it is divided into several other aqueducts, which supply the fountains. A little to the north-west of Lisbon, the high mountains of Cintra rise up full of peaks. The south-east side of this range towards the city is naked and parched up, consisting of bare heaped-up rocks, which afford a wild and dreary prospect. On the other side is the town of Cintra; the summer-residence of the opulent inhabitants of Lisbon, the foreign merchants, and the Portuguese nobility. Its distance is about twelve miles from the capital; and its situation on the declivity of the mountain, is beautifully picturesque. To a certain height, the sides of the hills are

*Link's Travels, p. 126.

covered with country houses dispersed among charming gardens and shady woods of the finest trees. In the months of August and September, when every thing is parched up with heat, the citizens of Lisbon here enjoy a charming retreat, in those mountains abounding with water, verdure and shade. Returning back to the banks of the Tagus, we meet with several forts, particularly San Julian and Saõ Antonio, with the Torre de Belem. None of these are of very great strength, but might perhaps be sufficient to prevent a hostile fleet from entering the Tagus. Nature, indeed, has done much towards the protection of the metropolis, in narrowing the mouth of the river and impeding its entrance by a bank of rocks lying in an oblique direction. The safety of Lisbon greatly depends on securing the mouth of the Tagus, as a few ships of war, in that river, might easily lay the whole city level with the ground. On the south side of the Tagus, notwithstanding the sandiness of the soil and the continual succession of extensive heaths and forests of pines, one village follows another in close approximation, being generally situated on creeks of the river and supported by the traffic carried on with Lisbon. In the space of less than twenty miles there are ten considerable market towns, besides numerous villages and hamlets, from whence an idea may be formed of the lively scene, which the banks of the Tagus afford.* But on this southern side, many swamps appear at the ebb, which in some places, render the air insalubrious. Lisbon being the focus and principal scene of the wealth and splendor of Portugal, the other cities have little that merits attention.

Oporto.]—*Oporto* is the next to Lisbon, both in

* Prof. Link's Trav. p. 234.

magnitude, wealth and commercial importance. It stands on the steep declivity of a hill, on the north bank of the Douro, which flows in a narrow valley, so that the houses rise like an amphitheatre. The streets are narrow, and here are no buildings of consequence. This city is chiefly noted for the wine trade, and contains about 30,000 inhabitants.*

Coimbra.]—Coimbra is an ancient city, chiefly famed for its university, which was formerly in great repute and is still respectable. Like most of the towns of Portugal, it is seated on the declivity of a hill, at the bottom of which runs the Mondego. Coimbra is noted for the meanness of its inns, the worst in Portugal, and for its narrow, dirty and crooked streets, many of which are so steep, that to climb them is a work of no small difficulty. The city contains about 3,000 houses and not less than eight monasteries. It stands in a pleasantly diversified and well cultivated though mountainous country, famed for the excellence of its oranges, and filled with industrious inhabitants. Opposite to Coimbra, on the bank of the river, is the Quinta das Lagrimas, or the Garden of Tears, rendered sacred to memory by the genius of Camoens.

* "In sweet Mondego's ever verdant bowers."†

The Garden of Tears, with a fountain of the same name, shaded by fine Portuguese cypresses, will never fail to revive melancholy recollections in the minds of those who have heard the story of the beautiful Ignaz de Castro, who lived in this place, and was there barbarously murdered. This lady, a Castilian by birth, was beloved by Don Pedro, heir apparent to the crown of

* Link; on the authority of information received from the Corregidor, p. 371.

† *Nichles Camoens' Lusiad, Canto 2.*

Portugal, to whom she is said to have been secretly married. He fixed her residence in this charming spot, where he frequently visited her. She had borne him three sons and a daughter, before the affair was known to his father Alphonius IV. At last, however, it transpired, and the enraged king, instigated by his courtiers, came suddenly in the absence of the prince and caused the beautiful Ignez to be inhumanly murdered.

Evora.—Evora is an ancient town, famous for having been the residence of Vniatus and Sertorius, those brave Lusitanians celebrated in Roman History. It now contains about 12,000 inhabitants, with the enormous proportion of twenty-three religious houses.

St. Ubes.—St. Ubes is a place of some trade, but of small extent and population. The cities of Portugal, indeed, except Lisbon and Oporto, are all of inconsiderable magnitude; and, in cleanliness as well as in almost every other respect, far inferior to those of Spain.

Edifices.—Portugal contains few edifices that can attract attention. The Portuguese nobility, like those of Spain, reside chiefly in the capital, and many of them have no other country residence than their quintas in the environs of Lisbon, and their summer retreat, at Cintra. Near the latter place is a monastery remarkable for its situation on the pointed top of one of the mountains at the elevation of about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. When seen at a distance it seems to be floating in the air.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society, &c.

PORTUGAL did not rank as a kingdom until the year 1139, when Alphonsus I. gained that memorable victory over five Moorish princes, which procured him the honour of being proclaimed king on the field of battle, and which Camoens has celebrated by a fine poetical description.* This prince was the son of Henry, grandson of Robert Duke of Burgundy, and great grandson of Robert king of France. Henry had served as a volunteer under Alphonsus IV, king of Castile, who had extended his dominions in the north of Portugal as far as Coimbra.† Having married Theresa, the daughter of Alphonsus, he received the title of Count of Portugal, and signalized himself by several victories over the Moors.

Alphonsus I, the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, was a successful prince. In 1148, having procured the assistance of a fleet of croisaders, he wrested Lisbon out of the hands of the Moors. He died, A.D. 1185, at upwards of ninety years of age, after a long and prosperous reign. Portugal was fortunate in a succession of able princes, who continually gained ground on the Moors. But the long history of those barbarian wars, besides being obscurely related by historians, is uninteresting to modern times. Among

* Camoens's *Lusid.*, cant. 3.

† *D'Anville des Etats*, p. 194.

these kings, however, must not be omitted the name of Denis I, who, having rebuilt the ruined cities of Portugal, and founded the university of Coimbra, was entitled the father of his country, and may be considered as the parent of Portuguese literature. But it was not till the reign of John I, about A.D. 1410, that Portugal began to acquire celebrity by her discoveries, which led to conquests that enriched her people, and extended her dominions from the Tagus to China.

Don Henry, his third son, a prince of distinguished abilities and extensive views, gave the first impulse to that spirit of discovery which afterwards operated a grand revolution in the commerce of Europe. His bold and enlightened genius, projected a scheme for the improvement of geography and navigation, and for extending the influence of Portugal beyond the narrow limits to which it was then confined. He established an observatory and a marine academy, where several persons were instructed in astronomy, and the nautical art. The navigators formed under his eye, and sailing under his auspices, advanced southward along the African coast, as far as Capé Bajadore, a region formerly unknown to Europe, and on their return, A.D. 1420, discovered the fertile isle of Madeira. In succeeding voyages they doubled Cape Bajadore, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at last Cape Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the equator. So far Don Henry had the pleasure of seeing his discoveries extended; but his death, which happened in 1463, did not extinguish the spirit of enterprize with which he had inspired his countrymen. In the course of these voyages, the islands of Cape Verd and the Azores, had been discovered, and

the introduction of the vine and the sugar cane into Madeira, had rendered that island a valuable acquisition. In the reign of John II, a prince of profound sagacity and extensive views, the Portuguese pursued their discoveries with ardour and success. In Africa they made easy and extensive conquests, built forts, and established a lucrative commerce. In this infant state of navigation, however, they continued to creep but slowly along the coasts of Africa, and from their first voyage of discovery, sixty-six years elapsed before Captain Bartholomew Dias reached the extreme point of that continent. The Portuguese, terrified at the sight of a turbulent ocean rolling mountains high, and seemingly torn up by tempestuous winds from the bottom of its profound abyss, were afraid of proceeding any further, and named this southernmost promontory of Africa, Cabo de los Tormentos, or the Cape of Storms. But the king, who saw more clearly the importance of the discovery, styled it Cabo de bonne Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese had already made a vast addition to the former extent of geographical knowledge, and to the natural history of the human race. They had penetrated through the torrid zone, and, contrary to their expectation, had found its scorching regions replete with inhabitants. This extensive tract of the globe had, by the ancients, been considered as parched up by excessive heat and perpetual aridity, and uninhabitable by human beings.* The Portuguese navigators had exploded these errors, and discovered a new race of men, whose jet black colour and singular features, excited their astonishment. But

* Cicero Som. Scipionis, cap. 6. Pliny, lib. 2, cap. 68. Strabo, lib. 2

hitherto their painful voyages had tended rather to excite enterprizing curiosity, than to gratify avarice. The completion of the grand project, however, was not far distant. Emanuel I. succeeding John II, pursued with ardour the views of his predecessors. In order to complete the passage to India by sea, he sent out a squadron of four ships, under the command of Vasco di Gama, a noble Portuguese, who possessed all the qualifications requisite for such an expedition. He doubled the formidable Cape, till then the *ne plus ultra* of nautical enterprize, and after being assailed by furious tempests, ranged along the eastern coast of Africa, touched at the city of Melinda, and received from the king of that place all the information necessary for the prosecution of his voyage. Pursuing his course through unknown seas, he arrived at last at the city of Calicut, on the Malabar coast, which was then the great emporium of India, and the Oriental Islands.* The commerce of this port was then at its height. The Arabs resorted thither for the rich productions and curious manufactures of the East; which they carried to the ports of the Red Sea. They then conveyed them by caravans through Egypt, and sold them to the Italian merchants at Alexandria. Here the adventurers met with a Moor, a native of Barbary, who understood the Portuguese language, and proved an useful agent. By his assistance, Gama met with a favourable reception, obtained an audience of the Samorin, or emperor, and began to negotiate a treaty of commerce. But the artful insinuations of the Arabs, induced the Samorin to break off the negotiations, and inspired him with the ungenerous resolution of putting to death those bold navigators.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. 1.

The faithful Moor, whose name was Monzaida, informed the Portuguese of their danger, and Gama sent his brother on board the fleet, with a strict charge, that in case he should hear of his death or imprisonment, he should not stop to attempt his release, or to avenge his fate, but that he should immediately set sail for Lisbon, to inform the king of the success of the expedition, adding, "I am sufficiently happy in having discovered a passage to India for Portugal." Fortunately, however, things were not carried to this extremity, matters were brought to an accommodation, and Gama returned safe to Lisbon.* The year 1494 was the memorable epoch of this great commercial event.

Thirteen ships were now fitted out, A.D. 1500, and sailed from the Tagus for India, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral. This admiral, in keeping out to sea in order to avoid the calms on the African coast, and the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, was carried so far to the westward, that he discovered the rich country of Brazil, of which he took possession in the name of king Emanuel his master. Proceeding on his voyage he arrived at Calicut, had an audience of the Samorin, and a regular commerce was agreed on between the Portuguese and the Indians. This good understanding, however, was not lasting. The Arabs again found means to prejudice the mind of the Samorin against the Europeans, who, by their indiscretions, added force to the representations of their enemies, and mutual jealousies and fears gave rise to mutual injuries. The inhabitants of Calicut took arms, killed about fifty of the Portuguese, and destroyed their magazine. In revenge for this

* Soares, Port. Asia, vol. 1.

breach of faith, Cabral destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port, beat down a great part of the city, and set fire to the rest.* The measures of the Portuguese were now totally changed, and nothing was thought of but the establishment of commerce by the sword. Cabral entered into negotiations with several Indian princes, tributaries to the Samorin, but desirous of independence. He promised them support, and carried their ambassadors to Lisbon, where such political measures were taken as rendered success infallible. The conditions of protection imposed on those deluded princes were, that they should acknowledge themselves vassals of the crown of Portugal, sell their commodities to its subjects at their own price, and that each of them should permit a Portuguese fortress to be erected in his capital; that no other merchants should load a cargo till the Portuguese were served, and that no mariners should navigate the Indian seas without their passports.

At this period, A.D. 1508, the famous Alphonsus D'Albuquerque made his appearance on the Oriental stage. This general, equally distinguished by his military and political talents, was invested with the supreme command in India, and soon began to form the most extensive views. The Portuguese, animated by the successes already obtained, and the view of the channels of wealth that were opened, were fired with the spirit of enterprize. The Pope, glad of an opportunity of asserting his universal sovereignty, had granted to Portugal all the countries she had discovered, or should discover, in the East, and the whole nation was seized with the spirit of conversion and conquest. Volunteers presented themselves in

* *Mss. Historia Indica, vol. 1, cap. 6.*

crowds to man the fleet, and complete the army. A formidable armament was equipped, and on its arrival in India, Albuquerque saw himself at the head of a force composed of daring adventurers, who, with all the blessings of this world and the next in prospect, were ready to brave every danger, and surmount every difficulty. Albuquerque considered the Arabians as the only enemy which the Portuguese had to fear in the East. The navigators of the Red Sea, and the merchants who furnished the caravans of Egypt, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape; and their numerous colonies; on the coasts of India and in the isles, rendered their influence more formidable. Against those enemies, therefore, the Portuguese general directed his efforts.* Their naval force received a signal overthrow in the Indian ocean, and many of their settlements were destroyed. The first object of Albuquerque, was fully to establish the Portuguese power on the Malabar coast. This he effected by the destruction of Calicut and the capture of Goa, which was carried by assault.

The views of Albuquerque were extensive, his ambition was boundless, and his abilities were equal to any undertaking. He had rendered the Portuguese masters of the coast of Malabar; his next attempt was to extend their conquests and commerce still further to the eastward. Having made several acquisitions, and built some forts on the coast of Coromandel, he projected an attack on Malacca, one of the richest cities of the East, and the centre of all the trade carried on between Japan, China, the spice islands, and the ports of the Indian continent. Albuquerque resolved to make a grand effort for the reduction of

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. 1.

this important place. After a vigorous attack, and an obstinate defence, the city was carried by assault, and the Portuguese found an immense booty, both in treasure and rich merchandize, in this great emporium of Oriental commerce.* A citadel was immediately erected to secure this important conquest, and Albuquerque returned in triumph to Goa. The Indian princes courted his friendship, and permitted forts to be built, and factories to be established, in every part of their dominions. The Portuguese general having accomplished his views in that quarter with all the success that the most sanguine hope could have presented in idea, now resolved to strike the final blow to the commerce and power of the Arabians, by the conquests of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, and of Ormus in the Persian Gulph, two stations in which the Portuguese squadrons might command the whole trade of Egypt and Persia. Ormus was at that time one of the most opulent, luxurious, and splendid cities of Asia. Like Tyre, it was seated on a small and barren island. Like Tyre, also, it was one of the greatest marts in the world. Its luxurious and unwarlike inhabitants were unable to withstand the impetuous valour of the Portuguese.† The city was soon obliged to surrender, and Albuquerque received in that place an embassy from the monarch of Persia. His attempt, however, upon Aden; which was previous to the reduction of Ormus, had miscarried; but he had made such ravages in the straits of Babel Mandel, and on the coasts of the Red Sea, as had totally ruined the trade of the Egyptians and Arabs. The reduction of Goa, Malacca, and Ormus, with the entire annihilation of the

* Hist. Gen. de Voyages, tom. 1.

† Hist. des Ind. Orient. tom. 1.—Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. 1.

Arabian marine, had completely established the empire of the Portugueze in the East, and perfectly secured their commerce. The capture of Ormus was the last military exploit of this great man, whose fame will descend to the latest posterity. But this founder of his country's greatness, astonishing to tell, died in disgrace at Goa, 1515.

The age of Albuquerque, was that of the heroism and grandeur of Portugal. At his decease, her power and her fame had reached the meridian. Her maritime and commercial empire was the most extensive and astonishing that had ever existed. It extended over all the coasts and islands of Africa and Asia, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cochin China. Her commerce was afterwards carried as far as to China and Japan; but her power was never greater, nor her name more glorious. While the Portugueze mariners were exploring the coasts of Africa, their adventurous travellers and negotiators penetrated into its interior recesses, reached Abyssinia, and concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with its emperor, the Prester John of those ignorant ages. Of the dominions of this prince, Europe had hitherto received no knowledge, except what had been collected from fabulous accounts and vague report. The Portugueze were the first, and almost the only Europeans who, prior to Bruce, had explored that curious and long concealed region; and by this, as well as their other discoveries, extended the circle of geographical science.

The prosperity of Portugal did not continue quite a century, before subjugation to a foreign power annihilated her grandeur. Even in the height of her greatness, the mis-managements of her government gave some fatal blows to her domestic industry, which her

numerous colonies now rendered it more necessary to encourage. Emanuel, from the successes of his reign, surnamed the Great, adopted the cruel and pernicious policy of expelling from his dominions all the Moors, to whom he left no other alternative than immediate expatriation or perpetual slavery. To the Jews he was still more severe. He caused all their children, under fifteen, to be taken from them and to be baptized. The adults were ordered to relinquish the kingdom under the same penalty as the Moors; and, at the same time, every measure was taken to obstruct their departure. These vexations, with the disagreeable circumstance of leaving their children behind, induced most of them outwardly to embrace Christianity; so that to this day there is a great mixture of the Jewish blood in the Portuguese nation.* John III, his successor, would have merited applause, had his zeal been satisfied with sending the famous Francis Xavier as a missionary to Japan; but the spirit of intolerance induced him to establish the infernal inquisition, which, in every country where it has reigned, has operated as a check on the energy of the human mind.

The reign of Sebastian, grandson and successor of John III, which commenced A.D. 1557, was the fatal era of the downfall of Portugal. This prince, the year after his accession, invading Morocco in order to establish an expelled prince on the throne, and to extend his own influence over that kingdom, was, together with the two pretenders to the Moorish crown, slain in battle, A.D. 1559. His uncle Henry, a cardinal, succeeding, died without issue. Anthony, Prior of Crato, was elected king; but Philip II. sending the Duke of

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 544.

Alva with a powerful force, seized on the kingdom; and Portugal thus became a province of Spain.

During sixty years that the Portuguese were subject to Spain, they lost most of their valuable colonies, which were conquered by the Dutch,* and in the mean time were extremely oppressed by the rapacity and violence of the viceroys, sent to govern them by Philip II. and his successors Philip III. and Philip IV. These repeated acts of tyranny and oppression, which the court of Madrid, by neglecting to prevent or to punish, appeared to authorise, excited at last a general revolt. A plan for the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the advancement of the Duke of Braganza to the throne, had been projected, and successfully conducted through every stage of its progress, by Pinto de Ribeiro, steward to that nobleman. He had managed, with unparalleled dexterity, every part of this complicated and dangerous affair, and so completely taken his measures, as to render success almost infallible. The business was kept a profound secret; and the explosion was sudden, unexpected, and irresistible. A general insurrection of the people was almost instantaneously excited; and the expulsion of the Spaniards, effected almost without bloodshed, as only two or three individuals fell the victims of national hatred; and Ribeiro, by a masterly train of manœuvres, raised the Duke of Braganza to the throne, and restored the independence of Portugal.†

The year 1640 was the memorable epoch of this revolution, which was one of the best conducted of all those recorded in history. Portugal now resumed her

* Vide Hist. of the Dutch Republic.

† For a circumstantial account of this well conducted conspiracy, see *Revolutions de Portugal, par l'Abbe Vertot.*

rank as a kingdom; but her commerce was ruined, and her colonies captured. Brazil, Angola, and some other settlements were recovered, but her extensive possessions in the East, with the rich monopoly of Indian commerce, were irretrievably lost. A long war with Spain cramped her exertions abroad; and the city of Goa, with some forts of inferior importance, are all that Portugal has been able to retain of her vast Asiatic empire. The subsequent history of this country, is neither important nor interesting, as since that time it has always been dependent on the great neighbouring powers; and has never been able to act any other than a subordinate part on the political theatre. The most remarkable events are the tremendous earthquake at Lisbon, in 1755, and the conspiracy formed against the king in 1758, who was attacked and dangerously wounded by assassins, in a solitary place near his country residence at Belcm. A number of nobles, among whom were the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis de Tavora, &c. were accused, condemned and executed, with the most horrid circumstances of cruelty; but what is still more shocking, their innocence has since been proved, and authentically declared. In this supposed conspiracy, the Jesuits were also implicated; and their expulsion from Portugal was the consequence of that suspicion, which was probably groundless. The invasion of Portugal by the Spaniards, in 1762, was by many considered only as a scheme to oblige England to conclude a peace for the sake of preserving her ally. In the revolutionary war, Portugal was reckoned a member of the coalition; but her aid was of little importance. In fact, her marine and her military force are, at present, insignificant. The rich commerce of Brazil is that which renders her friendship
of

of value to those nations which furnish manufactures for that flourishing colony.

Portugal, so long the faithful ally of Great Britain, was at length obliged to submit to the general fate of the continent, and to shut her ports against the trade of that nation, to whose protection she had so long owed her independence, and even her existence. The entrance of the French armies into Spain, under the ostensible pretext of invading Portugal, obliged the Prince Regent to issue, on the twenty-second of October, 1807, an edict for shutting the ports of his kingdom against all British ships and vessels of every description. In consequence of these proceedings, a British squadron was sent to the mouth of the Tagus, to be ready to act as future circumstances might require. But the compliance of the Portuguese cabinet with the views of France in shutting the ports, did not satisfy the rapacity of the oppressor of the continent. The French army, under General Junot, was already entering Portugal; and the Prince Regent, in order, if possible, to avert the impending storm, was induced to sign an order for the detension of all British subjects, and all British property yet remaining in his dominions.* At this crisis the Prince Regent was placed in the most difficult situation that can be imagined. Notwithstanding his compliance with the requisition of France, General Junot was advancing towards Lisbon, and a Russian fleet entered the Tagus. Thus menaced by France, he had forfeited his claim to the protection of England by joining himself, although through compulsion, to the cause of her enemies. The British ambassador, Lord Strangford, had taken his passports, and proceeded to the squadron under Sir

* This order bears date, Nov. 8, 1807.

Sidney Smith, who had just arrived on the coast, and a rigorous blockade was established at the mouth of the Tagus. The Prince Regent, therefore, had no other alternative than that of removing the seat of government to Brazil, or of submitting to rule over Portugal as a vassal of France. Even to hold the crown in vassallage would, probably, not have been permitted, as the French emperor had declared, that "the house of Braganza should cease to reign."* And the emigration to South America was impracticable, unless favoured by the English fleet. In this critical situation, the prince took the wise and magnanimous resolution of throwing himself on the generosity of England, rather than submit to the tyranny of France. A new negotiation was commenced; and Lord Strangford returning to Lisbon, gave the most explicit assurances that his Britannic majesty would generously overlook those acts of unwilling and momentary hostility, to which the consent of his royal highness had been extorted; and that the British squadron, before the mouth of the Tagus, should be employed in protecting his retreat from Portugal, and his voyage to Brazil. The whole arrangement was immediately made. There was not, indeed, any time for delay. The British ambassador presented himself on the twenty-seventh of November, and on the preceding day, the French army had reached Abrantes, only three days easy march from Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth a decree was published, in which the Prince Regent announced his intention of retiring to Rio de Janeiro, and nominated a regency. And so expeditiously was every thing transacted, that on the morning of the twenty-ninth, the Portuguese fleet, consist-

* *Moniteur*, November 19, 1807.

ing of eight sail of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and a schooner, with a number of large and well-armed merchant ships, making in all about thirty-six sail, came out of the Tagus, having on board the Prince Regent, and the whole of the royal family of Braganza, together with many of his counsellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his fortunes; the whole exhibiting a new and interesting spectacle.

Thus, about the close of the year 1807, the French became masters of Portugal; and General Junot, on whom the Emperor Napoleon conferred the office of governor-general, with the title of Duke of Abrantes, ruled the kingdom with tyrannical sway, till new and extraordinary events gave an unexpected turn to affairs. The insurrection which took place in Spain in consequence of the revolution in its government,* and the successes of the patriots, roused the spirit of the Portuguese, and recalled to their remembrance the glories of the reign of Emmanuel the Great, and the victories of the famed Albuquerque. The insurrection of Portugal, like that of Spain, was rapidly organized, and soon assumed a formidable aspect. The insurgents made themselves masters of Oporto, Coimbra, and several other places of importance; and the French being almost wholly expelled from the northern parts of the kingdom, were obliged to concentrate their force in Lisbon and its vicinity. The part which Great Britain took in the liberation of Portugal, the expedition of General Wellesley, the battle of Vimiera, and the evacuation of the country by the French, compose a part of our sketch of British history.

* See Hist. View of Spain.

CHAP. IV.

Religion—Government—Laws—Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—Political importance—Language—Literature—Polite Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

THE religion of Portugal is the Roman Catholic, in its strictest forms. The hierarchy consists of the Patriarch of Lisbon, who is often a cardinal, but always a person of high extraction, two archbishops and ten bishops. The kingdom contains near 4,000 parishes, and an abundance of monasteries.* Excepting the papal territory, no country in Europe supports a greater number of ecclesiastics, in proportion to the rest of its population. The inquisition is established here, and was formerly exceedingly oppressive; but at present its power is much limited, and its functions are chiefly confined to disorderly ecclesiastics. The *auto de fé* is no longer heard of; and in cases which come under the inquisitorial jurisdiction, banishment is generally substituted for corporal punishment.

[*Government.*]—The monarchy of Portugal is hereditary, and one of the most absolute in Europe. In case of the king's decease without male issue his next brother succeeds, whose sons, however, have no right to the crown without the confirmation of the states, which indeed are scarcely ever convened, except in cases of disputed succession. The heir apparent has

* Murphy's Portugal, p. 10.

the title of Prince of Brazil, and his eldest son that of Prince of Beira.

Jurisprudence.—The laws are extremely lenient, except in cases of treason. Theft is not punished with death until after the fourth offence. Criminals of all descriptions, are for the most part sent to the colonies. A late traveller gives, from his own experience, a very unfavorable impression of the administration of justice in Portugal.*

Military Force.—The army on the peace establishment used to be computed at about 24,000: at present it is not possible to state its strength.

Naval Force.—In the present state of the country no documents exist to enable us to form any estimate on this subject.

Revenue.—The revenues of Portugal have been variously calculated; but it is generally supposed that they cannot much exceed 2,000,000*l.* sterling.

Commerce.—The principal trade of Portugal has for years been with Great Britain, and the balance was always considered as greatly in favor of the latter. According to Murphy's estimates, Ireland gained annually above 60,000*l.* by her exports to Portugal. About the middle of the last century, the sugar trade from Brazil was exceedingly flourishing, but was checked by the heavy duties then imposed.† The migrations of the government to the Brazils must effect a great change in the commerce of the country.

The articles of home production, which Portugal exports, are chiefly hams, dried fish, &c. &c. to the Brazils; and wines, her staple commodity, both thither and to the northern countries of Europe. Of her wines

* Prof. Linn's Trav. p. 410, 411, &c. † And Hist. Com. vol. 3. p. 214.

England takes off a great quantity, especially of port. But the carcavella wine, supposed to be produced near Lisbon, is for the most part fabricated in London.* England also takes off a great quantity of the oranges of Portugal, and exports thither salted and dried fish to a great amount. The Portugueze East India trade is chiefly carried on from their settlement of Goa and their factory of Macao, near Canton in China.

Colonies.]—Besides the valuable and important country of Brazil, the present seat of government, the principal colonies belonging to Portugal are those of Angola, Loanga, Mosambique, &c. in Africa, with some others in that quarter of the globe of less importance. Goa and Macao are the relics of the once extensive empire of the Portugueze in Asia.

Manufactures.]—The manufactures of Portugal are few and of little importance. This indeed is what renders her commerce so valuable to those nations, which supply her with manufactured goods for home and colonial consumption. The Portugueze make some coarse woollen cloths; and hats and paper have lately been manufactured at Brazil and Lisbon.

Population.]—The population of Portugal, as already observed, it is not easy to ascertain. From the statements of the different writers, who greatly vary in their accounts, it may be estimated at about 3,700,000.

Language.]—The Portugueze language approximates so nearly to the Spanish, that whoever has a competent knowledge of one, will, with a little practice, understand the other. The pronunciation is grave, solemn, and sonorous. By the conquests of the Portugueze, in the sixteenth century, their language is widely diffused on the coasts of Africa and Asia, and

* Murphy's Trav. p. 241. 242.

is as useful in those parts, as the French is in Europe.*

Literature.—The literature of Portugal is extremely defective; and the few learned men in that country are like stars twinkling in the dark gloom of night. Philosophy and the mathematics are in a very contemptible state, and philology is much neglected. Botany and mineralogy have of late been cultivated, but both are yet in their infancy. The *memorias œconomicas* of the academy of Lisbon, shew, that much has been done towards the advancement of rural œconomy: all their good medical works are translations from the English; and their best physicians follow the English mode in treating their patients. The Portuguese have produced no good historical works, and all the attempts yet made in regard to the history of Portugal are very defective.† Of prose writers in the belles lettres, Portugal may be considered as entirely destitute. There is not one native work of the kind that can boast any merits of style; but Portuguese translations of foreign authors, especially French, are tolerably numerous, and many of them not ill executed. In novel writing the Portuguese are far inferior to the Spaniards; but they excel them in poetry. Portugal justly boasts of having produced the greatest poets that have flourished beyond the Pyrennées, and without mentioning inferior names, Camoens eclipses all those of Spain, and rivals the first of Italy. The Portuguese have a genius for poetry, and are particularly fond of *bucolics* and amorous sonnets. Their literature is also rich in blank verse. Their translations of the ancients are always made in

* *Profess. Link's Trav.* p. 152. 504.

† *Ibid.* p. 490. 491. 492, and *Murphy's* p. 157.

blank Iambic verse, in order to avoid the restraint which attends translating into rhyme.* The commencement of the literature of Portugal was not much later than that of the other European nations, as it may be traced to the reign of Deniz I, about the middle of the thirteenth century, who cultivated letters and founded the university of Coimbra, and in whose reign lived Vasca de Lobeira, supposed to have been the author of the famous romance of Amadis de Gaul. During the middle ages learning does not appear to have been in a much worse state than in the rest of Europe. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese possessed more knowledge, in regard to astronomy, geography and navigation; than most of the other nations of Europe; and derived from it very great advantages. It is evident, therefore, that their present backwardness is not to be attributed to want of genius, but to political and ecclesiastical oppression. Formerly no book could be sold without a number of testimonials and permissions. The permission of the inquisition was in the first place necessary, and when this was obtained, testimonials were to be procured from each tribunal, that the impression was conformable to the manuscript. The famous Marquis de Pombal conferred the censorship on a particular college, in which several members of the government, who were not ecclesiastics, were associated with the inquisition and the tribunal of the Patriarch of Lisbon. The permission of this office is now sufficient, and the printer is answerable for the conformity of the work with the manuscript. Newspapers, &c. only require a permission from the privy council. No literary journals, reviews, &c. are circulated here; but there is published weekly one miscellaneous work,

* Link's Travels, p. 432.

consisting of incidents, anecdotes, &c. The Gazette of Lisbon is the only political journal published in Portugal, and foreign newspapers are prohibited.

Polite Arts.]—Of the polite arts there is a total want in Portugal. Neither architecture, statuary nor painting here presents any elegant specimens. In this respect Portugal differs exceedingly from Spain.

Persons, Manners and Customs.]—In regard to their persons, there exists a striking difference between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, for which, as they inhabit the same latitudes, and are originally the same people, it is impossible to account. The Portuguese are generally somewhat low in stature, square made, and inclined to corpulency: their features are mostly irregular, the turned up nose, and projected lips commonly making part of the assemblage. The Spaniards are generally tall and meagre, their lips much thinner and their noses frequently squiline. Both nations agree in their swarthy complexions, black expressive eyes, and long, black and extremely strong hair. The females have the same defects as the males, but their countenances are expressive and their manners amiable. Both the higher and lower classes of the Portuguese are fond of a profusion of compliments. Among the peasants, ass drivers, and others, in the lowest ranks of society, it is common on meeting to take off their hats, make a very low bow, and hold each other long by the hand, making mutual enquiries after their health and that of their families, after all this, usually adding "I am at your commands, and your humble servant." They are generally talkative; their language, even in the mouths of the common people, is elegant, and they scarcely ever use oaths and execrations like the Spaniards, English and most other nations. In every respect,

spect, the Portugueze peasantry are superior to those of Spain, in politeness, in attention to strangers, in industry, &c. But they are miserably oppressed by the great. The Portugueze nobility, however, are esteemed as much inferior to those of Spain as the lower classes excel their equals of that country. Their dress resembles the Spanish, though some of the men prefer the French modes. In regard to their tables, the Portugueze are remarked for temperance; a virtue indeed which, among the lower classes, is enforced by necessity. Their amusements have already been mentioned.

National Character.]—The national character of the Portugueze has been greatly misrepresented by common place writers, and almost every vice has been brought in to blacken the picture. But Murphy, Link, and other judicious observers, have exploded those prejudices and errors and elucidated the Portugueze character. At a distance from the capital the traveller meets with as much kindness and sincerity among the Portugueze as among any other people, although he had been taught to expect nothing but violence and treachery. They have been considered as a lazy race; but the contrary is the fact, they are very laborious. Their zeal for the Catholic religion, and their punctilious observance of its ceremonies, have been considered as one of their national characteristics. Their ancient bigotry, however, is greatly lessened, and liberality of sentiment begins to prevail. The most disgusting trait of the Portugueze character is an almost universal want of attention to cleanliness in their houses and persons.

ITALY.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and artificial Curiosities.

ITALY, at first divided like all other countries into a countless number of petty states, afterwards united under the Roman power, and again split into small divisions, may now be considered as forming three distinct parts; of these the western, including Genoa and Tuscany, with Parma and Placentia, and the greatest part of Piedmont, constitute an integral part of the French empire. The rest is divided into the two kingdoms of Italy and Naples, both of them dependent upon France. The northern part, of what now forms the Italian kingdom, was not anciently included in this country; but was known by the name of Cisalpine Gaul, until it fell under the Roman dominion.

Italy is situated between 36° and 47° north latitude, and between 7° and 19° east longitude, extending about 670 British miles in length, from north-west to south-east. Its breadth, which is extremely variable, may be taken, at a medium of the central and southern parts, at about 100 miles; but in the northern territory

tory it extends more than 300 miles from its easternmost to its westernmost limits. The content is computed at 90,000 square miles.* The boundaries are strongly marked by the hand of nature. They consist of the Adriatic on the north-east, the Mediterranean on the south-west, and the grand Alpine barrier on the north.

Face of the country.]—Italy, in general, presents such a splendid variety of scenery, that the landscape painter finds himself at a loss to do justice to the picturesque features and glowing tints of nature. In the north, the sublime scenery of the Alps is contrasted with the fertile plains, watered by the classical Po, and his tributary streams descending from these lofty elevations. The central part of Italy is also immensely diversified. In the district which lately composed the ecclesiastical state, there are several marshes and stagnant waters, which generate that insalubrious distemperature of the air, called the mal aria, so pernicious during the hot season, in the Campania, and even in the city of Rome; but the variegated Apennines contribute to beautify the country; and the charming prospects of Florence and Tivoli are universally admired. The kingdom of Naples is, in general, a mountainous, but beautiful country. It has, however, three great defects; in being exposed to the eruptions of Vesuvius, to frequent earthquakes, and to the enervating sirocco, or south-east wind, which sometimes blows for several days together, causing an universal languor of body and mind.

Mountains.]—Among the principal mountains of Italy must be reckoned those branches of the Alps which are situated within its limits. The Italian Alps

*Zimmermann, Table 1.

run from Mount Blanc in a north-east direction, presenting, among several others, the lofty summits of the great St. Bernard and Mount Rosa, the latter of which nearly equals Mount Blanc in elevation.* The Apennines, beginning from a branch of the maritime Alps, wind round the gulph of Genoa and then run the whole length of Italy. Their elevation, however, in comparison of the Alps, is not very considerable. Vesuvius, a detached mountain of a conical form, about six miles distant from Naples, is, by reason of its tremendous volcano, a grand feature of nature. Its height is only about 3600 feet; but its tremendous eruptions, with the subterraneous thunders, the immense columns of smoke, intermixed with ruddy flames, the showers of stones ejected to a prodigious height, amidst the coruscations of continual lightning, and the lava descending in copious streams of destruction, form a sublime assemblage of terrific objects, far surpassing the powers of description.

Rivers.—Italy is intersected with numerous rivers, flowing in almost every direction, of which the Po, celebrated from the early ages of Grecian mythology, is by far the most considerable for its magnitude and extent of course. This famous river, anciently known by the names of Padus and Eridanus, rises in Mont Vesula, on the confines of France and Italy, and in the centre of the western Alps. After passing by Turin, it runs, notwithstanding its numerous windings, in a direction nearly due east, through a course of about 300 British miles, in which it receives a great number of tributary streams; descending from the Alps and the Apennines it falls into the gulph of Venice. The numerous tributary rivers, rushing from

* Saunders, p. 8.

the mountains, bring down so much gravel and sand into the Po, that its bed has been considerably raised; and in some places banks of thirty feet in height are necessary, in order to preserve the country from inundation. From this circumstance hydraulics have been much studied in this part of Italy, and numerous canals of irrigation attract the traveller's attention. It is somewhat remarkable, that from Cremona to the sea there is no very considerable city on the main stream of the Po.* The Po is swelled in its course also by the Adige, the Brenta, and the Tagliamento.

In central Italy the Arno, passing by Florence and Pisa, falls into the Mediterranean sea. The Tiber, immortal in classical history, after receiving above forty rivers or torrents, flows through Rome, and falls into the Mediterranean, about fifteen miles below that ancient capital of the world. Both the Tiber and the Arno have their sources in the Apennines, near San Marino. These mountains also give rise to a number of inferior streams, among which the Rubicon, a small rivulet of classical fame, now called *Fiumesino*, falls into the Adriatic about eight English miles to the north of Rimini.

Canals.—Of the numerous canals which serve for the irrigation of the Milanese, some are thirty miles long and near fifty feet wide, and are mentioned even so early as in the eleventh century; but the inland navigation of Italy is not important; and the inconsiderable breadth of a great part of the country renders it in a great measure unnecessary.

Lakes.—The northern part contains the beautiful lakes of Maggiore, Como, and di Garda. The Lago

* Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 619.

Maggiore,

Maggiore, twenty-seven English miles in length by about three of medial breadth,* contains the delightful Borromean islands, so celebrated by travellers. Of these Isola Bella, or the Beautiful Isle, has a magnificent palace, with superb gardens, orange groves, &c. rising in terraces one above another, and hanging over the lake.† The Isola Madre is larger, irregular, and more rural, and thus forms an agreeable contrast. The Lago di Como is about thirty-two British miles in length, but not above two and a half in medial breadth. These lakes afford fashionable points of excursion to the wealthy citizens of Milan. The Lago di Garda, further to the east, is the largest of all, displaying an expanse of water of about thirty miles in length and eight in breadth. The other Italian lakes are of small extent and importance.

Mineralogy and Mineral Waters.]—The mineralogy of Italy is, for the most part, unimportant, and but little explored, although that of Piedmont is supposed to be opulent.‡ The Romans were indebted for their metals chiefly to Greece, Macedonia, Parmonia, and above all to Spain and Lusitania. There are in Italy some mines of iron and copper, but too insignificant to merit attention in a general sketch of mineralogical history. Many of the mountains afford considerable quantities of emeralds, jasper, porphyry, and lapis lazuli. Here are also vast quarries of the most beautiful marble. Mineral waters also are found in many parts of this extensive country. Those of Baia, in the vicinity of Naples, were famed as a place of resort for

* Martini says, that the Lago Maggiore is sixty-five Italian miles long and from six to nine or ten broad. Trav. p. 82.

† Martini's Italy, p. 82.

‡ Journal des Mines, No. 50.

the opulent Romans, and the adjacent coast was covered with their magnificent villas. They are still much frequented by valetudinarians.*

Soil.]—The difference of soil, in this extensive country, corresponds with the irregularity of its surface, varying from the rocky summits of the Alps and the Apennines, to the loamy plains of Lombardy and the morasses of Campania. In general, Italy is extremely fertile, and has ever been famed for the abundance as well as the variety and excellence of its productions.

Climate.]—The climate of Italy is also various, but in general temperate and warm. In the northern division cold winds descend from the mountains, and the frosts, in winter, are sometimes pretty keen. In Tuscany, and even at Rome, they are no. wholly unknown. But they are only of short continuance; and at Rome especially the snow generally melts as soon as it is fallen.† In Naples the heats, being moderated by breezes from the mountains and from the sea, is not so intense as might be expected. The sirocco, though coming from the south-east, is not a sea breeze, but a steady wind proceeding directly from the deserts of eastern Africa. The air is, in general, salubrious, except in the Campagna and some other marshy parts, where the mal aria is, in summer, extremely pernicious to health. The climate throughout Italy is, in general, serene, although sometimes subject to heavy rains.

Vegetable Productions.]—Italy is abundant in wine, oil, fruits, and silk. These, indeed, may be called its staple commodities. But there is no want of pasturage and corn, where encouraged by the farming

* Martyr's Italy, p. 296.

† Ibid, p. 249.

system. The quantity of corn produced is generally sufficient for home consumption, and a surplus, for exportation might be had, if other productions were not found more beneficial. In the plains of Lombardy, the orange trees generally require shelter, although they thrive in the open air on the western side of the lake of Como, at the foot of high Alps covered with eternal snow. The agriculture of this country, which constitutes the best part of the Italian kingdom, has long been famed for its excellence. In this respect Lombardy shares with Belgium and England the reputation of being the garden of Europe. Most parts of Tuscany are well cultivated; but more to the southward, especially in the neighbourhood of Rome, agriculture is astonishingly neglected; and the Campania di Roma, formerly one of the most fertile provinces in Europe, is, through want of cultivation and drainage, almost wholly converted into barren wastes and stagnant morasses. Many parts of the kingdom of Naples are well cultivated.

Zoology.]—The animals of Italy exhibit no high degree of perfection. The horses are of an inferior kind; and it seems that the breed has been neglected. The cows of the Lodesan are generally of a dark red colour, lank, and ill made; but their cheese, which was formerly produced in the duchy of Parma, and is yet known by the name of Parmesan, is much celebrated, and constitutes an article of commerce. The buffalo, although tame, is of a ferocious aspect: his flesh is coarse; but his hide, though light, is exceedingly firm. This animal is supposed to be of African origin. The breed of sheep is every where neglected, and the wool is coarse and hairy. Among the wild animals may be reckoned the marmot and the ibex, inhabitants

inhabitants of the Alps and the Apennines. The same birds and reptiles are found as in most other countries of southern Europe; but among the latter class, the *lacerta orbicularis* is regarded as peculiar to Naples.

Natural curiosities.]—The natural curiosities of Italy are numerous, and as they have been so often and so accurately described it would be useless to repeat them.

Antiquities and artificial curiosities.]—It would be a still more vain attempt to describe, or even to enumerate, in this compendium, the magnificent relics of antiquity every where found in Italy, the monuments of ancient architecture and sculpture, the temples, the amphitheatres, the triumphal arches, the columns, &c. sublime memorials of former grandeur. And it would be equally impossible to find room even for a catalogue of the works of modern art, the excellent paintings, &c. which adorn the Italian churches and palaces. Rome, Naples, Florence, and some other cities, present such an assemblage of antiquities and curiosities of those kinds as cannot possibly be comprized in a work of this general nature.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

Rome.]—**ROME**, so long mistress of the world, is seated on the Tiber, at the distance of about fifteen miles from the Mediterranean Sea, and in $41^{\circ} 53'$ north latitude. It stood upon seven hills, the Palatinus, Capitolinus, Quirinalis, Cœlius, Esquilinus, Aventinus, and Viminalis. In later times were taken in three others, Collis Hortorum, so called from the adjoining gardens of Sallust,* and afterwards Pincius, from being the residence of the Pincian family; Mons Janicularis, a name of doubtful origin, and Mons Vaticanus, so denominated from the Vates or prophets, who gave here their answers. Monte Pincio appears to have been inclosed in the reign of Aurelian,† and the Mons Janicularis either at the same time or at an earlier period. There are also the Monte Testaccio, Monte Citorio, which is raised by the accumulation of rubbish, and the inconsiderable hill called Monte Celiolo, which is only a part of Mons Cœlius.

Mons Palatinus, the Palatine mount, was the original seat of infant Rome. Here Romulus built his city, in a quadrangular form: here was the mud walled palace of that first Roman king, and afterwards the imperial seat of the emperors. At present

* *Rom. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

† *Ibid. lib.*

It is covered with kitchen gardens. The Palatine mount was indeed a situation suitable to the sovereigns of the world. Its height was about 125 feet above the Via Sacra, and it commanded every part of the city, the Tiber, and the adjacent hills.* On the north it had the forum, on the east Mons Cœlius, on the south Mons Aventinus, and on the west Mons Capitolinus; and it was about 1200 paces in circuit.† Mons Capitolinus, at first called Mons Tarpeius, was annexed to the city by Tatiüs, king of the Sabines; when, after his defeat by Romulus, he and his subjects were permitted to incorporate with the Romans.‡ On this hill stood the famous capitol and the Temple of Jupiter. The Mons Quirinalis was added by Numa Pompilius.§ This hill, which is near three miles in circuit, is very lofty, and enjoys the best air in Rome.|| Mons Cœlius, of which Mons Cœliolus is only an inferior branch, was taken in by Tullus Hostilius. Before his time it was covered with oaks, from whence it was also called Querculanus. The Cœlian yields only to the Palatine mount in the extent of its prospects.¶ Mons Esquilinus was taken in by Servius Tullius, the sixth of the Roman kings, who here built a palace.** This is the highest of the seven hills: it was inhabited by the principal families in ancient Rome, and is now the site of the church of St. Maria Maggiore.†† Mons Viminalis, which derives its name from the osiers with which it was

* Martyn's Italy, p. 132.

† Fabricii Roma, cap. 3.

‡ The Tarpeian rock is now about sixty feet high. Martyn, p. 197.

§ Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2.

|| Martyn's Italy, p. 132.

¶ Ibid. p. 132.

** Livy, lib. 1. cap. 44.

†† Martyn, ubi supra.

skirted,* is a long narrow slip of land, and, as well the former, was inclosed by Servius Tullius.† Mons Aventinus, a name of uncertain derivation, was long esteemed sacred, and is supposed to have been left without the limits of the city till the reign of Claudius.‡ It is formed almost entirely of volcanic materials, and commands a most beautiful prospect.§ Mons Vaticanus, or the Vatican hill, was remarkable for the sepulchre of Scipio Africanus: it was afterwards occupied by the circus and gardens of Nero, the first emperor that persecuted the Christians. At present, it is crowned with the cathedral church of St. Peter and the papal palace.¶ The moral philosopher, who contemplates the revolutions of mundane affairs, will here find ample scope for reflection. The inhabitants of modern Rome have, in a great measure, abandoned the seven hills to convents, villas, gardens, and vineyards; and the Campus Martius is now one of the most populous quarters of the city. The hills appear less considerable than formerly, as the intervening valleys have been raised by enormous quantities of rubbish; and modern Rome stands on the ruins of the ancient city.

In another place I have made several observations on the extent, population, wealth, &c. of ancient Rome,¶ in a comparison of that celebrated capital of

* It cannot be supposed that ovens grew on the top of the hill, a dry soil being contrary to their nature.

† Dionysius Hal. lib. 4.

‡ Varro derives the name Aventinus from Avibus, as great flocks of water fowl used to resort thither from the Tiber. De Lingua Lat. lib. 13, cap. 24.

§ Martyn's Italy, p. 132.

¶ Nardini Roma, p. 457. ap. Gibbon, vol. 1, ch. 16. Donatus Roma Antiqua, lib. 3. p. 419.

¶ Letters on Ancient and Modern History, 1804.

the civilized world, with some of the principal cities of modern times. I shall, therefore, only remark, that although the circuit of ancient Rome has, by some writers, been exaggerated to the extent of fifty miles, and its population to the incredible number of 4,000,000. Mr. Gibbon has, on the authority of Ammonius the mathematician, who measured the wall of Aurelian, ascertained its circuit to have been no more than twenty-one British miles, and its form nearly circular.* The same writer has also, on probable grounds, estimated its inhabitants at 1,200,000. In the reign of Theodosius, above fifty years after the translation of the imperial residence to Constantinople, Rome contained 1780 houses of the grandees, and 46,602 plebeian habitations. From these considerations we might perhaps, without any material error, conclude that, in the age of the Antoninus, Rome must have been nearly equal to London and Paris taken together, and have contained about 1,500,000 inhabitants.† From various circumstances of Roman history, it is probable that the imperial city was never more wealthy than in the time of Augustus; but it received successive embellishments till the reign of Dioclesian. Augustus boasted that he had found Rome built of brick and left it of marble.‡ His example was followed by his ministers and generals, who vied with one another in adorning the city with elegant structures; and Agrippa left to posterity the immortal monument of the pantheon. Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian;

* Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp.

† Vopiscus asserts the circuit to have been fifty miles. Lipsius estimates the population of ancient Rome to have been 4,000,000.

‡ Sueton. in Aug. cap. 28.

and the Antonines, successively embellished the capitol. A modern reader is astonished at the magnificent descriptions of the Capitol, of which the gilding alone cost 12,000 talents.* And all accounts of the Colisæum, or amphitheatre of Titus, would seem incredible, had not that massy structure resisted, even to this day, the destroying hand of time as well as of barbarian invaders. This immense pile is of an elliptical figure, in length 564 and in breadth 467 feet, its height is 140 feet, carried up in four successive orders of architecture. The outside was incrustated with marble and decorated with statues. The marble seats covered with cushions sufficed for 34,000 spectators, and, with the upper galleries, contained the astonishing number of 80,000 persons. The Circus Maximus, used for the exhibition of public spectacles, was superbly adorned by successive emperors, and had seats for 260,000 spectators. To these might be added the Forum Trajani, and innumerable other monuments of Roman grandeur. It suffices to say, that the magnificence and luxury of Rome were never equalled in any other city of the ancient or modern world.†

Rome is now about thirteen miles in circuit, and surrounded by a single wall defended by some towers and bastions, but without any ditch. The castle of St. Angelo, once the superb mausoleum of Adrian, is the citadel of Rome, and the only place of strength in

* The Capitol was founded by Tarquinius Priscus, and finished by Tarquinius Superbus, Livy, lib. 1. For a description of its magnificence see Livy, lib. 10, 35, &c. Pliny, lib. 33. The cost of the gilding Plutarch in Poplicola, Pliny, lib. 36.

† The best preserved remains of Roman magnificence are the Colisæum, the Pantheon, the triumphal arches of Titus Severus and Constantine, with the columns of Trajan and Antoninus. All these, with innumerable others, are described by a multitude of writers.

the city. It contains the arsenal, the treasury, and the state prison; and, by means of a covered way, communicates with the Vatican, for the purpose of affording to his holiness a retreat in case of an insurrection or a sudden attack. The entrance into Rome by the Flaminian gate, or Porto del Popolo, is extremely magnificent. The traveller immediately enters a spacious area, from the farther side of which he sees the three principal streets of the city diverging. This area is flanked by two handsome churches, and the middle is decorated with a fountain and a fine Egyptian obelisk. Some of the principal streets are straight, and of a considerable length. That called the Corso, in which the horse races are held, extends above a mile, and is the most frequented, as the nobility there display their equipages, not only during the carnival, but generally in the evening, unless prevented by the weather. In this street the palaces are numerous; but, instead of being shut up within high gloomy walls, like some in London, or having courts before them like many of the great hotels at Paris, they range in a line with the other houses, and thus contribute greatly to the ornament of the city. The Strada Felice extends from Trinita de Monti above a mile to St. Maria Maggiore, and from thence near another mile to the church of St. John de Lateran; and the whole being in a direct line, the view is interrupted only by the church of St. Maria Maggiore. This street, which in a great part of its length runs along the most elevated quarter of the city, is crossed by the Strada Pia, another straight street, considerably more than a mile in length, terminated at one end by the Porta Pia, and at the other by the colossal statues of Monte Cavallo. The intersection of these

streets forms one of the most magnificent points of view of Rome.* It would be useless to enter into a description of the smaller and less regular streets; but it may in general be observed, that most parts of the city exhibit a strange mixture of magnificence and meanness, of superb churches, splendid palaces, and the finest remains of antiquity, with ill built plebeian houses, the abode of filth and poverty. Rome has a great many piazzas or squares; Martyn enumerates no fewer than eighteen. Most of these are adorned with fountains, but only in few of them the water is good. The best is that of the fountain of Trevi, the only water now brought to Rome by an ancient aqueduct. This fountain supplies all the lower parts of the city, which have, therefore, the best water and the worst air. Many parts of Rome are esteemed unhealthy in summer; and the most indigent person will not sleep on a ground floor during that season. In winter, however, the air is esteemed good for asthmatical people. Brydone thinks Rome more healthy than Naples: he says, that at Rome the summer is hotter, and the winter more cold and frosty. The winter, he observes, is more rainy at Naples but warmer. He prefers Naples as a summer residence; but his opinion of the superior salubrity of the atmosphere of Rome is contrary to that of all other travellers.† This writer, however, gives a dreadful description of the sirocco, or south east wind at Naples.

It would be in vain to attempt a description of the numerous churches. The cathedral of St. Peter is well known to be the largest and most magnificent temple ever constructed for the worship of the Deity, and perhaps the boldest and best finished piece of

* Martyn's Italy, p. 134.

† Brydone, vol. 2. p. 4, 5, 6.

architecture of the ancient or modern world. Instead of describing this stupendous structure, a task which has so often been performed, I shall, for the sake of conveying by comparison a general idea, only observe that its length in the inside is 662 and its breadth 298 feet, the length of the transept 493, and the height to the top of the cross 435 feet; being 122 feet longer, 41 feet wider, and 95 feet higher than St. Paul's at London.*

The palace of the Vatican, near to St. Peter's, is a vast irregular building, and would require a whole volume of description. Its superb ornaments were almost innumerable, and its fine paintings and statues inestimable, before the late French invasion subjected it to hostile rapine, when the finest productions of ancient and modern art, as well as the choicest books and manuscripts of the celebrated library, were carried away to Paris.

On the site of the ancient Capitol now stands the palace of the Campidoglio, inhabited by the senator of Rome. This is a work of the famous Michael Angelo Buonarroti. It is adorned with excellent paintings, and contains a noble museum. The other churches and palaces are too numerous to be mentioned. The latter line the principal streets and the squares, which owe their greatest embellishments to those vast edifices. The architecture is good only in a few of the Roman palaces; but in many, the prodigious magnitude, united to a grandeur of decoration is striking: such are the palaces of the Barberini,

* The dimensions of St. Peter's are given with variation by almost all travellers. Mr. Martyn has noticed this circumstance, and says that these measures are the most authentic that he could procure, and as he has reason to believe are very near the truth. *Tour in Italy*, p. 162.

Borghese, Bracciano, Altieri, and Colonna families. In the interior distribution, magnificence is the leading feature, and often supersedes convenience. Many of the palaces in the city and suburbs command extensive and beautiful views. The Tiber, which flows through Rome and divides the city, properly so called, from the Transtevere, or quarter of the Vatican, is about 315 feet wide, and navigable for large barks. Very little commerce, however, exists; and although there are some manufactures, they are of little importance. Cash is scarce, payments being generally made in paper; and here are several great banking houses. Rome is chiefly supported by the great number of foreigners who visit that ancient capital of the world; and, in consequence of the general prevalence of a taste for travelling, its population has, during more than a century, been gradually increasing. According to a census taken in 1760, the number of inhabitants was 155,184. Of these 2827 were secular priests, 3847 monks, 1910 nuns, 7065 students, and 52 were persons not professing the Catholic religion.* The most authentic accounts of late, state the population at 162,000.† In consequence of the removal of her finest specimens of art ‡ to the French capital, Rome will probably again decline. But besides her historical fame, enough still

* *Ann. Hist. Com.* vol. 3. p. 312. † *Boetticher Statist. Tab.*

‡ The principal of these works of art are the Apollo Belvidere, and Laocoon. These inimitable specimens of ancient art are now at Paris, and compose a part of the national collection. For an ample description of ancient Rome, Vide *Nardini Roma Ant.* and *Donat. de Roma Antiqua*. Modern Rome, with the churches, palaces, ruins, statues, paintings, &c. is described at large in a multiplicity of works written expressly on the subject.

remains

remains to attract and gratify the most ardent curiosity.

Rome contains a famous university, and a great number of other institutions for the instruction of youth. Gregory XV. founded the famous college of la Propaganda, for the education of ecclesiastics designed for the foreign missions. In this city, nothing indeed is wanted for the encouragement of learning. Public libraries abound. Many of the principal monasteries also have excellent libraries, which are easily accessible; but in Rome the belles lettres are studied more than the sciences.

No public spectacles are allowed, except during the carnival; but at that time seven or eight theatres are open, and attended with an ardour unknown in other places, where they are under no restraint. During the rest of the year, however, the frequency and pomp of religious ceremonies and processions, compensate the want of theatrical amusements. In the intervals between these religious exhibitions, the idle and the gay amuse themselves with parading in the Corso, or spend their time in conversaciones or assemblies. There is a court of inquisition in Rome; but it is little more than nominal, and its functions are seldom exercised. A stranger is perfectly at ease on the subject of religion; and there are few places where superstition is less prevalent. The Roman nobility are well educated and highly polished. The middle classes of the inhabitants are fond of the polite arts, and greatly addicted to poetry. The populace are daring and ferocious.

The immediate environs of Rome are mostly flat, and sometimes, although not frequently, subject to

* Martyn's Italy, p. 245.

stinking fogs. At a distance are many considerable hills. The surrounding country has, in general, either a volcanic or marshy appearance; but it affords some fine situations, adorned with magnificent villas. Among these may be mentioned *Frescati*, famous for being the site of Cicero's Tuscular villa, and *Tivoli*, the ancient *Tibur*, where *Zenobia*, the Palmyrian Queen, through the bounty of *Aurelian*, lived in elegant retirement. *Frescati* is twelve, and *Tivoli* eighteen miles from Rome. *Villa Adriani*, the country residence of the emperor, *Adrian*, is between *Tivoli* and Rome. Immense ruins here spread over a vast tract of ground, revive the idea of Roman magnificence.

Naples.]—*Naples*, situated on a fine bay of the sea, in $40^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude, and $14^{\circ} 17'$ longitude, east from London, is, in respect of physical circumstances, one of the most agreeable places of residence that Europe, or even the world, affords. The climate is mild and salubrious, the situation admirable, and, next to that of Constantinople, the finest in Europe: the city populous and gay: the environs beautiful and interesting. One of its greatest beauties is the *Chiaja*, a charming walk above a mile in length, running along the sea shore, with the bay full in view, the island of *Capri* in front, on the right the coast of *Pausilippo*, and on the left *Vesuvius*, with *Portici* and its environs. The quarter of *St. Lucia* is the most elegant part of the city; and for the beauty and wholesomeness of its situation, is the favorite residence of the nobility and foreign ambassadors. The principal street, called *Strada di Toledo*, runs almost three quarters of a mile in a direct line, and is wide and well

* Professor *Link* esteems the situation of *Lisbon* the finest in Europe. See description of Portugal.

built,

built. In the heart of the city the streets are narrow, and the houses generally five or six stories high. The squares, or rather areas, are small and irregular. The style of architecture at Naples is bad. Among 300 churches or upwards, not one has any claim to elegance; but they endeavour to make amends for that defect by the abundance and costliness of interior decoration, with a profusion of gilding and painting. The cathedral of St. Genaro is a large structure; and the chapel, where the blood of the saint is preserved, is splendidly decorated. Many other churches might be mentioned, which display a costly profusion of ornament. The palaces are in the same bad style as the churches, many of them are large; but, with very few exceptions, they are devoid of architectural elegance. Naples is far inferior to Rome in magnificent edifices, but the city is more equally built, and hovels are seldom seen by the side of palaces. Here are forty hospitals, and several theatres. The great theatre of St. Carlos, adjoining to the royal palace, is spacious and elegant: the stage is of an immense size; the scenes, dresses, and decorations, are magnificent. Naples is about nine miles in compass. The walls now serve for no purpose of defence. Next to the sea are two castles with some batteries and bastions; but these fortifications could make little defence against a naval armament. The castle of St. Elmo commands Naples in every direction; but it is calculated to over-awe the city, rather than to defend it against an hostile attack. From this castle, and the immensely rich Carthusian monastery, seated on the same eminence,* there is a

* From this commanding summit, the view comprises a circle, of which the radius is scarcely less than ninety miles; and this vast extent of prospect is filled with the most picturesque objects, and the most striking contrasts. Monthly Mag. March, 1806.

magnificent

magnificent prospect of the city, the bay, and the surrounding country. The bay is near thirty miles in diameter, and almost circular, being in a great measure shut out from the Mediterranean by the isle of Caprea, and sheltered by mountains and woods, which encompass almost three-fourths of its circuit. The trade of Naples is much less considerable than might be expected from the excellence of its situation, and the fertility of the country; a circumstance which proceeds from the indolence of the inhabitants, and their want of application to commercial affairs. There are, however, several manufactures of silk, velvets, handkerchiefs, &c. The Neapolitans also make liqueurs, and various articles of confectionary, with abundance of excellent maccaroni; and their soap is much esteemed. There is also a manufactory of tortoise-shell, which they inlay curiously with gold for snuff-boxes, and a variety of other articles, as also of polished marbles and lava. These manufactures, with their wines, oil, fruit, &c. constitute their exports.

It is one of the characteristic features of Naples, that in proportion to the population, fewer of the inhabitants contribute, by productive labour, to the wealth of the community than in any other city of Europe. The number of nobility, ecclesiastics, lawyers, musicians, domestics, and lazaroni, is incredible. The nobility are numerous, but poor. Many of them have high titles, and small estates. About 100 of them have the title of Prince, and a greater number that of Duke. Their attachment to splendor and show is seen in the richness of their dress, the brilliancy of their equipages, and the number of their attendants. One of their principal amusements consists in displaying this grandeur on the Chiaja, where they make a gay
and

and splendid appearance. The religious being computed at 10,000, which is not a thirtieth part of the population, does not amount to the proportion of those of Rome, who, with the nuns, constituted in 1760 about one-twentieth. Provisions are at Naples exceedingly plentiful and cheap; and the wants of nature being easily supplied, the common people work very little. The number of Lazaroni, a class of people peculiar to this city, is computed at about 40,000. These people have neither house nor property. They generally sleep in the street; but in the rainy season, they resort in crowds to the caves under Capo di Monte. Persons of a middle rank pass much of their time in coffee-houses or other places of public resort; and few pursue their respective callings with any great degree of assiduity. Amidst all this idleness, however, fewer disorders and outrages take place than might be supposed; a circumstance which, in a great measure, is owing to the sobriety of the people. The greatest luxury of Naples is iced water. The crown grants a monopoly of this indispensable article to a company of traders, who are obliged to furnish the city at a certain price, which is generally about three-farthings per load. It is all brought from the mountains, about eighteen miles distant, where it is constantly preserved in deep reservoirs. That furious jealousy for which the nation was formerly noted, seems now to be almost eradicated, both here and in the other parts of Italy. Cicisbeism and gallantry are universally prevalent.

Naples has an university and several public libraries; but learning is not very much cultivated, and education has hitherto been greatly neglected. The government, however, has lately bestowed great pains and expence

expeuce in establishing public seminaries. The academy of science and belles lettres has made considerable efforts for the advancement of learning; and the fashion of visiting foreign countries has begun to prevail among the nobility. All these circumstances must contribute to a gradual improvement. What effects the French conquest may produce on the national taste cannot yet be ascertained.

Naples, notwithstanding the mediocrity of its commerce and its want of industry has, in the two last centuries, rapidly increased in population; and many of the streets are more crowded even than those of London and Paris. The number of its inhabitants was, towards the end of the sixteenth century, estimated at about 160,000; and it was supposed to have been doubled within the thirty years preceding.* At present the population is computed at 380,000. Naples is therefore the fourth city of Europe in respect of population; being inferior only to London, Paris, and Constantinople. The environs of Naples are peculiarly delightful and interesting. To attempt a description would require a large volume. The fertility of the country, the beautiful landscapes formed by the city, the bay, Vesuvius, Portici, &c. together with the subterraneous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, buried under the ashes of Vesuvius in the great eruption, A.D. 79, and discovered in the last century, form an assemblage of objects highly interesting to the naturalist, the classical scholar, and the antiquary.

Florence.]—Florence, once the capital of the Tuscan or Etrurian kingdom, is situated on the river Arno, which is about 140 yards wide, and navigable for small vessels. In summer, however, this river often wants

* Bovesio, book 1.

water;

water; and in winter it frequently overflows its banks. The city is seated in a kind of basin, surrounded by charming hills, well cultivated and adorned with villas. The autumn here is wet, and the winter unhealthful, on account of the frequent changes of the wind, which often blows from the south or south-east and the north on the same day, and causes inflammations of the breast and lungs. In summer, the air is esteemed extremely salubrious. The city is about six miles in circuit; the streets are narrow and crooked, but clean and well paved with large flag-stones. It contains 150 churches, many of which are fine, but none of them magnificent. The chapel of the Medici, in the church of San Lorenzo, is an octagon richly incrustated with jasper, lapis lazuli, Oriental agate, chalcedony, and a variety of other precious materials. The church of Santa Cruz contains the mausoleum of the immortal Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, great in architecture, sculpture, and painting, and that of the illustrious and injured Gallileo. The formerly ducal and royal palaces, have long been remarkable for their excellent pictures, mosaics, and other ornaments. And the famous gallery, that grand repository of antique statues and invaluable paintings, was the grand object of attention to every traveller that visited Florence. This city, however, as well as Rome, has been pillaged of its principal ornaments. The celebrated Venus de Medici, with many other chef-d'œuvres of art, are now removed to Paris. Florence contains many elegant palaces of the nobility, richly adorned with sculpture and paintings, and many of them have excellent libraries. There are several theatres, and other places of public amusement. The city is always gay, but appears in its greatest brilliancy at the horse-races,

which are held in the month of June. The course is two miles, and the horses, as is usual in Italy, run without riders.

The manufactures of Florence consist chiefly of silks and satins, which are excellent. The Florentines are also famous for their mosaic work. The woollen manufacture, once the great source of their commerce and wealth, is now inconsiderable. The population is computed at about 70,000.

The environs of Florence are delightful. The eminences surrounding the city display numerous villas. The country is fertile in vineyards, and the wine is excellent.*

Milan.]—Milan, the capital of the Italian kingdom, is situated between the rivers Tesin and Adda, in the middle of the extensive and fertile plain of Lombardy. It is near seven miles in circuit; but, like Rome, it has many large gardens within the walls, and lately contained an astonishing number of churches, monasteries, seminaries, chapels, colleges, schools, &c. Since the late political revolution, however, many of these, especially the monasteries, are undoubtedly abolished. The buildings are, in general, mean. The palaces are large, for the most part built of brick, and stuccoed; but in a very bad style of architecture; and the squares make a poor appearance. The principal church is the famous duomo or cathedral, next to St. Peter's the largest in Italy, and about the same size as St. Paul's at London. This church is not, as is said in a modern geographical work, built of solid marble,† but of brick, and incrusted with marble both within and without. It is a Gothic structure of a singular kind, with a Grecian front. The outside is loaded with a

* Martyn's Italy, ch. 9.

† Walker's Gazetteer, Art. Milan.

profusion of sculpture. Within and without are no less than 4,400 statues, of which 200 are larger than life.* The roof is exquisitely wrought and supported by 160 vast columns of white marble; but the outside of this stupendous fabric is not finished. The body of St. Carlo Borromeo reposes here, in a case of chryseal set in silver gilt. From the tower of this church there is a very extensive view of the vast plain of Lombardy and of the Alps. The archducal, archiepiscopal, and several other palaces, as well as many churches, contain good paintings, but inferior in number, and mostly in excellence, to those formerly seen at Rome, Florence, and Venice. Here is a noble hospital, and several other excellent public buildings and institutions founded by opulent citizens. But the Ambrosian library, founded by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, and nephew of St. Charles, is perhaps the noblest establishment ever planned and executed in favour of the sciences by any individual since the revival of learning. It consists of nearly 40,000 printed books, besides 14,000 or 15,000 volumes of manuscripts; and is every day open to the public.† There is also a cabinet of natural history and antiquities. Milan has an university with a botanical garden. The great theatre is magnificent, and sufficiently large to contain 4,000 people.

This city has important manufactures of cloth, silk, linen, stockings, gloves, gold and silver lace, embroidery, glass, &c. as also a considerable trade in jewelry. The canals cut from the city to the Tesin and the Adda, both which rivers fall into the Po, afford to Milan the advantages of an extensive inland navigation; and the inhabitants have a considerable

* Martyn's Italy, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 75.

carrying trade, both by land and by water, between Italy, France, Switzerland, and Germany. The population of Milan is about 140,000, being somewhat less than it was estimated two centuries ago. The people are well informed and polite. As little superstition and prejudice is seen here as in any part of the world; and society is extremely agreeable.

The environs of Milan are quite flat, but adorned with beautiful villas, and famed for their exuberant fertility. There are five crops of hay in a season, in the neighbourhood of the city, and in the province of Lodi, where, by means of their canals, the meadows are watered 'once a week, when it is found necessary.

Venice.—Venice, once the seat of a republic, great both in commerce and arms, but now swallowed up in the kingdom of Italy, is remarkable for the singularity of its situation, being built on numerous islands, in the midst of a lake of shallow water, called the Lacunes, near the head of the Adriatic, in latitude $45^{\circ}, 25'$ north, and $12^{\circ}, 4'$ longitude east from London.* This lake is a sort of small inner bay, separated from the greater gulph by several islands, which break the force of the storms from the sea. The city stands in the middle, being about five miles from the continent, and nearly at the same distance from the main sea of the Adriatic. The number of islands, on which Venice is built, is commonly reckoned at seventy-two. But the main city is surrounded with a multitude of small islands, many of which were lately occupied by convents. The limits, therefore, of the city being not easily ascertained, travellers and writers frequently differ in regard to its

* Hamilton Moore's Tables.

extent, and the number of islands on which it stands. They reckon, however, about 400 canals, forming an intricate labyrinth of communication throughout the city, and a still greater number of bridges. But many of the canals are narrow, and many of the bridges consist of only a single arch. The grand canal is about 100 paces wide, and running in the form of an S divides the city into two nearly equal parts. Over this canal, and almost in the centre of the city, is the famous bridge of Rialto, consisting of one arch eighty-nine feet wide. The beauty of this bridge is greatly impaired by two rows of shops built upon it; although it affords the finest point of view in Venice. The buildings, the paintings, the amusements, and the opulence of Venice are all interesting objects. The celebrated cathedral, or patriarchal church of St. Marc, is a large and gloomy structure. The architecture is of a mixed kind, mostly Gothic, with a number of Grecian columns of various sorts of marble; and the whole is crowned with five domes. In the front are five brazen gates, ornamented with historical basso relievos. The quadrangular tower is 300 feet high, and commands an extensive prospect over the city, the Lagunes, part of the adjacent continent, and of the Adriatic. Several of the churches are of elegant architecture, and most of them rich in pictures. The high reputation of the Venetian schools of architecture and painting is universally known. The palaces of Venice are generally in an elegant style. The rooms are hung with velvet or damask, laced, or fringed with gold, or else painted fresco, with floors of plaster, coloured in imitation of marble. In many of them are seen several good paintings, but no such collections as at Rome and Genoa. Venice,

however, has, like the other Italian cities, been pillaged of her most valuable chef d'œuvres of art, and been obliged to contribute to the embellishment of the French capital. The arsenal occupies an island about three miles in circuit. Here are docks for the gallies and ships of war, and repositories for warlike stores, with founderies for casting cannon and anchors, and every convenience for making sails, cables, &c.

From the situation of Venice, it may be easily conceived that there can be no streets of any great regularity and extent, nor any use for carriages. The gondolas, or long narrow boats, with a room in the middle, six feet by four, and calculated for eight persons to sit, answer the same purpose as the hackney coaches at London, and the fiacres at Paris, and like these have their regular stands. The regatta or races of gondolas, on the grand canal, are a favourite amusement of the Venetians. On some of these occasions the concourse of barges, boats, and gondolas, with bands of music, make a brilliant and animated appearance. Among the diversions of this celebrated city every one has heard of those of the carnival, which here, as in every part of Italy, is kept with unbounded festivity. Venice has no less than seven theatres, which are all open during that joyous season. The Piazza di St. Marc, the only open area where any considerable number of people can assemble, is the Vauxhall of Venice. Music is greatly cultivated in this city. Besides the public places, wealthy persons have their cassinos, where both sexes meet and amuse themselves with conversation or cards.

The once famous commerce of Venice is now greatly declined, and become inconsiderable in comparison of its former importance. The causes of this decline

decline are discovered in the history of that republic. At present this city can boast of excellent manufactures of velvet and silk stockings. One of the principal manufactures is that of glass. The liqueurs made here are in high estimation. Printing and jewelry are also considerable branches of trade. But the opulence of Venice is the fruit of her former rather than of her present commerce. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 150,000. But, together with trade, population has undoubtedly declined.* Had Venice been preserved by Austria, it might have compensated the loss of her other Italian provinces; but that city is a valuable acquisition to the kingdom of Italy.

Genoa.—Genoa is situated on the declivity of a mountain, in the form of a semicircle, embracing the harbour. The city is about six miles in circuit and surrounded with a double wall. One of these walls immediately encompasses the city, the other takes in the eminences by which it is commanded. At about a quarter of a league out at sea, Genoa, rising from the harbour like an amphitheatre, makes a superb appearance. It is remarked for the beauty of its situation and the magnificence of its buildings; but it has no large squares; and the streets, although admirably well paved and clean, are so narrow that the fine palaces cannot be seen to advantage. Even the two principal streets, Strade Balbi and Strade Nuova are extremely narrow; the latter is only twelve paces broad. Some of the churches are richly ornamented. The cathedral, dedicated to St. Lawrence, is a gloomy Gothic structure, but contains in its

* From the bills of mortality for 1759, Mr. Anderson computes the population at 205,560. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 313.

treasury, the famous dish which is said to be of emerald, and is fourteen inches and a half in diameter. It was part of the rich booty found at Cæsarea, in Palestine, when that city was taken by the croisaders; and at the distribution of the treasure among the allied powers, the Genoese were contented with this single piece for their share. The palaces of the nobility at Genoa are numerous, and universally celebrated for their magnificence; but few of them are in a good style of architecture. The Palazza Doria, begun by the celebrated Andrea Doria, is the largest, and has its principal front towards the harbour. Almost all the Genoese palaces contain vast collections of excellent paintings.

The harbour of Genoa is spacious, being about 750 yards wide at the entrance, and ships of war of eighty guns can ride in it before the new mole. There is a smaller harbour for merchant vessels, and a wet dock for gallies. The trade of Genoa, like that of her great rival Venice, has exceedingly declined. A great quantity of goods, however, is brought hither by foreign vessels; and the city has a commercial appearance, the streets being crowded and the shops well furnished. The Genoese have very considerable manufactures of rich silks, brocades, velvets, stockings, gloves, artificial flowers, gold filagree, &c. They also build ships for sale and dispose of them to foreigners. The markets of Genoa are supplied with excellent provisions; but every thing is dear; and the poorest sort of the people fare hardly, chesnuts, dried fish, and cheese being the principal part of their food. The wine made in the neighbourhood is of an indifferent quality, and wood for fuel is scarce and dear.

In regard to the state of society in Genoa, little can be said in its favour. The nobility have scarcely any tincture of literature. Although generally educated in Tuscany scarcely any of them speak pure Italian. In their families they are said to live very frugally, and as they always appear in black, they are at little expence in the article of dress. Their opulence is chiefly displayed in the magnificence of their palaces and their valuable collections of pictures. Some of them have five or six palaces: others, much to their honour, have expended immense sums in works of public utility or ornament. During the carnival there are operas and plays; but at other times Genoa affords as few resources to the idle and dissipated as to the man of letters. The people are hardy, brave, and laborious. In regard to the industry of the lower order, Genoa affords a striking contrast to Naples. In contemplating the magnificence and wealth of Venice and Genoa, the judicious observer will discover the great effects of a flourishing commerce. Although the trade of these two celebrated cities be sunk so far below its former importance, it must, however, be remembered, that the riches and splendor which they now exhibit, were acquired by the commercial enterprizes of former generations. The environs of Genoa are beautiful and romantic, and adorned with numerous villas of the nobility and wealthy citizens. The other Italian cities of inferior note, are too numerous to be mentioned in a work of general geography.

Edifices.]—The principal edifices in Italy being in the great cities already described, or in their environs, most of them are included in this general sketch. Few of the great cities, however, of this extensive country, are without some church or palace remarkable

able for its magnificence, or its costly decorations. It is, however, to be remembered, that many of the Italian churches, have been stripped of their most valuable ornaments by the late invasion.

Islands.—Adjacent to the coast of Italy are numerous islands, of which several are remarkable for their classical fame, or their natural curiosities, but of too little modern importance to merit in this place a particular description. Capri, at the entrance of the Gulph of Naples, the ancient Caprea, is famous for having been many years the residence of Tiberius, and the scene of his effeminate pleasures. The isles of Lipari contain many natural curiosities, and Elba, the ancient *Stva*, about nine miles in length and three in breadth, has, from early antiquity, been remarkable for its mines of excellent iron and other metallic productions. The island of Malta, supposed to be the ancient Melita where Paul was shipwrecked, is an object of greater importance. Its circumference does not exceed fifty British miles, but its population is computed at 60,000, and that of the neighbouring island of Gorea at about 3000. The ancient fame and distinguished valour of its knights, so eminently displayed in Palestine and the isle of Rhodes, and particularly in the famous siege of Valetta, the principal, or indeed the only city of Malta, when that small body of men, with little other assistance, withstood the formidable force of the Ottoman empire, gives to Malta a celebrated name in history, and existing circumstances demonstrate its modern importance; but it has been so recently and so well described, that the theme would here be trivial. Sardinia is an island of great extent, being not less than about 150 miles in length from north to south,
and

and 80 or 90 in breadth from east to west, and constituting a kingdom.* The soil in many parts is said to be fertile, but in consequence of the absence of all the great proprietors of lands, who, previously to the late revolutions, have constantly resided in Piedmont, and left the peasantry under the oppression of rapacious stewards, agriculture has been extremely neglected.† Sardinia contains several mountainous tracts, and the whole country may be regarded as a waste, of which only some particular spots exhibit marks of cultivation. The air is rendered very unhealthy by the numerous morasses, and the Romans esteemed this island so disagreeable a residence, that it was often used as a place of banishment for state prisoners. The cattle and sheep are small, the breeds having been neglected. The whole population of Sardinia is computed at about 450,000. Cagliari on a bay of the sea, on the east side of the island, is the principal city.‡

Sicily, of late an important part of the Neapolitan monarchy, claims at this time particular attention. It is separated from Italy by a narrow straight called the Faro di Messina, and lies in a triangular form. The country is exceedingly fertile, not only in wine, oil, silk, and fruits, but also in corn and cattle. This island once shared with Egypt the honour of being one of the granaries of ancient Rome, and of late exported a considerable quantity to Naples. Its produc-

* Ferber's Italy, p. 293.—Mr. Jackson gives a horrid description of the barbarism and ferocity of the Sardinians. He represents the country as mostly thieves and murderers. *Comm. Mediterra.* p. 99.

† Young, p. 11.

‡ No stranger can travel into the interior of Sardinia, without being well armed and accompanied with guards. Jackson *ubi supra*.

tions, however, would be much more abundant if greater attention were paid to agriculture. The natural curiosities of Sicily are numerous. Mount Etna has been famous from the remotest antiquity for its tremendous volcano, and has furnished poetry with grand allusions. This enormous mountain occupies a considerable portion of the interior of the island, the circuit of its base being not less than 180 miles. It is surrounded by a mass of smaller mountains, covered with vast forests of oaks, chesnut, beeches, firs, &c. Many of the chesnut trees of this middle region, are of an enormous size, one in particular, which has been found to measure 204 feet in circumference, exhibits a singular phenomenon of vegetation.* Above these forests is the region of perpetual snow surrounding the crater, which is of an oval form, above three miles in circuit, enclosed by vast fragments of lava, and various volcanic matter. The inner sides are incrustated with orange coloured concretions, and slope in various declinations. The bottom is a plain, nearly horizontal, about two thirds of a mile in circuit, with a large circular aperture, from which issues a column of white smoke. At the bottom of this aperture is seen a liquid fiery matter, resembling melted metal in a state of ebullition.† From the height of the mountain, and the depth of the crater, the eruptions, instead of attaining the

* Brydone says, that the belt of forests surrounding Mount Etna is about nine miles broad, and the snowy region about eight miles broad. *Trav. Letters*, 9 and 10.

† For the most accurate description of Etna any where extant, vide Spalsummi, vol. 1, and Brydone. The latter says, that from the summit of Etna, there is a stupendously extensive prospect, of which the horizon is not less than two thousand miles. *Travels in Sicily*, vol. 1, letter 10—13^d, &c.

summit, often burst out at the sides, and the streams of lava have sometimes been so copious as to extend thirty miles in length. The greatest physical disadvantage of Sicily, is the dreadful effects of this volcano, and the tremendous earthquakes to which the island, as well as the opposite province of Calabria, is subject. In 1693, the city of Catania, near to Mount Etna, which about twenty-four years before had greatly suffered by many dreadful shocks, was totally destroyed, and about 18,000 persons were buried in the ruins. Since that time, however, it has been rebuilt, possesses an university, and contains about 26,000 inhabitants. The destructive earthquake of 1783, is still fresh in remembrance. According to the returns made to government, 32,367 persons lost their lives by this dreadful visitation; and Sir W. Hamilton, on very probable grounds, supposes the number to have been considerably greater. The large, populous, and commercial city of Messina, which contained a great number of magnificent buildings, was almost destroyed, but not above 700 persons are said to have perished. Palermo, the capital of Sicily, and the present residence of the court, is situated on the coast in the Val di Mazara, a beautiful plain, environed on the land side by a semicircular range of high and rocky mountains, forming a kind of amphitheatre. This plain is luxuriantly fertile, and between the city and the mountains are numerous gardens, filled with fruit trees of various kinds, and watered by charming rivulets winding in every direction. The magnificence of the city corresponds with the beauty of its situation.* The two principal streets intersect each other in the centre of the city, where

* Brydons, vol. 2, letter 22.

they form a beautiful square, adorned with elegant and uniform buildings. From the centre of this square is seen the whole length of these superb streets, as well as the four gates of the city by which they are terminated. Few cities can boast so fine a point of view. Palermo being about a mile across every way, each of these gates is half a mile from the central square. They are elegant pieces of architecture and richly adorned. One of them called the Porta Felice, opens to the Marino, a charming walk, having on one side the wall of the city, on the other the sea, from whence there is always an agreeable breeze. In the centre of the walk is a kind of temple, which in summer is used as an orchestra. There are upwards of 300 churches in Palermo, and many of them are magnificent and richly ornamented. The cathedral is a large gothic structure, supported within by eighty columns of Oriental granite, and replete with costly decorations. In this church are the monuments of many of the Norman kings of Sicily, who are here interred. The city is crowded with statues of sovereigns and saints, placed in small courts and squares, but not remarkable for excellence of workmanship or taste. Palermo is well lighted with reflecting lamps, a convenience of which all the cities of Italy, even Rome itself, is destitute. The trade of this capital of Sicily is considerable, but the harbour is unsafe, being exposed to the swell of the sea, and the violence of the winds. The manners of Palermo are polished, and society is here agreeable. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 100,000. The whole population of Sicily may be 1,000,000.

Sicily has been famous from the early ages of Grecian antiquity. The Phœnicians were probably the

first settlers on the island; but Grecian colonies afterwards occupied most of the coasts. The Sicilian history, as a distinct narrative, is sufficiently entertaining; but its scenes are too confined to be interesting in a general view of nations. At an early period, its state was exceedingly flourishing. Ancient historians celebrate the power and splendor of some of its kings, particularly of Dionysius the Elder and of the tyrant Agathocles, the latter of whom, from the lowest extraction, rose to the sovereignty, and by his formidable arms endangered the very existence of Carthage.* Their accounts of the magnificence, the riches and population of Syracuse, when governed by its native princes, cannot but astonish a modern reader. The Carthaginians long coveted and at last obtained possession of the greatest part of this fertile island.† It became afterwards the subject of a furious contest between them and the Romans; and, as the Carthaginian power began to decline, it fell under the dominion of Rome. After the fall of the Roman empire, Sicily, as well as the south of Italy, became a bone of contention between the Greek emperors and the Saracens, and at last fell under the dominion of the latter. In the 11th century, a band of Norman adventurers, under Tancred and Robert Guiscard, expelled the Greeks from Naples and the Saracens from Sicily.‡ The provinces on the continent were for some time divided into different Norman principalities, and this fine island was a separate kingdom.

* Justin, lib. 20, 22 and 23.

† For the affairs of the Carthaginians in Sicily, see Justin *ubi supra* and Plutarch in Timoleon.

‡ Roger I. son of Robert Guiscard, was the first king of Naples and Sicily. Machiavel Hist. Florence, lib. 1

In the reign of Roger II. the Norman kingdom of Sicily was exceedingly powerful. This prince distinguished himself in the croisades; and, in returning from Palestine, he conquered from the Greek empire Athens, Corinth, and Thebes. He also expelled the Greeks from their remaining possessions in Italy, seized on the isles of Corfu and Negropont, and with his numerous war gallies appeared even before Constantinople, but was driven back by the fleet of Venice, then in alliance with the Byzantine emperor. Roger also defeated a Saracen fleet, took the town of Tripoli in Africa, and rendered Tunis tributary. These conquests, indeed, were not permanent. But this prince made a more important acquisition.

Although the art of breeding silk worms and manufacturing silk had, in the reign of Justinian, been introduced from the remotest parts of Asia into the Eastern empire, it had been for the space of six centuries confined to the countries of Asia Minor and Greece. The barbarism of Europe had hitherto been hostile to the extension of commerce, and the introduction of curious manufactures. In the western countries, silk was worn only by princes and grandees, and purchased at an extravagant price at Constantinople and other ports of the Byzantine and the Saracen empire. But the Sicilian king having, about the year 1130, made these conquests in Greece, brought away numbers of persons well skilled in every thing relative to the production and manufacture of this valuable article, and his subjects were by these means instructed in the art both of breeding the worms and of working the silk. In a short time, the silk manufactures of Palermo equalled or even excelled those of Greece, and proved a vast source of commerce
and

and wealth.* From Sicily, they were progressively introduced into Italy, Spain, and France.†

On the failure of the male line of the Norman kings, A.D. 1190, the succession devolved on the Emperor Henry IV. in right of his wife Constantia. This prince subdued the Sicilians, on whom he exercised the most horrible cruelties.‡ After various revolutions and wars, chiefly the effect of contested succession, determined by arms and followed by tyranny, Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of St. Louis king of France, established himself on the throne of Naples and Sicily in the year 1268, and held it as a vassal of the Holy See. The boundless ambition of this prince excited the jealousy of all the neighbouring powers, and the severity of his government rendered him odious to his new subjects, while the debauchery and insolence of the French troops, gave the Sicilians an irreconcilable aversion against that nation. The consequences were fatal. Historians disagree in regard to the formation of the plot; but it is certain that a general massacre of the French, attended with every circumstance of cruelty that popular indignation and fury could produce, took place throughout the island.§ This bloody execution is distinguished by the name of the Sicilian Vespers; because it began exactly about the time when the bells were ringing for vespers on Easter Sunday, 1268. Such are the profanations and horrors to

* Thuanus places this important commercial event about two centuries later. But Meserai, Anderson, and most writers, ascribe it to the period above-mentioned. Vide Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 148.

† See France Hist. chap. ‡ Heiss. *Annal. de l'Emp.* vol. 2.

§ Henault ascribes it wholly to the king of Arragon. *Abrege Chron. Anno 1268.*

which the tyranny of rulers and the turbulence of subjects have sometimes given rise, among those who bear the name of the Prince of Peace and pretend to be his disciples.

Peter, king of Arragon, supported the Sicilians, and claimed their crown in right of his wife.* They received him with open arms. He was crowned at Palermo; and Charles was obliged to abandon the island. The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were now separated. The family of Anjou continued in possession of the former; and Peter of Arragon made James, his second son, king of Sicily; who, on the death of his elder brother Alphonso, ascended the throne of Arragon. About the year 1382, a civil war taking place among the princes of the house of Anjou, Joan, Queen of Naples, not less remarkable for her misfortunes than infamous for her crimes, was put to death by her cousin Charles, surnamed the Peaceable. Louis of Anjou, second son of John king of France, whom she had invited to undertake her defence and succeed to the crown, perished in the expedition.† Naples became a scene of continual revolutions; one branch of the house of Anjou possessing and the other pretending to the crown, and neither of them able to support themselves against the kings of Arragon. The expedition of Charles VIII. of France, his conquest of Naples, and his almost immediate expulsion, have already been mentioned. Amidst these incessant revolutions, Naples at one period had five kings in the space of three years.‡

* For the claims of the families of Anjou and Arragon. Vide Henault *Ab. Chron.* 1 An. 1255, &c.

† Henault *Ab. Chron.* An. 1382—1384.

‡ *Ibid.* An. 1495, 1496, 1497.

After long wars, and a number of treaties no sooner concluded than broken, the Spanish general Gonsalvo, surnamed the Great Captain, finally reduced the whole kingdom under the power of Ferdinand, the Catholic king of Arragon, A.D. 1503; and, in consequence of the succession of Charles V. it became an appendage to the Spanish house of Austria. By the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Naples was ceded to Austria, and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king. Sicily was, in 1719, exchanged with the Emperor for Sardinia, to which the regal title was also annexed. And, in 1735, after a short but active war between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, the former was stripped of this so often contested kingdom. Don Carlos, son of Philip V. king of Spain, was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; and that branch of the Bourbon family had remained in peaceable possession of the crown till the late invasion by the French under Joseph Buonaparte.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society—Arts and Sciences—
Literature and Commerce.

OF all the countries of Europe, or even of the whole globe; Italy is that which affords the most copious materials for history. Rome, twice mistress of the world, first by her temporal and afterwards by her spiritual arms, has ever afforded an ample theme to the historian, and attracted the attention of the politician, the warrior, and the philosopher. Amidst so immense a retrospect of events so numerous, so complicated, and so important, as those which compose the annals of Italy during a long series of ages, nothing can be expected in this compendium, but a general sketch of the progress of society, and the great outlines of those signal revolutions which have decided the destiny or materially affected the state of that country.

The primæval history of Italy, like that of all other countries, is veiled with impenetrable obscurity. The origin of its first inhabitants, or from what country they emigrated, is unknown. From its vicinity to Greece, it is most probable that Italy was peopled from that country. The Romans pretended a fabulous origin from Troy; but it is evident, that their ancestors were nothing more than a mixed herd of banditti from various Italian tribes; and the Trojan descent of Romulus and Remus, their leaders, is too romantic.

romantic to be admitted within the limits of historical credibility.

The first important event of Italian history of which we have any account, is the founding of Rome by Romulus, in the reign of Jotham king of Judah, A.A.C. 745, about 161 years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, according to the generally received system of chronology.* The infant city of Rome, the destined mistress of the world, was built on the Palatine mount, near the banks of the Tiber, fifteen miles from the mouth of that river; and contained about 1000 houses, or rather huts, built of mud and covered with reeds. The palace of the Roman king was of the same materials. The number of its inhabitants able to bear arms was about 3000, consisting of banditti of every description; and, in order to increase the number of its citizens, Romulus made it an asylum for fugitives, outlaws and malefactors, who resorted thither from various parts of the neighbouring country. There is something gratifying to philosophical curiosity in looking back to the origin of those cities and states which have risen to opulence and power, and which make a distinguished figure in history. Such retrospects exhibit, in a point of view equally luminous and pleasing, the progress of society, and the improvement of human circumstances. It is impossible to conceive a more despicable beginning than that of Rome, which afterwards became the centre of wealth and magnificence, and the seat of the most powerful empire that the world has ever seen. The inhabitants of Italy, at the period when Rome was

* Some place the building of Rome 752, A.A.C. Authors disagree on this as on other points of chronology.

founded, were in a state of very imperfect civilization; such indeed as we should at this day denominate barbarism; but they were certainly far above the rank of savages. There had long been colonies of Greeks settled on the coast. At that period, the Greeks themselves, however, were little better than barbarians. Whether Romulus or any of his associates were acquainted with letters, is a circumstance wholly unknown; but from the prudent regulations established in infant Rome, if credit may be given to Livy and Plutarch, it is evident that its founder, whatever was his birth and education, had seen something of civilized life, and had tolerable ideas of the nature of government.* In those savage citizens, a steady and prudent conduct was not less conspicuous than a warlike and enterprising genius. The primitive Romans being a collection of lawless banditti of the male sex, the seizure of the Sabine virgins at a public festival, a measure equally bold and politic, supplied them with wives for perpetuating their posterity and their power. The war, to which this act of violence gave rise, between the Romans and the Sabines their neighbours, ended in their incorporation, and both became one united people. Other tribes were successively subdued and incorporated with the conquerors. The population of the city was increased by these means, as well as by the constant accession of the Italian banditti; and the Roman territory, which at the first was not more than eight miles across, was, before the death of Romulus, somewhat extended. During the reign of this first Roman king, the senate was formed, a political and civil constitution was established, and various regulations suitable to an in-

* Liv. lib. 1. Plutarch in Vita Romuli.

fant state were adopted. Numa Pompilius his successor, and second king of Rome, was of the Sabine branch; a man of learning and a philosopher, a proof that letters were not at that period unknown in Italy. This prince, equally pacific and prudent, undertook the laudable task of civilizing his ferocious subjects. For this purpose he made use of all the resources of policy, and of the power of superstition over ignorant minds. In order to restrain their turbulence, and to inspire them with a love of peace and civil order, he pretended to have interviews with the goddess Egeria, and to receive from her the laws which he imposed on the people.* During his long and peaceful reign, he regulated with minute exactness the civil and religious institutions of the Romans, and may be considered as the author of their religion and laws.

According to the Roman historians, seven kings reigned in Rome for the space of 245 years, a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in the annals of royalty.† Absolute monarchy appears to have been unknown in Rome: both the senate and the people had a share in the government. On the expulsion of Lucius Tarquinus, the last of those kings, in consequence of the rape committed by Collatinus his son on Lucretia, a Roman lady, as well as for various other acts of despotism and oppression, the Romans established a republican government 245 years after the foundation of their city, and 508 before the Christian era. During the monarchical government, the Roman territory had acquired no considerable extent, and included only a small tract of country surrounding

* Plutarch in Numa.

† According to Euseb. Chron. 245 years.

their mud built city.* From the establishment of the republic, a period of about 178 years elapsed before the dominions of Rome extended much beyond the limits of the present Campania. And it was not until about 262 years before the Christian æra, 248 after the expulsion of their kings, and about 486 years after the building of Rome, that the Romans first carried their arms beyond the confines of Italy. So slowly did this famous people proceed in the first steps towards the establishment of their extensive empire.

If this historical sketch admitted the detail of particular facts, it would be insensibly drawn out into endless prolixity. Numerous volumes of Roman history have already been compiled by able writers, and perused by every reader. It would far exceed the limits of this compendium, to relate the long series of wars and conquests by which Rome attained to the acmé of her greatness. In general terms, it suffices to remark, that twice she was brought to the verge of ruin; once by the irruption of the Gauls under Brennus, about A.U.C. 389, when the city was destroyed, the senators massacred, and the capitol alone withstood the assaults of the invaders; † and the second time, when Hannibal approached its walls after the battle of Cannæ. The contest between the two rival republics of Rome and Carthage, is one of the most important and obstinate that history records. It was decided in the three successive Punic wars; the first of which was in its beginning disadvantageous to the Romans, but terminated to their advantage: the

* According to Anderson, the Roman territory, at the expulsion of the Tarquins, was forty miles long and thirty broad. Royal Genral. tab. 44.

† Plutarch in Camille.

second was long and bloody, and threatened the extinction of the Roman power. Spain and Italy were long the theatre of this tremendous contest. Hannibal, the famous Carthaginian general, having passed out of Spain into Gaul, and from thence over the Alps into Italy, was almost constantly victorious. He defeated the Romans in several rencounters, but especially in the sanguinary conflicts of the Trasimere lake and of Cannæ, in the latter of which, the loss of the Romans is almost incredible. The greatest part of their army was cut off, and about 70,000 of them are said to have fallen on that bloody field.* Rome was threatened with annihilation, and Hannibal advanced almost to her gates. For reasons, however, which have not been satisfactorily ascertained, he did not venture either to assault or besiege the city. The probability of the case is, that he did not think the shattered remains of his army, after so destructive a battle as that of Cannæ, equal to so difficult and dangerous an enterprize, and consequently preferred the safer measure of placing his troops in quarters at Capua, and waiting for reinforcements from Carthage. Had Hannibal at this critical juncture been properly supported, the extinction of the Roman name must, according to every probability of conjecture, have been the necessary consequence. But the Divine Providence had decreed a different issue. Men are only instruments in the hand of Him who decides the destiny of empires: their councils and actions are entirely subject to his great designs. A faction, hostile to the fortune and fame of Hannibal, had long existed in the senate of Carthage, and gained at last a decided predominancy. Notwithstanding his

* Polybius Hist. lib. 3. cap. 12.

pressing solicitations, he received no reinforcements. The fortune of the war was changed. A plan of operations was formed at Rome, which none but Romans could have thought of adopting. Instead of attempting to negotiate a peace, the terms of which at that juncture must have been humiliating, they resolved to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country. Having immediately equipped a formidable armament and invaded Africa, those Romans, so lately in imminent danger of being attacked in their own capital, suddenly appeared before that of the enemy. The victorious Hannibal, after having for the space of sixteen years ravaged Italy, and reduced the dominions and power of Rome to their original limits, the precincts of the city, was recalled to defend the walls of Carthage. The famous battle of Zama, A.A.C. 201, decided the issue of the war, and terminated the greatness of the Carthaginian power. Hannibal, so long the terror of Rome, was totally defeated by the celebrated Publius Scipio. The Carthaginians, in order to save their capital, were obliged to purchase peace, by the surrender of their fleet, with other humiliating conditions, and could never after rise to their former greatness.* Such was the event of the second Punic war. Before that memorable epoch, Rome had made continual but slow advances: her progress was afterwards astonishingly rapid, and her formidable rival being subdued, nothing could withstand her victorious arms. Greece was annexed to her empire; and about eleven years after the battle of Zama the Roman armies first entered Asia. About twenty-two years after their Asiatic expedition, Perseus, the last

* For the first and second punic wars, see Polybius lib. 1. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, and lib. 3. cap. 4 to 13 and extracts.

King of Macedonia, was defeated and made prisoner by Paulus Emilius; and that ancient kingdom was reduced under the dominion of Rome.

The third Punic war proved fatal to Carthage. In the year 146 A.C. that opulent and powerful city was totally destroyed by the Romans, under the command of Scipio, the grandson of the conqueror of Hannibal, and her territories reduced to a Roman province. The victories of Lucullus and Pompey, after having annihilated the formidable power of Mithridates, king of Pontus, and dispersed the numerous armies of Tigranes the Armenian monarch, completed the conquests of Asia Minor and Syria, and extended the empire of Rome to the shores of the Euxine and the banks of the Euphrates. Julius Cæsar, in achieving the conquest of Gaul, reduced under the dominion of the Romans a nation which they had ever considered as their most dangerous enemy.* The remotest provinces of Spain, and of Lusitania, the modern Portugal, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Viriatus, and Spartiacus, their illustrious patriots, were reduced by the victorious arms of Pompey and other commanders. About thirty years before the Christian æra, the Roman republic had extended its dominions from the Atlantic Ocean to the banks of the Euphrates, and from the deserts of Arabia and Africa to the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euxine sea. All the nations within these boundaries acknowledged the sway of Rome, and enriched her with their spoils.

During the period which preceded the Punic wars, the Romans knew little of wealth and still less of luxury. Their manners were plain and simple. The arts which embellish life, and render society agreeable, had

* Plutarch, Vita Pompeii. For the reduction of Gaul see Cæsar's Commentaries.

made little progress: their architecture was mean; painting and sculpture were scarcely known. Commerce was disregarded by a people who despised foreign luxuries, and whose principal study was war; and literature was as little cultivated as arts and trade.

The popular form of the Roman Government, caused eloquence to be held in high estimation. The debates in the senate, the harangues in the forum, the military orations of their commanders, called forth their talents for public speaking; but previous to the introduction of literature from Greece, Roman eloquence was the simple effusion of nature unpolished by art. Of all the arts of peace, agriculture being the most essentially necessary, was, by the primitive Romans, held in the greatest esteem. Their consuls and dictators did not disdain to handle the plough.

If no nation whatever, as Livy informs us, kept free from luxury longer than the Romans, it is certain that after its introduction none ever carried it to a more extravagant height. No sooner was Carthage annihilated, and the conquest of Greece, Macedonia and Asia achieved, than every thing was totally changed at Rome. Wealth rushed in like a torrent, and was accompanied by luxury, its constant attendant. Those countries had been enriched by the spoils of Persia, and embellished by the efforts of industry and art. They had long been in a high state of civilization; conquest and commerce had concurred to increase their wealth, which now flowed into Rome, the great receptacle of plunder. The Roman generals, and other opulent citizens, soon began to rival sovereign princes in riches and magnificence; and luxury displayed itself in all kinds of forms. The mud built city totally disappeared: its thatched huts were changed
into

into palaces; superb temples, magnificent porticos, immense baths, lofty columns and triumphal arches, formed its splendid embellishments.* The frugal repasts of the primitive Romans were superseded by sumptuous feasts and splendid entertainments. Land and seas were ransacked, and the spoils of a whole province were sometimes expended on a single supper.

The influx of wealth and luxury into Rome, by the rapid success of her arms and the spoils of conquered countries, produced among her citizens another revolution, which the philosopher must contemplate with pleasure and history must celebrate as the basis of European civilization and literature. In conquering Greece, the Romans imbibed a taste for the arts and literature of that country: Grecian learning and elegance, as well as Asiatic luxury, were introduced, and made a progress equally rapid and brilliant. Various circumstances, which may be collected from Roman writers, concurred to this introduction of Grecian literature.† Various obstacles were also raised against those new studies, by the admirers of the ancient discipline, who apprehended that the study of letters among the Roman youth, would diminish their ardour for the exercise of arms.‡ Such, indeed, is generally the case in every affair of reform or improvement. But when the Romans had once imbibed a taste for learning no opposition could check their progress. The antiquated notions of primitive simplicity soon disappeared; and the Roman youth flocked in crowds to complete their studies in the schools of philosophy and rhetoric at Athens and other Grecian cities,

* Pliny *ubi supra*.

† Plutarch in *Caton*. Aulus Gell. lib. 7. cap. 14.

‡ Plutarch in *Caton*.

Rhetoric, however, was their favourite study: it was, together with the science of arms, the grand recommendation to popular favour; and opened a road to the offices and honours of the republic. Publius Scipio Æmilianus was one of the first illustrious Romans who distinguished themselves by the study and patronage of letters. The apprehension that learning would enervate the Romans was soon discovered to be chimerical. The muses were associated with the Roman eagles, and several of the greatest generals of the republic distinguished themselves as their votaries. Besides Scipio, already mentioned, Sylla, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, and Anthony, are equally illustrious in the annals of literature and of war.* The age of senatorial and forensic eloquence among the Romans may be considered as commencing about the time of the destruction of Carthage, and ending at the death of Cicero. During this brilliant period, Rome vied with Athens herself in the culture of letters, and the number of orators who shone in the senate and the forum was scarcely ever exceeded in Greece, in the age of her greatest literary fame.

This moral and intellectual revolution which wealth and conquest produced at Rome, and which forms so striking a circumstance of her history, was soon followed by tremendous political convulsions. These have generally been attributed to the corruption of manners occasioned by the influx of wealth and the prevalence of luxury. The influence of those circumstances had undoubtedly contributed to weaken that patriotic spirit which caused the primitive Romans to overlook all private interest, in a view to that of the republic. The wealth of the principal citizens gave them an un-

* See Plutarch's lives of these illustrious commanders.

due influence. Costly feasts, sumptuous shows, and splendid entertainments, were used as means of courting, popular favour. In the election of their magistrates, the people paid more regard to the riches than to the virtue of the candidates. An universal system of corruption was established; and amidst the dissipation of feasts and spectacles, the mass of the citizens lost sight of the republic, while the great sacrificed the public interest to motives of private ambition.

In the latter times of the republic, the Roman citizens surpassed in magnificence and splendor, in their costly entertainments and sumptuous mode of living, the ostentatious and effeminate monarchs of Asia. Their houses were of the most magnificent fabric and the most costly decoration.* Their feasts were served up in gold plate, on tables overlaid with the same metal. The guests reclined on sofas supported by legs of ivory, silver, and sometimes of gold, and covered with Triclinaria or rich Babylonian carpets of about 6,000*l.* sterling in value. Fountains of variegated marble played in their cenacula or dining rooms, in order to cool the air; and in their splendid lamps, which were often fabricated of the richest materials, were burned the most fragrant and costly oils. Their carriages were covered all over with silver and gold; and their cloths, in latter times, were embroidered with the golden figures of various animals. In order to support this extravagance, the governors of provinces committed the most grievous extortions.† The most shameless corruption pervaded every department of the state, and the most infamous crimes polluted the citizens. Overgrown individuals,

* *Pliny lib. 36. cap. 15.*

† *Cicero-Oratio contra Verres.*

aggrandized

aggrandized themselves at the public expence; and the lower classes of citizens, reduced to poverty, sunk into a state of dependence on the grandees. Under the emperors, luxury if possible increased: but we may wonder less at Caligula's extravagance in expending above 80,000*l.* on a single supper, when we are told that the tragedian, Clodius Esopus, lavished 600 sesteria, about 4,843*l.* on one luxurious dish; and that his son treated each of his guests after dinner with a rich cordial, in which a costly pearl was dissolved. In fine, no other city of the ancient or modern world ever exhibited such scenes of expensive magnificence and luxury as Rome, in the latter times of the republic, and under the emperors.*

The wealth and luxury of Rome, with all the corruption of manners which they had introduced among her citizens, were only concurrent causes, which served to give activity to others of a deeper root. The radical cause of her troubles was coeval with the city itself, or at least with the republican government. An odious regulation separated the Roman citizens into two distinct classes, often hostile to each other, and always agitated with mutual jealousies. These were the patrician and the plebeian, or in modern language, the aristocratic and democratic orders. All the offices and honours of the republic were confined to the patricians; but the right of election resided with the people. The third, or equestrian order, does not appear to have been numerous, and never acted any conspicuous part in the domestic troubles of the republic;

* Plutarch, Pliny, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and almost all the Roman historians and poets, are so replete with facts and allusions, which testify the extraordinary magnificence and luxury of Rome, that it would be useless to quote particular authorities.

but

but the patricians and the plebeians maintained an almost perpetual contest. After repeated struggles, victory declared in favour of the democratic party. Caius Marius, a plebeian, was elected to the Consular dignity, the highest in the Roman republic.* This triumph of the people excited the resentment of the patrician order. Rome, which had long nourished the seeds of civil war in her constitution, now saw them rise to maturity. The whole system of the patrician order was the depression of the people; and the senate had long maintained its authority by an uninterrupted series of foreign wars, which drained off the turbulent spirits, and left the citizens little leisure for attending to their privileges, or for asserting their rights. To keep the people amused with wars abroad, and employed in splendid amusements at home, was the invariable maxim of patrician policy. The rising power of the popular party, however, brought matters to a crisis; and the tumultuous scenes, which patrician ambition and popular licentiousness had so often excited, were renewed on a more extensive plan. The civil wars between Marius and Sylla, drenched Rome with the blood of her citizens; and the patricians, as well as the people, found themselves at the mercy of an armed soldiery.† The evil, however, was grown too inveterate, and the ambition of individuals too restless and aspiring, to be suppressed, otherwise than by the extinction of the republican government. The influx of wealth, and the mixture of Asiatic luxury with Roman ambition, gave an additional force to the factions; and the senate, although it retained its ostensible authority, no longer possessing its actual power,

* Sallust de Bello Jugurthino.—Plutarch in Mario.

† Plutarch in Mario et in Sylla.

was, together with the people, governed by overgrown individuals. The factions themselves underwent a total change, in regard to their principles and their objects. The grand struggle between the patricians and the plebeians, was converted into a war between the rich and the poor, or rather into a contest between powerful demagogues, who had armies at command, and ruled over the senate as well as over the people. Many of the citizens of Rome equalled sovereign princes in opulence and splendor; and the heterogeneous mass of the Roman populace were ready to follow any leader who entertained them with sumptuous feasts, and distributed large sums of money among a factious multitude.

Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, the first distinguished by his influence over the soldiers and the senate, the second by his extraordinary talents, and the last by his immense riches, had obtained the principal sway in Rome; and combining their different advantages, in order more completely to establish their authority, formed a triumvirate, governing the republic with an absolute control. In consequence of this alliance, they procured for themselves the government of the best provinces, and the command of the chief military force of the republic. Crassus had Asia, Pompey had Spain; and Gaul, which was not yet conquered, was assigned to Cæsar. Crassus lost his life, with the greatest part of his army, in an expedition against the Parthians.* Cæsar, in somewhat more than nine years, completed the conquest of Gaul. In every campaign he had performed wonders, and saw himself at the head of the best troops of the republic. The senate was alarmed at the news of his victories, and Pompey

* Pistach in Crassus.

grew jealous of his power. On Cæsar's declaring his intention of presenting himself as candidate for a second consulship, he received an order to disband his army, and appear as a private person at the election. Cæsar endeavoured to come to an accommodation, but finding the majority of the senate decidedly hostile to his interests, he entered Italy with his veteran legions, who were devoted to his cause, and advanced towards Rome. On the news of his approach, the senate, with most of the patrician order, left the city, and passed over into Greece. Cæsar, although a patrician, was the favorite of the people, as Pompey was the idol of the senate. Having entered the city without opposition, he was pronounced Consul and Dictator. He then hastened into Spain, where the troops, under Pompey's lieutenants, soon submitted themselves to his disposal. Being thus reinforced, he passed into Macedonia, where the senate had collected a numerous army, of which Pompey had the command. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated. But the whole strength of both sides being concentrated in the plains of Pharsalia, the contest was decided; Cæsar was completely victorious: Pompey fled into Egypt, and was immediately followed by Cæsar with his conquering legions. Receiving intelligence on his arrival that Pompey had been slain by the order of King Ptolemy, Cæsar immediately laid siege to Alexandria, where he met with great difficulties, and was exposed to great dangers.* Having at last taken the capital, and made himself master of the whole kingdom, he committed the government to the famous Cleopatra, whose beauty, accomplishments, vices, and misfortunes, have rendered her name immortal in his-

* *Historiæ Belli Alexandrino*, cap. 10, &c. to cap. 23.

tory. The only enemies now remaining were Scipio and Juba in Africa, and the two sons of Pompey in Spain. These being speedily conquered, he was received at his return with the general applause, both of the people and the senate, and honoured with the title of Father of his Country, as well as the office of perpetual Dictator. He was about undertaking an expedition against the Parthians, when he was murdered in the Senate-house by Brutus, and Cassius, and other conspirators, after having been about five months in possession of the supreme command. Cæsar fell in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He is justly considered as the greatest general of all antiquity; and his eloquence and literary accomplishments were scarcely inferior to his military talents.*

The assassination of Cæsar, which was the last effort of the patrician party, threw the people of Rome into extreme consternation, and roused their fury to the highest pitch. The conspirators having saved themselves by a precipitate flight, passed into Macedonia, and collected an army. His nephew, Octavius, with his friend, Mark Anthony, stood forward as the avengers of his death. The battle of Philippi decided the contest. The conspirators were defeated. Brutus and Cassius perished. Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus, formed a second triumvirate; and the latter being set aside, the two former divided between them the supreme power. Anthony governed the eastern, and Octavius the western part of the Roman dominions. The issue of the civil war, which broke out between them is known to every reader of history. The naval engagement of Actium decided the affair. Marc Anthony being defeated fled into Egypt, where both he

* Plutarch in *Julio Cæsare*.

and Cleopatra fell by their own hands. In Cleopatra, the illustrious race of the Ptolemies was extinct, and Egypt was reduced to a Roman province. From that period Octavius being left without either associate or rival, was honoured with the title of Augustus, and reigned sole sovereign of the Roman world.

Rome being at this period arrived at the height of her power and glory, her military system, which enabled her to make so brilliant a figure in the annals of the world, naturally excites our curiosity, and attracts our attention.

The constitution of the Roman republic was, in theory and practice, completely military. Rome might have been considered as a camp, as all her citizens were soldiers. Every Roman citizen, before he attained to the age of forty-six, was obliged to serve ten years in the cavalry, or sixteen in the infantry, except those who were placed in the census below the rate of 400 drachmas, and who, after the Romans had established a marine, were all reserved for the sea service. In case of any pressing danger, the time of military service was extended to twenty years; and no citizen could be admitted as a candidate for any of the offices of the state till he had served ten campaigns.*

In the primitive ages of Rome, the use of arms was wholly restricted to those classes of citizens who had a property to defend. The requisite qualification for a Roman soldier was the possession of valuables to the amount of about 40*l.* sterling; a very considerable sum at that early period. The soldier, as he served without pay, was supposed to be capable of providing for his own maintenance, at the same time that he defended his property and his country. At

* Polyb. Hist. Gen. Ext. 2.

the siege of Veii, which continuing the long space of ten years, imposed great hardships on soldiers thus unprovided for by the state, a regular pay was first established.* The Roman soldiers, however, like those of all ancient nations, depended chiefly on plunder for the acquisition of wealth. Numerous instances also shew, that their emoluments, arising from immense donatives, amounted to more than their regular pay; and, consequently, that the profits of a military life were, in every respect, irregular and indeterminate, but generally very considerable.† In process of time, war was improved into an art, and converted into a trade. The qualification of property began to be disregarded. Calus Marius was the first of the Roman consuls who indiscriminately admitted the lowest classes of the people into the legions. His example was followed by other commanders; and the legal qualifications being set aside in the choice of soldiers, the personal requisites of age, strength, and stature, alone regarded. The legions, however, when recruited in the most distant provinces, and consisting of men of different nations, were considered as composed of Roman citizens. That distinction, when no longer regarded as a legal qualification, being converted into an honourable recompence, every legionary soldier became, in virtue of his enrolment—a citizen of Rome.

The number of soldiers of which the Roman legion was composed was varied at different periods. Under the emperors it consisted of 6,100 infantry, and 726

* The siege of Veii commenced in the 104th year of the Roman republic; and according to Bunsel, in the 345th, or to other accounts, the 319th year after the building of Rome. *And. General Tab. 46.*

† These donatives were exceedingly increased under the emperors, as will shortly be observed.

cavalry. The latter, however, although regularly connected with the legion, was occasionally separated from it in order to compose the wings of the army.* The defensive arms of the legionary infantry consisted of a helmet with a lofty crest, a breast-plate, or a coat of mail, greaves on their legs, and a buckler on their left arm. The buckler was a concave and oblong, four feet in length, and two feet and a half in breadth, made of light wood covered with a bull's hide, and guarded with plates of iron or brass. The offensive arms were the spear, the pilum, and the sword.† The pilum was a ponderous javelin about six feet long, and terminated by a massive triangular point of steel. When this formidable weapon was thrown by a skilful Roman hand, no shield or corselet could resist the impetuosity of the stroke, and no cavalry durst approach within its reach.‡ As soon as the Roman soldier had darted his pilum, he drew his sword, and rushed on the enemy. The sword having a double edge and a sharp point, was equally formed for striking or pushing; but the soldier was instructed to prefer the latter method. The defensive arms of the Roman cavalry were the helmet, the oblong shield, light boots, and a coat of mail. The javelin and the long broad sword were the principal offensive weapons. The horses were mostly of the Spanish or Cappadocian breed. The cavalry of the republic was composed of the noble youths of Rome and Italy, who performed their military services on horseback; and in expectation of advancement to the public offices and honours of the

* Vegetius, lib. 2, c. 6.

† Lipsius de Milit. Romano, lib. 3.

‡ The modern reader will readily perceive how much the Roman pilum, of which the effect depended on one single throw or cast, was inferior to our fire-arms.

state, recommended themselves by deeds of valour to the future suffrages of the citizens.* Under the imperial government, the cavalry was generally raised and recruited in the same manner as the infantry. A certain number of auxiliaries furnished by the dependent princes of states, who under the name of allies held their precarious freedom by the tenure of military service; was also attached to each legion, which, with this additional force, composed a formidable body of at least 12,000 men, and was furnished with ten of the larger and above fifty of the smaller kind of military engines. Of these, a description would here lead to prolixity. Their construction and use have been explained by various authors: the battering ram, used in sieges, is minutely described by Josephus, the Jewish historian, who says that no tower or wall was sufficiently strong to resist its repeated assaults.† The camp of a Roman legion, was a regular fortification, exactly quadrangular, surrounded with a deep ditch, a high rampart, and a strong palisade. All these were the works of the soldiers. The Roman legionaries were as well trained to the use of the spade and the pick-axe, as to that of the sword and the pilum. Instances of extraordinary works of this kind are met with in Roman history, particularly the circumvallation of a town of the Atuatuci in Gaul, by Cæsar's legions. Not less remarkable was the wall of nineteen miles long and sixteen feet high, with a proportionable ditch, constructed by one legion assisted by some auxiliary troops, in one of Cæsar's expeditions‡ against

* Livy, *cap.* 43.

† *Jos. de Bello Judaico, lib.* 3.

‡ *Cæsar Comm. de Bello Gallico, lib.* 1, *cap.* 6.* When both the Consuls were present the camp was double, and consequently oblong. Polyb. *Extract* 2.

the Helvetii. The fortifications which he raised before Alexia in Burgundy, for the protection of his army against an innumerable host of enemies, were sufficient to excite astonishment.* But the most wonderful performance of this nature was the immense works extending from sea to sea, with which he shut up Pompey and his army in Dyrrachium; and of which Lucan gives so magnificent a poetical description.†

The laborious exercises to which the Roman soldiers were perpetually trained, fitted them for supporting such fatigues as may seem astonishing to modern effeminacy. They were diligently taught to march, to run, to leap, to swim, to use every kind of defensive and offensive arms. Military exercises were daily repeated, and from these even the most accomplished veterans were not excused; and the arms appropriated to this imitation of war, were of double the weight of those used in real action. On a march, besides their arms, the legionaries were laden with their kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and provisions for several days.‡ Under this cumbrous weight, they were trained to march near twenty miles in the space of six hours.§ On the appearance of an enemy, they instantly deposited their baggage, and by rapid evolutions converted the columns of march into an order of battle.|| The legion was generally drawn up eight deep, the regular distance of three feet being left between the files as well

* *Comm. de Bell. Gall. lib. 7. cap. 66, &c.* † *Lucan, lib. 6.*

‡ *Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 3. c. 5.*

§ *Vegetius de re Militari, vol. 1. p. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres, Dec. 1. ch. 1. p. 26.*

|| *Guich. Nouv. Mem. tom. 1.*

as the ranks. The cavalry, especially the auxiliaries, formed the wings. In every respect, the Roman discipline was extremely rigid.* The centurions were authorized to chastise with blows; the generals to punish with death. On the other hand, besides the substantial rewards of regular pay, occasional donatives, and a stated recompense after the appointed time of service, every artifice was devised to influence the imagination, excite enthusiastic courage, and inspire the mind of the soldier with exalted ideas of military glory. Every thing that could strike the eye, and fill the imagination with a view of the majesty of Rome, and of the exploits of her heroes, was pompously displayed. The painted representations of captured cities and conquered armies, the arms and spoils of the vanquished enemies, the military bands of music, the general arrayed in robes of purple embroidered with gold, and exalted on a triumphal car, followed by the victorious army marching in solemn procession through the streets of Rome, altogether formed a spectacle indescribably magnificent and impressive.† It is impossible to read the description of the triumphs of Paulus Emilius, of Pompey, of Cæsar, of Aurelian, of Probus, and other generals and emperors, without conceiving the highest idea of Roman grandeur. But amidst this splendid pomp, a spectacle was always exhibited which, to a modern reader, must appear an indisputable proof of Roman cruelty and barbarism. A train of illustrious captives, kings and commanders, in

* For the military institutions and discipline of the Romans. See Polybius, extract 2.

† See the circumstantial account of the triumph of Paulus Emilius over Perseus, king of Macedonia. Plutarch in *Vita. P. Emiliæ*.

chains,

chains, following the triumphal car of the conqueror, swelled the insulting pride of the Roman people; and after the close of the pompous procession, were put to a cruel death; while the multitudes of inferior warriors who had fallen into the same calamitous circumstances, were condemned to perpetual slavery.*

The number of the Roman legions varied in different periods according to the particular exigencies of the state. The peace establishment of Adrian and the Antonines consisted of thirty legions, amounting, with their auxiliary troops, to about 375,000 men.† The naval force of the Roman empire seems to have been inadequate to its greatness. Their two principal fleets were stationed at Ravenna and Misenum: the former commanding the eastern, the latter the western part of the Mediterranean. Other squadrons also guarded the southern coast of Gaul, the British channel, and the Euxine. Numerous vessels were likewise maintained on the Danube and the Rhine, in order to intercept the passage of the barbarians. The whole marine of the Romans, consisting only of gallees, would appear inconsiderable in a comparison with the naval armaments of modern Europe; but as none of the barbarous nations had any great maritime force, the Roman marine was sufficient for every useful purpose. A modern historian considers 450,000 men the highest computation that can be reasonably made of their whole military and naval establishment of the empire.

Previous to the siege of Veii, the citizens of Rome, as already observed, made war at their own private

* Aurelian shewed his clemency towards Zenobia & Tetricus; but instances of Roman clemency towards captives are extremely rare.

† Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1. p. 29.

expence; but a regular pay being thus established, a public fund became necessary, and a tax was levied in proportion to property. This must have fallen heavy on the citizens during the punic wars, when the Italian states paid their tribute in military services, and the Romans themselves supported the expences of the mighty contest with Carthage. But after the wealth of Syracuse, of Carthage, of Macedonia, and Asia, was brought in triumph to Rome, the citizens were delivered from taxation. The tributes of the provinces was found sufficient to defray the public expediture till the reign of Augustus. That emperor again introduced taxation, which increased in successive reigns, and at last became intolerably burdensome.* Mr. Gibbon, after confessing himself lost in the enquiry into the amount of the Roman revenue, concludes by a loose estimate between the extremes of 15,000,000 and 20,000,000*l.* sterling.

The celebrated Roman republic was under Octavius Augustus, changed into a monarchy; it still retained the republican offices, dignities, and forms. The senate still existed, and consuls as usual were elected. The title of Imperator, by the moderns translated Emperor, signified no more than the commander-in-chief of the military force of the republic. The constitution of the empire was limited in theory, but despotic in fact. Augustus, that consummate master of the art of governing mankind, sensible how much men are attached to forms and names, instead of abolishing the republican offices and dignities, contrived to unite most of them in his own person. He

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1. book 4. Augustus compiled an accurate statement of the revenue and expediture of the empire. *Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. p. 1.*

was careful, at the same time, to reject such titles as were displeasing, and refused that of Dictator, which had appeared so odious in Sylla and Julius Cæsar. His successors imitated, in this respect, his example; and the republican dignities and forms were continued to the last period of Roman power as an ostensible veil for despotism. But in the Roman empire, as in other military governments, the sovereign power was at last usurped by the soldiery. The popular assemblies having been suppressed, not even an ostensible share of the government was left to the citizens.* And while the senate was made use of only as an engine of state, to sanction the decrees of imperial despotism, the emperors themselves were no more than instruments in the hands of the soldiers, who advanced them to the imperial dignity, and hurled them from their high elevation, according to their approbation or disapprobation of their conduct. The senate, overawed by the soldiery, was glad to exercise an ostensible authority in ratifying the military elections, and the emperors raised by the legions, or the prætorian guards, were sensible that their standing depended on their favour and support.†

The unbounded licence of the soldiery did not appear in its full extent, and with all its pernicious consequences, till after the death of Commodus; when the conspirators, who had terminated the life of the tyrant, appealed to the prætorian guards for their approbation and support in the elevation of Pertinax to the imperial purple. That body, now sensible of its

* At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, the assemblies of the people were suppressed and the elections transferred to the senate. Tacit. An. vol. 1. p. 15.

† Montesquieu de la Grand et la Decad. des Rom. ch. 16.

uncontrollable authority over the city, assumed the sole disposal of the empire. Rome then exhibited a phenomenon to which history affords no parallel. Discontented at the choice which they had made, or at least supported, of an emperor who, instead of encouraging licentiousness, aimed at the restoration of discipline, the prætorian soldiers hurled Pertinax from the elevation to which he had been raised by their power. A party of 300 or 400 of the most desperate among them marched to the imperial palace, assassinated the virtuous emperor, placed his head on a lance, and carried it in triumph to their camp. This military corps, now possessing an uncontrollable power, and, proceeding to an excess of licence unexampled in the annals of nations, exposed the sovereignty of the Roman world to sale by public auction. Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, and Sulpicianus, father-in-law of Pertinax, whose wild ambition the sight of the bloody head of the murdered Emperor could not restrain from aspiring to the precarious dignity, bid against each other at the rampart of the prætorian camp. Julianus was the highest bidder, and purchased the blood stained robes of imperial majesty by a donative of upwards of 200*l.* sterling to each soldier.* The gates of the camp were instantly thrown open. The purchaser was declared emperor. The soldiers, placing him in the middle of their ranks, conducted him in close order of battle through the streets of Rome. The senate was commanded to assemble, and the senate house being filled with armed soldiers, the election was immediately confirmed.

Thus ended this singular transaction. But although the prætorian guards had sold the empire, the legions

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1. p. 173.

in the distant provinces refused to ratify the infamous contract. In Britain, Clodius Albinus; in Syria, Pescennius Niger; and in Illyricum, Septimus Severus, a native of Africa, were, by their respective armies, proclaimed emperors.* All three were men of abilities; they were all of them esteemed by the soldiers; and, on this important occasion, omitted no measures that could further conciliate their affection. Severus, in particular, assembling his troops, painted in the most lively colours the insolence of the prætorian guards, and animated the legions to arms and to glory, in avenging the insult offered to Rome and her victorious armies. But his peroration was stamped with a peculiar species of eloquence: he promised to each soldier what he called not a bribe, but an honourable donative of about 400*L.* sterling, double the sum for which the prætorians had sold the empire.† Such rhetoric was irresistible: he was instantly proclaimed emperor, and saluted by the title of Augustus.

Augustus Severus, without loss of time, took every measure which his situation required. In his gradual ascent from an obscure station, his daring ambition had never been diverted from its steady course, by the allurements of pleasure, the apprehension of danger, or the feelings of humanity. On this important occasion, therefore, it is no wonder that he acted with all the vigour that marked his character. He immediately began his march from the banks of the Danube towards Rome, and having the sovereignty of the world in view, cheerfully sustained all the hardships of the meanest soldier. The distance was about 600 miles, which he marched on foot and in complete

* Severus had been educated at Rome. Anderson's Roy. Genesl. p. 430.

† Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1. p. 181.

armour, at the head of his warlike column. On his approach towards Rome, he made an offer of pardon to the prætorian guards, on condition that they should abandon their emperor; and the perpetrators of the murder of Pertinax. These licentious and unwarlike soldiers gladly complied with such easy terms. They immediately seized their comrades who had perpetrated the murder, and signified to the senate that they no longer supported the cause of Julianus. That assembly immediately pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against the unfortunate prince, and acknowledged Severus as lawful emperor. Julianus was then beheaded as a common criminal, after having, through an ambitious infatuation, employed his immense treasure in the purchase of an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days. Severus immediately advancing to Rome, was vested with the imperial purple, and attained the highest object of human ambition, without drawing his sword. His two rivals, however, Albinus in the west and Niger in the east, were still in arms. The emperor having celebrated the obsequies of Pertinax, and cashiered the prætorian guards, made but a short stay in Rome, before he set out on his march against Niger. This expedition being successfully terminated, he turned his arms against Albinus, and a battle fought at Treveroux, about ten miles from Lyons in France, brought the war to a conclusion.* The contest between the British and the Illyrian legions was long and doubtful: the personal bravery of the emperor cast the scale, and victory declared in his favour. Albinus was afterwards taken and put to death, a fate which Niger had already undergone; and Severus, without a competitor,

* Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. 3.

was left in the undisputed possession of the empire.

The Prætorian guards owed their institution to Augustus. Their original number was about 9000 or 10,000. They were distinguished by double pay and superior privileges. At the first only three cohorts were stationed in Rome, and the rest were distributed in the neighbouring towns. Tiberius, under pretence of improving their discipline, but most probably in order to overawe the capital, assembled them at Rome in a permanent and strongly fortified camp,* placed in a commanding situation, on the broad summit of the Quirinal and Viminal hills, and close to the walls of the city.† Vitellius increased them to 16,000, which was afterwards generally their number.‡ Such was the origin of the Prætorian guards, at first so necessary, afterwards so dangerous to imperial despotism. Conscious that the seat of empire and the person of the sovereign was in their power, they had, since the accession of Claudius, exacted from every emperor a liberal donative. Marcus Aurelius, with his colleague Lucius Verus gave 160*l.* to each of the Prætorian guards; and Adrian complained that the promotion of a Cæsar had cost him 2,500,000*l.* sterling. This military corps having, as already observed, been cashiered by Severus, his next step was to re-establish the institution on a new model, but increased to four times the former number.§ A new body of Prætorian

* Tacit. Hist. vol. 3. † Nardini et Donal. ap. Gibbon, vol. 1. p. 172.

‡ Lipsius de Magnit. Romana, vol. 1.

§ Gibbon Dec. Rom. Em. vol. 1. p. 171, et auctor. cit marginal note. Mr. Gibbon seems here to have made a confused calculation. He estimates the new prætorian guards at 50,000; but four times 16,000 is 64,000, and four times 10,000 is only 40,000.

guards, consisting of above 50,000 men, was formed of soldiers distinguished for valour, strength, and fidelity, draughted from all the legions of the empire. This formidable force, which was to be constantly recruited in the same manner, was thought sufficient to crush every attempt at rebellion among the Romans, and to deter the legionary commanders from erecting the standard of revolt. The sequel of Roman history, however, proves the latter supposition to have been ill-founded. The command of this corps now became the first office of the empire. The Prætorian prefect, who was formerly a mere military commander, was placed at the head of the finances and of the law. In every department of the administration, he represented the person, and exercised the authority of the emperor.*

In the reign of Severus the imperial government of Rome degenerated into an undisguised military despotism. Setting aside even the ostensible authority of the senate, which had hitherto been respected, he assumed the style as well as the conduct of an absolute sovereign, and exercised, without disguise, the legislative as well as the executive power. His government was severe, but characterised by attention and discernment, and although a tyrant to the senate, he was a friend to the people, and generally favoured the poor and oppressed. Many cities owed to him their prosperity, and by public monuments attested their gratitude. He revived the glory of the Roman name, and carried his victorious arms as far as Selucia and Ctesiphon, the two principal cities of

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1, p. 201. The prætorian prefect after this new regulation, united to the command of the guards, the office of lord chancellor and that of chancellor of the exchequer.

the Parthian monarchy. From the east he turned his attention to the west, passed over into Britain, and, penetrating almost to the northern extremity of the island, reduced the fierce Caledonians to a temporary submission. He died, at York, in the year 210, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the eighteenth of a glorious and successful reign. Severus could justly boast that, having received the empire involved in foreign and domestic wars, he left it triumphant over every enemy, and established in universal peace.

Salutary laws executed with inflexible firmness, had, during the reign of Severus, corrected a multitude of abuses; but gratitude, misguided policy, or, perhaps, necessity, induced him to relax the nerves of military discipline, and an eminent modern historian considers him as the principal author of the decline of the empire.* He also increased the pay of the soldiers beyond the example of former times. In this, his conduct can scarcely be worthy of censure; for those who fight and bleed in their country's cause certainly deserve encouragement. But his profuse liberality, which taught them first to expect, and then to claim extraordinary donatives on every occasion of public festivity or danger, gave rise to various discontents, while the relaxation of discipline rendered them averse to subordination. One of the greatest evils, however, that resulted from his reign, was the misfortune of his leaving behind him such a son and successor as Caracalla.

From the death of Severus, A.D. 211, to the elevation of Decius, A.D. 249, all the sovereigns of the Roman world miserably perished by violence. In the short space of thirty-eight years no less than twelve

* Gibbon, vol. 1, p. 203.

emperors successively fell by secret conspiracy, or open rebellion, a circumstance, perhaps, unparalleled in history. Geta was murdered by his brother, Caracalla suffered the same fate from the Prætorian guards, who elevated their prefect Macrinus to the imperial purple. This emperor fell by the sword of rebellion. The vicious Elagabalus was massacred by the Prætorian guards; and Alexander Severus, whose whole reign was spent in continual struggles against the corruption of the age, and in unavailing efforts for the restoration of military discipline and subordination, met with a similar fate. Maximinus, originally a Thracian peasant, afterwards a soldier, a man of extraordinary strength and stature, was by the army raised to the purple, and afterwards murdered in his tent. The two Gordians, father and son, perished in civil contest. Maximus and Balbinus were seized in the imperial palace, by the Prætorian guards, dragged through the streets of Rome, and afterwards put to death. The third Gordianus was by this military corps invested with the purple, and afterwards murdered at the instigation of Philip their præfect. Philip, an Arab by birth, and originally a robber by profession, having, by his courage and conduct, risen to the rank of Prætorian prefect, was, by his licentious band, raised to the sovereignty of the world, and in his turn fell in a contest with the revolted legions of Mœsia. Decius, the leader of this revolt, was then universally acknowledged emperor.* The exaltation and downfall of those monarchs of the Roman world, would only serve to blacken the page of history, did not such a rapid succession of bloody transactions exhibit the turbulent despotism and anarchy of the

* Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1, p. 202 to 210, &c.

Roman state, in which the emperor was only the minister of a military government, and elected for the particular benefit of the soldiers. Events of a different nature, and of greater national importance, began in the reign of Decius to attract the attention of the Roman people.

The northern nations, whose invasions were long formidable, and at last fatal to Rome, now commenced those inroads which, during more than two centuries, gave almost constant employment to her arms, and finally annihilated her power. Rome had twice before been endangered by the ferocious attacks of the nations inhabiting the vast countries situated beyond the Danube. The formidable invasion of the Cimbri had been repelled by the Consul Marius, and the war with the Marcomanni and Quadi, who inhabited Bavaria and Austria, had been successfully conducted by Marcus Aurelius. Ever since the reign of Augustus, however, Rome had always found it necessary to guard the banks of the Danube, and constantly stationed a number of her warlike legions on the Illyrian frontier, which extended from the head of the Adriatic to the shores of the Euxine. In the reign of Decius, the Goths, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the subversion of the empire, begin to be noticed in Roman history. The origin of this celebrated people, like that of all other nations, is buried in obscurity, and while some bring them from the shores of the Euxine and Caspian seas, in two grand divisions, spreading themselves one over Germany, and the other over Scandinavia, at a period long before the Christian æra, others content themselves with tracing them to the latter country, with-

out seeking a remoter antiquity, or a more distant origin.*

Passing over the dark ages of fable, consistent history informs us, that from the Christian æra to the age of the Antonines, the Goths were established about the mouth of the Vistula; and westward along the coasts of the Baltic were seated the various tribes of the Vandals. During the interval which elapsed between the reigns of M. Aurelius and Alexander Severus, they had emigrated further south, and being joined by numerous adventurers from the Vandalic nations, and their army farther increased by the accession of various barbarian tribes, they advanced into the Ukraine and took possession of that fertile country.† They seated themselves soon after in Dacia, and even passed over the Danube, took Philopopolis by storm, and massacred 100,000 inhabitants. The Emperor Decius marched against those formidable invaders, and, after gaining many signal advantages, he and his son were both slain in battle. The Roman army being driven into a morass, the emperor's body was never found. Gallus, his successor, purchased a peace from the victorious Goths, by leaving in their hand their booty and their prisoners, and engaging to pay them an annual tribute. This ignominious treaty, however, far from assuring peace to the empire, was an encouragement to new invaders, who spread devastation throughout the Illyrian provinces. These being repelled by

* See on this subject Gib. Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1, p. 368, and authorities. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1.

† Tacit. An. vol. 2, p. 62. Ptolemy ap. Gibbon, vol. 1, p. 392. Ammian. Marcell. lib. 31.

Emilianus,

Emilianus, Governor of Parmonia and Mœsia, the fortunate general was proclaimed emperor by the army. Gallus advancing against him was abandoned by his forces and slain, together with Volusianus his son. The senate ratified the election of Emilianus; but in less than four months, the soldiers, who had raised him to the purple, imbrued their hands in his blood. Valerianus, a commander of singular merit, was next elected emperor. The beginning of his reign was prosperous, and his virtues promised the restoration of Roman virtue and glory. But having undertaken an unsuccessful expedition against the Persians, he had the misfortune to be made prisoner, and kept in perpetual captivity.

The succeeding reign of Gallienus was peculiarly unfortunate. Sapor, the Persian monarch, devastated Syria and the greater part of the lesser Asia, of which, if he had not preferred spoil to conquest, he might probably have remained master. The Goths, the Franks, the Allemanni harrassed with repeated invasions the whole length of the Roman frontier, from the Euxine to the mouth of the Rhine. The Goths, in their fleets, composed of small vessels, carrying from twenty-five to thirty men, issuing from the mouths of the Nieper and the ports of Taurida, ravaged not only the countries on the southern shores of the Euxine, but passing through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont spread devastation through Greece and Asia Minor.* All the large and opulent cities of these countries were plundered. The spoils were immense, and the number of captives incredible. The historian of the decline of the empire relates three of

* Zosimus ap. Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1, p. 439. Strabo, lib. 11.

these naval invasions, in the last of which, Athens, the ancient seat of the muses, was sacked, and the famous temple of Ephesus, which the arts of Greece and the wealth of Asia had concurred to render one of the wonders of the ancient world, was involved in the general scene of destruction.* While the Goths were thus ravaging the east, similar troubles agitated the west. The Franks bursting out from their morasses near the banks of the lower Rhine, passed that ancient barrier of the Roman empire, ravaged Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, and having carried terror and devastation through Spain, extended their destructive inroads into Africa. The Allemanni, a nation inhabiting the middle parts of Germany, at the same time made dreadful incursions into Italy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed their victorious banners almost within sight of Rome. The armies of the empire were then occupied in the east and the west against the Persians and the Franks; and Italy was left almost defenceless. At this tremendous crisis the luxurious inhabitants of the metropolis of the world, were under the necessity of providing for their own security. The senate drew out the Prætorian guards, who had been left to garrison the city, and enlisted numbers of stout volunteers; and the Allemanni, terrified at the appearance of such an army, retreated into Germany with an immense spoil, the principal object of their expedition.

Civil war, as well as foreign invasion, convulsed the empire in this calamitous reign. No less than nineteen usurpers, in different provinces; erected the

* Gibbon, vol. 1, p. 424, 426, 428. This famous temple had been several times before, if not destroyed, at least greatly defaced, and had always been restored with increased splendour. *Ibid* et Auctor.

standard of revolt, and assumed the imperial dignity.* Of these Tetricus alone was a senator, and Piso a patrician. Most of the others having originally been peasants, had enlisted into the legions as private soldiers, and been promoted by their valour to military command. It would here be of no use to detail the sanguinary contests, the temporary successes, and the final catastrophe of those various pretenders to empire. Every one of them died a violent death. No sooner were they invested with the bloody purple than they found themselves encompassed with the threefold dangers of secret conspiracy, military sedition, and civil war. They stood on the edge of precipices, and after a short period of splendid trouble and anxiety, met with inevitable destruction. In this time of universal confusion, the transitions from the cottage to the throne, and from the throne to the grave were rapid and perpetual.

But if the elevation and downfall of these precarious monarchs, individually considered, be of little moment in national history, the subject will appear of greater importance when connected with its destructive effects on the welfare of the people. The price of their fatal elevation, was immediately paid to the troops in immense donatives, drawn from the exhausted provinces. They were under the necessity of supporting their usurpation by frequent acts of rapine and cruelty. The perplexity of their situation often compelled them to burden the people with oppressive contributions, in order to purchase the neutrality or even the services of the barbarians. In Gaul, Posthumus had a body of Franks in his service; bands of the Roxelani were entertained by Regillianus

* Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1, ch. 10, p. 444.

in Illyrium;* while Gallienus, the only emperor recognized at Rome, subsidised a body of the Heruli, and invested their chief with the ornaments of the consular dignity.† Thus was adopted the fatal measure of introducing hostile barbarians, into the heart of the empire, in the character of auxiliaries, and of making them acquainted not only with the opulence but with the military discipline of the Romans. During this general distraction of the empire, the fertile island of Sicily was ravaged by numerous troops of banditti, composed of peasants and slaves, and multiplied by impunity and success. Egypt exhibited a similar scene of disorder. The anarchy which prevailed throughout the Roman dominions had extinguished the authority of the laws, and introduced an ungovernable spirit of riot and licentiousness. Alexandria was the theatre of a civil war, which, with short intervals, continued the space of twelve years. All intercourse was cut off between the different quarters of the city; every street was converted into a field of battle, and every building of strength into a citadel. Before these troubles subsided a great part of that commercial and opulent city was reduced to a heap of ruins.‡ The consequences of these commotions in Sicily and Egypt were in all probability more severely felt in the metropolis of the empire, than the effects of the barbarian invasions, as those countries were reckoned the granaries of Rome, and the principal estates of Sicily

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1, p. 451, margin note.

† Syncellus ap. Gibbon, vol. 1, p. 431. This was one of the chief causes of the final downfall of the empire.

‡ Eusebiana. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 7, cap. 21, with the notes of Valerius and others.

in particular were the property of the senators and opulent citizens. All those tumults and commotions did not, indeed, take place throughout the whole empire at one precise time; but they all happened within the space of fifteen years, from A.D. 253 to A.D. 268, during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, and that of Gallienus alone, the former a period of about seven and the latter of about eight years, and, therefore, are here exhibited in a general view.

These destructive scenes of human contention, however, were not the only misfortunes of this calamitous period. Famine and pestilence, those terrible scourges of mankind, appeared in their most terrific forms; the former was the necessary consequence of the civil wars and foreign invasions, which ruined agriculture; the causes of the latter are less apparent, but its effects were dreadfully conspicuous. From the year 250 to 265 it raged, without intermission, through every province and city of the empire. During some time it carried off about 5000 persons daily, in Rome, and several towns were entirely depopulated. A modern historian supposes, on probable grounds of conjecture, founded on particular facts and various authorities, that during the period here under consideration not less than half the population of the Roman empire was consumed by the joint calamities of war, famine, and pestilence.*

Gallienus having been assassinated by conspirators at the siege of Milan, the removal of an effeminate and indolent prince made way for a succession of

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1, ch. 10, p. 456. Mr. Gibbon says, half of the human species, but it is evident that he can mean only the inhabitants of the Roman empire:

heroes, and the Roman empire, which seemed to be on the verge of destruction, was saved by a series of war-like emperors, who derived their obscure origin from the martial provinces adjoining to the banks of the Danube. Claudius was the immediate successor of Gallienus. The flattering fictions of writers during the reigns of the Flavian family, have endeavoured to give him an illustrious genealogy, but the obscurity of his origin betrays the meanness of his extraction. Authentic history can only discover, that he was a native of Illyrium, that he had spent his life in arms, and risen to promotion by his merit. His actions, however, were sufficient to ennoble his name, and render it immortal. He almost totally annihilated the immense armament of the Goths, who, passing in an incredible number of vessels through the Bosphorus, had renewed their invasions in a still more formidable manner than in the preceding reign. In the complicated operations of this dangerous war, he performed exploits worthy of the greatest heroes, and was considered as the Saviour of the empire. This great emperor dying of the plague at Sirmium, nominated Aurelian, one of his generals, as his successor. Aurelian, originally a peasant of Illyrium, had enlisted into the army as a common soldier, and passing through all the gradations of military promotion, had in every station distinguished himself by matchless valour, rigid discipline, and prudent conduct. When vested with the imperial purple, he eminently sustained his former character. Every moment of his short reign of four years and nine months was signalized by some glorious achievement. He subdued all the foreign and domestic enemies of the empire, and with a prudent policy ceded to the
Goths

Goths the Roman province of Dacia, established by Trajan beyond the Danube. In consequence of this judicious cession of a country, always exposed to hostile inroads, the civilized Goths erected in Dacia a kingdom, which for some time served the Roman empire as a barrier against the more northern barbarians. This emperor subdued the famous Zenobia Queen of Palmyra, whom history describes as one of the most accomplished women that ever existed, a prodigy of beauty, valour, and learning. In the reign of Aurelian, and during his absence in Pannonia, the Allemanni made that formidable incursion into Italy, which threatened Rome, and induced the terrified citizens to construct new walls, encompassing a larger space than the ancient precincts of the city. The precaution, however, proved unnecessary. The emperor advancing by hasty marches to provide for the safety of the capital, totally defeated, and almost annihilated the invaders. Having re-established not only the tranquillity but the glory of the empire, he returned to Rome, and displayed his grandeur in a triumph conducted with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. Conscious, however, that his talents shone most resplendent in war, and judging a foreign expedition necessary, in order to exercise the restless disposition of the legions, he conducted his army against the Persians, but was slain in his march by conspirators.

The administration of Aurelian was vigorous, but severe and despotic. As he had saved, so he also governed the empire by the sword. He was a war-like prince, and an useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state. His death was regretted by the soldiers, who admired his military abilities; and

nothing can be a greater proof of the change which his rigorous government had effected, than the amicable manner in which the senate and the army referred to each other the choice of his successor, unless it be the tranquillity that reigned during the space of eight months before a new emperor was elected. During this interregnum, the Roman world remained without a sovereign, without any military sedition, and without any civil commotion, exhibiting a picture extremely different from that of the preceding times. After a variety of deliberations, Tacitus, a venerable and aged member of the senate, was elected by that body, and acknowledged first by the Prætorian guards, and afterwards by the whole army. His reign promised to be useful and glorious had it been longer. Licentiousness, however, began again to prevail among the soldiers, and after having reigned less than a year, it is uncertain whether this emperor fell by sickness or assassination.*

Probus, another Illyrian peasant, who like Claudius and Aurelian had owed his promotion in the army to military merit, assumed the purple. He was the favourite of the soldiers, and the senate willingly confirmed their choice. Rome, in fact, had need of such an emperor. The barbarians on every side had again burst into the empire. They were all vanquished and expelled by the courage and conduct of Probus. Every frontier of the empire witnessed his exploits. The east and the west were the theatres of his victories. Having delivered Gaul from a formidable invasion of the Franks, he passed the Rhine, penetrated into the heart of Germany, and displayed his

* Concerning the doubtful accounts of his death, as well as of the length of his reign, see Gibbon's *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 2, p. 70.

invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar. All his measures were directed with unremitting attention and activity to the happiness as well as the glory of the empire. His prudence was always equal to his valour, and in every undertaking he was invariably successful. It would be impossible even to enumerate in this compendium the great things that he performed. The single point in which he seemed to forget the rules of moderation, was the rigid discipline which he introduced among the troops, on whom he imposed severe and incessant labours, exercising them in draining marshes, improving waste grounds, constructing useful or ornamental edifices, and other toilsome tasks, whenever they were not employed in military operations. He is also said to have imprudently expressed a hope, that by the establishment of universal peace, he should render a standing army unnecessary.* This impolitic avowal of his inattention to the interests of the soldiery, that formidable power of which every Roman emperor was only the minister, proved fatal to Probus. While in one of the hottest days of summer he was severely urging the toilsome labour of draining the marshes of Sirmium, the soldiers, impatient of fatigue, suddenly threw down their tools, seized their swords, and plunged them into the breast of the emperor. Probus ascended the imperial throne at forty-four years of age, and in a reign of six years rivalled the fame of the greatest heroes whose names are recorded in history.

Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, are deservedly esteemed the restorers of the Roman empire, which, during the reign of Gallienus had been brought to the

* Vopiscus ap. Gibbon, vol. 3, p. 90.

verge of dissolution. Nor did the effects of their vigorous administration terminate with their lives. Their camps were the great schools of military science and discipline, and produced pupils of distinguished eminence. The emperors Carus, Dioclesian, Maximianus, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, with a number of other celebrated commanders, were trained to arms under their victorious banners. Probus was succeeded by Carus, whose short reign was signalized by his extraordinary successes against the Persians. He made himself master of the great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and displayed the Roman eagles beyond the Tigris. Being struck dead in his tent by lightning, his two sons Carinus and Numerian were acknowledged emperors. Numerian was in the camp and beloved by the troops; Carinus lived detested at Rome. The former dying in his tent to which his disorder had for some time confined him, Afer the Prætorian prefect concealing his death continued to govern in his name, but the cheat being discovered, his policy proved fatal. Being brought to account for his conduct before a great military council of the generals and tribunes, Dioclesian, whom the army had destined to the purple, plunged his sword into the breast of the prefect, and was immediately proclaimed emperor. Carinus made preparations for a war against his rival, but being killed by one of his officers, whose wife he had seduced, civil discord was extinguished, and Dioclesian remained sole master of the Roman world. The origin of Dioclesian was more abject and obscure than that of any of his predecessors, his father being only a slave. The aspiring son enlisting into the army, talents and fortune supplied the deficiency of birth. He had risen by his
merit

merit from the lowest to the highest rank, and having been successively promoted to the government of Mœsia and the consular dignity, was thought worthy of ruling the empire. His prudent administration justified the public opinion, but the events of his reign, however important, are too numerous to be related in this historical sketch. Conscious of the weighty task which he had undertaken, and in order to provide at the same time for the security of the east and the west, he gave himself in the second year of his reign, A.D. 286, a colleague in the person of Maximian.* Dioclesian, though a pupil of the camp, was famous rather as a statesman than a warrior, being as much distinguished by his artful policy, as Maximian, who was also a soldier of fortune and an Illyrian peasant, was for his ferocious courage and cruelty. Either through superstition or vanity, or probably from a mixture of both, the former of these emperors took the name of Jovius, the latter that of Herculus. Maximian soon after his elevation, quelled a formidable revolt of the peasants of Gaul. This tremendous insurrection of the populace, appears to have been in its nature, its causes, and consequences, similar to those of the peasants of France in the reign of Charles V, and of England in that of Richard II. But a disorderly and licentious multitude was easily subdued by Maximian with his veteran legions. The two emperors, in order to lighten their own load of public affairs, and to provide more effectually for the safety of the state, made choice of two cæsars, whom they adopted as their sons, and employed as their lieutenants. These were Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, afterwards emperors. Dioclesian in

* Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. 6.

person reduced Egypt, which, since the reign of Gallienus, had incessantly relapsed into rebellion. He also prohibited the study of alchemy, to which the Egyptians were greatly addicted, and committed to the flames all the books which treated of that illusory science.* In the East, a war disastrous at its commencement, but afterwards successful, was carried on against Persia, and finally terminated by an advantageous peace, which continued above forty years. Rome was now in high prosperity, freed from the invasions of the barbarians, as well as from the evils of anarchy, and rendered victorious over all her enemies, by a series of warlike peasants from the banks of the Danube. In the year 303 of the Christian æra, the twentieth of the reign of Dioclesian, and the nineteenth of Maximian, these joint emperors celebrated their victories by the solemn pomp of a triumph, the last that Rome ever beheld. Soon after this period that city ceased to be the capital of the empire. A very remarkable and important change in the Roman state was introduced under these emperors. They were the first who abandoned the imperial city, and fixed their ordinary residence in the provinces. Maximian established his court at Milan, a station indeed more convenient than Rome for watching the motions of the German barbarians. Dioclesian chose Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, for his imperial seat; and till he celebrated his triumph in the twentieth year of his reign, it does not appear that he had ever visited Rome. Even on that

* Alchemy is the pretended art of making gold and silver. The Arabs after the conquest of Egypt, revived and diffused that fallacious science. It has since been frequently revived in Europe, but is now exploded by philosophy and experience.

memorable occasion, he remained there only two months. This dereliction of the ancient capital, was attended with considerable changes in the system of government. Under Tacitus and Probus, the senate had resumed some appearance of its constitutional authority, but after Rome was no longer the residence of the emperors, this august body lost even that shadow of importance which it had hitherto retained. The sovereigns laid aside the titles of consul, proconsul, tribune, &c., which, even united with imperial despotism, still indicated the republican origin of the Roman constitution. The title of Imperator was still retained, but it acquired a new signification, and that of Dominus, or Lord, began to be superadded: Dioclesian, and his colleague Maximian, exercised the legislative as well as the executive power, without ever consulting the senate. The senatorial dignity was till the last period of the empire considered as an honorary distinction; but the senate, as a constitutional assembly, losing all connection with the imperial court, sunk into oblivion. The manners of the court of Rome, were also quite laid aside in that of Nicomedia. Dioclesian, instead of the Roman, introduced the Persian magnificence, with all the formality of Asiatic despotism, and assumed the diadem, which the Romans detested, as the ensign of royalty. His person was of difficult access, and whenever a subject was admitted to his presence, he was obliged to prostrate himself according to the Eastern fashion before his absolute lord and master.

The constitution of the empire, as well as that of the imperial court, was new modelled. Dioclesian, from his own experience and that of his predecessors, had reason to think that the activity of one

single man, whatever might be his abilities, was inadequate to the government of so immense an empire, and the defence of so extensive a frontier. He had, therefore, chosen a colleague, each had his *caesar* or lieutenant, who being their natural or adopted heirs, should supply an uninterrupted succession of emperors. He also imagined, that the strength of the Roman legions being placed in the hands of four partners in the sovereignty, interested in each other's support, and properly stationed in four different quarters of the empire, the improbability of successively vanquishing four such formidable opponents, would deter any aspiring general from erecting the standard of rebellion. The views of the most profound politicians, however, are often illusory. The system of division first introduced by Dioclesian, after being productive of those civil wars which it was intended to prevent, finally proved the principal cause of the subversion of the Roman power. All historical evidence concurs to shew that the division of empire has almost ever been attended with disastrous consequences. The system introduced by Dioclesian, was also attended with another material disadvantage. Instead of one imperial court at Rome, several courts were established in different provinces, where the emperors and the *caesars* vied with the Eastern monarchs in pomp and magnificence. An immense expenditure and heavy taxation was the necessary consequence of this arrangement. The glory and wealth of Rome began to decline after that city was no longer the imperial residence.

Milan and Nicomedia began to rival the ancient capital of the empire in magnificence, although so greatly inferior in extent and population. Maxi-

mian

nian modelled his government after the maxims and example of Dioclesian, and a systematic plan of oriental despotism was gradually introduced into Italy. The politic Dioclesian committed to his ferocious colleague every task that was likely to excite any uncommon degree of popular odium, and Maximian gladly undertook that of oppressing the senate by involving the most illustrious of its members in fictitious criminations.* The camp of the prætorians under the walls of Rome, was incompatible with the maxims of Dioclesian's government, but by his artful measures the numbers of that military corps were insensibly reduced.† Two Illyrian legions, under the new titles of Jovians and Herculians, were chosen for the important and honorable service of guarding the persons of the emperors, and the prætorian guards had the mortification of seeing their privileges, as well as their numbers, diminished. After having established the peace and security of the empire, and effected such material alterations in its constitution, Dioclesian and Maximian astonished the world by the voluntary resignation of the imperial dignity. On the same day, 1st. May A.D. 305, the resignation of both the emperors took place.‡ Dioclesian had previously constructed for himself a magnificent palace at Salona, a town of Dalmatia, near the shores of the Adriatic, in a dry, pleasant, and healthful situation, commanding a most beautiful prospect of land and sea.§

* Lactantius de Mort. Persecutorum, cap. 8.

† It has already been observed, that a new prætorian guard had been instituted by Severus. § Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. tom. 4.

‡ See Adam's Antiq. of Dioclesian's palace, Lond. 1764. From this work, which exhibits a splendid set of engravings, and from that of the Abbé Fortis, Gibbon appears to have collected his description of this imperial retreat.

Here that extraordinary man, who from a servile origin had raised himself to the sovereignty of the world, passed the last nine years of his life in retirement, employing himself in superintending his buildings, plantations, and gardens. Unfortunately the troubles which afflicted the empire after his abdication, and especially the misfortunes of his wife and his daughter, must have embittered the concluding scene of his life, and the opinions of posterity are divided on the mode of its termination. Maximian possessing less relish for retirement, resumed the purple, and at last engaged himself in schemes of ambition, which cost him his life.

Scarcely eighteen months had elapsed since the resignation of the emperors, before tremendous revolutions shewed the imperfections of Dioclesian's system of division, and eighteen years of discord and confusion ensued. During this period no less than five civil wars convulsed the empire, and each interval of peace was no more than a suspension of arms.

On the abdication of Dioclesian and Maximian, the imperial dignity devolved, according to the new constitution, on the two cæsars, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, who, in consequence, assumed the title of Augusti; but two new cæsars were to occupy their former situations. These were chosen by Galerius, without paying any attention to the interests of Constantius or Maximian. The persons whom Galerius promoted, were Maximin his nephew, and Severus, a general greatly attached to his interest. Constantine, afterwards emperor, and deservedly honoured with the epithet of Great, then resided at the court of Galerius, but receiving intelligence of his father's sickness at York, he made his escape from Nicomedia,

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and

and by a hasty journey arrived only in time to receive his dying exhortations, with his nomination to the succession of the western part of the empire.

The capital at this time, as well as the provinces, was burdened with the weight of taxation, which was even enforced by torture.* The inhabitants of the imperial city were disgusted with the new system, which reduced Rome to the state of a tributary province, while the seat of empire was removed to Nicomedia. The prætorian guards were not less exasperated at the reduction of their numbers, and the abolition of their privileges. They were even apprehensive, and not without reason, that their dissolution was intended. This general dissatisfaction of the citizens and soldiery, was fomented by the senate, and every rank of people in Rome resolved to shake off the yoke of their distant sovereigns, and to elect a prince, who, by fixing his residence among them, might deserve the title of a Roman emperor. In consequence of this disposition of the public mind, the capital erected the standard of revolt, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and son-in-law to Galerius, was unanimously elected emperor. Maximian also himself, at the request of the senate, left his retirement, and re-assumed the purple in conjunction with his son. Severus, whom Galerius had promoted from the rank of Cæsar to that of Augustus, commenced against the joint emperors a war, which terminated in his defeat and death. Galerius, exasperated at the fate of Severus, immediately resolved to direct the whole force of the East against his son-in-law and the Romans. Invading Italy with his numerous legions, he shewed himself a true barbarian, ravaging the country, and

* *Last. de Mort. Persecutorum, cap. 26.*

threatening the imperial city with total destruction. But his plans being every where disconcerted, by the cautious conduct and military skill of Maximian, he was obliged at last to make a disgraceful retreat. Galerius, after his unsuccessful expedition into Italy, invested Licinius, his friend and former companion in arms, with the vacant purple of Severus, and resigned to his immediate command the Illyrian provinces. Maximin, on receiving intelligence of this transaction, assumed the dignity, and extorted from Galerius the title, of emperor. Constantine had, in pursuance to his father's nomination, as well as by military election, been invested with the imperial purple at York, and the Roman world was now governed by six emperors. Constantine commanded in Britain and Gaul, Maximian and Maxentius at Rome, Licinius in Illyrium, Galerius in Asia Minor, and Maximin in Egypt and Syria. Maxentius, however, and his restless father, could not long agree in the exercise of an undivided authority; both laid claim to the supreme command, but the prætorian guards considering Maximian as the enemy of their corps, espoused the party of Maxentius. The old emperor, as his last refuge, fled to the court of his son-in-law Constantine. Here he resigned the purple a second time, but during that emperor's absence in an expedition against the Franks, he again placed himself on the throne. On Constantine's approach, he retired to Marseilles, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the soldiers abandoning his cause, purchased their pardon by surrendering the city, and delivering up the person of Maximian. He was soon after put to death, but it was published to the world, that stung with remorse he strangled himself with his

own hands. The next year, A.D. 311, Galerius died at Nicomedia of the morbus pediculosus.* His name is infamous in history; he was an enemy of civil and religious liberty, a tyrannical emperor, and a bloody persecutor of his Christian subjects. The number of emperors was now reduced to four. An alliance was formed between Constantine and Licinius, Maxentius and Maximin formed a similar connection, and the Roman world was divided into two great parties, having opposite interests and hostile views.

Constantine had employed the time since his accession in repelling the inroads of the Franks, and providing for the security of Gaul, while Maxentius was by his vices and follies rendering himself infamous and detested at Rome. The characters of princes are too frequently misrepresented by the flattery or enmity of faction, and unmerited censure or applause is often transmitted to posterity. But all writers of every party agree in describing Maxentius as a monster of tyranny and wickedness. Rome, which had formerly regretted the absence, now abhorred the presence of her sovereign, and ambassadors were privately sent to Constantine, requesting him, in the name of the senate and the people, to undertake their deliverance from their oppressor. The enterprize was glorious, but not less hazardous; and although Constantine must have viewed the situation of the Romans with compassion, he prudently wished to decline a war, with the difficulties and dangers of which he was fully acquainted. Maxentius, however, who openly avowed his pretensions to the whole empire of the west, and had already collected a vast body of forces for the invasion of Gaul, rashly ventured to provoke a formidable enemy.

* Lact. de Mort. Persecut. p. 33. The lousy disease.

The backwardness of Constantine to enter on the contest was highly excuseable. The disproportion of forces was immense. The soldiers were the only order of men whom Maxentius had ever studied to please; he indulged them in all manner of licentiousness, and suffered them to oppress and plunder the people with impunity. Considering the prætorian guards as the firmest support of his throne, he had restored their privileges, and increased their numbers to the ancient establishment; and with the rest of the Italian troops, they composed a formidable body of 80,000 men. The whole army of Maxentius amounted to 170,000 foot and 18,000 horse, and immense magazines of corn and other provisions were formed for their supply. The whole force of Constantine consisted of no more than 90,000 foot and 8,000 horse, and the defence of the Rhine required at least the half of that number. But time no longer remained for deliberation. Maxentius was ready to enter Gaul, and Constantine therefore resolved to anticipate him by carrying the war into the heart of Italy. At the head of about 40,000 men, he marched to encounter an enemy whose army was more than four times the number of his own.* It was at this critical juncture, that he saw in the air the famous vision of a resplendent cross, as related by Eusebius.† In another work I have entered into an investigation of that miraculous circumstance, a repetition of the enquiry would therefore be useless.‡ If numbers, however, gave an apparent superiority to Maxentius, the advantages of military skill and discipline were on the side of Constantine. The

* Gibbon's *Dec. Rom. Emp.* 2. ch. 14, cf. *actov.* cit.

† Eusebius *Vita Constantini*, cap. 28.

‡ See *Letters on Ancient and Mod. Hist.* London, 1804.

troops brought into the field by the former, were little accustomed to the practice of war, and enervated by the luxuries of Rome, which they left with reluctance: those of the latter were hardy veterans, long inured to the exercise of arms against the barbarians of the Rhine. The characters of the two commanders were as different as those of the armies. Maxentius, immersed in debauchery and vice, was inexperienced in arms: the intrepid mind of Constantine had, from early youth, been formed to war, and his eyes been accustomed to its bloody scenes.

This skilful and enterprising leader had deliberated with caution, but he acted with vigour. Having conducted the veteran legions of Gaul across the Alps, he descended into the plains of Piedmont, before Maxentius had received any certain intelligence of his march. The city of Susa was immediately taken by assault, and most of the garrison put to the sword. Advancing to the plains of Turin, he found his march intercepted by a formidable army under the conduct of the lieutenants of Maxentius. The contest was bloody; but Constantine, by his rapid and skilful evolutions baffling the massy columns of the Roman cavalry, proved in the end completely victorious. Turin, Milan, and all the cities between the Alps and the Po, acknowledged his power, and zealously embraced his party. But the rules of military prudence did not yet permit him to advance against Rome. A formidable army of Italians in the neighbourhood of Verona was ready to oppose his progress or to intercept his retreat, in case of his proving unfortunate. He saw the expediency of directing his arms to that quarter, where he defeated the enemy with great slaughter, and captured Verona.

Verona.* Pompeianus, a lieutenant of Maxentius, distinguished by his courage and abilities, here bravely fought, and gallantly fell, in the cause of an unworthy master. While Constantine was signalizing his courage and conduct in the field, the sovereign of Italy, immersed in luxurious pleasures, appeared insensible of the dangers that menaced his throne. The rapid progress of Constantine, however, at last roused him from his fatal security; and the experienced officers, who had served under the banners of Maximilian, were at length obliged to inform him of his real situation, and to urge the necessity of vigorous exertions. Though his armies had suffered two bloody defeats at Turin and Verona, he still possessed ample resources. The prætorian guards considered their interest and importance as connected with his cause; and a numerous army was soon collected. The tyrant, conscious of his want of talents for war, trembled at the thought of so dangerous a contest; but necessity and shame obliged him to take the field in person against his antagonist. As superstition is generally the concomitant of fear, Maxentius, before his departure from Rome, consulted the Sibyline books. And the guardians of these ancient oracles, who, as a modern historian observes, "were as well versed in the arts of the world as they were ignorant of the secrets of fate," gave him this doubtful answer, "hostium Romanorum esse periturum;" "the enemy of the Romans was shortly to perish." As the vanquished commander would, by the victor, be certainly declared the enemy of Rome, those artful interpreters of the will of Heaven secured

* For an illustration of the siege of Verona, vide *Manci Verona Illustrata*, part 1.

their own reputation, whatever might be the event of the war.

On the 28th of October, A.D. 312, this important contest was decided.* Constantine had long been apprehensive that his antagonist, instead of risking the issue of the contest in a general engagement, would shut himself up in Rome, where immense magazines would secure him against the danger of famine. It was therefore with equal surprise and pleasure that, on his arrival within about nine miles of the imperial city, he discovered the army of Maxentius drawn up in order of battle, on a spacious plain; with the Tiber in their rear, an injudicious position, precluding the possibility of a retreat. Constantine, on this memorable occasion, displayed all the talents of the general and the soldier. Having disposed his troops with consummate skill, he charged in person the enemy's cavalry; and his irresistible attack determined the fortune of the day. The prætorian guards distinguished themselves by the most desperate valour; but all their efforts were unavailing: the confusion became general, and the flying troops of Maxentius rushed by thousands into the Tiber, where most of them were drowned. The emperor attempted to make his escape back into the city, over the Milvian bridge; but the crowd pressing on him, forced him into the river; and the weight of his armour immediately sunk him to the bottom.† His body being soon afterwards found, was exposed to the view of the populace. His two sons were put to death, and his whole race extirpated; ‡

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 2, ch. 14—230—*Tallemant Hist. des Emp.* tom. 4, par. 1.

† It appears that the breaking down of the bridge, as related by some historians, is a mistake. See Gibbon, vol. 2, ch. 14, and *Tallemant*, tom. 4, par. 1.

treatment which, how severe soever it may appear, was only the same that awaited the person and family of Constantine, had he been vanquished.

Constantine, now master of Rome, was caressed by the senate and people : games and festivals were instituted to commemorate his victory, and a triumphal arch was erected to his honour. The final abolition of the prætorian guards was one of the immediate consequences of this revolution. Their fortified camp was destroyed, and such of the prætorians as had escaped the sword were dispersed among the legions on the frontier. Constantine now formed an alliance with Licinius the Illyrian emperor, and in order to cement the union of their families and interests, gave him his sister Constantia in marriage. But Constantine's presence being necessary on the banks of the Rhine, Maximin, the sovereign of the Asiatic part of the empire, resolved on a war with Licinius. The issue of which was in favour of the latter; who by the superiority of his military skill, and the firmness of his Illyrian legions, gained a decisive victory over the numerous forces of his antagonist. Maximin did not long survive his defeat.* After his death the provinces of the East acknowledged the sovereignty of Licinius.

These incessant revolutions must have afforded to Dioclesian, in his retreat at Salona, ample subjects of reflection ; and he could scarcely fail of congratulating himself on his happy retirement from the tumultuous scene. But the melancholy catastrophe of his wife and his daughter, must have excited very different sentiments. Those two unfortunate princesses, whose august dignity the Romans had so long been accus-

* *Lact. de Mort. Persecutorum, cap. 48.*

tomed to revere, after having suffered a variety of persecutions and insults from Maximin, were put to death by Licinius, and their bodies ignominiously thrown into the sea. History is silent concerning their crimes, and the affair must for ever remain involved in mysterious obscurity. But history informs us that Dioclesian ineffectually endeavoured by entreaties to alleviate their misfortunes. He humbled himself so far as to send a suppliant message to Maximin, who owed to him his promotion to greatness and empire.* But past favours were forgotten, and gratitude was a virtue unknown to the tyrant. When Dioclesian wore the purple at the head of his legions, he was used to command; but now he could only supplicate, and his supplications were rejected. If ever he repented of his resignation of the sovereign authority, it must have been on this melancholy and humiliating occasion.

By the death of Maxentius and Maximin, the number of emperors was reduced to two. Licinius and Constantine divided between them the whole Roman world; the former ruling the East, and the latter the West. But scarcely a year had elapsed since the death of Maximin, before a war took place between the two emperors. Two decisive victories, gained by the superior abilities of Constantine, obliged Licinius to sue for peace.† A reconciliation was effected, which during the space of eight years, preserved the internal tranquillity of the empire. Constantine employed this interval in repelling his foreign enemies. The warlike nation of the Goths had been so completely humbled

* Lact. de Mort. Persecutorum, cap. 41.

† Gibben Des. Rom. Emp. vol. 2, ch. 14, chiefly on the authority of Sossimus.

by Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, as to have long respected the majesty of Rome. So great, indeed, had been their dread of the Roman arms, that even during the intestine divisions of the empire, they had not ventured to make any hostile incursions. But the lapse of almost fifty years had, at length, produced new sentiments and views. The strength of the nation was recruited, a new generation had arisen, and the misfortunes of former days were forgotten. The Goths and the Sarmatians, uniting their force, invaded the provinces of Illyrium. Constantine marched against those formidable enemies, and after meeting with an obstinate resistance, not only expelled them from the Roman provinces, but passing the Danube, penetrated into the interior of Dacia, and restored the ancient frontier established by Trajan. Crispus, his son, who was dignified with the title of Cæsar, displaying in another quarter of the empire his conduct and valour, was equally successful against the Franks and the Alemanni on the banks of the Rhine.

Constantine, now every where victorious, resolved to reign over the whole empire. In the year 323 he entered on his grand contest with Licinius, who, at this momentous crisis, displayed the greatest activity; and vigorously exerted those abilities which had formerly raised him to the purple. He called forth his immense resources, collected all the forces of the East, and filled the plains of Adrianople with his troops. His army consisted of 150,000 foot, and 15,000 horse: that of Constantine assembled at Thessalonica, amounted to about 120,000 infantry and cavalry, composed of the warlike legions of Europe,* whose discipline was confirmed by action, and whose courage was

* For the numbers, see Gibbon, vol. 3, ch. 14.

elated by a long series of victories. With these veteran troops he marched to attack Licinius, who remained strongly encamped near Adrianople, with the river Hebrus in his front. The battle was extremely obstinate and bloody, but the military skill and heroism of Constantine overcame all opposition. The fortified camp of Licinius was taken by assault, 39,000 men are said to have been slain, and great numbers surrendered themselves prisoners.

Licinius being now unable to keep the field, shut himself up in Byzantium; the fortifications of which had, during the civil wars, been repaired and strengthened. The siege of that place was immediately undertaken by Constantine; but it proved a laborious and difficult enterprize. As Licinius was master of the sea, Byzantium constantly received fresh supplies of provisions. Being master of Asia Minor and Egypt, the most commercial provinces of the empire, his marine consisting of 350 galleys of three ranks of oars, was greatly superior to that of his rival, who had only about 200 small vessels. Notwithstanding, however, this disparity of force, Constantine gave orders to force the passage of the Hellespont, where the fleet of Licinius remained inactive, and in that narrow strait could not avail itself of the superiority of numbers. He intrusted to the Cæsar, Crispus his eldest son, the execution of this difficult enterprize, which he performed with singular success. The engagement continued two days. The issue of the first day's encounter was indecisive, and the loss nearly equal. On the second day, Crispus taking advantage of a strong south wind, which carried up his vessels against those of Licinius, gained a complete victory.* The loss of the enemy

* Zosimus, lib. 2, ap. Gibbon, ubi supra.

was about 5,000 men, 130 vessels were destroyed, and the rest of the hostile fleet escaped with great difficulty to the coast of Chalcedon in Asia. Crispus distinguished himself on this occasion by his conduct as well as his courage, and the fruits of his victory were the constant supplies which the open passage of the Hellespont poured into the camp of the besiegers, together with the facility of intercepting those of the enemy. Constantine, in the mean while, pressed the siege of Byzantium, raising mounds, and employing all the military engines then in use. The battering rams having already shaken the walls, Licinius retired with his treasures to Chalcedon, and collected a new army of near 60,000 men. Constantine, ever watchful over the motions of his antagonist, transported part of his army over the Bosphorus; and the last decisive engagement took place on the heights of Chryseopolis, at present Scutari, opposite to Constantinople. The troops of Licinius fought with desperate but unavailing valour; and their total defeat, with the loss of about 25,000 men, terminated the war. Licinius, retiring to Nicomedia, entered into a negotiation, by which, through the intercession of his wife, Constantia, the sister of Constantine, he obtained a promise of life with the enjoyment of peace and affluence on condition of resigning the purple and retiring to a private condition. But notwithstanding this stipulation, he was afterwards executed on a charge of secret conspiracy, the truth or falsehood of which history is unable to develope.* The transactions of this age are all clouded with obscurity, misrepresented by the spirit of party, or too highly coloured by panegyric.

* Vide Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 2, ch. 14, et seq.

Such

Such was the series of great events which raised Constantine to the undivided sovereignty of the Roman world; and the consequences of his elevation have rendered his reign one of the most distinguished epochs in the history of mankind. Amidst a long train of political changes, following one another in rapid succession, a moral and intellectual revolution of a more important and extraordinary nature had been gradually taking place in the world. The Christian religion spreading from Judea, had made its way into every corner of the Roman empire. The fantastic ideas of the pagan mythology, which, from time immemorial had darkened the human mind, began to be gradually dispelled, and a celestial light dawned on the intellectual world. The Christians were long stigmatized as atheists, and often persecuted as despisers of the gods of Rome. A multitude of priests and other persons interested in the support of paganism directed the superstition not only of the people, but also of the emperors, in subserviency to their designs, and procured the imperial sanction to intolerance and persecution. In another work already mentioned, I have endeavoured concisely to exhibit the progress of Christianity, and to trace to their first principles those bloody persecutions which vainly threatened its extinction.* In this place it will therefore suffice briefly to mention a few leading facts. After many alternate periods of persecution and tranquillity, the Christian Church had received the last and most terrible shock in the joint reign of Dioclesian and Maximian. The persecution which then commenced, and which Dioclesian sanctioned with reluctance, was the last struggle of declining paganism, and the most tremendous

* Letters on Ancient and Modern Hist. London, 1804.

effort that ever had been made for the extirpation of Christianity. The cruelties exhibited in other parts of the empire were never admitted into the provinces under the command of the equitable Constantius, who considered himself as the common father of all his subjects, and the Deity as the universal parent of all mankind. The enlightened and liberal conduct of Constantius was, through policy, adopted by Maxentius, who judged it prudent to secure the fidelity of so considerable a body of subjects.* Galerius, the implacable enemy of the Christians and the first mover of the persecution, labouring under a painful and incurable disease, and struck with remorse, at length published an edict of toleration, and even condescended to solicit the pious prayers of those Christians whom he had so cruelly endeavoured to exterminate.† Maximin, shortly after succeeding Galerius, affected at first to adopt the same prudent measures.‡ But cruelty and superstition were interwoven in his character; and nature had fitted him for a persecutor. He adopted a plan for the annihilation of Christianity, more systematic than those of his predecessors; and his infamous agents adding violence to policy, inflicted on the Christians the most cruel and ignominious punishments.§ But in the space of a few months the tolerating edicts of Constantine and Licinius, obliged him to suspend the prosecution of his designs; and a few days before his death he published an edict of toleration, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself, by imputing the sufferings of the Christians to his judges and governors.¶ His death delivered the church,

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 8, cap. 14.

† Lect. de Mort. Persecutorum, cap. 34.

‡ Euseb. ubi supra, lib. 9, cap. 1.

§ Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 6, and 7.

¶ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 10, cap. 5.

from the last of her persecutors, and insured her tranquillity. From tranquillity she rose to triumph; and the despised symbol of the Cross was displayed on the banners of the empire.

Constantine and Licinius, in their interview at Milan, had published their famous edict of universal liberty of conscience throughout the Roman world.* After the last civil war had given Constantine the undivided possession of the imperial power, he determined to carry into execution the design, which he appears to have long revolved in his mind, of embracing christianity and rendering it the national religion of the Empire. At the same time he resolved for ever to remove the imperial residence from Rome; and to found a new capital which might exist as a memorial of his glory and power; and perpetuate the splendor of his reign. His supposed motives for these extraordinary measures, I have endeavoured to discuss in a series of enquiries, which it is useless here to repeat.† Calcedon and the ancient Troy, are said to have been successively chosen for the situation of this new metropolis of the world. Various considerations, however, pointed out for that purpose, Byzantium on the banks of the Bosphorus, a city deservedly esteemed the key of Europe and Asia.

About the year 324 of the Christian æra, the foundations of Constantinople were laid, and the seven eminences on which it was built, although less distinctly marked by abrupt vallies than those of Rome, gave it, in this respect, some resemblance to that ancient capital of the empire. The circumference of the new city was something more than ten Roman miles

* Eusebius Hist. Ecclesiast, lib. 10. cap. 5.

† Letters on ancient and modern History.

and its area about 2,000 English acres.* Architects and artificers were collected from all parts of the empire, and multitudes of labourers were employed to bring the great work to a conclusion. The cities and temples of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their finest ornaments, for the embellishment of the new capital. The sovereign lord of the Roman world, the absolute master of the lives and fortunes of 120,000,000 of subjects, left nothing undone that unbounded power and immense resources could accomplish, in order to complete his design. Obligations were imposed, and encouragements held out in order to attract the senators and opulent inhabitants of Rome, and the provinces, to fix their residence in the new metropolis. Palaces built in various quarters of the city were, by the emperor, bestowed on his favourites. Pensions and lands were assigned them for the support of their dignity; and hereditary estates were granted from the imperial demesnes, on the easy tenure of maintaining a house in the new capital. But obligations and encouragement soon became superfluous, and were gradually abolished.† In the space of ten years, the original plan appears to have been completed, and in the year 334 the dedication of the city took place.

Constantine having accomplished his two great objects, of changing the religion, and removing the seat of the empire, directed his attention towards regulating the church, and rendering Christianity permanent. He reigned with unparalleled glory and splendor the space of about thirty years and ten

* Gibbon ch. 17, with the accurate investigations of d'Anville *Mém. del. académ. tom. 35. Thérnoz lib. 1 cap. 15.*

† Gibbon *ubi supra* on the authority of the Theodosian Code, tom. 6.

months, a longer period of sovereign sway than had been allotted to any of his predecessors since Augustus; and at the mature age of sixty-four ended his memorable life, A.D. 337. Victorious over all his enemies, his steady and vigorous hand crushed all domestic opposition, and repelled all foreign aggression. His fame was so widely extended, that ambassadors from India came to congratulate the splendor and prosperity of his reign, and declared that the kings of those remote countries had erected statues to his honour.* His reign is certainly one of the most memorable in history.† He was an especial instrument in the hand of Divine Providence for the general establishment of the Christian religion. But while Christianity became triumphant, its spirit was extinguished. Christians plunged themselves into those vices, and disgraced themselves with those crimes, which had so long been the reproach of paganism. In another work I have concisely delineated the state of the church, during the reigns of Constantine and his successors, and related the principal transactions, which took place in the empire. I shall for the sake of connection only remark, that Constantine, having put to death his promising son Crispus, divided the empire, at his own decease, among his other three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. Constans fell by the arms of his brother Constantine, who in his turn suffered the same fate by the rebel Magnentius. Constantius having again united in his own person the whole Roman sovereignty, died, without issue, in 361, and thus the posterity of the great

* Euseb. *vita Constantine*, lib. 4, cap. 50.

† For the family of Constantine, see Anderson's *Roy. Geneal. table* 133, and a chronological account of his successors, *Ibid.* table 113.

Constantine being extinct, in the first generation, Julian, his nephew, and cousin to the last emperor, succeeded to the imperial throne.* In the former work here alluded to I have given a sketch of the character of Julian, and a summary account of his fatal expedition into Persia, with some remarks on the fall of that persecuting apostate. In Julian the family of Constantine was extinct, and Jovian succeeded by military election. His short reign was productive of no considerable event. The succeeding joint reign of Valentinian and Valens, the former in the west, the latter in the east, was unprosperous. A numerous horde of Goths, computed at 200,000 armed men, besides women and children, making a body of about 1,000,000, being expelled from their country by the Huns, appeared on the banks of the Danube and craved an asylum in the Roman dominions,† on condition of allegiance and military service. This being granted, another immense horde presented themselves with the same request, which being refused, they passed over on rafts without permission and joined their countrymen. In circumstances of so extraordinary a nature, it was almost impossible that differences should not arise. The immense Gothic hordes being united were distressed for provisions. Mutual suspicions arose, and reci-

* In the Letters on ancient and modern History, a work extensively circulated both in Great Britain and America, I have made numerous remarks on the state of society among the Romans, and on the series of events which ushered in the downfall of Rome. To that work, therefore, the reader must be referred.

† Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. ch. 26, p. 303. Among a variety of authors Gibbon seems to have borrowed all that can be deemed authentic relative to these transactions from Ammian. Marcellin, and his references are generally accurate, vide Am. Marcell. lib. 31, ch. 4, p. 18.

procal complaints of injuries, and infraction of treaties at last broke out into open hostilities between the Goths and the Romans. A bloody engagement took place in the plains of Adrianople, in which the Romans were totally defeated, and Valens, the emperor, who was never more seen, is supposed to have perished in the flames of a house, in which he had taken refuge. This defeat was one of the most fatal that the Romans had ever experienced, and from this period the visible decline of the empire may with certainty be dated. The Gothic war was at last terminated by the great Theodosius, in the best mode that the impolicy of his predecessors allowed him to adopt. After repeated engagements, most of the Goths were domiciliated in the empire. They retained their own laws, and were governed by their own chiefs, who were appointed by the emperor. An army of 40,000 was maintained for the service of the empire, and not only distinguished by peculiar ornaments, but indulged with liberal pay and licentious privileges.* Thus was formed that singular imperium in imperio, which afterwards proved fatal to Rome. During the reign of Theodosius the Great, who reunited under his sole sovereignty the whole Roman world, the empire governed by his steady hand experienced no other convulsion of so dangerous a nature. This emperor, in all his measures, religious, political, and military, appears to have adopted the conduct of Constantine, and his reign was distinguished by a similar train of glory and success.† But he also

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* ch. 26, p. 439.

† The senate of Rome was converted, and paganism, hitherto tolerated, was abolished by an edict of Theodosius, A.D. 388. Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* ch. 28.

imitated him in the partition of the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, to the former of whom he assigned the eastern, to the latter the western part. This was the last fatal division of the empire, and one of the principal causes of the subversion of the Roman power in the west. This was effected not by absolute barbarians, like those who had formerly harrassed the empire with their desultory inroads, but by the Goths, who had been entertained in the imperial service; and who were consequently not unacquainted with the military discipline and arms of the Romans. Theodosius the Great had not been many months in the grave before the Goths, who had been overawed by his political and military genius, rose in arms against his weak successors, who had diminished the subsidies which these dangerous mercenaries were accustomed to receive. They ranged themselves under the banners of Alaric their chief; and innumerable bands of these warlike adventurers, from the other side of the Danube, passed over and flocked to his standard. Being thus reinforced, he ravaged all the provinces of Greece, and spread consternation and alarm to the gates of Constantinople. On the conclusion of peace, Alaric was declared master-general of Illyrium, for the Emperor Arcadius, and, at the same time, the whole nation of the Visigoths, uniting themselves under his victorious standard, elected him for their king. Thus did the Romans put arms into the hands of their enemies; and Alaric, invested with the double power of a Roman general and a Gothic sovereign, being seated on the verge of the eastern and western empires, alternately sold his services, or, at least, his promises, to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius, till an opportunity

opportunity offered itself for the invasion of Italy. Having renounced the service of the eastern emperor, he entered into that of Honorius, and was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyrium.* At last the court of Honorius being divided by factions, and his empire endangered by revolts, he began, under various pretexts, to throw off the mask, and making some proposals which were rejected, he entered Italy, appeared before Rome, A.D. 409, and after a close blockade, in which the citizens had long suffered all the miseries of famine, the mistress of the world was obliged to purchase, with a large ransom, the retreat of the enemy. Soon after he returned to the siege, which he again raised on certain conditions. In the year 410, Alaric besieged Rome for the third time. The senators adopted the resolution of making a desperate defence; but the populace, either through fear or treachery, opened the gates to the enemy. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of the city, imperial Rome, after having conquered and civilized the principal part of the then known world, saw, for the first time, a victorious enemy within her walls. Her immense wealth, acquired by so many centuries of successful war, became a prey to the Gothic invaders, and that vast city, the largest, and, in all probability, the richest of the ancient or modern world, exhibited an universal scene of pillage. The churches alone, with their sacred ornaments, were exempted from plunder; for the Goths were zealous Christians, though mostly of the Arian sect, and testified, on every occasion, the greatest veneration for every

* Gibbon, ch. 30, p. 234. Gibbon here refers to *Bist. Hist. des Peuple de l'Europe*, tom. 7.

thing consecrated to religion.* Rome, which had extended her conquests and her rapine over so many countries, and had concentrated within her walls the wealth of the plundered world, being now in her turn become a prey to barbarian pillage, no more raised her drooping head, but fell successively under the assaults of different enemies.† During these transactions, the imperial court, consulting its own safety, remained closely shut up in Ravenna, a city which, being surrounded by impassable morasses, was impregnable to every attempt of an enemy. But Italy and all the other parts of the western empire was ravaged by different hordes of barbarians. Attila, king of the Huns, after his bloody defeat at Chalens, in Champagne, turned his arms against Italy and ravaged the country. In the year 455, Rome was again plundered by Genseric, king of the African Vandals. The pillage lasted fourteen days; and all that the Goths had left forty-five years before, or that had since been accumulated, was carried away to Africa. In contemplating the revolutions of mundane affairs, it is not amiss to observe, that the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem, which had been 400 years before brought to Rome, and ostentatiously displayed in the triumph of Titus, were now torn from the Temple of Peace, where they had been deposited, and carried into Africa by a barbarian invader.‡ At this time also the rich gilding of the capitol, which had cost the enormous sum of about 2,400,000*l.* sterling, was

* Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 1. The Goths had received Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople, most of whom were Arians.

† The introduction of Arian Christianity among the Goths is ascribed to the Emperor Valens. Tillamont Mem. Eccles. tom. 6.

‡ Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. ch. 36.

torn down to increase the booty of the conquerors.* It would, in this compendium, be as impossible as it is useless to commemorate all the barbarian invasions that desolated Italy, as well as the other provinces of the western empire, which, under successive emperors, dragged out a precarious existence until the year 476, or according to some 479; when Odoacer, a chief of the Heruli, who like many others of these barbarian warriors had been long entertained in the service of the empire, placed himself on the throne of the Cæsar, and put a final period to the Roman dominion. Other barbarian nations seized the different provinces of the empire. The Goths and the Vandals seated themselves in Spain and Africa. The Franks made themselves masters of Gaul, and the Saxons seized on Britain. The empire of the east saw with little concern the downfall of that of the west, and Constantinople appeared indifferent to the calamities of Rome. Nothing can more evidently shew that the fatal division of the empire, not the mere removal of the imperial residence, was one of the principal causes of its dissolution. The introduction of the northern barbarians into the empire, in the character of auxiliaries, was another grand cause which concurred to produce that effect. Ever since the time of Marius, the nations on the north of the Danube had appeared terrible to Rome. They frequently harrassed her immense frontier, and at different periods penetrated far into her provinces. They were, however, constantly repulsed, or exterminated by bloody defeats. But in the reign of Gallienus they were introduced into the heart of the empire, and entertained in the

* Donat. Rom. Ant. lib. 2. It seems strange, however, that Alario should have overlooked the rich spoils of this ancient seat of paganism.

service of that emperor, as well as of the various usurpers, who during that convulsed period assumed the imperial purple. Under the vigorous administration of active and warlike princes, like Aurelian, Probus, Dioclesian, Constantine, and Theodosius, those mercenary bands, acting in due subordination, might render essential service. But during the feeble reigns of Honorius and his successors, instead of auxiliary subjects, they became insolent masters. The Roman soldiers, when called into the field, continued to support their former reputation; but amidst a scene of intestine faction and foreign war, a pusillanimous court, which abandoning Rome, and shutting itself up in Ravenna, had lost the affections and confidence of the people, placed its principal security in the valour of the mercenary strangers, who sometimes protected and sometimes insulted and ravaged the empire. Thus the fate of imperial Rome, at last depended on the sword of those formidable barbarians, who now being improved in the art of war, for a while supported and then overturned her power.*

Odoacer reigned fourteen years over Italy, during which time he endeavoured, in some measure, to repair the damages which the country had sustained from almost a century of continual wars and barbarian invasions. Italy was in the next place conquered by Theodoric, king of the Goths, who was commissioned and subsidised by the court of Constantinople, which now claimed the sovereignty of the whole Roman empire. This prince reigned over Italy under the authority and sanction of the eastern emperor. He preserved the Goths and the Italians as two

* Vide Robertson's observations Hist. ch. 3, book 1, p. 10; and Montesquieu de la Grand. and le decade des Romains.

distinct

distinct nations, reserving the former for the employments of war, and leaving to the latter the arts of peace. Theodoric, although totally ignorant of letters, was a prince of great political talents, and Italy began to flourish under his reign. At his decease his kingdom devolved on his beautiful and accomplished daughter Amalasontha. But the Goths, in the year 535, deposed this princess, and refused to acknowledge the paramount sovereignty of the imperial court of Constantinople. Justinian, who then reigned over the east, sent the celebrated Bellisarius to attempt the conquest of Italy. That great general entered Rome. The Gothic army advanced, and the imperial city sustained, during the whole of the year 537, one of the most bloody and obstinate sieges recorded in history. On the arrival of a second army from Constantinople, the Goths were obliged to relinquish their enterprise, and Bellisarius, marching out of Rome, completed the conquest of Italy. After the departure of Bellisarius, the Goths again revolted, and that general a second time entered Italy. Rome was captured by the Goths, A.D. 546, and two years after retaken by Bellisarius, who being recalled, the imperial city again fell into the hands of the enemy. The command of the army and the government of Italy, being then conferred on Narses the Eunuch, a person of consummate military skill and of the most daring courage, that great commander defeated the Goths, A.D. 552, slew Totila, their king, and made himself master of Rome. In another bloody engagement he defeated and slew Tcias, who had succeeded Totila and entirely subverted the Gothic kingdom of Italy. Narses also defeated with prodigious slaughter

the numerous armies of the Franks and Allemanni, which had made a formidable irruption into the country; and every enemy being subdued, Italy was, in 554, made a province of the eastern or Byzantine empire. Narses, who had distinguished himself by the most signal display of military talents and dauntless courage, was its first exarch or governor.

After the subversion of the Gothic kingdom, Italy was divided between the Grecian or eastern emperor and the kings of Lombardy; the former possessing the south and the middle, the latter the northern part. The wars and commotions which incited the bishops of Rome to call in the Franks in order to support them against the oppression of the Lombards, as well as the final extinction of the kingdom of Lombardy, have been already mentioned.* In the year 800, Charlemagne, king of France, being crowned Emperor of the Romans, the western empire, the image of that of ancient Rome, was revived. Italy having long been weary of its dependence on the eastern empire, from whence it derived but little assistance in time of danger, as well as disgusted at the conduct of the Iconoclast emperors, and alienated from their obedience by the commencing schism between the Greek and Latin churches, Rome renounced all political connection with Constantinople. The eastern emperors retained some possessions in the south, from which they were finally expelled by the Normans in the eleventh century, as will be observed in speaking of Naples and Sicily. The rest of Italy constituted part of the empire of Charlemagne.

The general history of this country, until the reign

* See historical view of France.

of Frederic II, is consequently involved in that of the empire to which the reader must be referred.* It must here suffice briefly to trace the formation of certain characteristic features, which gradually developed themselves during the confusion of the middle ages. In treating of the contests between the popes and the emperors, I have concisely exhibited the gradual rise of the papal, and the decline of the imperial power. While the Roman empire existed, it was natural that the bishops of the imperial city should acquire a sort of superior influence over those of the provinces; and that their authority should be regarded with a peculiar deference. The removal of the imperial residence from Rome, contributed to augment the influence of its bishop; and after the fall, first of the western empire, and then of the Gothic kingdom of Italy, the feeble and precarious power of the Greek emperors in that country, caused the Roman prelate to be regarded as a kind of secondary sovereign. The destruction of the kingdom of Lombardy, and the elevation of Charlemagne to the throne of the West, laid the foundation of the temporal power of the papal see. Its spiritual power was a natural consequence of the piety of the barbarous conquerors of the empire, who entertained a high degree of veneration for the Roman name, and were ambitious of Roman dignities and titles.† The exorbitant power of the church was the necessary consequence of the state of the European world. The clergy were almost the only persons who had any knowledge of letters, and who were capable of exercising the various functions of a regular go-

* See historical chapters of France and Germany.

† This is exemplified in Alaric, Theodoric, and several others of the barbarian invaders of the empire. See Gibbon, *ubi supra*.

vernment. The bishops composed in every country of the western Europe a leading branch of the national assemblies. They were introduced into the cabinets of princes, and acted a conspicuous part in every department of the administration. Amidst the tumult of barbarian conquest, the ferocious chieftains might direct the operations of irregular warfare, and superintend the scenes of rapine and destruction; but as soon as the conquering nations were established on the ruins of the Roman power, the complex affairs of political and civil government required the talents of men more acquainted with civilized life. The prelates of the church soon gained an ascendancy in the state, and the dignity of their sacred character secured the respectful submission of the people. The same causes produced the same veneration for the monastic orders: the abbots as well as the prelates had seats in the national senates, and like them were employed in various departments of government. The ecclesiastics were almost the only persons who, in those times of barbarism and ignorance, were qualified for such important offices: and they were careful to turn these circumstances to advantage. An eternal Providence governs the world by laws which frequently baffle the superficial investigations of man; but none of its dispensations are without their utility. Perhaps the exorbitant elevation of the church was necessary for preserving the existence of the Christian name, during a long succession of illiterate ages, and amidst the tumults of barbarian anarchy. It is easy at least to perceive, that priestly power naturally arose from the circumstances, as well as from the spirit of the times. Among the new nations most of the first clergy were of Roman descent, so that modern Europe received,
in

the same time to seize on the public palace. All Florence was immediately in a tumult. The citizens ranged themselves on the side of the Medici. The archbishop, with Francis Parri, the two Salviati, and Jacob Poggio, were hanged before the palace.* The people immediately massacred all such of the conspirators as could be found. Bandini having made his escape and fled into Turkey, was, by the Grand Seignior, delivered up to the Florentines, and received the just reward of his crimes. Lorenzo de Medici was now more than ever the idol of the citizens: he held, till his death, which happened in 1492, all the authority which his grandfather, the great Cosmo, had possessed; and, in all his conduct, followed the example of this illustrious ancestor. Like him, he was magnificent and liberal; the munificent patron of learning and genius.† After his death, the Florentine republic relapsed into its former disorderly state, and was incessantly convulsed by factions; till the people, encouraged by the Pope, elected Cosmo de Medici II. for their chief magistrate, who assumed the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany. The family of Medici becoming extinct in 1739, was followed by Francis Duke of Lorraine, who was afterwards raised to the imperial throne. He was succeeded by his son Peter Leopold, who became emperor on the death of his brother Joseph II. in 1790. Tuscany was afterwards erected into a kingdom, under the ancient denomination of Etruria, and assigned to a prince of Spain; but, in December 1807, it was annexed to the French empire.

* See the account of this conspiracy in Michiavel's *Hist. Florence*, lib. 8. p. 9—19.

† For the whole life and character of this famous Florentine, see Rouce's elaborate work.

Venice, once so famous for commerce and so formidable in arms, is generally supposed to have derived her origin from the invasion of Italy by Attila, king of the Huns, about the middle of the fifth century. The fact is not attested by any contemporary historian : but from a mass of presumptive evidence, arising from a variety of circumstances, it appears incontestible.* Until that period, the cluster of small islands, on which Venice now stands, was destitute of culture and probably of inhabitants. But many families of Apulia, Padua, and other cities in the neighbourhood, flying from the sword of the Huns, found there a safe asylum, inaccessible to the inroads of an enemy.

The fugitives having abandoned their property, were at the first in distressful circumstances. Almost the only food which their situation afforded was fish, and their only article of trade was salt extracted from the sea. Such was the origin of Venice; in after times so famed for commerce, for wealth and magnificence. The manners and habits of the Venetians, were gradually formed by their situation. The want of land obliged them to exercise their industry on the sea. Their commercial views were, at the first, directed towards the country which they had left, and with which they were so perfectly acquainted. They began a feeble trade with the neighbouring coasts, and afterwards penetrated by the Po and other rivers into the interior of Italy. The foundation of their commerce being thus laid, they increased both the number and size of their vessels, and gradually extended their voyages to all the ports of the Adriatic. We have very imperfect information relative to those dark ages; but if the Venetians began to build the

* Gibbon. Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 6. p. 122, 123.

magnificent

rons at last were subdued, and compelled to become members of the corporations, to take the oath of fidelity to the magistrates, to subject their lands to all burdens and taxes imposed by common consent, to defend the community against all enemies, and to reside each in his respective city, during a specified time, every year.* This subjection of the nobility to the municipal government, became almost universal; and in the reign of Frederic Barbarossa, in the latter part of the twelfth century, there was scarcely a nobleman in Italy who was not a member of some city, and subject to its laws.† All the Italian barons, however, were not brought into this state by compulsion: several embraced it through choice. Observing the security, as well as the high degree of credit and estimation, which the growing wealth and importance of the cities procured to their members, they soon became desirous of partaking of such advantages. In this view many of the nobles became citizens; and, abandoning their feudal castles, took up their residence in the towns; a practice which soon became general, and which still subsists.

The introduction of the Italian barons into the municipal corporations, did not, however, secure the tranquillity of the cities. Forming powerful and discordant factions, they agitated the municipalities by their hostile contests. Like the patricians of ancient Rome, the Italian nobles aspired to all the powers of the magistracy; and the ambition of the aristocracy being equalled by the turbulence of the people, every city presented a scene of almost perpetual contest.

* Muratori Antiquitates Ital. vol. 6, p. 164.

† Otto Frisingensis De Gestis Frederici, vol. 1, ap Robertson Hist. Charles V, vol. 1, note 15,

The annals of Florence are filled with relations of the civil feuds of the citizens.* The constitutions of Venice and Genoa became completely aristocratical. But Rome, torn by intestine factions, fluctuated through ages of anarchy, in which the power of the popes, the nobles, and the people, alternately predominated, while that of the emperor was the weakest of all, and totally ineapable of checking the disorders of the state. Rome having, therefore, no authority sufficiently stable and vigorous to over-awe her rebellious sons, they disdained the control of laws, and asserted by arms their personal independence. All their palaces were fortified castles. In most of the cities of Italy the nobles had assumed the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers of defence.

During these calamitous times the number of inhabitants in Rome was greatly diminished; but Mr. Gibbon hesitates to believe, that in the fourteenth century they were reduced so low as 33,000. In the reign of Leo X. they had increased to 85,000. Since the commencement of the fifteenth century Rome has, in part, retrieved the misfortunes occasioned by so many ages of anarchy.

The Italian cities had no sooner subdued the feudal barons, than they resolved to shake off the imperial authority. In exhibiting an historical sketch of Germany, I have endeavoured briefly to develop the leading train of events which raised the papal power to its height, and enabled the Italian cities to throw off their allegiance to the emperor. It suffices here to say, that the imperial power might be said to expire in Italy at the death of Frederic II. in 1250, and that before the end of the thirteenth century, almost

* Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, *passim*.

all the great cities, having shaken off every mark of subjection to the empire, were become independent sovereign republics.* Rome, after innumerable contests with the emperors, had the same struggles to repeat with the popes. But the pontiffs, who always had a preponderating influence, finally acquired the complete sovereignty. It was not, however, till about the year 1500, that they became absolute masters of the city. It is not unworthy of observation, that the popes found as much difficulty in establishing their dominion over Rome, as over all the rest of Europe.

The papal empire was greatly retarded in its progress by its own divisions, and Rome was often convulsed by the contests between popes and anti-popes, each supported by powerful factions. The grand schism which, from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1418, divided the church, contributed to degrade the pontifical character; and the councils of Constance and Basil considerably weakened the papal authority. The pontificate of the ambitious and warlike Julius II, however, raised the papal see to an elevated station in the political system of Europe; and the reign of Leo X. is distinguished in the history of literature and the elegant arts, as the second Augustan age of Italy. The Grecian empire had long been tottering on the brink of ruin, and its final dissolution might have been easily foreseen. Several of the literati of Constantinople, which, during the barbarous ages of Europe, had been the centre of learning as well as of magnificence, judged it prudent to seek an establishment in other countries, in order to avoid being involved in the ruin of their own. About the year 1560, Leo Pilatus first introduced the study of the Greek language into the

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V, vol. 1, p. 301.

West, and Florence was the first city in which it was brought into fashion. His efforts were seconded by Manuel Chrysolarus and a number of others; and Grecian learning became a favorite pursuit among the Italian literati. As Italy was first distinguished by the revival of letters, they found in that country the most liberal patronage. Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici are conspicuous in history as illustrious patrons of learning and the arts. The efforts of some of the sovereign pontiffs, particularly the munificent Nicholas V, were neither less vigorous nor less effectual at Rome than those of the Medici were at Florence; and Italy saw the arts and literature of Greece resuscitated on her shores, while the rest of Europe, after long struggles and slow advances, had scarcely emerged from barbarism. This pontiff, however, whose name will ever be illustrious in history for his munificent patronage of letters and arts, reduced himself by his extravagant expenditure to the necessity of having recourse to the sale of indulgencies for supplying himself with money. This measure, followed by a series of mismanagement in the court of Rome, introduced the reformation, which gave a dreadful blow to the papal power.*

Amidst the convulsions arising from the ambition of the Christian princes, especially Francis I, Charles V, and the sovereign pontiff, Clement VII, not only the papal dignity was exposed to insult, but the city of Rome suffered the most dreadful calamities. The constable of Bourbon, who having deserted from the service of Francis I commanded the army of the emperor in Italy, being unable to satisfy the demands of his troops, who mutinied for want of pay, and incensed at the duplicity of the pope, led

* For some account of this great event, see Historical Sketch of Germany.

them against Rome. The city, which was bravely defended, was taken by assault in the year 1527. The constable, Duke of Bourbon, fell in the assault the moment that he ascended the wall. But no pen can describe, nor imagination conceive, the horrors of the scene that followed. Palaces and churches were indiscriminately plundered. No age, character, or sex, was exempted from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, and virgins, were at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. The booty was immense; and the acts of violence that were perpetrated innumerable. The conquering army, consisting of about 25,000 men, was composed of three different nations, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans; and their conduct in the sack of a city, which was at that time regarded as the sacred metropolis of the Christian world, affords a memorable criterion of the military licentiousness of that age. Rome had never experienced so cruel a treatment from the Arian Goths and Vandals as at this time from the Catholic subjects of a Catholic monarch.* The pope having retired into the castle of St. Angelo, was besieged in that citadel. The place was of no great strength; but the licentious troops being averse to discipline, and only intent on pillage, pushed the siege with little vigour; and the pope, after being long exposed to all the miseries of famine, and even reduced to the hard necessity of feeding on asses' flesh, was obliged to surrender on very humiliating conditions.

At the period in which Rome was exposed to military rapine, the reformation was making a rapid pro-

* For a more detailed account of the assault and sack of Rome, vide Robertson's Hist. Ch.V. vol. 2, book 4, and his original authorities, particularly Guicciardini, lib. 18.

gress in Germany; and the popes were too much involved in political intrigues to pay much attention to the affairs of religion. The convocation of a general council being neglected, or rather carefully avoided, the breach became irreparable. Rome lost a great part of her spiritual empire, and with it the source of much of her temporal power and wealth. The authority of the papal see was rejected by one half of Europe, and greatly weakened in the other. After this revolution, the pontifical court prudently changed its system of politics. Instead of thundering out its anathemas, and attempting to rule by terror, it supported by more conciliatory methods the remnant of its declining power. Since this period Rome had enjoyed a long and prosperous calm till the late invasion by the French, when she was involved in the general wreck of the country. The papacy was abolished, but afterwards restored. In the month of February, 1808, however, the papal domination was again subverted, and Rome, with all its appendages, annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

Florence was one of the cities of Italy which first resumed its ancient rights, and by its industry rose to wealth and eminence. It derived its origin from Fiosola, a Roman town in the environs, which being seated on the summit of a hill, had, for the sake of convenience, established its market in the valley watered by the Arno. During the civil wars of the Roman republic, many of the citizens leaving Rome, retired to this place, and built the present city of Florence, where the markets of Fiosola had usually been kept.* Florence was destroyed by Totila in the Gothic war of the sixth century; and about 250 years after rebuilt

* Machiavel Hist. Florence, lib. 2, p. 5.

by Charlemagne.* During the wars between the emperors and the popes, it followed the fortunes of the most powerful party, and enjoyed as much tranquillity as the nature of the times allowed. At length it became convulsed with intestine factions among the principal citizens † It would afford little entertainment or instruction to a modern reader to relate the particulars of those furious contests, sometimes of the nobles against one another, and sometimes between them and the people. All the disorders formerly occasioned by the patrician and plebeian factions in ancient Rome were revived in Florence until the family of Medicis acquired the supreme ascendancy. But the most singular trait in the history of this city, is the commerce, wealth, and population, to which it attained in times so turbulent, amidst perpetual dissensions and repeated changes in the form of its government. It must, according to its historian, have been one of the largest cities in Europe, at the time of the pacification between the nobles and the people, in 1298, as it then contained 30,000 fighting men.‡ In the great plague which made so dreadful havoc throughout Europe, there is said to have died in Florence, in the year 1348, not fewer than 90,000 persons; an incontestible proof of its magnitude.§ This wealth and population were the effect of an extensive manufacturing system. Florence, as well as the Netherlands, wrought up great quantities of Eng-

* Machiavel Hist. Florence, lib. 2. p. 6.

† For these the reader may consult Machiavel, lib. 2. p. 7, 9, 22, 24, 40, 91. lib. 3. p. 45, 51. lib. 4. p. 65. Machiavel's history throughout is indeed crowded with accounts of the tumults, conspiracies, &c. of Florence.

‡ Hist. Florence, lib. 2. p. 30. § And. Hist. Comm. vol. 1. p. 325.

lish wool, besides its silk and rich brocades.* The city must, indeed, have been eminently commercial, in which so large fortunes were accumulated by trade. The riches of the family of Medici were immense, and wholly acquired by commerce.

The great Cosmo de Medici, who, from 1434 till his death in 1464, bore the chief sway in the Florentine republic, rivalled sovereign princes in wealth and in the magnificence of his buildings, both public and private. Besides a number of churches and convents, which he built at his own expence, he had five magnificent palaces, one in the city and four in the environs. He also expended immense sums in building, at Jerusalem, an hospital for poor diseased pilgrims.† His liberality was equal to his opulence: he was the munificent patron of learning and genius; and to him, more than to any other person except Leo X. may be ascribed the revival of letters and the arts in Italy.‡ After the death of Cosmo, the factions of Florence again revived. Peter, his son, narrowly escaped the daggers of conspiracy. But the horrid plot formed against Lorenzo and Julian de Medici, grandsons of the great Cosmo, by Salviati archbishop of Pisa, Francisco Parri, Bernardo Bandini, and several other Florentine nobles, merited the eternal execration of posterity. Julian de Medici was murdered by Parri and Bandini in the cathedral church of Florence, during the celebration of high mass. His brother Lorenzo fortunately made his escape. The Archbishop of Pisa, with others of the conspirators were, at

* And. Hist. Comm. vol. 1. p. 458. Federa 10th, quoted also by Anderson.

† Machiavel Hist. Flor. lib. 7. p. 11. This was done by permission of the Sultan. ; Hist. Flor. lib. 7. p. 11.

in a great measure, her religion and learning from Rome. The church became all powerful; the laity were superstitiously attached to its ordinances; the force of ancient prejudice, and the former fame of the imperial city, excited a peculiar deference for its prelates. The bishops of Rome made the best possible use of these favourite circumstances for placing themselves at the head of the church. After many struggles this point was accomplished. Another more difficult still remained: in order to render the victory complete, they resolved to exalt the pontifical power above all secular monarchies. This was a contest which endured many ages: Rome, however, at last, was the conqueror. By the use of spiritual arms, the popes acquired temporal power. This was the grand principle of their politics. Details on this subject would be tedious. It suffices to say, that through a masterly train of politics Rome obtained, by her spiritual arts, as extensive and perhaps as powerful an empire as she had formerly acquired by her temporal arms.

I have endeavoured concisely to sketch the incessant convulsions of Italy, while that country was subject to the German emperors, and its reiterated efforts to shake off their yoke.* After ages of contest, this was at last accomplished, and Italy renounced its dependence on Germany. Any attempt to trace the origin and progress of all the petty states which rose on the ruins of the imperial, as well as of the feudal power, would lead to prolixity and confusion. It will suffice to exhibit a general view of the whole, and a particular sketch of the principal states.

The cities of the Roman empire enjoyed their municipi-

* See historical view of Germany.

pal laws, which were in general extremely favourable to liberty. Each corporation had its senate; and the privileges of the citizens were extensive. Some of the principal cities, even after the Barbarian conquests, are supposed to have retained their municipal government.* But the number of these was extremely small. Under the feudal system, the cities in general, although retaining some peculiar privileges, owed allegiance to the great barons, in whose territories they were situated, and had scarcely any other law than the will of their superior lords. The cities of Italy recovered their rights sooner than any others in Europe. The authority of the German emperors in Italy was always extremely feeble and precarious. The cities began at an early period to enrich themselves by commerce, and easily obtained immunities from the emperors. They began, in the next place, to shake off the authority of the barons; and instead of owning their sovereignty, they resolved to reduce them to subjection. Under the Roman government, each city possessed the circumjacent lands as the property of the corporation. These had been seized by the feudal lords, who had erected their castles almost at the gates of the cities, over which they extended their jurisdiction. But the Italian cities no sooner began to feel their own strength and importance, than they attacked those troublesome neighbours, and dispossessed them of their territories, which they annexed to their communities. The ambition of the cities increasing with their power, they began to attack the barons, who were situated at a greater distance. Wars between the cities and the feudal lords, were general throughout Italy. The ba-

* De Bes Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, tom. 1, and 2, p. 18—p. 524 — D'Archev. Specieg, op. Robertson, vol. 1, note 16.

magnificent cathedral of St. Marc so early as the year 829, so expensive an undertaking shews that their commerce and wealth had rapidly increased.* About the commencement of the twelfth century, the history of Venice begins to be less obscure, and its commercial greatness is no longer problematical. In 1101, the Venetians sent no fewer than 100 vessels to the coast of Syria, to the assistance of the croisaders; and fourteen years afterwards, 200 of their ships having defeated a Saracen fleet of 700, obliged them to raise the siege of Joppa. At this time also they took the city of Tyre, and dispossessed the Greek emperor of the isles of Scio, Rhodes, Myteléne, and Samos. By degrees they extended their conquests over most of the Grecian islands. They made a distinguished figure in the holy wars; and, in 1204, joined the French croisaders in the conquest of Constantinople. Those adventurers dividing among them the territories of the Byzantine empire, the Venetians acquired almost all the maritime parts. Their dominions at last extended over Dalmatia, and most of the maritime provinces on the east of the Adriatic, over the Morea, as well as over all the coasts of Greece and the isles of the Archipelago, including those of Candia and Cyprus; and their dominions on the continent of Italy were at the same time considerable. This extension of commerce and power gave rise to long wars between Venice and Genoa. This contest, which might be justly denominated commercial, was often renewed and long continued; and those two great rivals in trade and maritime strength disputed, for the space of two centuries, the dominion of the Levant and Mediterranean seas.

* *Ant. Hist. Comm.* vol. 1. p. 77.

Many naval engagements took place, with various success, often to the disadvantage of the Venetians. In 1252, they lost almost their whole fleet of galleys, and 5000 of their mariners were carried prisoners to Genoa.* In 1298, they suffered from the same enemy a still greater defeat; and a few years after were, by a treaty of peace, prohibited from navigating the Levant seas with armed vessels.† Before the middle of the fourteenth century, Venice found a new enemy in the Turks; but her contests with Genoa did not cease. In 1379, the Genoese fleet having defeated that of Venice, advanced with its whole force up the Adriatic, and made a formidable attack on the capital of the republic. But the senate took such prudent and vigorous measures, that the Genoese fleet, which was manned with above 20,000 mariners and soldiers, after having laid some time before Venice, and even carried some outposts, was obliged to retire with prodigious loss. From this time, Venice seems to have acquired an ascendancy over Genoa. The Venetians had at this time learned the use of artillery, of which the Genoese seem to have, about three years before, been entirely ignorant.‡ They appear to have first made use of cannon in 1376, when Teuedos was attacked by the Genoese, who were repulsed by the fire of those terrible engines. From the commencement to the middle of the fifteenth century, Venice seems to have been in the height of her prosperity. Genoa being subjected to the Duke of Milan, her maritime strength had greatly declined. Venice was mistress of the navigation of the Levant and the Mediterranean seas, and in a great measure engrossed the trade of

* De Mailly Hist. de Genes. vol. 1. † Bajista Borgos de domini-
Gen. vol. 2. ‡ Cheval. De Mailly Hist. de Genes, vol. 1.

the East. But the increase of the Turkish power, gradually diminished that of the republic. In 1429, the Turks made themselves masters of Thessalonica, and soon after dispossessed the Venetians of most of their Levantine isles. In 1462, Venice lost Negropont and the Morea. She retained Cyprus till 1570, and Candia till 1669. Thus all her possessions to the east of the Adriatic, except the coast of Dalmatia, was swallowed up in the Ottoman empire. The Portuguese, in the mean while, having discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India, gave the finishing blow to her Oriental trade, by which she had acquired such enormous wealth and power. Since that time Venice has flourished by her former acquisitions, rather than by her modern commerce. But although she has of late possessed little maritime strength, Venice is a place of considerable resort for the trading vessels of all nations. In the year 1759, no less than 1781 ships of all sizes entered that port.

The history of Genoa may be said to run parallel to that of Venice. Its greatness arose from the same cause, and, from the commencement of the twelfth to the end of nearly the fourteenth century, these two rival republics kept nearly an equal pace in aggrandizement. Genoa had, during a considerable time, the ascendancy over Venice; but sooner began to decline. Venice was frequently at variance, but Genoa almost always in amity, with Constantinople; where, so long as the Greek empire existed, her citizens enjoyed peculiar privileges. By a special permission of the Greek emperors, the Genoese built the suburb of Pera, adjoining to Constantinople, and established a colony in the Crimea, where they rebuilt

the ancient city of Theodosia, since called Caffa, and opened a trade with India through Bucharía and Samarchand, by way of the river Oxus and the ports of the Caspian and Euxine seas. During some time the Genoese had a strong rival in the Pisans, who were then a formidable naval power. The contest between these two rival and neighbour states continued, with various intervals, from 1125 to 1283, when Pisa was totally vanquished, her maritime power annihilated, and that commercial republic at last sunk under the power of Florence, and became part of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The fall of the Greek empire was a fatal blow to the greatness of Genoa. She then lost the suburb of Pera, with her lucrative commerce of Constantinople; and in 1474, the Turks conquered her possessions in the Crimea. The discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, gave the last decisive stroke to her lucrative commerce, as well as to that of Venice. In regard to these states, we may conclude with this general observation, that the Italian cities, especially Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, first revived the spirit of commerce in Europe after the fall of the Roman empire. They were followed by the Flemings and the Hans towns in the north; and, during the middle ages, these merchants of the south and the north managed all the trade then carried on in this quarter of the globe. For the maritime strength of Venice and Genoa, we have only to reflect on their numerous fleets, and their bloody naval engagements during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; and, although their vessels were far inferior to our ships of war, they were the largest then in use; and their engagements, although they were destitute of artillery, were attended with as great an effusion of

blood as those of modern times. The opulence of those commercial cities corresponded with their extensive trade. During the middle ages, the magnificence of Venice, Genoa, and several other cities of Italy and the Netherlands, formed a striking contrast with the meanness of those of other parts of Europe.*

Milan, like the other great cities of Italy, shook off the imperial authority during the distracted state of that country, in the wars between the popes and the emperors. It did not, however, acquire independence; but fell under the dominion of the Visconti, one of the most powerful families of Milan. The Visconti, having expelled the rival family of La Torre, assumed the sovereignty, and reigned for several generations as Dukes of Milan. It would be impossible here to relate all the revolutions of this duchy, to which its situation rendered it peculiarly liable.† From the family of Visconti it passed to that of Sforza, was sometimes conquered by the French, and at last fell under the dominion of the House of Austria. It flourished, however, exceedingly during the middle ages; and, about the year 1367, appears to have been in the meridian of its glory. At that time Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, stipulated to give his daughter a marriage portion of 200,000 gold ducats of Florence; a sum which, if we calculate the intrinsic value of money and the rate of living in our

* The reader may, on this subject, consult the Chevalier de Mailly's *Histoire de Geneve*, from which this short sketch is chiefly extracted. It will not, however, be amiss to caution him against some improbable accounts which are met with in that author.

† Vide Machiavel *Hist. Flor.* lib. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. and Robertson *Hist. Ch. V.* vol. 2. p. 204, 207, 280, 282, 314, 342, 354, vol. 3. p. 42, 130.

days, must be considered as an equivalent to a much greater number of pounds sterling at the commencement of the nineteenth century.* It was certainly such a sum as scarcely any other sovereign of Europe, in that age, could have disbursed on such an occasion. The vast wealth of Milan was owing to its manufacturing trade; but, in later times, this has greatly declined, although it may yet be regarded as considerable. This city is at present the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

* Federa, vol. 6.



CHAP. IV.

Present State, Political and Moral—Religion—Government—Laws—
 Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—
 Political Importance and Relations—Language—Literature—Polite
 Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

Religion.]—IN the present state of things this chapter requires brevity. It is generally known that the Roman Catholic religion is professed throughout Italy; but its genius is mild; and though, in the ecclesiastical states as well as in Sicily and some other parts, no other worship be publicly tolerated, no denomination of dissenters are persecuted.

Government, Laws.]—It is difficult, at present, to say any thing of the political systems of Italy, as no accurate information can be obtained respecting the change which the French conquest may have effected in the different governments.

Army, Navy.]—Of the military force of Italy, no statement can, with any degree of accuracy, be given; and the naval strength of the Italian states is insignificant. Naples had, at the commencement of the war, an army of about 40,000 men; with a navy consisting of about four ships of the line and a few frigates.

Revenues.]—The public revenues of Italy are, since the late revolutions, a subject of still greater uncertainty. Those of Naples were about 1,500,000*l.* sterling. The revenue of the Pope, arising from

the ecclesiastical states, was computed at about 350,000*l*.

Commerce.—From what has been said in the last chapter, it is evident that the commerce of Italy has greatly declined. Previous to the late revolutions, however, it was not inconsiderable, although mostly carried on in foreign bottoms. The principal ports for the Italian trade are Genoa and Leghorn, and lately Venice and Naples, with Messina and Palermo in Sicily.

Manufactures.—The manufactures have been mentioned in speaking of the principal cities. Those in other parts of the country are, in general, of a similar nature.

Population.—The population of Italy is variously estimated. Zimmermann, on a medium of six different writers, fixes it at 16,000,000, and the superficial content at 90,000 square miles, with 177 inhabitants to each.*

Political Relations.—Italy has now no political relations independent of those of France.

Language.—The Italian is a mixture of Latin and Gothic, composing a language flowing, sweet, and harmonious.

Literature.—The literature of Italy might be made a copious subject of investigation. Since the revival of letters, Italian authors have distinguished themselves in every department of literature and science. Galileo, Torricelli, Malpighi, Borelli, and several others, have shone in the mathematics and natural philosophy. Machiavel, Strada, Guicciardini, Bentivoglio, Davia, and Giannone, are famous as historians; and Father Paul's History of the Council

* Zimmerm. Statist. Tab.

of Trent will stand the test of criticism in all ages. In regard to the purity and correctness of style, Boccaccio is esteemed one of the chief of their prose writers. He is an accurate delineator of life and manners. His productions, however, are considered as too licentious; but he drew his pictures from nature, and the originals ought to be condemned rather than the painter. A long list of Italian poets might be enumerated; but Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, are the most eminent. Petrarch, however, who wrote with great elegance both in Italian and Latin, is distinguished as the first who revived, among the moderns, the genius of ancient poesy. In the fine arts, the Italians have hitherto excelled all the other nations of Europe, and their architects, painters, sculptors, and musicians, are unrivalled in numbers as well as in excellence. Bramante, Bernini, and several others, in architecture; Raphael, Romano, Veronese, Carraccio, Corregio, and Titian, in painting; and Michael Angelo, equally great in architecture, sculpture, and painting, are names too celebrated to need any encomium. The genius of Italy, however, now seems to lie dormant, and to rely on its ancient fame rather than its present exertions.

Education].—No great praise is bestowed by travellers on the general mode of Italian education. There are several universities. That of Rome has long been celebrated. Naples, Salerno, and Perugia, Florence and Pisa, have also their universities. And the provinces which now compose part of the kingdom of Italy, contained those of Milan, Venice, Padua, Verona, Mantua, Parma, Bologna, and Ferrara. Popular education, however, has been greatly

neglected in Italy as well as in almost every other country in Europe.

Manners and Customs.]—The manners and customs of the Italians, varying in the different states and districts, from the indolence and luxury of the Neapolitans to the aborions industry and frugality of the Genoese, what has already been said in describing the principal cities may suffice in regard to this subject. It may, however, be observed, that the inhabitants of Lucca and St. Marino cannot be surpassed in industry.

National Character.]—The national character of the Italians, like that of all other nations, is formed by the influence of their national circumstances. They have been represented as jealous, vindictive, and effeminate. It has already been remarked that the furious jealousy by which they were formerly characterized scarcely any longer appears, and their revengeful spirit is proportionably less observable. Their unwarlike disposition has been ascribed to effeminacy; but it has been found in several modern instances that the Italian officers and soldiers, when properly trained to arms, have shewed themselves worthy of their Roman ancestors. Of this, the Italian bands under the Duke of Parma in the low country wars, furnished a memorable proof. In regard to genius, none will deny to the Italians a place in the first rank of European nations.

HELVETIC REPUBLIC.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and artificial Curiosities.

Situation, Extent, &c.]—SWITZERLAND was anciently distinguished by the names of Helvetia and Rhetia, the former comprizing the western, and the latter the eastern part; divisions of which modern geographers do not know the precise boundaries. The districts which, ever since the famous revolution of 1808, have been comprehended under the collective name of Switzerland, are bounded on the west by France, on the south and south-east by the kingdom of Italy, and on the north and north-east by Germany. The extent from east to west is about 200, and from north to south about 130 English miles.

Face of the country.]—No country on the surface of the globe exceeds Switzerland in the diversity of its appearance. The enormous chains of its towering Alps, with their tremendous precipices, regions of perpetual snow, and glaciers resembling seas of ice, form a sublime contrast to the luxuriant vineyards and cultivated fields, and the warm and verdant vallies with their chrysal streams and tranquil cottages.

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Mountains.

Mountains.—To describe the mountains of Switzerland, would be little less than entering into the topography of each particular district. In point of elevation, they are supposed to be inferior to none in the world, except the Andes in South America. Mont Blanc, of which M. de Saussure first reached the summit, is generally supposed to be the most elevated point of the old continent,* being about 14,700, or 15,662 feet English by Sir George Shuckborough's measurement; and the mountains of Finsteraar and Schreckhorn are of a height not much inferior, being, according to Saussure, about 13,200 feet above the level of the sea.† In a general point of view, the Alps extend in a semicircular form from the Gulph of Genoa, through Piedmont, Savoy, and Switzerland, and close in the carnic Alps, on the north of the Adriatic. Those mountains have, by both ancient and modern geographers, been divided into distinct portions, and known by different appellations. The maritime Alps, rising from the Gulph of Genoa, although for the sake of uniformity mentioned in this place, are now within the limits of France and the kingdom of Italy; and Mont Blanc itself being within the new boundary, must be considered as belonging to France.‡ The central part of the grand Alpine chain is divided into two ridges, running from the south-west to the north-east. The first is that of the Helvetian Alps, of which the most elevated points are the Gemmi, the Schelenhorn, the Jungfrau, the Schreckhorn, the

* Four thousand feet of the perpendicular height of Mont Blanc, towards the summit, are always covered with snow. Coxe, vol. 1. letter 36. p. 413.

† Saussure, vol. 7. p. 123.

‡ Mont Blanc is described in this place for the sake of comprizing the whole region of the Alps in one view.

Grimmel,

Grimsel, and the famous Mount Gothard, which is of great extent, with many elevated peaks. The southern ridge of the central Alps, which belongs rather to Italy than Switzerland, is supposed to be higher than the northern, and is also better known, having been explored by M. de Saussure. This prodigiously elevated range, beginning at Mont Blanc, and embracing the great St. Bernard, Mount Cervin, and Mount Rosa, in height very little inferior to Mont Blanc, stretches under different names into Tyrol. Enterprising travellers have, in the last century, disclosed many of the wonders of the Alpine regions, ascended some of the most elevated summits, and visited several of their most secret and tremendous recesses. Nothing, indeed, could be more tempting to adventurous curiosity. No description, however, that can be given in any book of general geography, can convey just ideas of the Alpine regions. For an accurate display of those magnificent features of nature, it is necessary to consult "Saussure Voyages dans les Alps," and "Bourrit's Description des Glaciers," in order to acquire a general knowledge of this extremely diversified country and its inhabitants. Mr. Coxe's "Travels in Switzerland," may also be recommended to the perusal of those who are desirous of information on these interesting subjects.

Rivers.—The mountains of Switzerland would afford matter for volumes of description; but its rivers are a much less copious subject; for none of them are of any importance, in regard to navigation or trade, until they have passed the boundaries of this Alpine country. The Rhine and the Rhone, two of the principal rivers of Europe, with several others which they receive in their course, issue from the recesses of the

the

the Alps; and their sources in the stupendous glaciers of those elevated regions, may be classed among the most magnificent scenes of nature.* The Reuss issues from the lake of Loccendro, on the north-west of Mount St. Gothard, and after a course of about eighty miles joins the Aar; which rising from three sources, one in the vicinity of the Schreckhorn, another in Mount Grimsel, and a third in the glaciers of Finsteraar, proceeds, after receiving the Reuss, about seventy miles, and then falls into the Rhine. The Limmat also runs about twenty miles, and then joins the Aar, which also receives the Sarra and the Thore. Several other streams also contribute to swell the Rhine. The Inn and the Adda rise in the country of the Grisons. The Rhone issues from an extensive and stupendous glacier called the Glacier of the Rhone, which is ably described by Saussure.† Many of the torrents which fall from the mountains form magnificent cascades.

Lakes.—Switzerland presents no canals, but its lakes are numerous. The most considerable are those of Constance and Geneva; the former is about forty-five miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth; the latter extends in the form of a crescent, about forty miles in length and nine at its greatest breadth. Those of Zurich and Neuschatel are each about twenty-five miles in length and four in breadth. Besides these, there are many others of less considerable extent. All the lakes in Switzerland swell in the summer from the melting of the snow.

Mineralogy.—The mineralogy of Switzerland is not

* Coxe's Travels, vol. 3. p. 243.

† Saussure, tom. 6. p. 284, 285.—Compare Saussure with Mr. Coxe, Trav. in Switzerland, vol. 1. letter 28.

so rich as it might be expected in so mountainous a country. Particles of gold have been washed down in some of the torrents; but the quantity is trifling, and silver is equally rare. There is some copper and lead; but the most important mines are those of iron. There are also valuable quarries of rock salt. Beautiful marbles are found in some parts of the Alps, and the summits of most of the mountains consist of granite.* Rock chrysal is found in pieces which weigh seven or eight hundred weight, and supplies one of the principal exports of the country. Near Chiavana is a quarry of lapis ollaris, of a grey colour, which is wrought into vessels that will bear the most violent fire.

Mineral waters.]—This country has mineral waters, but none of distinguished fame; those of Leuk are the most remarkable. There are warm springs at Fabera, and the sulphureous water of Alvenew resembles those of Harrowgate.†

Soil.]—The soil of so mountainous a country must necessarily exhibit every variety, from luxuriance to extreme sterility; but it may be readily conceived that the latter predominates.

Climate.]—The climate has always been celebrated as delightful and salubrious; but the winter is in many parts extremely severe, and the summer heats in the deep valleys are often oppressive.‡ Cold gales also frequently descend from the Alps, which cause a sudden transition, apparently unfavourable to health. And it seems extremely probable, that the robust and healthy constitution of the Swiss proceeds as much from their temperance and rural occupations, as from

* Saussure, vol. 2. p. 334.

† Cox, vol. 1. letter 33. p. 375.

‡ Saussure, vol. 2. ch. 48.

any particular salubrity of the climate. The goitre, a disease peculiar to the inhabitants of mountainous countries, is prevalent in many parts of the Alpine districts. Switzerland, notwithstanding its contracted limits, exhibits all the variety of climates that distinguish the different countries of Europe. From the warm vallies opening on the Italian frontier, to the Alpine summits covered with glaciers and perpetual snow, the traveller experiences in succession the climates of Italy, France, and Lapland.

Vegetable productions.—The productions of the soil are as various as the climate by which they are influenced. In the lowest and warmest situations, such as the broad vallies of Geneva, of Basle, of the Pais de Vaud, of the Valteline, &c. are numerous vineyards, with the trees and plants of Italy and the south of France. The lower declivities of the hills, which may not improperly be called the Subalpine regions, are diversified with cornfields and meadows, and the various kinds of trees that are seen in the south of England, and the Northern and midland parts of France and Germany. Above these, on the still rising sides of the mountains, appear small woods of larch, of pine, and fir, and other natives of Scandinavia. But there is nothing that can be denominated a forest; and such is the scarcity of wood and even of turf in Switzerland, that the dried dung of cattle is frequently used for fuel. These upper woodlands, however, afford rich meadows and fertile pastures, luxuriant in grass and clover, and embellished with an endless variety of mountain plants. Rising still higher towards the summits, extensive ranges of pasture grounds occur, to which the cattle are brought to graze during two or three weeks before and after mid-
summer.

summer. The last stage of vegetation is a zone of rocky pasturage, below the edge of the snow, covered with a short kind of turf. Here the effect of cold is strikingly displayed; and all the plants are alpine. This is the native domain of the bounding Chamois; but, during a few weeks in the middle of summer, it affords some support to the sheep.* In a country like Switzerland, tillage cannot be carried on to a great extent. Most kinds of grain, however, are cultivated: Barley and oats are produced in the higher, rye and spelt in the lower situations; but the crops are far from being productive; and public granaries have been found necessary to supply any eventual deficiency. Industry, indeed, is not wanting in Switzerland; but although more corn might be produced, grazing is found more profitable than tillage, in a soil that affords but little produce to repay the expence of cultivation. Pasturage, therefore, is the most important part of the system of Swiss farming; and their herds of cattle being numerous, enable them to support many swine with their butter milk and other refuse. Their cattle, indeed, are the principal support of the Swiss, and various preparations of milk constitute a considerable part of the food; and even of the luxuries of their peasantry.

Zoology.]—The cattle of Switzerland often attain to a good size. The horses, though not large, are full of spirit and vigour. Among the animals peculiar to the Alps are the ibex, the bouquetin, and the chamois, to which may be added the marmot. Among the birds may be reckoned the bearded vulture; which, having the head and the neck covered with feathers;

* Pinkerton on the authority of Scheuchzer's first journey to the Alps. Pink. vol. 1. p. 577.

is different from the rest of the vulture kind. It inhabits the highest Alps, builds its nests in inaccessible rocks, and preys on the chamois, the marmot, and sometimes on lambs.

Natural curiosities.—Almost the whole surface of the country is an assemblage of natural curiosities. The stupendous summits of the Alps, clothed in eternal snow, the glaciers or seas of ice, intersected with numerous deep fissures, the tremendous precipices, the descending torrents, the lakes and cataracts, are curiosities of a nature singularly sublime and striking. The avalanches, or masses of snow, which sometimes roll down from the mountains and overwhelm whole villages, are extremely terrific. Sometimes also the mountains have burst asunder and buried towns in their fall. Such was the case of Pleurs, near Chiavana, where the town was overwhelmed by the fall of a mountain, and thousands of people perished. Recent instances also are known of similar, though less tremendous accidents. The glaciers have, of late, in a particular manner, attracted the attention of naturalists and travellers. That of the Rhone is magnificent and sublime, beyond all the powers of description.

Artificial curiosities.—This world of wonders, the Alpine region, is excellently displayed in miniature, by the ingenuity and industry of General Plessier, who has accurately delineated the surface of the most mountainous district, in a model which deserves to be celebrated as an artificial curiosity of the most interesting class. This plan, of which the lake of Lucerne, at an elevation of 1400 feet above the Mediterranean is the centre, comprizes a space of eighteen leagues and a half in length and eleven in breadth, and is composed of 142 distinct compartments. The length of the model

model is twenty feet, and the breadth twelve feet, exhibiting $20\frac{1}{2}$ square leagues of country, in a parallelogram of 240 square feet. The most elevated point from the platform is ten inches, an inch on the model representing 900 feet. The composition is a sort of mastic, very hard and durable, and the whole is painted with different colours, so as to represent the objects exactly as they exist in nature. The woods of oak, pine, fir, &c. are clearly distinguished, and even the different strata of the rocks are marked. The plan is so minutely exact, that it comprises not only all the mountains in their proportional elevations, with all the lakes, rivers, towns, villages, &c. but every cottage, every torrent, every bridge, and every road, is distinctly and accurately represented.* This great work, which occupied general Plessier during the space of twenty years, from the fiftieth to the seventieth year of his life, was to be seen at Lucerne when Mr. Coxe visited Switzerland. It is unique in its kind, and highly merits the attention of the curious. Mount Pilate, near Lucerne, displays a singular curiosity, to which the world perhaps affords nothing parallel or similar. But whether it ought to be ascribed to nature, or to art, is a problem of difficult solution. At the elevation of 5000 feet, and in the most perpendicular part of the mountain, a colossal statue of white stone is observed in the middle of a cavern, hollowed in a black rock. It is the figure of a man, in drapery, standing with one leg crossed over the other, leaning one elbow on a pedestal, and is so regularly formed, that it cannot be a *lusus nature*.† It is difficult, says Mr. Coxe, to imagine by whom,

* Coxe's Trav. in Switzerland, vol. 1, letter 23, P. 8.

† Ibid. vol. 1, letter 23, p. 260, &c.

or by what means, this statue has been placed in a situation which has hitherto proved inaccessible to all who have attempted to approach it. If indeed it be in reality a work of man, and not a *lusus natura*, the side of the mountain must have once been more sloping; and been rendered perpendicular by some disruption.

The ancient monuments of Switzerland are not numerous, consisting of only a few Roman antiquities. But of the middle ages there are several interesting remains, such as Gothic castles, churches, and monasteries; among the latter, the abbey of St. Gal is the most celebrated. The ancient castle of Hapsburg, built by Warnet, Bishop of Strasburg, in the beginning of the eleventh century, is venerable on account of its being the cradle of the house of Austria, and remarkable for its romantic situation. It is situated on a lofty eminence, and commands "an immensely extensive view over hills and dales, plains and forests, rivers and lakes, towns and villages, mountains and alps."^o

^o Coze's Trav. vol. 1. p. 134.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices.

SWITZERLAND contains no cities remarkable for their magnitude, their commercial importance, or their historical fame.

Basil.—Basil containing the greatest population, may be considered as meriting the first attention. It is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Rhine, which is here broad, deep, and rapid, suddenly turning from its westerly to its northerly course, and dividing the city into two parts united by a handsome bridge.* The city is surrounded with thick walls, flanked with towers and bastions. The cathedral is an ancient Gothic edifice, and contains the tomb of the great Erasmus. The town-house is embellished with good paintings. The university has produced some excellent scholars, among whom may be named *Æcolampadius*, *Buxtorf*, *Euler*, and several other celebrated names. The library contains a large collection of books and manuscripts. Here the art of making paper is said to have been first invented. There are at present some manufactures of ribbands and cottons, and on the whole this is the most trading town in Switzerland. The population is about 14,000, and the inhabitants being in general well educated, are very intelligent. Travellers here re-

* *Coze's Trav.* vol. 1, p. 149, &c.

mark, as a singular circumstance, that the clocks are always kept an hour too fast, in commemoration, as it is said, of their being once hastened for the purpose of defeating a conspiracy.

Bern.—*Bern* containing about 13,000 inhabitants, is next to *Basil* in population, and excels it in elegance, being the handsomest city in Switzerland. The houses are of free stone, and rest on arcades; in the principal street they are all of an uniform height, and the whole city has an appearance of regularity and beauty. *Bern* can boast of several public libraries, and collections of natural curiosities. It is situated in a peninsula formed by the river *Aar*, which almost surrounds the city. The environs are pleasant, the adjacent country being rich and fertile, and the variegated prospect of hills, lawns, wood and water, being bounded at a distance by the long chain of the superior Alps covered with snow, and rising like clouds above the horizon, is sublime and delightful.

Zurich.—*Zurich* is considered as the third city of Switzerland. It is situated at the northern extremity of the lake which bears the same name, in a populous and fertile country, which produces wine sufficient for home consumption. The rapid *Limmat* issuing from the lake, divides the town into two unequal parts.* *Zurich* is well built, the houses are high but the streets are narrow. Here is a respectable college, and the public library contains some curious manuscripts. *Zurich* was the first town of Switzerland that separated from the church of Rome, being induced to adopt that measure by the arguments and influence of *Zuinglius*. In 1780 it contained 10,559 inhabitants.†

* Coze's Trav. vol. 1, p. 75, &c.

† Coze, vol. 1, p. 77.

Lausanne.]—Lausanne in the canton of Bern, is celebrated for the amenity of its situation, within about a mile of the lake of Geneva, and about thirty miles from that city. From the upper parts of the town, the prospects are grand and extensive, comprehending the lake of Geneva, the Pais de Vaud, and the rugged coast of Chablais. But it stands on so steep an ascent, that in some places passengers mount by steps from the lower to the upper parts of the town. The church is a noble Gothic building, and was once a cathedral. The town is supposed to contain about 9000 inhabitants. Lausanne was the favorite residence of our countryman, Mr. Gibbon, who here composed his history of the Decline of the Roman Empire, a work which, although it has been severely, and in some respects not undeservedly criticised, promises to be immortal.

The other cities of Switzerland are not of sufficient importance to claim attention in a general view. Geneva, the ancient ally of the Swiss cantons, containing about 25,000 inhabitants, is now annexed to France.

Edifices.]—Switzerland cannot boast of magnificent edifices. The principal are in the cities, but few of them have any claims to particular notice.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society, of Arts, Sciences, and
Commerca.

THE original population of Switzerland, is by some supposed to have been Celtic, although this opinion cannot be supported on any historical authority; on the contrary, there is every reason to conclude, that the Helvetii were an ancient German colony, and of the Gothic race. The Helvetii and the Rheti having been conquered by Julius Cæsar, remained subject to the Romans till the Allemanni, in the beginning of the fourth century, made an irruption into the country, and almost extirpated the Helvetii. Afterwards the eastern parts were subject to Theodoric king of Italy, while the western districts composed a part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which was subdued, A.D. 534, by the Franks under Childebert king of Paris, Clotharius king of Soissons, and Theodebert king of Metz, three of the sons of Clovis.* It would be useless to trace the history of these obscure and unsettled times; but it may not be amiss to mention, that about the beginning of the seventh century Christianity spread from France into Switzerland by the pious labours of some Irish monks. Towards the close of the ninth century, Rodolphus, son of Conrad count of Paris, erected the second

* *HEC, Ab. Chron. tom. 1, p. 9 an. 534.*

kingdom

kingdom of Burgundy, which comprehended Geneva, Savoy, and Bugey, with the Valais and all the western part of Switzerland, as far as the river Reuss.* In 909 the Hungarians invading Germany penetrated into Switzerland, and the country became a theatre of furious contests during almost half a century; when at last these barbarians were expelled by the kings of Burgundy.

It appears that Switzerland was afterwards, like the other countries of Europe, divided among a number of feudal lords, although considered as a part of Germany. Of these Swiss barons, the counts of Hapsburg gradually became the most powerful, and extended their sway over the greatest part of the country. Rhodolph count of Hapsburg, was elected emperor A.D. 1273. About the year 1308, the Swiss being grievously oppressed by the officers of the emperor, Albert of Austria, presented petitions to the imperial court for a redress of grievances, which produced no other effect than an aggravation of their evils, Gresler, the governor, resolving to carry his wanton tyranny to the highest pitch, placed a hat on a pole, and commanded that the same respect should be paid to that symbol of his greatness, as to his own person. It was on this occasion that, according to the commonly received account, the famous William Tell having been observed to fail in respect, was by the governor condemned to be hanged, unless he could with an arrow cleave an apple on the head of his own son placed at a certain distance. Tell performed the dreadful task, but the governor asking him why he had brought another arrow, which he observed stuck in his belt, the intrepid Swiss boldly answered, "This

* Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1, p. 82, an. 888, &c.

was intended for thy heart, had I been so unfortunate as to have killed my son." Tell having on this been imprisoned, made his escape. Seizing the first favorable opportunity he shot the tyrant, and being joined by a patriotic band of his countrymen, laid the foundation of Swiss independency. Such is the generally received story, which, although commemorated by historians, and embellished by poets, is of doubtful credit, at least in regard to many of its circumstances. But however this may be, it is certain, that about the æra just mentioned, the three cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, united together for the purpose of mutual defence, and the house of Austria being embarrassed by the factions which distracted the empire, was unable to make any vigorous efforts for their reduction. The confederated cantons having subdued Glaris and Zug, admitted them to an equal participation of rights, and thus was gradually formed the Helvetic union, to which, in 1353, Bern also acceded. In 1383, Leopold Duke of Austria was defeated and slain in attempting to reduce the Swiss to subjection; and in 1471, they were still further strengthened by an alliance with the Grisons, who had also revolted against the house of Austria. But the arms of the Swiss first began to be regarded as formidable at the famous battle of Nancy, against that restless and warlike prince Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who was there defeated and slain.*

In consequence of this victory over Charles the Bold, the Swiss acquired great reputation for martial prowess. Their infantry was at this period esteemed the best in Europe, and foreign princes were desirous

* Philip de Comm. liv. 5.

of employing them in their armies, and Louis XI. of France, took 6000 of them into his pay.* His example has been imitated by his successors, as well as by other foreign powers. The conduct of the Swiss cantons, in granting permission to their subjects to enter into foreign service, has often been blamed by political and moral writers. The conduct of the government, however, might admit of a plausible, or perhaps even a reasonable excuse; for by this system an opening was given to those restless and ambitious spirits, who, wanting employments suitable to their inclinations and enterprising genius, might perhaps have proved troublesome at home.

Since the period of the Burgundian war, which terminated in the death of the duke, and the division of his rich and extensive dominions, of which a part was seized by France, and the rest in consequence of the marriage of Mary his daughter and sole heiress, with the Archduke Maximilian, devolved on the house of Austria.† The Swiss have been engaged in many contests with the neighbouring powers, but without any important consequences. The principal events in their subsequent history, are the introduction of the reformation, the revolt of the peasants of Bern in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the late invasion and conquest of their country by the French. In the first, the Swiss cantons acted a conspicuous part, and produced some of the principal reformers, as Zuinglius, Ocolampadius, &c. The result, however, although it produced a religious

* Philip de Comines, tom. 1. p. 366.—Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. 1. p. 162.

† Philip de Comm. liv. 5. ch. 15.—Hen. Ab. Chron. tom. 1. Anno 1475.

division among the cantons, did not dissolve their political union. The insurrection of the peasantry was occasioned by their aristocratical form of government, which the people found extremely oppressive. Some of their grievances were redressed, but a rooted enmity seems to have subsisted between the aristocratic and the democratic orders, which in the end contributed greatly to diminish that patriotism for which the Swiss had formerly been so distinguished; and probably facilitated, in no small degree, the progress of the French arms in the beginning of the year 1798. It could scarcely, indeed, be expected, that the cantons should be able, without an ally, to withstand the overwhelming power of France; but it was also evident that their resistance was extremely feeble, and shewed little of that energy which formerly marked the Swiss character. The Bernese alone made a shew of resistance, but the soldiers either wanting patriotism, or despairing of success, mutinied, deserted their posts, and massacred some of their officers. The army was, by desertion, soon reduced to about half of the original number, and Bern surrendering by capitulation to general Bruue, all the other cantons submitted without further resistance. The French having thus made a complete conquest of Switzerland, changed the constitution, and even the name of the country. Provincial councils were established in different districts, and the cantons were incorporated under the name of the Helvetic republic,

CHAP. IV.

Present State, political and moral—Religion—Government—Laws—
 Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—
 Political importance and relations—Language—Literature—Politic
 Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

Religion.—THE religion of some of the Swiss cantons is the Catholic, and of others that of Calvin. Schwytz, Uri, and Underwalden, the three cantons which founded the liberty of Switzerland, with Lucerne, Fribourg, Solothurn, Zug, part of Glairus and Appenzel, are Catholic. The Protestant cantons, composing the most wealthy and populous part of Switzerland, are those of Bern, Basil or Basle, Schaffhausen, and Zurich, with the greatest part of Glairus, and some portions of Appenzel. The inhabitants of the Valais, a country in alliance with the Swiss, are Catholic, although their ancestors were noted for their disaffection to that religion, and for the cruel persecutions which they suffered on that account. The Grisons are chiefly Protestants. To the honour of the Swiss it may be observed, that religious prejudices have little influence over their conduct, and that in general the Catholics and Protestants live together in a laudable state of unity.

Government.—The Swiss constitution has long been a subject of discussion, but all its ancient governments are now annihilated by the ambition and rapacity of France. It is here enough to say, that like
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the former United Provinces of the Dutch republic, and the present United States of America, each canton having its own constitution and laws, was independent in regard to its internal concerns; but all were united in one political confederacy. Of some, the government was aristocratical; in others, the democratical power prevailed. Most of the smaller cantons were democracies. The powerful cantons of Bern and Zurich among the Protestants, and those of Lucerne and Fribourg among the Catholics, had retained much of the aristocratical form, and some of them had become almost oligarchical. It must, however, be confessed, that the power of the nobles was exercised with moderation, and the people enjoyed a competent share of political happiness. Since the conquest of the country by the French, a new constitution has been modelled, apparently on the principles of the latter period of the Gallican republic, but as it is subject to the control of the court of St. Cloud, it is impossible to calculate its duration.

Laws.—The laws of the different cantons partook of the nature of their different governments. At present but little authentic information is to be had concerning the legislative alterations that may have taken place in consequence of the change in the political system.

Army.—Before the late conquest, the regular military force of the cantons was computed at about 20,000 men, and there is said to have been twenty-nine Swiss regiments in the service of foreign powers.

Revenue.—The whole collective revenue of Switzerland, was formerly estimated at somewhat more than

than 1,000,000*l.* sterling. At present, nothing can with any degree of precision be said on the subject.

Commerce.]—Commerce has never flourished to any great extent in this inland country. Cattle constitute the chief produce, and cheese is one of the principal exports. It has already been said, that rock chrystal is also one of the chief articles of trade.

Manufactures.]—The manufacturing system is less attended to than it ought to be, considering the poverty and population of the country. Some manufactures, indeed, cannot be carried on to advantage on account of the scarcity of fuel, but others might flourish. There are some, however, of linen and printed cottons, and a few of silk. Watches are also a considerable article for sale; but in general the manufactures of Switzerland are not important.

Population.]—The whole population is generally estimated at about 2,000,000, which is about 130 inhabitants per square mile for the whole country, or 200 per square mile when the uninhabitable parts are deducted.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance and relations of Switzerland are immersed in those of France, and her dependence on that power seems to be irrevocably fixed, unless her emancipation should be effected by some of those unforeseen events, which lie beyond the reach of political conjecture.

Language.]—The Swiss is a dialect of the German, but the French is the fashionable language, which is generally spoken among the gentry, and often employed by their best authors, as well as much diffused in the country.

Literature.]—In early times, Switzerland made no
very

very conspicuous figure in literature; but since the revival of learning and the reformation of religion, this country can boast of many eminent writers. Among the most distinguished may be reckoned some of those of the last century, as Haller, Conrad, Gessner the natural philosopher, Solomon Gesner the poet, Rousseau and Neckar natives of Geneva, Bernouilli and Euler mathematicians, Scheuchzer the natural historian, Zimmermann the physician, Leonard Meister of Zurich, of whom a late traveller says, that "The universality of his talents may be collected from a bare catalogue of his works,"* and the famous Lavater the physiognomist, a clergyman of Zurich, who has published four quarto volumes on that fanciful subject.

Education.—Travellers have given us little precise information relative to the system of education in Switzerland; but as they testify their surprize at the knowledge which is generally found among the peasantry, it is reasonable to infer, from this circumstance, that the important business of popular instruction is not so much neglected as in England, and many other countries.†

Universities.—There is an university of considerable repute at Basle, and another at Geneva, with colleges at Bern, Zurich, and Lacerne.

Manners, Customs, &c.—The manners of the Swiss have been so often depicted, that the theme has become trite and trivial. They have been described by a number of intelligent travellers; while Rousseau and other celebrated writers have delineated them in

* Coxe's Trav. vol. 1, p. 90.

† Mr. Coxe was informed, that in the canton of Zurich, each village has a schoolmaster, paid wholly, or in part, by government. Vol. 1, p. 109.

every point of view, and all concur in applauding their frankness and simplicity. Among the superior classes, French manners preponderate. The dress of the inferior orders is but little regulated by fashion, and in some cantons sumptuary laws have been enacted for the prevention of luxury in superfluous ornament. The houses of the peasantry are generally of wood, with the staircases on the outside, and constructed in a style of simplicity corresponding with that of their manners, as well as with the rude and romantic appearance of their country. According to the concurrent testimony of intelligent observers, the fabled happiness and virtue of the Arcadian swains, approaches nearer to realization among the Swiss peasantry than any where else in Europe; and all travellers represent this country as a model of moral beauty, as well as a subject of physical curiosity.

National character.—From what has already been said, the national character, which in every country is only the general result of established customs and manners, readily presents itself to the view. The Swiss are in person tall and well made, robust and handsome, and have long been esteemed for their fidelity and courage. The Swiss regiments in foreign service have always been ranked among the best troops in Europe, and the issue of battles has often been decided by their bravery. Among the national characteristics may be reckoned an intense attachment to their native country.

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and Artificial Curiosities.

THE Austrian empire is comprehended between 45° and 52° north latitude, and between 12° and 27° east longitude, and consists of the archduchy of Austria, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, the duchy of Transylvania, and the provinces of Slavonia, Croatia, and part of Dalmatia. That part of Austria lying south of the Danube was a part of the Roman provinces of *Parthenia*; the other part on the north of that river was inhabited by the warlike nation of the *Quadi*, so formidable in the days of *Marcus Aurelius*. It was afterwards the easternmost province of *Charlemagne's* empire. Hungary belonged in part to the ancient *Dacia*.^{*} Bohemia was a central part of ancient Germany, but was afterwards occupied by a Slavonic nation, whose chiefs had the title of duke. Transylvania and *Buckovina* were a part of the Roman province of *Dacia*, founded by *Trajan*, and ceded to the *Goths*. The whole length of the Austrian empire, from the borders of Switzerland to

* *Gibben Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 1, p. 22.*

the frontier of Prussian Poland, is about 760, and its irregular breadth, from the northernmost to the southernmost extremity, about 520 English miles. The contents may be vaguely computed at about 184,000 square miles. Towards the east, the Austrian dominions border on those of Russia and Turkey; and to the north, on those of Prussia, Upper Saxony, Bavaria, and Suabia; to the west, on the Helvetic Republic; and on the south they have the Turkish dominions and the kingdom of Italy. The original population is a mixture of various races, but chiefly Gothic and Slavonic. The German Goths appear to have been the first known inhabitants of all the Austrian territories. The Slavonians afterwards established themselves in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia, as well as in Poland. The inhabitants of the Austrian dominions were always esteemed by the Romans an exceedingly warlike race.

Face of the country.—The face of the country is, in general, rather mountainous than level, although it presents many extensive plains. Southern Austria consists chiefly of eminences rising almost from the banks of the Danube, and gradually increasing in height till they terminate in the mountains of Carniola and Carinthia.* Bohemia and Moravia are champaign countries, but surrounded with mountains. Hungary, bounded on the north by the vast semicircular ridge of the Carpathian mountains, and on the east and south by lower elevations, presents in its central part immense plains, in which a person may travel some days without perceiving the smallest elevation.† Transylvania is diversified with hills, valleys, and woods, and almost entirely surrounded with moun-

* Reischek's Travels, vol. 1.

† Ibid, vol. 2, p. 65.

tains. Slavonia, Croatia, and Hungarian Dalmatia, may be ranked among mountainous countries, although they present no very great elevations.

Mountains.—The Rhetian, or Tyrolese Alps, were well known to antiquity. They extend from south-west to north-west, according to the general direction of the Alpine chains. They resemble the Alps of Switzerland, in numerous glaciers and other characteristic features. The Rhetian Alps are, by modern geographers, sometimes called the Brenner mountains. The Brenner, or burning hill, properly so called, which has derived its name from the frequency of its thunder storms, is about 5109 feet above the level of the sea.* The Gefron, an immense mass of granite, covered with perpetual snow, is one of the highest peaks of the Tyrolese chain. The highest of the Glockner, and the Ortel, is computed at about 11,500 feet, and that of the Hoch-horn, in the archbishoprick of Salsburg, at 10,663 feet. The Lobel, which separates Carniola from Carinthia, and the Carnic or Julian Alps, which separate the latter province from Italy, are considerable chains. Carniola is almost entirely mountainous, and some of its peaks are crowned with perpetual snow. The mountains which encompass Bohemia and Moravia are not distinguished by any great elevation or striking features, but they form a variety of difficult passes and defiles, which were esteemed of great importance in the wars between Austria and Prussia. The Carpathian chain, which extends near 500 miles, in a semicircular form, from the southern confines of Silesia, to the borders of Transylvania and Wallachia, may be considered as the most important of the Austrian mountains. But

* Beaumont's *Rhetian Alps*, p. 29, 66.

these, although famed from early antiquity, are imperfectly known. They have lately been visited by Mr. Townson; and from his observations their highest peaks do not appear to have much more than half the elevation of Mont Blanc, and some others of the Alpine summits.* He ascended the Krivan, situated about 20°, 45' east longitude from London, and computes its height at 2781 yards. He supposes the height of the Kenmark Peak, a perpendicular rock on the edge of Hungary, to be about 2836 yards. But he computes the summit of Lomnitz, which he attained with considerable difficulty, to be about 2880 yards above the level of the sea, and considers it as the highest of the whole Carpathian chain. The lower parts of these mountains are covered with forests of firs, which are succeeded by rocks of limestone and granite. They also contain several remarkable lakes. There are no glaciers, or other tokens of eternal winter, such as are found in the Alps; but Mr. Townson, who made his excursion in the middle of summer, found many of their summits covered with snow.†

Rivers.—Among the Austrian rivers, the majestic Danube, that celebrated boundary of the Roman empire, has, from its ancient fame, its length of course, and its importance to inland navigation and commerce, the principal claim to attention. This vast stream rises in Suabia, and pervades the Austrian empire almost in its greatest length. Although its course be, in some places, impeded by small falls and whirlpools, it is navigable through a prodigious extent of country; and after watering Suabia, Bavaria,

* Townson's Trav. p. 358, 378.

† Ibid, p. 347.

the archduchy of Austria, the kingdom of Hungary, and European Turkey, it discharges itself by several mouths into the Euxine Sea. The whole course of the Danube is not less than 1300 English miles, and about one-half of its progress is through the Austrian territories.

The Teiss rises in the Carpathian mountains, and receives, in its course, several other streams, which issue from that Alpine range. At first it runs towards the west, and then turning to the south falls into the Danube, a little to the west of Belgrade, after a course of about 420 miles. The Save, which rises not far from Idria, in the mountains of Carniola, forms a boundary between the Austrian and Ottoman empires, and after a course nearly equal in length to that of the Teiss, falls into the Danube at Belgrade. The Drave runs about 350 miles from its source, in the mountains of Tyrol, to its junction with the Danube below Esseek. The Inn rises in the mountain of Maloggia, in the county of the Grisons, and joins the Danube at Passaw, after a course of about 250 miles. This river is nearly equal to the Danube itself at their junction. The Elbe derives its source from the Sudetic mountains, which separate Bohemia from Silesia, and passes through a considerable part of that kingdom before it enters Saxony. The Muldaw, which rises in the southern mountains of Bohemia, and joins the Elbe at Melnick, after passing through Prague, is only remarkable for having that city, the capital of the kingdom, seated on its banks. The Morau, from which Moravia derives its name, after passing by Olmutz falls into the Danube, not far to the west of Presburg. Several other rivers of inferior

note

note might be enumerated. But it is somewhat surprising that the ample extent of the Austrian empire exhibits no navigable canals.

Lakes.]—The lakes, in several parts of the Austrian dominions, are numerous, but few of them merit any particular description, although some are of a considerable extent. The largest are in Hungary, the most considerable of which is the Platten Sea, extending about forty-five English miles in length, by eight in breadth, and abounding in fish. The Neusiddal lake is chiefly remarkable for its vicinity to Eisenstadt, the magnificent residence of Prince Esterhazi. This piece of water, which lies about thirty miles south-east from Vienna, is thirteen miles in length and four in breadth. It is surrounded with fens, which render its borders extremely unhealthy.*

Mineralogy.]—The Austrian empire far excels all the other countries of Europe, in the variety and importance of its mineralogy. There is scarcely a province of this extensive territory that cannot boast of its mineralogical riches. The mines of Bohemia are of ancient celebrity.† Silver is found in many parts of that kingdom. But tin is one of the principal productions of the Bohemian mines.‡ It appears to be restricted to the western part of the kingdom, and lead is also found in the same quarter, where there is also, at Dreyhacken, a mine of very pure copper. Quicksilver, iron, magnet, alum, sulphur, vitriol, talc, terra sigillata, and coal, are also reckoned among the productions of Bohemia. The beautiful

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 67.—Townson's Trav. p. 39.

† Buschines, vol. 6, p. 123, edit. Française.

‡ Reisbeck reckons the Bohemian tin next to the English, vol. 2, p. 263.

Bohemian garnets are found chiefly in the mountains of Stiefelberg whence they are carried to Belen.* Many hands are employed in preparing them for necklaces and other ornaments. This branch of commerce is of great antiquity at Carlesbad and at Walkirk, in Suabia, where twenty-eight mills are occupied in this article. Moravia partakes with Bohemia in its mineralogical advantages. Austria Proper displays a less variety of mineral productions, but that province contains some mines of gold, and also of alum, and furnishes saltpetre in great abundance. In 1754 a valuable mine of silver was opened at a small distance from St. Annaberg, in the southern part of Austria. The provinces of Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola afford many important minerals. The iron of Stiria supplies steel of the best quality; and great quantities of it are annually exported to England. The lead mines, near Pagau, yield annually about 5000 ton weight. At Zayring there were silver mines, which had been under water since the middle of the twelfth century. There are also mines of coal in Styria. Carinthia, likewise, yields excellent iron; and the mines of Friesach are particularly famous. This province also contains rich lead mines. Among the more curious minerals, may be remarked the beautiful blue granite of Carinthia, which appears to be a production not only of this province, but also of Stiria. Carniola has some iron works, but cannot boast of a varied mineralogy. The quicksilver mines of Idria are celebrated in natural history. These were discovered in 1499, and have annually yielded 300,000*lbs.* weight of mercury. The common ore is cinnabar; but sometimes the pure quicksilver runs through the crevices. Idria

* Journal des Mines, No. 6.

is surrounded with woody hills. The mine is of a vast depth: the descent is by ladders and stone stairs. The length of the galleries is computed at 1580 feet. These vast mercurial caverns being extremely pernicious to health; the labours there carried on are sometimes allotted as a punishment to criminals.*

Hungary and Transylvania surpass all other parts of the Austrian dominions, and of all Europe, in the variety of their mineralogy. The gold mines of Cremnitz and the silver mines at Schemnitz, have given birth to these two cities, which are, therefore, called mining towns. Cremnitz is about forty miles south from the Carpathian mountains, and Schemnitz about twenty miles south from Cremnitz. Hungary, likewise, contains rich mines of copper and antimony, as well as some of salt, alum, and coal. Saltpetre is also produced in considerable quantities, and natron, or soda, is found in a lake towards the frontier of Transylvania. The celebrated mine of opal, a gem preferred before all others, by the oriental nations, is situated at Czerweniza, in Hungary, and has been supposed the only one in the world.† It is certainly the best that has been discovered. The mines of Transylvania and the Bannat are also extremely valuable. The former of these provinces has numerous gold mines, in some of which the gold is mixed with antimony, lead, and iron, in others with manganese and zinc, and in others with gravel and sand. Those of Najjiag being the richest in Transylvania are conducted with great care and exactness. The chief mining town of the Bannat is Orawira. There are

* Kirwan's Mineral. vol. 1, p. 346, 359.—Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 375, 376.

† Journal des Mines, No. 2.—Tavernier, Part. 2, p. 293.

mines of copper to the south of that place, and to the north some of gold and silver. In the Krivan, one of the Carpathian mountains, there is a mine of native gold; but it is found in quantities so extremely small, that in procuring one guinea, three must be expended.* The salt mines of Wielitzka, in the Austrian division of Poland, about eight miles to the south of Cracow, are situated at the northern extremity of a projecting branch of the Carpathian mountains. The extent and splendour of those vast excavations have been greatly exaggerated by travellers.† They are, however, sufficiently important and wonderful, without being indebted to fiction. Their extent is 1200 yards in length from east to west, and 200 from north to south, and their depth is prodigious. The galleries and chambers are of an immense size, being supported by timber, or by vast pillars of salt, out of which material even subterraneous apartments and chapels are formed. The miners work by intervals of eight hours, after which they are drawn up, and their places supplied by others. The salt is of an iron grey colour, sometimes intermixed with white cubes; and sometimes large blocks of salt are found imbedded in marle. The revenue arising from these mines has been computed at the annual sum of 100,000*l.* sterling.‡

Mineral Waters.]—The mineral waters in the Austrian empire are numerous, as it is reasonably to be expected in a country so abundant in mountains and mines. The most famous are those of Baden, in

* Townson's Travels in Hungary, p. 371.

† Coxe's Travels in Poland, vol. 1.

‡ For an ample description of the salt mines, vide Townson's Trav. ubi supra; and Coxe ubi supra.

Austria; of Carlestadt, in Bohemia; and of Gran, Groswardin, and Buda, in Hungary.

Soil.—The soil of so extensive an empire must necessarily be various; but, excepting the mountainous tracts, it is almost every where also extremely fertile. Austria Proper is well cultivated, contains a happy peasantry, and has every appearance of a flourishing province.* Bohemia is greatly favoured by nature, in regard to its soil, which, as well as its climate, is excellent; and all the necessaries of life are exceedingly good and cheap.† Hungary, however, excels all the other territories of the Austrian empire in fertility.‡ But from the imperfect state of agriculture, many parts of that rich country present only extensive morasses and wastes. The great central plain of Hungary, extending 250 miles in every direction, presents, in most parts, an extremely rich but uncultivated soil. A late traveller says, that in crossing this plain, in some places, for fifty miles together, not a single village is seen, that all is an immense and boundless waste, feeding numerous herds of cattle, and that the hardy keepers sleep with them on the ground, covered with their sheep skin clothing.§ Such is the state of agriculture and civilization in that fertile country. But there is no doubt that the emancipation of the peasantry will soon be productive of great improvements. In the Polish provinces, now subject to Austria, agriculture had, from time immemorial, been in such a state as might be expected from the oppressive system which prevailed in Poland. A late judicious traveller, who visited these parts, found the country overspread with vast tracts of thick gloomy

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 70, 99, 100. † Ibid, vol. 2, p. 123.

‡ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 19. § Townson's Trav. p. 236.

forests,

forests, and almost without any marks of cultivation and industry. In travelling between Cracow and Warsaw, a distance of above 250 miles, he met with only two carriages and about a dozen carts. The soil, where not sandy, was, through want of drainage and culture, almost every where marshy; and the peasantry were the most miserable that he had seen in any country.* This may be considered as a proof, that the cause of liberty and humanity did not suffer much by the partition of Poland. There is no doubt that a great improvement will be made in the state of this country and of its inhabitants, through the influence of the Austrian government. Transylvania and the other eastern appendages of the Austrian empire, have been little explored by travellers. All that is known of them in this particular is, that their soil is in general good, but their agriculture very imperfect.

Climate.—The climate throughout the Austrian dominions is tolerably mild, and in general healthful, if we except Hungary. In that kingdom, many parts of the great central plain being, through want of cultivation and drainage, converted into stagnant morasses, the air is in some places very unwholesome: towards the Carpathian mountains it is much more salubrious. The climate of Bohemia is excellent, as is proved by the high degree of health, strength, and cheerfulness, every where observable among the inhabitants.†

Vegetable productions.—The vegetable productions of the Austrian dominions are, in general, similar to those of other countries in the same latitudes. Corn and pasturage are extremely plentiful and good. Bohemia is famous for hops, as well as for barley and wheat. The Bohemians brew excellent beer, which

* Coxe's Trav. in Poland, vol. 1.

† Reischek's Trav. vol. 2, p. 123.

as well as their hops, forms a very considerable article of trade. Austria Proper displays numerous vineyards and fields of saffron.* Hungary is famous for the richness of its wines, particularly that of Tokay, which deserves a particular mention. This celebrated wine is produced in a hilly district, extending between twenty and thirty miles to the north of Tokay, but of a less considerable breadth.† This tract is extremely populous, and contains several towns that are larger than Tokay. The wine owes its richness to a mixture of luscious half-dried grapes. It is sold at near half a guinea per bottle at the place of its growth. Amongst the vegetable productions of the Austrian dominions must also be reckoned vast quantities of timber of various species. Numerous and extensive forests run in every direction, especially along the Carpathian mountains, in Transylvania, and in the provinces formerly belonging to Poland. The general mild temperature of the Austrian territories, with the variety of their soil and situation from the lakes and levels of Hungary to the snowy summits of the Carinthian and Carpathian mountains, render their botany exceedingly various and extensive.

Zoology.]—The domestic animals are in general excellent, particularly the horned cattle. In the western territories the horses, cows, and sheep are scarcely distinguished from those of other parts of Germany. The horses of Hungary are very small; but foreign breeds are plentifully introduced. Many of the native horses run wild, and in that state are sold in great numbers at the fairs. The horned cattle are mostly of

* Marshal's Trav. vol. 3.—Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. Great improvements are undoubtedly made since the time of these travellers.

† Townson's Trav. p. 262.

a peculiar

a peculiar colour, a slaty blue. The sheep resemble those of Wallachia, in their spiral horns standing erect, and their pendent hairy fleece. That large breed of wild cattle, called Urus or Bison, is said to be found in the Carpathian forests. The chamois and marmot are not uncommon in many of the Alpine tracts; and some parts of the Carpathian mountains are infested with bears and wolves.* The Austrian ornithology is sufficiently various, and can even boast of the pelican: the bustard is in some parts common. In regard to ichthyology, the Danube has some fishes almost peculiar to that river, among which is a small but delicious kind of salmon.

Natural curiosities.]—The natural curiosities of these countries are far too numerous to be particularized. They consist chiefly of grand Alpine scenes in the mountainous regions, of calcareous rocks, and stupendous caverns. One of these caverns, near Adisberg in Carniola, is of a prodigious extent, displaying natural amphitheatres, bridges, &c. and containing spaces sufficient for the erection of villages. One of the most singular curiosities is the Zerchnitzer Zee, or lake of Cizekiritz, in Carniola. It is more than eight English miles in length, and four in breadth. In the month of June the water sinks under ground through various apertures at the bottom, and reascends in September with considerable force, yielding a rich pasturage for a few weeks in summer, and in winter abounding with fish. The lake Jesero in the island of Cherso, which diffuses its waters only every fifth year, exhibits a phenomenon of a similar nature.† Near Frantenau in Bohemia, is a vast and singular assemblage of natural

* Townson's Trav. p. 347.

† Fortis, p. 429, ap Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1, p. 378.

towers of stone, from 60 to 150 feet in height, supposed to be the skeleton of a hill.*

Artificial curiosities and antiquities.]—The monuments of antiquity in the Austrian dominions are not very numerous; and few of them are of any great importance. Hungary and other parts of the ancient Dacia contain many relics of the Roman power, as military roads, ruins, &c. These countries having frequently been exposed to the ravages of war, many of their ancient monuments have undoubtedly perished. Several churches, monasteries, and castles, however, still attest the magnificence of their founders.

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 148.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

VIENNA, the metropolis of the Austrian empire, and commonly regarded as the capital of Germany, is seated on the south, or rather the west side of the Danube, in a fertile plain watered by a branch of that river, and by the little river Wien. The suburb of Leopold-stadt stands on the opposite side of the Danube, which is here very wide, and contains several woody isles. The country towards the north and east is level, but on the south and west it is variegated with hills and wood. The streets, except those in the suburbs, are narrow. The houses are generally of brick, covered with a durable kind of stucco, and carried to the height of five or six stories. They are flat roofed, and have commonly three or four deep cellars one under another, with an open space in the middle of each arched roof for the admission of air, and a tube passing from the lowermost up to the top for the same beneficial purpose. The palaces and public buildings are numerous and magnificent. The Metropolitan church of St. Stephen is a large Gothic fabric, with splendid decorations. The imperial palace, library, and arsenal, are worthy of notice. The imperial library contains between 5,000 and 6,000 books, printed in the fifteenth century, many rare manuscripts, and a very extensive collection of modern books. The cabinet

net of medals is exceedingly rich. Many private collections of natural history are extremely valuable, and in some places would be considered as fine public museums.* The theatres are magnificent: there are several smaller ones in the suburbs; and the different places of public amusement are numerous. In the winter, sledge parties on the Danube are a favorite diversion among the inhabitants of Vienna. At that season the frost is often severe. In 1793, the cold was so intense, that the Mercury stood at 17° below 0 of Reaumur, and the Danube was frozen till the beginning of March.† Vienna teems with coffee-houses and gazettes. There are no fewer than sixteen or seventeen newspapers printed in this Austrian capital, besides abundance of French, Italian, and English, and a still greater number of the different German papers and journals.‡ Bull-baiting is a favorite diversion among the populace of Vienna; and various places of resort, where dancing, feasting, and female charms may be enjoyed at a cheap rate, abound both in the city and suburbs.§ The inhabitants of Vienna live in the most luxurious style. In no part of Europe, nor perhaps of the world, are the markets so plentifully supplied, and provisions so cheap.|| Hares are brought in by cart-loads, and the abundance of pheasants and partridges is astonishing. Livers of geese are here esteemed a great delicacy; and the Jews exclusively possess the secret of feeding them to an enormous size. But the indulgence of gormandizing here has no bounds. Notwithstanding the almost incredible plenty

* Townson's Trav. p. 2—6—15. † Ibid. p. 27. ‡ Ibid. p. 30, 31.

§ Ibid. p. 16, 17.

|| Reisbeck says, the scarcity of money in Hungary is the cause of this abundance of provisions at Vienna. Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 9.

and cheapness of the most excellent butcher's meat, game and fish, tortoises, frogs and snails, find a ready market. A pair of frogs' legs are sold for about three-farthings; and seven snails are charged at the same price as a plate of beef or veal.* Frogs are brought by 40,000 at a time from the country, and bought up by the great dealers at Vienna, who keep them in cellars destined to that use.† Besides the extraordinary abundance of provisions, there is also great plenty and variety of excellent wines, so that nothing is wanting to render the Austrian capital the paradise of gluttons. But food for the intellect is neither so plentiful, nor held in so high estimation; and although well informed persons may be found there, the philosopher would scarcely consider Vienna as an Elysium. The people of all ranks are, in general, very little addicted to literature.‡ But since the accession of Maria Theresa, various efforts have been made by the Austrian monarchs, especially by Joseph II, towards enlightening their subjects, and inspiring them with a taste for letters and science. The capital can boast of several respectable institutions for that purpose. There is an university, a college of medicine, academies for the nobility, for the clergy, and for the fine arts, a school for the deaf and dumb, and several other laudable establishments.

Vienna, from its situation, almost in the centre of the European continent, as well as from being so long the residence of the imperial court, is a place of great resort, not only for strangers from all parts of Germany, as well as from the different states of the Austrian

* Townson's Trav. p. 75.

† Ibid.

‡ See the descriptions of the city and people of Vienna in Townson's Trav. and in Reuber's Trav. vol. 1 and 2.

dominicans,

dominions, but also for foreigners from all parts of Europe, and presents an assemblage of various nations with their respective costume and peculiar manners. The Austrians being in a great measure strangers to that cultivation of mind and condescension of manners, so conspicuous among persons of rank and education, in some other countries, the inhabitants of Vienna, though civil, shew a kind of coldness and reserve, which have the appearance of pride, and contribute to cast a damp on the enjoyments of society.* The women are handsome and well made, but their countenances are not interesting.† Their education leaves them, in general, destitute of mental accomplishments; but a spirit of gallantry is sufficiently prevalent, and, in this respect, the manners of the Austrian capital seem to partake of the cicisbeism of Italy and Spain, forming a kind of medium between the profligacy of the south, and the decency of the north of Europe. In order to illustrate the whole by comparison, it may be observed, that in the elegancies of literature and manners, Vienna is very far behind not only London and Paris, but also Dresden, Berlin, and Frankfort.‡

The trade of Vienna has, since the accession of Maria Theresa, been constantly in a state of improvement; but it is mostly in the hands of strangers from Suabia and other parts of Germany, and is far less flourishing than it might be rendered by good regulations and proper encouragement.§ Although situated

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 1, p. 237.

† Ibid. vol. 2, p. 6.

‡ See descriptions of Dresden, Berlin, and Frankfort; and general comparisons between the northern and southern parts of Germany; Reisbeck, vol. 2 and 3.

§ Reisbeck, vol. 2, p. 11.

in the interior of the continent, the Austrian capital possesses, by means of the Danube, and by its central position between Hungary and Germany, incalculable advantages in respect of inland navigation and commerce. Vienna has some manufactures of cloth, linen, stuffs, stockings, silk, mirrors, porcelain, gold and silver lace, silver plate, and various articles of brass.* Formerly, however, these were not carried on to any great extent; but of late they appear to be much improved. Vienna stands on the site of the ancient Vindobona, a frontier town and fortress of the Romans, but was of little note till the twelfth century, when it became the residence of the Dukes of Austria; and under the later emperors of that house it has been greatly enlarged and embellished. The population is by Boetticher and Zimmermann differently estimated: the former computes it at 254,000, the latter only at 206,000; but it is probable that he has not included the suburbs.†

The suburbs of Vienna are far more extensive than the city, and standing at a distance from the walls, cause the whole of that metropolis to occupy a very large space. The prater, or imperial park, is an island in the Danube well planted with wood; and a little to the south is the chapel of Herenhartz, which, during Lent, is greatly frequented for the sake of amusement as well as of devotion. The magnificent palace of Belvidere, which formerly belonged to Prince Eugene, is in one of the suburbs, and at the distance of a few miles is Schoenbrun, another imperial palace. The imperial garden at Schoenbrun, is one of the finest in the world. The hot-houses are superior to every

* Busching, vol. 6, p. 549.

† Boetticher's Statist. Tables, vol. 3—Zimmermann's Statist. Tab. 2.

thing of the kind seen in other parts of Europe, and contain the greatest variety of rare plants, all in the most excellent state.* The suburb of Leopoldstadt is seated on the opposite side of that branch of the Danube, which waters the city. There is a coal mine at Odenburg near Vienna; but the people having there, as in most other parts of the continent, a prejudice against that kind of fuel, on a supposition of its being unwholesome, it is seldom used except in some manufactories.†

Prague.—Since the loss of Milan and Brussels, and more recently of Venice, Prague has an indisputable claim to rank as the second city of the Austrian empire. This capital of Bohemia is situated on both sides of the Moldaw, over which is a fine stone bridge, first built in 1357. This bridge commands a magnificent prospect of the city, which rises on both sides like an amphitheatre. On the right the ascent continues to the imperial palace, which is majestically seated on the top of the eminence: on the left, fine gardens and pleasure-houses forming the other side of the amphitheatre, have a fine effect. The city which is ill built, although the houses are of stone, is about three miles long and two broad; but there are extensive gardens and pleasure-grounds within the walls, so that the population, computed at only 80,000, of which more than 10,000 are Jews, is far from corresponding with the extent. The fortifications are not strong. The garrison, however, generally consists of about 9,000 men. On the whole, Prague is a desirable residence; for besides the amenity of the situation, the excellency of the climate, and the cheapness of living,

* Townson's Trav. p. 18—24.

† Ibid. p. 40.

the inhabitants are civil and intelligent, and society is agreeable.*

Buda.—Buda, the ancient metropolis of Hungary, is situated on the Danube. It is three or four miles long, but its breadth is very inconsiderable, occupying only a narrow stripe of land between the Danube and the hill on which the fortress is built. Buda has neither fortifications nor gates. Pest is on the opposite side of the river, over which is a bridge of boats, and both may be considered as one city. The chief buildings, both public and private, are in Pest. The royal palace is a large and stately edifice.† The university of Buda has a salary of 20,000*l.* sterling; but is under such bad regulations, that not above 4,000*l.* is appropriated to the professors. Here is however a good collection of mathematical instruments; and the museum of natural history may rank among the first in Europe. But the library is only indifferent.‡ Here is also an observatory and a botanical garden. The hot baths constructed by the Turks, when they were in possession of this country, are remarkable for their extent and magnificence. Here are several coffee-houses, one of which is perhaps unrivalled in Europe. The population of Buda and Pest is estimated at 38,000. At Pest a great annual fair is held, which continues for eight or nine days, and is much frequented by the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who have almost the whole trade of Hungary in their hands. Bull and bear baiting is here, as well as at Vienna, a favorite diversion.§ The hills behind Buda command an extensive view into the great plain of Hungary. The field of Bakosch, where the Hunga-

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 138—141.

† Townson's Trav. p. 77.

‡ Ibid. p. 79.

§ Ibid. p. 80—82.

rian nation formerly held its diets and elected its sovereigns, is only three or four miles from Pest. At some of these assemblies 80,000 persons have pitched their tents.*

Presburg.]—Presburg had for a long time been reckoned the capital of Hungary; but in 1784, the seat of the provincial government, and the public offices were restored to Buda. Presburg is a well built town, pleasantly situated on the Danube, which is here 250 yards broad, and extremely rapid. Here is a good theatre as well as commodious coffee-houses, with newspapers, &c. as at Vienna. The population, is estimated at 28,000.† Of these about a fourth are Lutherans, who are so opulent as to pay half of the taxes. Jews are also numerous.‡

Gratz.]—Gratz, the capital of Stiria, is nearly equal to Buda and Pest in population, its inhabitants being computed at 55,000.§ This city is situated on the west side of the river Muchr, and has an extensive suburb on the opposite bank, with which it communicates by a bridge. Gratz is a fine city, with regular fortifications and a strong citadel built on a bold rock near the river. The luxury of the table is here indescribable.|| In this respect Gratz exceeds, if possible, even Vienna. The other cities of the Austrian empire are not very considerable. Among the polish acquisitions are Cracow, the ancient capital of that kingdom, seated on the Vistula, a city of great extent, but containing only about 24,000 inhabitants; and Leopold, with a population of about 20,000.

* Townson, p. 91.

† Boetticher estimates them at 27,000, Statist. tab. 12.

‡ Townson, p. 440, 441.

§ Reisbeck computes them at only 50,000, vol. 2, p. 76.

|| Ibid.

Hermanstadt.]—Hermanstadt, the capital of Transylvania, is an unhealthy situation. Its inhabitants are estimated at about 17,000.

Brum and Olmutz.]—Brum and Olmutz, both in Moravia, are supposed to contain, the former about 18,000, and the latter about 12,000.

Trieste.]—Trieste, the only sea-port of the Austrian dominions, is situated on a bay of the Adriatic and on the declivity of a hill, which is crowned with the castle. The population is estimated at about 18,000. The adjacent country produces excellent wines. This was declared a free port by the Empress Queen, Maria Theresa. The exports consist of quicksilver and various metals, with wines and other native productions.

Edifices.]—Besides the edifices already noticed in describing Vienna, Buda, and Pest, many splendid churches, monasteries, and palaces, are seen in the various regions of the Austrian empire. Many of the Hungarian nobility have vast estates and castles of corresponding magnificence. But the chief of all is that of Eisenstadt, the princely seat of the family of Esterhazy, which almost equals Versailles in splendor.* But the situation near an unwholesome morass adjoining to the lake of Newsiddal, is one of the most disagreeable and insalubrious that can be imagined.† The inhabitants of the adjacent country look like ghosts, and are annually plagued with the ague.‡

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 66. † Townson's Trav. p. 37.

‡ Reisbeck, vol. 2, p. 67. Reisbeck says, that no palace in France, except Versailles, equals Prince Esterhazy's in magnificence.

CHAP. III.

Present State, political and moral—Religion—Government—Laws—Army—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—Political importance—Language—Literature—Polite Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National character.

Religion.]—THE predominant religion of the whole Austrian empire is the Roman Catholic, but all sects enjoy a liberal toleration. Protestants of various denominations are found in Bohemia and Moravia. Lutherans are to be met with even at Vienna, but they chiefly abound in Transylvania. In Hungary they have churches and bells; and pay no dues to the Catholic church, Mr. Townson supposes them equal to the Catholics in number. Hungary, including Croatia and Bosnia, contains two archiepiscopal, and fifteen episcopal sees. The Hungarian clergy are a powerful body. The archbishop of Gran has a revenue of about 36,000*l.* per annum.* The archbishop of Vienna was a prince of the holy Roman empire, until the domineering power of France abolished the imperial dignity. A more minute investigation of the Austrian hierarchy, would rather be tedious than interesting.

Government.]—The Austrian empire being an assemblage of different kingdoms and states, laying claim to different privileges, their various forms of government are at least ostensibly different. Hungary, long an elective kingdom, although now here-

* Polit. Journ. 1783, ap. Townson, p. 180.

ditary, retains its diets or aristocratical senate. Even the archduchy of Austria has its states, consisting of four orders, clergy, peers, knights, and burgesses, the assembly for lower Austria being held at Vienna, and that of the upper at Lintz.* In fine, every province has its separate government. But as they have so little connection, such various interests and so great a degree of national hatred existing among them, and as the vast military force of the whole is in the hands of the sovereign, no single state can resist his will. The powerful kingdom of Hungary, however, requires a considerable degree of political attention in its administration, and the court of Vienna is always cautious of going too far in violating the privileges of that haughty people. Many attempts, however, were made by the emperor Jos. II, to reduce his extensive dominions under an uniform and arbitrary government, and if we except Hungary, Transylvania, &c. we may consider the Austrian empire as an absolute monarchy, since the local constitutions are mere forms and shadows of ancient systems, which have no weight in the political scale against a powerful prince with a numerous army at his command.

Laws.—The laws vary according to the different provinces, each state having its peculiar code, but in general they are equitable and mild. It must be observed, that the peasantry were emancipated in 1785.† Before that memorable era the boasted liberty of Hungary consisted in feudal aristocracy and popular slavery. By the military constitution of Hungary; even the clergy are not exempt from taking the field if required. Formerly the archbishop of Gran, and

* Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1. p. 344.—Bauching's Geog. vol. 6, p. 536.

† See hist. chap. reign of Maria Theresia and Jos. II.

some other prelates, appeared each at the head of 1000 of their vassals. And in the battle of Mohatch in 1526, no fewer than seven bishops were left dead on the field.*

Military force.]—The military force of Austria, which was computed by Boetticher at 365,455 men, has been considerably diminished by her sanguinary contests with France and her territorial losses. Pinkerton supposes it could scarcely amount at present to 200,000 men, but if we consider that Austria still retains those countries from whence she always derived her greatest military strength, her armies must yet be formidable, and perhaps that writer may have underrated their number. Naval force cannot here constitute an article of description, as none such exists. Had Venice been preserved, that acquisition might have given rise to an Austrian navy.

Revenue.]—The finances of the house of Austria form a subject of still more difficult investigation than its military strength. After so many defalcation former estimates can serve only as uncertain guides. The whole revenue of the Austrian monarchy has been computed at more than 10,000,000 sterling. In 1794 it was estimated by Crome at only 9,100,000*l.* But since that time, Austria having lost the Netherlands and the Italian provinces, it scarcely seems probable that it can now amount to 8,000,000*l.* Before the last contest with France, the national debt was computed at about 40,000,000*l.* sterling, but it must since that time be considerably augmented.

Commerce.]—The extensive countries which com-

* The borders of Hungary on the south and east are disposed in military governments, where the clergy, both Catholics and Protestants, are obliged to take arms. *Townson*, p. 202.

pose the Austrian empire, although blessed with an exuberant fertility, and abounding in native productions, are disadvantageously situated in regard to foreign trade, being wholly inland and having no other port than Trieste. Hungary produces a quantity and variety of valuable commodities, sufficient for carrying on an extensive trade; but its inland situation, and a number of commercial restrictions, counterbalance those advantages. The Hungarian exports at present, consist chiefly of cattle, hogs, sheep, wool, corn, flour, and wine, carried to Vienna and other parts of the Austrian dominions, not above a seventh part being sent to foreign countries.* The trade of Hungary lies under many oppressive restraints, and Vienna regards that kingdom only as a magazine of raw materials, and a consumer of its manufactures.†

Manufactures.—No part of the Austrian empire, except its former Italian and Belgic appendages, has ever pursued an extensive manufacturing system. It appears, however, that of late the state of manufactures has been greatly improved in Austria, Stiria, and Bohemia. The latter country has long been celebrated for those of glass and paper. A late writer says, that in the archduchy of Austria there are seven great manufactories of cotton, which employ 140,000 persons, and that 30,000 individuals derive employment from the woollen manufacture at Lintz. The same author informs us, that the iron manufactures are numerous in Stiria, and that Bohemia has linen manufactures to the amount of 16,000,000 of florins.‡ According to these statements it appears, that the

* Townson's Trav. p. 198. † Reisbeck's Trav. p. 2.—Townson, p. 194.

‡ Hoeck Apperen Statistique des Etats de l'Allemagne.

manufacturing system of the Austrian dominions is becoming important.

Population.]—The population of the Austrian empire has been variously computed. Perhaps Zimmermann's statement, which being taken from a medium of six different writers, gives the number of 19,611,000 may be a tolerable approximation to truth.* On the same principle of computation he also assigns 5,170,000 to the population of Hungary and Transylvania. But Townson, on the authority of De Lucca, asserts, that according to the conscription laid before Joseph II, the population of Hungary was found to be somewhat more than 7,000,000. and that De Lucca on probable grounds, supposes Hungary with Transylvania, Slavonia, Croatia, &c. to contain 9,000,000.† Crome likewise estimated the population of the whole Austrian dominions at 25,000,000.‡ The inhabitants of Austria alone are generally computed at 1,685,000, but a certain author has swelled them to 2,100,000, so difficult it is to obtain any accurate information on statistical matters. But which ever of the totals we adopt, we must allow for the last dismemberments. Hoeck,§ however, reckoning separately the inhabitants of each state, gives the number of 20,108,216 for the population of the whole Austrian empire as it stood previous to the last contest with France.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance of Austria, although much diminished, is still very great, and she must be considered as the

* Zimmerm. tab. 4.

† Townson, p. 189.

‡ Crome ap. Townson.—Schlosser's polit. Journal ap. Reisbeck, vol. 2, p. 73.

§ Hoeck Appereu Statist, &c.

third power on the continent, ranking next to France and Russia. Her political relations also extend to almost every country in Europe. Ever since the accession of Charles V, she has been the constant rival and determined opponent of France. Since the aggrandizement of Prussia, which was partly at the expence of Austria, the greatest rivalry and national jealousy have existed between those two powers. Inveterate wars have excited, and radical difference of religion and manners contributes to perpetuate the same animosity between Austria and the Ottoman Porte. Russia is the only continental power with whose interests those of Austria can coincide to any great extent. These two powers, perhaps, may one day check the exorbitant power of France, and dismember the Ottoman empire, and renew in Turkey the scenes which have been exhibited in Poland. Great Britain is the natural ally of Austria: the only disadvantage of this alliance is, that the British fleets cannot protect an inland country against the invading armies of France.

Language.—The various languages of these aggregated dominions, may be assigned to three grand divisions, the Gothic or German; the Slavonic, of which different dialects prevail in the Polish provinces; Transylvania, Dalmatia, Croatia, and some parts of Hungary, as also in Bohemia and Moravia, and lastly the proper Hungarian, supposed to be a branch of the Finnic. Among people of rank at Vienna, French is the fashionable language. The German spoken in Austria, Bavaria, and Suabia, is very impure.*

Literature.] The literary history of the Austrian empire is little interesting. It can neither boast of

* Reuber's Trav. vol. 1. p. 221.

ancient memorials, nor of great modern improvements. Vienna, indeed, is crowded with pretended literati, but those who have attained to any degree of reputation were mostly foreigners. In the medical science, however, Storch, Van Swieten, and some others, have acquired a deserved celebrity. Some of their antiquaries also rise above mediocrity, but Reisbeck has depicted in glowing colours the general bad taste of the Austrian literati.* Bohemia and Hungary have but few claims to literary eminence. Cosmas of Prague, who flourished about A.D. 1130, possesses some merit as an historian. But his death left a blank in Bohemian literature, nor did the encouragement given to learning by the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, stimulate that of Hungary. Transylvania has produced a natural historian of considerable eminence, the Baron du Born, but he wrote in Latin and French, and the native language of Hungary is not ennobled by any celebrated work. If we should make an inquiry into the causes that have prevented the progress of literature and philosophy in the Austrian dominions, we should find them in the coarseness of the German dialect there used, as well as the uncultivated state of the Slavonic and Hungarian languages, in the numerous wars which have often desolated these countries, and even endangered their national existence, in the long continued influence of the feudal system, in the low estimation in which learning has always been held by the nobles, in the metaphysical bigotry and obstinate adherence to ancient prejudices which have so long prevailed in their universities, and in the multiplied restraints on the press. Under the benign auspices of the late

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 1. p. 283.

Austrian monarchs, the literature of their dominions has had a gradual tendency towards improvement, and may in time become respectable. In regard to the polite arts, as little can be said on that subject as on their science and literature.

Education.—Education has, throughout the Austrian dominions, been extremely neglected. The empress Maria Theresa, however, instituted many schools, a measure which must be attended with beneficial consequences.

Universities.—There are several universities, but from a bigotted attachment to ancient principles and prejudices, they have promoted the progress of useful knowledge less than might have been wished. The university of Vienna has, since 1752, been considerably improved. There are also universities at Prague, Inspruck, and Gratz. Hungary boasts chiefly of Buda. The Jesuits established schools also at Raab and Chaseau. There is a Calvinist college at Debretzin, and the bishop of Erlau has established a splendid university in that city.*

People, manners, customs, &c.—The Austrian empire being an aggregate of several kingdoms and states, a considerable difference of manners and customs prevails among the various nations of which its inhabitants are composed. A sketch of the Austrian manners has already been given in the description of those of Vienna. It remains only to add, that the plenty observable in the country, corresponds with that of the capital. The peasantry of Austria proper, live in that comfortable style which results from the fertility of the soil and the enjoyment of freedom; and the country does not exhibit that contrast be-

* Townson, p. 225, &c.

tween riches and poverty, which in many other provinces indicates the oppressed state of the people.* The lower orders are little addicted to vice, and punishments are rare. Robberies are seldom committed, and murder but little known. When capital punishment is necessary, it is inflicted with great solemnity, and accompanied with public prayers, an example worthy of universal imitation. The manners of the Hungarians are considerably tinged with those of the Germans, but among their peculiarities they still retain their ancient dress. That of the nobility is splendid and costly. The waistcoat is generally long, and the breeches always ornamented with lace. The jacket is trimmed both with lace and fur. The hanger or sabre, is also a constant appendage, and the whole has a noble appearance.† The peasants wear only a wide coat of sheep skins thrown over the shoulders, and grey linen trowsers with boots or sandals, but they are not permitted to wear the sabre. The ladies dress after the German fashion.‡ As arms are the grand occupation of the Hungarian nobles, so is agriculture that of the plebeans. Few of them meddle with mechanical arts or commercial affairs. The former are carried on by the Germans, the latter, as already observed, by the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. These are spread over the whole country, being settled in almost every district. There are also immense numbers of gipsies who constantly stroll about. The lower classes of people in Hungary sleep in their cloaths, the use of beds being little known in that country. A great national hatred exists between

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2. p. 70.

† Townson's Trav. p. 90. The Hungarian dress is imitated by our hussars, Townson, p. 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 88, 89.

the Hungarians and the Austrians.* The Hungarian nobility, however, send their children to be educated at Vienna. The manners of Tránsylvania, and the neighbouring provinces, resemble those of Hungary. The Bohemians imitate the Germans, and are extremely fond of music.

National character.—The various nations under the Austrian sovereignty, are more famed for arms than for arts. Nature, indeed, has peculiarly fitted them for a military life. For this the Hungarians and Croats are extremely proper, being tall and robust.† Reisbeck says, that the Croats are the handsomest people on earth. Townson, however, informs us, that the Hungarian women are very far from being beautiful. The Carinthians are the strongest men in Europe. Reisbeck says, that like their horses they never tire. The Bohemians are exceedingly strong built men, and the best soldiers in the Austrian armies.§ But with all those physical advantages, the Austrian troops have not been able to withstand the arms of France, and the genius or good fortune of her commanders. The decrees of him by whose nod empires rise and fall, are inscrutable. Ambition for a while may be allowed to scourge the earth, but he who permits its temporary sway, can suddenly check its career.

* Townson, p. 33, 96, 97.

† Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 25.

‡ Townson's Trav. p. 44.

§ Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2, p. 130, 134.

PRUSSIAN MONARCHY.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and artificial Curiosities.

THE Prussian monarchy, which commenced only with the eighteenth century, became, by gradual accessions, so extensive as to rank among the first powers of Europe, and to hold against Austria the balance of Germany. After so rapid an aggrandisement, however, this mighty state has experienced a terrible fall. Since the peace of Tilsit, it is bounded on the west by the new kingdom of Westphalia, on the south by the dominions of Austria and those of the new kingdom of Saxony, on the north and east it retains its former boundaries, the Baltic Sea, Pomerania, and the territories of Russia.

Face of the Country]—The Prussian dominions do not display any grand features of nature, nor any great variety of aspect. The whole country, except a part of Silesia, is generally level, and in many places covered with thick forests.

Mountains.]—The only mountains in the Prussian dominions are those of Silesia, which form its western and southern boundaries, and are distinguished by

different appellations. The north-west part of this mountainous ridge is called Riesen, the middle part the Bohemian, and the south-eastern the Moravian chain, from the countries of which they form the frontier.* The Carpathian mountains, with contiguous forests, form the boundary between Silesia and Hungary.†

Rivers.—The chief rivers of Prussia are the Elbe, which now forms its western boundary; the Spree, which passes by Berlin and falls into the Havel, a tributary stream of the Elbe; the Oder, which rises in the Moravian mountains, and falls into the Baltic, after watering Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania; the Pregel, which passes by Königsberg; and the Memel, which forms in part the eastern boundary of the kingdom. The Vistula can scarcely, at this time, be ranked among the Prussian rivers.

Lakes.—The Prussian territories contain a number of lakes, some of which are of considerable extent. The Curisch Haff is an inland sheet of water, near the mouth of the river Memel, about sixty English miles in length by half as much in breadth, full of dangerous shoals, and subject to frequent storms.

Canals.—Several small canals are seen in Prussia, but not of sufficient importance to merit attention in a general view of geography.

Mineralogy.—The mineralogy of the Prussian dominions is of no great importance. The mountains of Silesia, indeed, can boast of both gold and silver; but the mines never defrayed the expence of working,

* For a description of the Silesian mountains, see Busching, vol. 6, p. 212, &c.

† For a good general description of the Carpathian mountains, see Townson's Travels. But he did not visit the parts next to Silesia.

and are now, for the most part, neglected. There are at present some mines of copper, lead, and iron; and these mountains afford agates, jaspers, and several other curious fossils. Coal is found in various parts of Silesia. But the most distinguished and peculiar mineral production of Prussia is amber, for which that country has been famed from early ages. This curious production is chiefly found on a narrow neck of land near Pillau, on the Samland shore of the Baltic. It reposes on wood coal at the depth of about 100 feet, and is found in lumps of various sizes, some of which are of five pounds weight: it is often washed on shore by tempests.

Mineral Waters.]—The hot spring at Warmbrun, near Hirschberg, appears to be the only mineral water of note in the Prussian territories.

Soil.]—The soil of the Prussian provinces varies between the two extremes of barrenness and fertility. Brandenburg is a sandy and barren country; Prussia Proper also is sandy, but more fertile. The northern extremity of Silesia partakes of the sandy soil of Brandenburg; but the greatest part of the province displays a remarkable fertility. Silesia is, on the whole, the most fertile and healthful, as well as the most diversified and agreeable province of the Prussian dominions.

Climate.]—The climate of all the countries bordering on the Baltic, is in general cold and moist. Prussia Proper is deluged with rain in the autumn, and has about eight months of winter.* Pomerania and Brandenburg are somewhat more free from humidity. Silesia excels all the other Prussian provinces, in the purity and wholesomeness of its air; but

* Basching. vol. 3, p. 5.

the western and southern parts, which lie near the mountains, are exposed even in summer to sharp freezing winds.

Vegetable Productions.—The vegetable productions of the Prussian dominions consist chiefly of corn and pasturage. Vines are produced in Silesia, and some wine is made, but of a very inferior quality. Prussia Proper produces all the different kinds of grain; but the chief crop is buck wheat. In Brandenburg, that grain and rye are almost the sole objects of cultivation, as wheat and barley are scarcely ever seen.*

Zoology.—The horses, cattle, and sheep resemble those of the adjacent countries, nor has the Prussian zoology, in general, impressed travellers with any ideas of distinction.†

Natural Curiosities.—The mines of amber, already mentioned, are the only natural curiosities that have been remarked in the Prussian dominions.

Antiquities, &c.—These countries, in which even a rude knowledge of the arts is comparatively recent, cannot be supposed to display grand monuments of antiquity, and in fact we hear of none that are worthy of notice.

* Marshal's Trav. vol. 3, p. 239, &c.

† Carr represents the Prussian horses, in general, as a very indifferent breed. Travels round the Baltic, p. 403.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices.

Berlin.]—**PRUSSIA** is not remarkable for the number or magnitude of her cities. Berlin, the capital, however, highly merits the attention of travellers. It is situated on the banks of the small river Spree, in 52° , $32'$ north latitude, and 13° , $31'$ east longitude. It extends about four miles and a half in length, and is one of the most beautiful and magnificent cities in Europe. The plan is extremely regular, being the result of one design,* but without that dull uniformity that renders many other cities disagreeable. The appearance of the streets and squares, with the plantations of trees, bespeak taste and variety.† The streets are spacious and well paved, although the country scarcely produces a single stone. This defect was supplied by the contrivance of Frederick the Great, who compelled all the vessels that came up the Havel and the Spree, to take on board, at Magdebourg, a quantity of free stone and to disembark it gratis at Berlin. The principal ornament of this elegant capital is the Linden walk, which is admired by all travellers. This umbrageous and beautiful promenade is formed of triple rows

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3, p. 245.—Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 399.

† Reisbeck ubi supra

of Linden trees, of the most graceful appearance. It forms the centre of the street, having carriage roads on each side, from which it is protected by handsome lines of granite posts, connected by bars of iron, and illuminated by large reflecting lamps. It abuts at one end on the opera-house and the palace, and at the other on the celebrated gate of Brandenburg, designed by Langhan, from the Propyleum of Athens. This elegant structure and the Linden walk are unique. The Spree, which runs through the city, is adorned with several handsome stone bridges. The houses in Berlin are generally large, well built of brick and stuccoed, but some are of stone in the Italian style of architecture. The royal palace is an enormous square pile of stone. *Mont Bijou*, the residence of the Dowager Queen, is on the banks of the Spree, embosomed in groves and gardens. The Roman Catholic church, called the Rotunda, designed by Alberoni, is a superb edifice; and the grand altar which was constructed at Rome is celebrated for its beautiful workmanship. The new theatre is a noble building, elegantly decorated and generally well attended. The opera-house, which is never open but during the carnival, is also a magnificent structure. In the small square, called *Williams's-place*, are seen the statues of Gen. Zieten, and several others, who distinguished themselves in the seven years war.* Berlin, however, with all its magnificence, betrays a great appearance of poverty. Many of the large houses are let in stories to mechanics, and several other buildings, which make a grand appearance, are only barracks for soldiers.† The population also of this capital,

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 400, &c.

† Wenzel's Mem. vol. 1. p. 101.

computed only at about 145,000,* is far from corresponding with its extent. Although Berlin is not less than four miles and a half in length, and near three in breadth, a great part of this vast inclosure is occupied by gardens and fields, which give the city a rural appearance.† Reisbeck computes the number of houses at no more than 6000, and according to the highest calculation they fall short of 7000.‡ Each house must, therefore, contain the average number of twenty-one persons at least, a circumstance for which it is easy to account, from the spaciousness of the houses and the general custom of different families occupying the several stories. This capital of the Prussian monarchy was founded in the twelfth century, by a colony from the Netherlands; but it owes its chief embellishments to Frederick the Great, who rendered it the seat of elegance as well as of science, letters, and arms. The garrison of Berlin generally consisted of 25,000 men, being the most numerous of any in Europe, except that of Constantinople.§ The cadet corp is a noble institution, resembling that of Petersburg || Berlin is celebrated for the excellence of its hotels. The environs of Berlin are sandy, flat, and unpicturesque.

Potsdam.]—Potsdam, at the distance of about sixteen English miles from the capital, is situated on the Havel, and is formed into an island by the adjoining lakes and canals. The royal palace of Sans Souci is

* Zimmermann, table 3. Reisbeck states the population at 145,000, including the garrison. Trav, vol. 3, p. 52.

† Reisbeck ubi supra.

‡ Koeck computes the number of houses at 6950, and of inhabitants at 142,099, ap. Pinkerton, p. 392.

§ Reisbeck, vol. 2, p. 250.

|| Carr's Trav. p. 463, &c.

a noble structure: the façade, towards the terrace, is heavy, but that which faces the plain is elegant. The picture gallery is 258 feet long, by 80 in breadth, and 15 in height; and the collection is excellent. Among other paintings of great value, is a head of Christ, by Raphael, for which Frederick the Great gave 6000 ducats.* The gardens are elegantly arranged. About a mile and a half distant from Sans Souci is the new palace.

Konigsberg.]—Konigsberg, seated on the river Pregel, ranks next to Berlin, and contains about 52,000 inhabitants. It is well fortified and carries on a considerable trade.

Breslaw.]—Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, is one of the most beautiful cities of Germany, and not inferior to Konigsberg in population. It has several manufactures, especially of linen. This city was destroyed by the Tartars in the thirteenth century.

Dantzick.]—Dantzick, a city of commercial fame in the middle ages, as well as in modern times, after having enjoyed a long independence, fell under the Prussian sceptre. But by the late treaty of peace, concluded between France and Prussia, this city is restored to its former independence, on condition of shutting its port against the English trade, during the continuance of the war. Dantzick is seated on the western bank of the Vistula, in 54°, 22' north latitude, and 18°, 38' east longitude, and is supposed to contain about 36,000 inhabitants. Its trade has greatly declined, but is still considerable, and indeed this must always be the principal port for the exportation of the corn and other products of Poland.

* Carr's Trav. p. 471. These valuable paintings and other curiosities are now sent off to Paris, the great receptacle of the spoils of nations.

Warsaw.]—Warsaw, the former capital of Poland, and lately belonging to Prussia, although now dismembered from her empire, may be mentioned in this place, as it can scarcely be classed in any other division. This city is situated partly in a plain and partly on a gentle ascent rising from the Vistula. A late intelligent traveller describes Warsaw as a city of great extent, but of a melancholy appearance, a natural consequence of the general poverty of Poland under its former wretched government.* It had probably been somewhat improved under the Prussian domination; but we have no precise intelligence concerning its present state. By the late treaty concluded in 1807, between France and Prussia, Warsaw, with its territory, was ceded to the king of Saxony.

Edifices.]—The most superb edifices of Prussia are those which have been mentioned in describing Berlin and Potsdam. Several other cities present respectable buildings, but none that are particularly celebrated for architectural elegance or magnificent decoration.

* Coxe's Travels in Poland, vol. 1, p. 296. The population of Warsaw is stated by Hoeck at 66,573. Pink. vol. 1, p. 393.

CHAP. III.

Present State, Political and Moral—Religion—Government—Laws—Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—Political Importance and Relations—Language—Literature—Polite Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

Religion.—**T**HE predominant religion of Prussia is the Protestant, in its two chief divisions of Lutherans and Calvinists. Roman Catholics, also, are numerous; and in fact the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Catholic systems may be considered as the three established religions of the Prussian monarchy; but the universal toleration which prevails, extinguishes all theological enmity.

Government.—The political constitution of Prussia, is an absolute hereditary monarchy; but the wisdom of successive sovereigns has rendered the government mild and beneficent. Frederic the Great reformed many abuses in the administration of the laws; and his government was equitable; but its whole tenor was too military, a fault inherent in the Prussian system, and the natural consequence of a central situation between three powerful neighbours, Austria, France, and Russia.

Laws.—The Prussian laws are as mild and equitable as those of most nations on the continent.

Army and navy.—The military force of Prussia amounted at least to 200,000 men, including about 40,000 cavalry.* Under Frederic the Great the Prus-

* More than half of the armies of Frederic the Great were composed of foreigners. Reusbeck's Trav. vol. 3, p. 20.

sian troops were universally esteemed the best in the world, but by some unaccountable management, they have scarcely made any stand against the veteran battalions of France. At present no computation can be made of the remaining force of this monarchy. As Prussia has never had much either to gain or lose by sea, her whole attention has been directed to the land service, which could alone protect her against her powerful neighbours; and she has never attempted to create a navy.

Revenues.]—The revenues of Prussia, before the late disastrous contest with France, have been variously computed at 3,000,000, 4,000,000, and even 5,000,000; but the late defalcations have rendered it impossible to make any estimate.

Commerce.]—Prussia never stood high in the commercial scale; and at present her trade may be said to have undergone at least a temporary annihilation.

Manufactures.]—The Prussian manufactures produce a variety of articles for home consumption, but a very small quantity for exportation. Frederic the Great established a silk manufacture; and there is also at Berlin a china manufacture, nearly equal to that of Dresden.* But the linens of Silesia, of which a considerable quantity is exported, constitute the most important of all the Prussian manufactures.

Population.]—The population of the Prussian dominions was computed at somewhat more than 8,000,000. After the late defalcations, it is difficult to make any estimate, but the remaining population can scarcely exceed 6,000,000.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance and relations of Prussia may now be consi-

* Carr's Trav. round the Baltic, p. 403.

dered as annihilated. That great monarchy, which we have lately seen so powerful, now lies at the mercy of France, and must necessarily be dependent either on France or Russia.

Language, literature, sciences, and arts.—The language of Prussia is the German; but French is universally spoken by the nobility and gentry. The Prussian literature is of recent origin, and has few pretensions to excellence. Though superior to that of Austria and the other southern parts of Germany, it is far inferior to that of Saxony. Frederic the Great was one of the most distinguished writers of the kingdom; but he held German literature in contempt, and composed all his works in French. Count Hertsberg, his minister, also possessed considerable literary merit. Among the Prussian writers we find few native names of distinguished celebrity; which, however, may be partly owing to the disadvantage of the German language being little studied by foreigners. The literary court of Frederic the Great derived its lustre chiefly from the talents of the monarch and a few foreign literati. In the sciences, Prussia has perhaps equalled the rest of her neighbours; but she has not produced any person of distinguished reputation in the arts.

Education.—There are several universities and schools; but popular education is generally neglected in Prussia, as well as in the other countries of Europe.

Manners and customs.—The predilection which Frederic the Great entertained for the language and manners of France, gave a similar tinge to the higher classes of his subjects. The Silesians resemble their neighbours, the Bohemians; and indeed the manners and customs of so many different countries so recently united under one sovereignty, must display various

shades of difference in minute particulars.* Military bravery, however, has always been regarded as a distinguishing feature of the national character; and it must be lamented, that Prussian valour has proved ineffectual against the arms of France.

* The Poles, so lately subjects of Prussia, are described by a late traveller as a people full of life and action, and the dress of the higher ranks of both sexes as uncommonly elegant; that of the men being a waistcoat, an upper robe of a different colour, reaching below the knee, and girt round the waist with a sash, to which is appended a sabre. The ladies wear a long robe edged with furs. Men of all ranks shave their heads, and wear whiskers. Coxe's Trav. in Poland, vol. 1, p. 194.

OTHER GERMAN STATES.

CHAP. I.

THE geography of Germany has, on account of its numerous political divisions, always been more perplexed than that of any other region on the face of the globe; but at this time the confusion is greater than at any former period. Not only the Germanic constitution is totally annihilated, but territorial possessions and boundaries are altered: new names are imposed, new kingdoms erected, which may be again overturned by the same hand that created them, and the uncertain state of every thing in this country, renders it impossible to delineate any just picture. Another continental war might totally change the state of affairs, or even while this sheet is in the press, a new determination of the French government might entirely disarrange the most elaborate description of Germany. As it is useless either to write or to read without adding to knowledge, I shall content myself with exhibiting a general view of the grand features of nature, which are not subject to the caprice of man, subjoining a concise description of a few of the principal cities, and some remarks on such other circumstances of the country, as are not likely to experience a sudden change by the fluctuations of political affairs.

Situation and extent.]—Germany may be considered as extending from 45° to 55° north latitude, and from 5° to 19° east longitude, being about 600 miles in

length from the isle of Rugen in the north to the southern limits of the circle of Austria, and about 500 miles in breadth from the Rhine to the eastern borders. On the north, it is bounded by the Baltic Sea, the Danish dominions, and the German ocean, on the east by Hungary, Bohemia, and the late territory of Poland, on the south by Switzerland and the Alps, which separate it from Italy, and on the west by France and the Batavian kingdom. But it must be observed that the German dominions of Austria and Prussia are comprized within this general definition of boundaries.

Face of the country.—The northern parts of Germany present a continuity of sandy plains of great extent: but a few hills begin to appear in the vicinity of Minden. The southern parts may be regarded rather as mountainous, though few of the ridges are marked with precision in our maps. Most of the provinces in the neighbourhood, and to the south of the Mayne, are finely diversified; and many parts of Germany present extensive forests.

Mountains.—The chief mountains of Germany, are those which separate Saxony and Bavaria from Bohemia, with various branches of the Swiss and Tyrolese Alps, which form the boundaries towards Italy. The Erzgebirg, or metallic mountains, which divide Saxony from Bohemia, and supply both countries with silver, tin, and other metals, are not of remarkable height; nor indeed are any of the German mountains, except those in the south of Bavaria and Salzburg, famous for their elevation, as few of them in that respect seem to exceed Snowden in Wales. Some peaks of the Salzburg Alps rise to the height of considerably more than 10,000 feet. The interior of Ger-
many

many also presents many mountainous districts. The most northern are those of the Hartz, called the Brocken or Blocksberg, rising in the form of an amphitheatre; but the most elevated peak has been found not to exceed 3020 feet in height, being in this respect about equal to Crossfell.* The principality of Heiss is, in general, mountainous. The Bergstrass is a ridge that runs from Mannheim to the vicinity of Frankfort, with a highway commanding extensive views of the country. But of all the mountains of Germany, Der Alte Konig, or the Old King, to the north of the Rhingau, is the most celebrated for the magnificent prospects seen from its summit. To the south a plain of forty-two miles in breadth, according to Dr. Render, or thirty-three according to Reisbeck, is terminated by the Spessart and the summits of the Odenwald. The eastern prospect closes by the Spessart, and extends fifty-six miles.† The whole country of Aschaffenburg, along the Mayne and the Neckar, as far as the upper Palatinate, lies like a map under the feet of the spectator. On the summit of this mountain, the view of the rising sun is magnificent and picturesque beyond all description. Neither the eloquence of Cicero, nor the matchless tints of Raphael, could convey to the mind an adequate idea of the majestic grandeur of the spectacle.‡ The mountains of Schwarzwald, or the Black Forest, extend in length about eighty miles, from near Neuen-

* Houseman's Descrip. Cumberland, p. 18.

† Render's Trav. vol. 1. p. 132, &c. Reisbeck says only fifty-one miles, Travels, vol. 3. p. 199, &c. but the difference in the estimated distance is inconsiderable.

‡ See the encaptured description of Reisbeck, Trav. vol. 3. p. 199, 200, 201, 202, and of Dr. Render's Trav. vol. 1. p. 132, &c.

burg, in the territory of Wurtemberg, to the banks of the Rhine.* The southern part is called the higher, and the northern the lower forest; the breadth may be computed about twenty miles. The eastern part presents a gradual elevation; but the western rises in precipitous summits. The declivities are mostly covered with thick gloomy forests; but many open spaces are interspersed, which afford abundance of pasturage.

Rivers.]—The principal rivers of Germany are, the Danube, already described in treating of the Austrian empire, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Weser. The Rhine has its principal source in the Rhinwald, a mountain at the head of a valley, in the country of the Grisons, amidst dreadful deserts of ice and snow; and having traversed Switzerland, becomes, as it was in ancient times, the boundary between France and Germany. It afterwards enters the Batavian territories, and being joined by the Meuse, falls, by several æstuaries into the German ocean, after a course of at least 600 miles. The Elbe rises in the mountains of Silesia; and, after receiving the Mulda and the Eger from Bohemia, the other Mulda and the Sala from Saxony, and the Havel from Brandenburg, falls into the sea, after a course of more than 500 miles. The Weser has its principal source in the territory of Hilburghausen, and runs a course of only about 270 miles before it discharges itself into the sea. The shores of the Weser are low and unhealthful, being subject to great inundations. The Mayne is a tributary stream of the Rhine, which, rising in the lake called Fichtel See, on the mountain of Fichtelberg, and running in general a western course, and divides

* Bushing. vol. 8. p. 481.

Western Germany into two parts, the northern and the southern, which are almost of equal dimensions. After receiving several smaller rivers, it joins the Rhine to the south of Mentz. The country near their conjunction is inexpressibly beautiful and picturesque.* Between Frankfort and Mentz, is the finest district that can be imagined.† The Rhine, after its junction with the Mayne, is 1400 feet wide, and here its banks begin to display those picturesque beauties so much celebrated by travellers.‡ The Rhingau, a district on its eastern side nearly opposite to Mentz, forms an amphitheatre of fifteen miles long and six broad, the scenery of which surpasses the power of description. No place in Europe exceeds it in rich and variegated prospects.§ This district, which is the country of the true rhenish wine, is protected from the northerly and easterly winds by the semi-circular hills, and contains thirty-six villages.|| All travellers seem to dwell with rapture and delight on the description of this paradisaical spot. It seems, indeed, to be peculiarly favored by nature, as the appearance of the people shews that the salubrity of the air corresponds with the beauty of the landscape. The inhabitants of the Rhingau are handsome and uncommonly strong. They possess a great deal of wit and vivacity and their countenances are expressive of sound constitutions and cheerful minds.¶ In this delightful district is the monastery of Erbach, the richest in

* Reader's Trav. vol. 1. p. 147. † Ibid. p. 141.

‡ Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 191. § Ibid. p. 224, &c.

|| The best Rhenish wine is sold on the spot at three guilders, or about five shillings and six-pence per bottle. Reisbeck, vol. 3. p. 231.

¶ Dr. Reader ascribes these advantages to the quality of their wines, Trav. vol. 1. p. 266.

Germany. The monks live in the most luxuriant and splendid style, keeping a pack of hounds and fine hunters, as well as an excellent band of musicians. They are, however, extremely generous and hospitable.* The banks of the Rhine from Mentz to Cologne, a distance of about seventy-six English miles, are inexpressibly beautiful and picturesque, being adorned with no fewer than twenty cities.† The fortress of Ehrenbetsstein, near Coblentz, stands on a stupendous rock, which rises 800 feet above the river; and from its summit commands a view of the country 100 miles round.‡ In picturesque and magnificent scenery, the banks of the Rhine surpass those of every other river of Europe, or perhaps of the world.

Mineralogy.]—Saxony possesses the best portion of the German mines, and few countries can boast of greater fossil opulence. The metals are silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin, the last of an excellent quality. The mines of Saxony are an inexhaustible source of wealth.§ In 1789, their aggregate product was valued at 700,639 dollars|| Jet, marble, and agates, may be numbered among the fossils, as well as cobalt, which being converted into a blue pigment, called smalt, produces a very considerable profit. Coal, fuller's earth, and fine porcelain clay, are also plentiful. The mineralogy of Hanover is rich, consisting of silver, copper, lead, iron, cobalt, and zinc, with marble, limestone, and coal. Hesse, Wurtemberg, and Saltzberg, also produce most of the same metals and fossils in greater or less abundance.

Mineral waters.]—The territories of Wurtemberg

* Runder, vol. 1. p. 259.

† Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 255, &c.

‡ Runder's Trav. vol. 1. p. 394.

§ Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2. p. 189.

|| Hocck ap. Pinkerton, vol. 1. p. 608.

and Saltzberg contain several warm baths and medical waters; and the latter province, as well as Bavaria, has salt springs, which produce a considerable profit, and employ a great number of people.* But Germany does not appear to possess any mineral waters of distinguished reputation. Saxony, although highly celebrated for its rich and varied mineralogy, seems in this respect to be remarkably deficient.

Soil.—The soil of Germany, as of all extensive countries, displays a great variety. The northern parts, as already observed, are in general sandy and barren: but the central and southern regions are in several places of celebrated fertility. Saxony, especially towards the south, is beautifully diversified with hill and dale; and between Dresden and Meissen, the soil is thought to rival that of the Milanese. Wurtemberg is one of the most fertile parts of the circle of Suabia. Upper Bavaria is mountainous and mostly covered with forests; but lower Bavaria is level and fertile; and the same observation is applicable to most of the provinces contiguous to the Alps, where fertility and cultivation begin to appear only at some distance from the mountains.

Climate.—The climate of a country which extends through ten degrees of latitude, must necessarily present a considerable variety between the northern and the southern parts. In the north of Germany, cold and moisture predominate. The flat and unpleasant country of Westphalia, is cold, humid and unhealthful.† The climate of Saxony is temperate, and the

* Barbe Marbois, p. 59, &c. It appears that the making of salt from the springs is of great antiquity among the Germans. Tacitus de mor. Germanorum, lib. 13. cap. 57. Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. 37. cap. 7.

† Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 118.

air pure and salubrious; and the middle and southern parts of Germany are warm. The vine thrives well on the banks of the Mayne, and in most of the countries to the south of that river. The winters, however, throughout the whole country are somewhat severe.

Vegetable productions.—The vegetable productions of Germany vary according to soil, position, situation, and climate; but are, in general, the same as those of the Prussian and Austrian dominions, and nearly similar to those of England and France. Wines are produced in most of the provinces of Southern Germany. Those of the Rhingau have already been mentioned. The famous wine called Old Hock, is produced in a district scarcely a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. In some years this spot affords 200 hogsheads. It belongs to the chapter of Mentz; and what is not consumed, there is distributed in presents, so that none of this wine is ever sold in foreign countries.

Zoology.—The zoology of the German states nearly corresponds with that of the Prussian and Austrian dominions. The German horses are heavy, but not remarkable for spirit. Among the animals of the forest, the most celebrated is the wild boar, which in many parts of Germany, but especially in Wesphalia, attains to a large size, and affords to the nobility and gentry their most favourite diversion of hunting. The linc is sometimes seen in the northern, and the wolf the southern parts of Germany.

Natural curiosities.—Germany presents several features of nature that may deservedly rank as curiosities. Among these may chiefly be reckoned the stupendous caverns, which are seen in many parts of the country, especially the remarkable caves of Hammelen and

Blackenburg in the Hartz mountains. The termination of the latter of these caverns has never yet been explored. But the picturesque beauties of the Rhingau, and the magnificent prospects seen from the summit of Der Alte Konig, which have already been mentioned, must hold the first rank among the natural curiosities and grand features of Germany.

Antiquities and artificial curiosities.]—The antiquities consist of a few Roman remains in the south, the Gothic cathedrals erected by Charlemagne or his immediate successors, and the numerous castles built by the ancient barons. Almost every one of the modern princes has a cabinet of curiosities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern; and some of the collections are excellent.

CHAP. II.

Chief Cities and Towns—Edifices.

AMONG the cities of the German states Dresden, Munich, Hamburg, Hanover, and Frankfort on the Mayne, are chiefly entitled to notice. Vienna and Berlin, which have already been described under the articles of Austria and Prussia, cannot since the dissolution of the empire, be considered as any longer as German cities.

Dresden.]—Dresden, the capital of the late electorate but present kingdom of Saxony, is the most beautiful city of Germany.* It is divided by the Elbe into the old and the new town, which communicate by a bridge across the river of almost 700 paces in length. The streets are broad and well paved, and the squares are spacious. The houses are built of freestone, for the most part of an uniform height; and the palaces and public buildings are numerous and elegant. The electoral palace has been greatly admired by travellers: the library, the paintings, the cabinet of curiosities, &c. exhibit grand collections; and the gardens are extensive and curious. This city has several important manufactures, among which that of porcelain is the most celebrated. It contains also a good university, and several other literary and scientific institutions. The population of Dresden is computed at 50,000, and the inhabitants excel those of all

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2. p. 154.

the other German cities, in the elegance of their manners. The court of the Elector Augustus, king of Poland, in the last century, is said to have been the most brilliant in Europe.*

Leipsick.—Leipsick is also a handsome city, containing about 33,000 inhabitants, with a famous university, and three great commercial fairs. But it is chiefly remarkable for its celebrated book fair, which renders it the grand mart of German literature. At this fair books are sold or exchanged to the annual amount of 1,751,000 livres, or nearly 73,000*l.* sterling.† A great number of books are also published at Leipsick, which, with its fair may be considered as a literary curiosity.

Munich.—Munich, the capital of the late electorate and present kingdom of Bavaria, must be ranked next to Dresden, which it equals at least in magnificence if not in neatness and elegance; its population is estimated at 36,000 persons. Munich displays many fine buildings both public and private. The Ducal which must now be called the royal palace, is a most magnificent structure superbly decorated; and the cabinet of curiosities, the library and the gardens attract the attention of travellers.

Stutgard.—Stutgard, the capital of the late duchy of Wurtemberg and the present kingdom of Suabia, is seated among mountains near the river Neckar. The streets are narrow, and the houses built of wood. In the suburbs, however, the streets are broad and straight, and many of the houses are handsome. Dresden, Munich, and Stutgard, may now be reckoned the capitals of the three principal German states.

Hanover.—Hanover, which is now under the do-

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 2. 155, 156. † *Ibid.* p. 200

minion of France, but will probably be restored at the conclusion of a peace, is a handsome city. The electoral palace is new and elegant, and the stadthouse is a magnificent structure.* The city is seated on the river Leine amidst villas and gardens, and contains about 15,000 or 16,000 inhabitants.

Hamburg.]—Hamburg is situated on the Elbe, which is near a mile broad, and interspersed with islands. The city is fortified in the old Dutch style, being encompassed with spacious ramparts planted with trees. Some of the principal streets make a good appearance; but the others are narrow and dark, and the houses in general are rather convenient than shewy; but those of the merchants are elegant.† Here are some manufactures of cloth, stockings, &c. as well as considerable breweries and extensive works for the refining of sugar. In the last of these branches, no nation equals the Hamburgers. They are furnished with the cane from Spain; and their trade in sugar extends to all parts of Germany, Poland, and Russia.‡ Before Hamburg fell under the military domination of France, it was one of the chief commercial cities of Europe. In the year 1799, no fewer than 2423 vessels entered its port;§ but, in its present circumstances, its trade, a great part of which was with England, must be extremely diminished. The population of Hamburg, according to Hoeck's account, is about 95,000. The religion is Lutheran, and the Hamburgers are not famed for liberal sentiments in regard to toleration; but their numerous libraries do honour to their literary taste. There are also many scientific institutions, and private collec-

* Rander's Trav. vol. 2. p. 214.

† Ibid. p. 210 and 211.

‡ Ibid. p. 213.

§ Ibid. p. 212.

tions of curiosities.* The German and French theatres correspond with the wealth of the city; and, excepting that of Hesse Darmstadt, the orchestra of Hamburg is the best in Germany.† Previous to its seizure by the French, Hamburg was independent, and the form of its government aristocratical, being vested in a senate consisting of thirty-seven members. Concerning its civil and commercial state, at present we have no precise information; but both may be easily conjectured. The environs of Hamburg are flat and unpicturesque; but, being well cultivated, they have not an unpleasant appearance.‡

Frankfort.]—Frankfort on the Mayne, lately an imperial city and one of the great inland marts of Germany, deserves to be noticed for the flourishing state of its commerce and literature, and the beauty of its environs. It is a large and handsome city, crowded with merchants and literati, and containing 30,000 inhabitants, Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans.§ Jews also are here very numerous. The merchants are extremely rich. Within a circuit of six miles round Frankfort are seen above forty magnificent villas belonging to the opulent citizens, an unequivocal proof of their lucrative commerce.¶ But§Reisbeck observes, that the trade of Frankfort is hurtful to Germany, as the exports scarcely amount to one tenth of the imports from Holland, France, and Italy.¶

* Rander's Trav. vol. 2. p. 235.

† Ibid. p. 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 227. From Hamburg to Hanover there is not a hill to be discovered, and almost the whole country is a deep sand. Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 117—123.

§ Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 167.

¶ Rander's Trav. vol. 1. p. 141.

¶ Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 162. No town in Germany has better soils than Frankfort. Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3. p. 167.

CHAP. III.

Present State, political and moral — Religion — Government — Laws — Army — Navy — Revenues — Commerce — Manufactures — Population — Political importance and relations — Language — Literature — Polite Arts — Education — Manners and Customs — National Character.

THE political circumstances of Germany have, during many centuries, been regarded as a perplexed labyrinth: at present they exhibit a chaos of confusion and uncertainty. The celebrated Germanic constitution, consisting of an intricate assemblage of principalities and states, secular and ecclesiastical, under various titles and forms of government, monarchical and republican, all united under the paramount sovereignty of the emperor, as head of the whole confederacy, had near half a century ago become an antiquated and inefficacious system, ready to sink under the power of Austria and Prussia, and is now completely annihilated by the arms of France. In the present fluctuating state of affairs, it would be useless to attempt a description of the 300 different sovereignties into which Germany was lately divided.* These have been transferred, exchanged, or curtailed, according to the arbitrary will of the conqueror, and in conformity to his political views. It would, indeed, be next to impossible to detail, with precision, the changes that have taken place among the German

* Those who have leisure and patience sufficient for such minute details may consult Pütter, Busching and Hoeck.

states, both secular and ecclesiastical, or to foresee those which may yet be effected.* In the uncertain and changeable view of the continent, minute objects must be overlooked; and it suffices to observe, that out of the wrecks of the German empire and the dismemberment of Prussia, are formed four new kingdoms; namely, those of Bavaria, Suabia, Saxony, and Westphalia. Neither their boundaries nor political systems can yet be completely fixed; but in general terms it may be observed, that Bavaria occupies the south-east, Suabia the south-west, Saxony the centre, and Westphalia the north-western parts of Germany; the latter consisting chiefly of the countries dismembered from Prussia. The city and territory of Warsaw is also assigned to Saxony, with a free passage, through the Prussian dominions between these two disjointed parts of the Saxon kingdom.† The fate of the inferior states appears yet in a great measure undetermined.

Religion.—The established religions of the German states are the Catholic, the Calvinist, and the Lutheran. The Catholic religion predominates in the south, the Protestant in the middle and the north. Bavaria is the chief of the Catholic, and Saxony of the Protestant states. The government of Westphalia will probably be Catholic; but the Protestant is the prevailing religion of the country.‡ The two systems nearly

* Before the French invasion and conquests, the Archbishop of Mentz was, in riches and rank, the most considerable prelate of Christendom next to the pope. Reinbeck's Trav. vol. 3, p. 219.—Rander's Trav. vol. 1, p. 165.

† Treaty of Tilsit, concluded in 1807, between Russia, France, and Prussia.

‡ It is scarcely necessary to mention, that Jerome Buonaparte, brother of the French emperor, is made king of Westphalia.

counterbalance

counterbalance each other throughout Germany: the Protestants, however, are the most numerous body. In different parts of the country there are a great variety of sects, who mostly enjoy a liberal toleration.

Government, army, navy, revenues.—Concerning the government, military force, revenues, &c. of the German states, nothing can now be said with any degree of precision, or even of approximation to truth. It was always supposed that the empire, if united, could have brought into the field an army of 500,000 men, a force which, if properly directed, might have set at defiance all the attempts of foreign ambition.* In the present situation of affairs, the revenues and military strength of the new German kingdoms cannot be very considerable.

Commerce.—Germany being situated in the centre of Europe, and intersected by several large rivers, possesses considerable advantages for trade, and produces abundance of native articles. But all these natural advantages have been greatly counteracted by the reiterated wars, of which this country has been the theatre, as well as by the numerous petty governments, which created a multiplicity of customs and tolls. Nothing more evidently displays the bad effects of such a system in the internal commerce of Germany, than the view which Reisbeck has given of the navigation of the Rhine. Every prince, as far as his dominions extended on its banks, considered all the vessels as foreign, and without distinction imposed on them intolerable taxes. Between Mentz and Coblenz there were no less than nine tolls, and sixteen between

* Zimmermann states the whole military force of Germany, in actual pay, at 500,000 men, and the collective revenues at 18,000,000*l.* sterling. p. 176, 177.

Coblentz and Holland. Temporary quarrels among the German princes, also frequently impeded the commerce.* From this view of circumstances, it is not difficult to perceive the important commercial advantages which the French have gained by extending their boundaries to the Rhine, and securing to themselves the free navigation of that river. The exports of Germany consist of its native products, among which may be reckoned great quantities of timber, hemp, and other naval stores, and the various manufactures.

Manufactures]—The manufactures of Germany are numerous, and many of them carried to a great extent and a high degree of perfection. That of porcelain has already been mentioned in speaking of Dresden; the others are of silk and cotton stuffs, toys, ribbands, numerous articles of iron, steel, and other metals, cannon and mortars, bullets and bomb-shells. In fine, there are few European manufactures which are not found in a greater or less degree of perfection in Germany; and many of them display considerable excellence.

Population]—The population of Germany is computed at 26,000,000; but this calculation includes the German dominions of Austria and Prussia, already described.† The population of the German states, now under consideration, can scarcely amount to more than 19,000,000. The number of subjects contained in each of the new kingdoms, in their present uncertain state, cannot be estimated with such approximation to exactness, as to convey any just ideas.

* See Reinbeck's interesting Account of the Navigation and Commerce of the Rhine, Trav. 3, letter 56.

† Zingermann, tab. 1.

Political importance and relations.]—The political importance and relations of Germany may now be considered as annihilated, or swallowed up in the vortex of France. The inferior principalities and states, so long as they are suffered to exist, must be dependent on the four kingdoms of Bavaria, Suabia, Saxony, and Westphalia, while these monarchies themselves must remain subordinate to France. Such must inevitably be the state of Germany if the present system subsist. All views of the subject, however, must at present be visionary.

Language.]—The German is an original language, and the basis of the Swedish, the Danish, and the English. It is somewhat harsh and unpleasant, but energetic and copious; and its beauties begin to be daily more known among foreigners. Among people of fashion, however, it is almost superceded by the French, which is universally used by the nobility and gentry throughout Germany. The Saxon is the purest idiom of the German language, while the southern dialects of Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria, are the most corrupt and barbarous.

Literature.]—German literature is a copious subject. It was late, however, in making its appearance, and it was not till the eighteenth century that it began to acquire any great reputation. Before that time the German productions, though numerous and voluminous, were heavy and pedantic, and totally disregarded by other nations. Gottesched, a professor at Leipsick, who was highly esteemed and honoured by Frederic the Great of Prussia, introduced a better style of writing by publishing a German grammar for polishing the language, and by instituting a literary society for promoting the study of the belles lettres. From that epoch

epoch the Germans began to write in their own language with propriety and elegance; and by perusing and translating the best French and English authors, they improved their style and corrected their taste. It would be tedious to enumerate the German writers, who have distinguished themselves in the various branches of philosophy and of the mathematics, as well in the study of antiquities and language, pursuits for which they are, by their habits of industry and application, remarkably adapted. A late judicious and observing traveller remarks, that the Germans have a peculiar turn for philosophical studies, having a cool and just judgment united with great industry.* In all the branches of philosophy and science, which require perseverance and profound investigation, the Germans are scarcely surpassed by any other nation; and of late they have also distinguished themselves in poetry and other branches of the belles lettres. But literature and science have not equally flourished in all parts of Germany. Bavaria and Suabia are, in this respect far behind the northern provinces. Saxony is the most celebrated seat of German literature, and most of the chief philosophers and writers were either born or had resided in that country.

Polite arts.—In the arts, as well as in the sciences, the Germans have acquired distinguished reputation. In mechanics and chemistry they have particularly excelled. Gunpowder and artillery are German inventions of the fourteenth century. If printing was invented in Holland, it was soon after greatly improved in Germany. This country has also produced eminent architects, sculptors, painters, and engravers.

* Reiske, *trav.* 3, p. 323.

In music, the Germans rival the Italians, and excel all other nations.

Education.]—Germany can boast of numerous universities, both Catholic and Protestant; and every considerable city has various literary and scientific institutions. On the whole, education, especially in the northern parts, appears to attract greater attention than in several other European countries.

Manners, customs, national character.]—The manners and customs of the different German states, constitute too copious and varied a subject for precise delineation, in a work of this general nature. “In England and France,” says Dr. Render, “all imitate the manners of the metropolis. In Germany, no one city influences the habits of the others; but, as the country is divided into distinct states, so they exhibit distinct customs, opinions, and practices.”* Of a moral picture so greatly diversified, the particular features must be sought in the writings of travellers, who have accurately observed, and amply delineated, the manners of the different states.† In this compendium it suffices to glance at some general traits which have had a visible influence on the state of the country. The multiplicity of the sovereignties, the distinguishing feature of the political system of Germany, has produced consequences natural to such a division, and peculiar to this country and Italy. The German princes vied with each other in the number and pomp of their guards, &c. the magnificence of their palaces, their excellent collections of paintings; their libraries, their

* Render's Trav. vol. 2, p. 10.

† In this respect Reisbeck merits particular attention. “My way,” says he, “is to be more observant of men in the lower orders of society, than of those that have stars and strings.” Trav. vol. 3, p. 16.

cabinets of curiosities, and in all the splendour of royalty. This taste for grandeur and elegance afforded great encouragement to the arts; but as most of the dominions were contracted within narrow limits, and their revenues small, the taxes were consequently heavy, and their effects on agriculture and commerce, pernicious. A remarkable passion for titles and extravagance very generally prevails among the higher classes of Germans: "the merchants," says a late traveller, "as soon as they are able, purchase titles, and so do the stewards after oppressing the tenants."* The same author observes, that "the German nobility are greatly corrupted by their tours to Paris, where they learn luxury and gambling." The national character, of which persevering industry and application are prominent features, has partly been anticipated in treating of their learning and philosophy. The Germans are, in general, frank, generous, and hospitable. They are also hardy, brave, and vigorous, and generally esteemed the best soldiers in Europe. If they have not in latter times maintained that character, it is owing to their disunited political system, and not to any want of personal qualifications. Zimmermann observed, that the greatness of France was a consequence of the divisions of Germany; and recent events have verified the remark.†

* Reader's Trav. vol. 2. p. 39, 40.

† Zimmermann, p. 120.

GENERAL HISTORY OF GERMANY.

THE history of Germany, as well as its political system, is a confused and difficult subject, often obscure and always complex. Its different states have risen at different periods, their boundaries have often been changed, and some of its princes have acquired extensive dominions, which were never considered as parts of the German empire. The first population of Germany appears to have been Celtic and Finnish. The Cimbri, or modern Celts, are known to have possessed at an early period the southern, western, and north-western parts, while the Fins were settled in the north-east.

The Cimbri were expelled by the Goths, and long before the light of history began to dawn, had extended their colonies into Belgium, from whence they had passed into England. The Fins were also subjugated by the Slavi or Slavonians. The Roman historians were ignorant of the periods of these emigrations, and of the circumstances by which they were attended, but the Roman warriors found the German Goths in possession of the countries here mentioned.

The Romans under Tiberius and Drusus, had, in the reign of Augustus, penetrated far into the north of Germany, proceeding from the Rhine eastward to the Elbe; and Drusus is supposed to have erected his trophies

trophies near Madgeburg. But it appears certain, that the Romans never built, or at least never kept up any forts, nor retained possession of any considerable part of the country beyond the Danube and the Rhine. The erroneous description which Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian æra, gives of the central and eastern parts of Germany, affords sufficient evidence that those interior regions were *terra incognita* to the Roman geographers.

The interior of Germany remained unexplored till the reign of Charlemagne; and the north eastern parts till a much later period. The first authentic information relative to this country and its inhabitants, is derived from the luminous pages of Tacitus, who wrote a work expressly on the subject*. At that time the Germans, although not savages, were still in a state of gross barbarism. They had no cities, but lived dispersed in villages; they considered it as a mark of servitude to live in towns surrounded with walls, and used to say, that the fiercest animals when confined, became dispirited and timid.† Throughout the whole extent of Germany, from the Rhine and the Danube to the Baltic, there was scarcely one city previous to the ninth century. Charles Martel, and Pepin his son, had several times defeated the Saxons, Bavarians, &c. but it was reserved to Charlemagne to conquer, and partly to civilize Germany.‡ To him the most ancient cities of Germany owe their origin;§ but Henry IV, surnamed the Fowler, whose reign commenced A.D. 920, greatly increased their

* De moribus Germanorum.

† Tacit. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 64.

‡ Coarcing. de Urbib. Germaniæ, vol. 1. sec. 25, &c.

§ Menzikt. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, anno 739, 743, 758, &c. See historical view of France, and the authorities to which references are there made.

number. The history of the German empire under the family of Charlemagne, is included in that of the French monarchy. On the death of Louis IV, the last emperor of that race, Charles the Simple being stript of his power, and of most of his patrimony by the usurpations of the French nobility, found himself too weak to assert his right to the empire. Conrad, Duke of Franconia, was advanced to the imperial dignity; and thus the empire, from being hereditary by right of conquest in the posterity of Charlemagne, now became elective.* This final separation of Germany from France, took place A.D. 912, but the authority of Conrad was not recognized in Italy, where the sovereign power had, from about the middle of the ninth century, been usurped by the Pope and several petty princes.† In Germany the Dukes of Lorraine, Suabia, Bavaria and Saxony, began, like those of Italy and France, to render themselves hereditary sovereigns of the provinces of which they were constituted governors; and Conrad found himself unable to reduce them to subjection.‡ On his death, Henry Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Fowler, was elected emperor, A.D. 920, and proved a wise and virtuous prince. He added a great number of cities to those formerly founded by Charlemagne, and surrounded many of them with walls. About twenty years previous to his accession, the Hungarians, at that time a people entirely rude and barbarous, had been called in by the emperor Arnulph to assist him in his wars against the king of Bohemia and Moravia; but having probably observed the weakness of Ger-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, anno 912.

† Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 8.—Henault. ubi supra.

‡ Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 8.

many, then debilitated and thrown into confusion by the disunion of the barons, they invaded the empire in the reign of Louis IV. his successor, and ravaged the country with unexampled cruelty. In the year 905, or according to some 907, these Pagans totally defeated Louis near Augsburg, and obliged him to purchase peace by paying an annual tribute.* "The cause of this loss and disgrace," says Puffendorf, "ought to be imputed to the emperor's youth, to the divisions which reigned among the great, and the desire that every one had of increasing his own power."† Notwithstanding this tribute, however, they continued their ravages in many parts of the country during his reign, and that of Conrad his successor, Henry the Fowler was the first that broke their force. They had entered with a formidable army into Germany, in order to renew their ravages, and enforce the payment of the tribute. But in a bloody engagement which took place near Merseburg, Henry is said to have cut 80,000 of them in pieces.‡ In order more effectually to oppose their future incursions, he encouraged his subjects to settle in towns environed with walls and towers, and prevailing on several of the nobility to fix their residence in the cities, he thus rendered the condition of citizens more honourable than it had been formerly esteemed. From this period, not only the number, but also the wealth and population of the German cities began to increase.§ Henry also subdued the Wends, a Sarmatian or Slavonian nation, inhabiting the northern parts of Germany, and expelled them from Misnia and

* Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 2.

† *Ibid.* ubi supra reign of Louis IV.

‡ *Ibid.* reign of Henry the Fowler.

§ Couringius de urb Germanis, vol. 1. sec. 48 to 52.

†

Brandenbourg,

Brandenbourg, which latter he erected into a marquisate.

Henry was succeeded in 936 by his son Otho the great. This prince subdued, in several bloody wars, divers of the princes of Germany, who had openly erected the standard of revolt. He was equally successful against the Danes as well as against the Slavonians of Bohemia, Moravia, &c. Near Augsburg he gave battle to the Hungarians, who had recommenced their ravages, and so completely defeated them, that these barbarians never more made their appearance in Germany.* To these conquests he added that of Italy, which he re-annexed to the empire. Neither of his predecessors had been recognized in that country, which had, during a long time, exhibited a scene of confusion. All the lords, and some of the cities, had assumed sovereign authority, and were incessantly contending for the paramount power. Conrad and Henry had, therefore, possessed only the title of kings of Germany.† But Otho, having made himself master of Italy, was elected emperor and crowned at Rome A.D. 962; the acquisition of Italy was of little advantage to Germany. The Popes and the other princes raised continual disturbances, which could not be quelled without difficulty; and the towns not being then bridled by citadels and garrisons, it was necessary to march an army into the country, whenever it pleased the people to revolt. Germany was therefore drained of her men and her money, in order to keep Italy in subjection, while the emperors seem to have never been able to draw more than a very trifling revenue from that country.‡

* Puffend. ubi. supra.

† Men. Ab. Chron. vol. 1, anno 912, &c.

‡ Puffend. ubi. supra.

Otho the Great dying in 974, after a brilliant and successful reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded by Otho II. his son. The greatest part of the reign of this emperor was spent in reducing to obedience the rebellious princes of Germany, and in wars against the Greeks, who had rendered themselves masters of a great part of Italy. His son, Otho II, who succeeded in 983, found sufficient employment in quelling the factions of Rome.* Crescentius, a Roman nobleman who had usurped the sovereign authority, and on submission had been pardoned, again revolted, expelled the Pope, Gregory V, and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. The emperor, exasperated at those reiterated rebellions, returned with a powerful army into Italy, and took Rome by assault. Crescentius was beheaded, the antipope, having his eyes put out and his nose cut off, was thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, and Gregory V. was restored to the pontificate.† This emperor afterwards marched into Poland, which, from a duchy, he erected into a kingdom, in favor of Boleslaus, who agreed to hold it as a fief of the empire. Having undertaken another expedition into Italy, and expelled the Saracens, he lost his life by a pair of poisoned gloves, of which the widow of Crescentius had made him a present. Otho III, like his grandfather Otho the Great, was courageous and resolute; and the empire sustained a great loss in the death of a prince so prudent in counsel and decisive in action. He died A.D. 1001, after a successful reign of eighteen years, and leaving no issue, the Duke of Bavaria, Henry II, being grand-

* *Fastid. ubi, supra.*† *Heiss. Hist. de l'Empire, tom. 1.*

son by the female line to Otho II, was elected emperor.*

During the period which elapsed from the death of Otho III. to about the year 1075, few events occur that can appear interesting to modern times. The successive wars, treasons and revolts, which constitute its history, ought therefore to be condensed as closely as possible, as they are only repetitions of the scenes exhibited in all political annals. In this compendium it suffices to say, that the reigns of Henry II. from 1001 to 1024, of Conrad II. from 1024 to 1039, of Henry III. from 1039 to 1056, were almost entirely employed in wars against the Hungarians, Poles, and Burgundians, or in quelling the revolts of the empire, especially those of Italy.† Conrad reduced the Poles and Hungarians to submission and tribute, and annexed to the empire the kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy, on the death of Rodolph its king without issue. He also made two expeditions into Italy, in order to subdue the rebels of that country, and at his death, left behind him the character of a prince of distinguished abilities and virtues. Henry III. deposed Pope Gregory VI, whom the citizens of Rome had elected without his approbation, and elevated to the pontifical chair the bishop of Bamberg, chancellor of the empire, who took the name of Clement II.‡ This prince appears to have possessed greater authority over Italy than any of the emperors since Otho the Great. He died A.D. 1056, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Henry IV, surnamed the

* Puffend. ubi supra.

† Vide Heiss Hist. Empire, vol. 1, p. 2.

‡ Annal. de l'Empire, tom. 1.—Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 8.—Barro Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. 3.—Mosheim Hist. Eccles. vol. 2.

Great, famous for his contests with Gregory, VII, the most haughty and ambitious pontif that ever filled the papal chair.

Henry was only six years old at his father's death, and notwithstanding his youth, was, by the diet, immediately elected emperor. In his reign began the famous dispute concerning investitures, which so long convulsed Germany and Italy, and engaged the church in an open war with all temporal sovereigns. It appears that affairs had been ill conducted during Henry's minority. The administration had at first been lodged in the hands of Agnes, the young emperor's mother, who paid strict attention to the education of her son and to the welfare of the empire. But after she was divested of the regency, both these important objects were neglected; and the young sovereign, instead of being instructed in learning and virtue, was trained up in licentiousness. Italy at the same time was, as usual, in a state of confusion, and both the Popes and the feudal princes began more than ever to think of totally casting off the authority of the emperor. Nicholas II, in a council of 113 bishops, passed the famous decree, which ordained, that for the time to come, the cardinals alone should elect the Pope, and that the election should be confirmed by the clergy and people of Rome.

At the time when Henry assumed the reins of government, at the age of twenty-two, great disorders prevailed throughout Germany. In the duchy of Saxony in particular, the princes and nobles exercised with impunity every kind of oppression, pillaging and imprisoning strangers, obliging them to pay exorbitant sums for their ransom, and constantly committing depre-dations on one another, as well as on the people

people at large. Henry, in order to repress this system of universal robbery, erected forts in the country, and garrisoned them with soldiers. By attempting these reforms, he lost the affections of the Saxon lords, whom he seldom consulted in any thing relative to public affairs, transacting all by his ministers; who were often selected from among the lower orders of the people.* The various, and many of them, at least, ill-founded objections against Henry's plan of government, caused a general revolt of the Saxons, whom he subdued with great slaughter; and after a bloody war, restored the public tranquillity by granting a general pardon.†

While Henry's valour rendered him master of Germany, a volcano burst out in Italy, which, after a series of troubles as great as any that ever befell royalty, hurled him at last from his throne. Hildebrand, a monk of low extraction, but of boundless ambition, of profound policy and daring courage, capable of forming and executing the greatest projects, was, in 1073, raised to the papacy, under the name of Gregory VII. This bold and enterprising genius, who had ever since the year 1048, under the four successive pontificates of Leo IX, Victor II, Nicholas II, and Alexander II, directed every thing in Rome, having obtained the papal chair, began to form vast designs. One of these was to render himself Sovereign Lord of all Christendom, by subjecting all temporal princes to the papal authority. His plan is said to have been to engage all the monarchs of the Christian world to acknowledge allegiance to himself, as Vicar of Christ and King of Kings, and to establish at Rome a grand council of bishops, in

* Puffend. ubi supra.

† Heim Hist. de l'Empire, liv. 2

which

which the pope should decide the contests between sovereigns, and determine the fate of empires.* Great as this project might seem, it was equalled by another not less splendid and daring, that of a general croisade of the Christian nations against the Mahometans, in order to rescue the holy supulchre from the hands of those infidels. The enterprizing pope intended to take the command in person of this grand expedition, as generalissimo of the combined armies of Christendom, and required the emperor to serve under his orders.† A project so romantic will strike the modern reader with astonishment, but it was in unison with the spirit of the times, and perfectly congenial to the enthusiastic, ambitious, and daring character of Gregory VII. The first of these desigus, however, involved him in difficulties, which left him no leisure to attempt the execution of the second; and the contest which ensued proved fatal in the end, both to the pope and the emperor

On the departure of the imperial sceptre from the posterity of Charlemagne, Italy, as already observed, had separated itself from the empire, to which it was re-annexed by the valour and abilities of Otho the Great. The obedience of the Italians, however, was involuntary, the authority of the emperor precarious; and his sovereignty little more than nominal. "The Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia," says an elegant historian, "were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy, nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals,

* Mosheim Hist. Eccles. vol. 2.

† *Annal. de l'Empire*, tom. 1.

descended.

descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation, but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader; his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name forgotten.* Such was the feeble and uncertain dominion of the emperors over Italy.

As history begins here to develop a new scene, it will not be amiss to exhibit the motives which actuated the pontifs of Rome in those quarrels with the emperors, which led to the elevation of the papal above the imperial authority, and to the final extinction of the latter in Italy. This subject cannot be better illustrated than by making use of the words of an eminent modern historian, who, speaking of the conduct of the popes, and particularly of Gregory VII, expresses himself in these terms: "Nor is this to be considered merely as a frantic sally of passion in a pontif intoxicated with high ideas, concerning the extent of priestly domination and the plenitude of papal authority. Gregory VII. was able as well as daring. His presumption and violence were accompanied with political discernment and sagacity. He had observed, that the princes and nobles of Germany had acquired such considerable territories, and such extensive jurisdiction, as rendered them not only formidable to the emperors, but disposed them to favour any attempt to circumscribe their power. He foresaw that the ecclesiastics of Germany, raised almost to a level with its princes, were ready to support any person who would stand forth as the protector of

* Gibbon's *Dec. Rom.-Emp.* vol. 12, p. 259.

their privileges and independence. With both these Gregory negotiated, and had secured many devoted adherents among them, before he ventured to enter the lists against the head of the empire.* A regular system for circumscribing the power of the emperor in Germany, and extinguishing it in Italy, was thus formed and invariably adhered to from that period. The popes and the emperors were the most conspicuous actors in this important contest, which during more than two centuries agitated both countries; but the Italian princes and cities, however divided in their particular interests, were united in the general design of annihilating the authority of the emperor over their country. However they might temporize on particular occasions, and vary their conduct according to circumstances, they adhered uniformly to the same system, and always kept the grand object in view.

In regard to his great project of exalting the spiritual above all temporal authority, and making himself sovereign of the Christian world, the first measure that Gregory adopted was that of dissolving the jurisdiction which monarchs till this time possessed over the clergy. For this purpose, he began his pontificate by issuing a decree of excommunication against every ecclesiastic who should receive from a layman the investiture of a benefice, and against every layman that should presume to confer such investiture. For this procedure he had indeed a plausible pretext; since, according to Puffendorf, the practice of simony had, during the minority of the emperor, been carried to a great extent; and ecclesiastical benefices had

been sold for money without any regard to merit.* It is here requisite to observe, that on the first propagation of the Gospel, the bishops were checked by the suffrages of both the clergy and laity of the churches, over which they were to preside. When Christianity was more extensively diffused, and the number of believers increased, the disorders and inconveniences of popular elections became obvious; and therefore the right of appointing prelates was exclusively assigned to the ecclesiastical body, whose members were certainly the most competent judges of theological merit. But when the Christian religion was established by imperial authority, and became the religion of the state, [Constantine, and the other emperors his successors, assumed the right of conferring ecclesiastical dignities; and the Gothic sovereigns, who founded their monarchies on the ruins of the western empire, imitated the example.] Indeed, when the dignitaries of the church became the first members of the state and acquired great influence in the national councils, it was requisite that they should be even approved by the government and attached to the interests of the nation. It was therefore sound policy in Gregory VII. when planning his universal monarchy, to render so powerful a body as the clergy solely dependant on the Holy See. The predecessors of Henry IV. had in common with almost all other Christian princes, enjoyed the right of granting investiture to the bishops and abbots, by delivering to them the ring and crosier. Gregory, however, summoned the emperor to appear before him as a delinquent, because he continued to grant investitures in opposition to the apostolic decree, and threatened to excommunicate and dethrone

* Puffend. Etats formés en Europe, vol. 2. ch. 8.

him, in case of his non-compliance. Henry, however, dismissed with very little ceremony the legates who brought the message, and having convoked the German princes and dignified ecclesiastics at Worms, it was declared in that august assembly that Gregory VII. had, by indirect means, usurped the chair of St. Peter, and that it was the emperor's duty to divest him of his pontifical dignity, and to appoint another pope. Gregory, in his turn, assembled a council of 110 bishops, who unanimously decreed that he ought to depose the emperor. The pope immediately fulminated the sentence of excommunication against Henry, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and prohibiting them from having any correspondence with him under pain of incurring the same penalty. This formidable sentence produced such an effect, that the emperor immediately lost all his credit and authority, and being forsaken by every one was reduced to the last degree of distress.* The princes of the empire, by whom he was not beloved, held, in the year 1076, a great council, in which it was resolved to depose the emperor; who, seeing his danger, immediately set out with very few attendants for Italy. Gregory was then at Conosu, a fortress on the Apennines. The emperor repaired thither to crave absolution; and here, being divested of his imperial robes, wrapped in sackcloth, and barefooted, this great monarch stood in an outer court exposed to the inclemencies of the weather in the month of January, during the space of three days and three nights, before he was admitted to kiss the feet of his holiness. At last, however, on promising implicit obedience in all things to the pope, he obtained absolution. But

* *Puffend, ubi supra.*

even from this he did not derive all the advantages that he had expected, for by his humiliation he entirely lost the affections of the Italians, who were extremely jealous of Gregory's power, and heartily disgusted at his haughtiness. The princes of Germany also the next year, 1077, elected for emperor Rhodolph, duke of Suabia; but the dukes of Franconia and Bavaria, with some of the provinces along the Rhine, opposing this election, ranged themselves under the banners of Henry.* A bloody war now ensued, in which Henry was generally victorious; and Rhodolph, the rival emperor, being slain in battle, he again found himself master of Germany.

The Italians, in the mean while, resolved to check the domineering power of Gregory. The empire now presented a new aspect; and, while Germany rebelled against the emperor, Italy rose in arms against the pontiff. Henry used every means to induce the Italians to appoint another pope, while Gregory excited the Germans to elect another emperor. But after the defeat and death of Rhodolph, Henry convened an assembly of bishops, who having unanimously declared Gregory VII. an usurper and unworthy of the chair of St. Peter, pronounced against him the sentence of degradation, and elected for pope the archbishop of Ravenna, a man of great learning and piety, who assumed the papacy under the name of Clement III. The emperor having reduced his enemies in Germany, was now resolved to put the new pope in possession of his high dignity. He marched his army into Italy, and advanced to Rome, where Gregory was prepared to make a vigorous defence. The city was regularly invested; and the resolute courage

* Puffend. ubi supra.

of the pope and his faction, baffled for a long time every mode of attack. The siege of Rome having continued upwards of two years, the city was at last taken by assault. But Gregory, with a few resolute desperadoes, retired to the castle of St. Angelo, where they defended themselves as courageously as they had done in the city. This fortress being now closely besieged, the pope and his party were likely soon to be reduced to the desperate alternative of either perishing with famine or of cutting their way sword in hand through the enemy. At this juncture, the emperor being obliged to depart with part of his forces to quell a revolt in Lombardy, Robert Guiscard the Norman, advancing to Rome, drove away the troops that were left to blockade the castle of St. Angelo, rescued the pope, and conducted him in safety to Salerno. Here Gregory soon after died, and Clement III. was quietly seated in the papal chair.

Italy was no sooner reduced to tranquillity by Gregory's death; but Germany was involved in new troubles. The Saxons had elected a new king of the Romans; and another bloody civil war commenced. Henry, however, was victorious in several engagements: every thing gave way to his valour and fortune. The new king of the Romans lost his life in the contest, and the same fate befel another pretender. But while the emperor was thus victorious in Germany, new troubles in Italy demanded his presence. The discontented faction at Rome had hurled Clement III. from the papal chair, and elected in his place the abbot of Monte Cassino, who took the name of Victor III. But he dying very soon after, Urban was advanced to the papacy. This pope is distinguished in history, by having held the famous council
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of Clermont, in which the first croisade was determined, according to the plan which Gregory VII. had originally formed. But Urban, less ambitious and enterprising than Gregory, did not undertake to command in person, as his more warlike predecessor had intended, if circumstances had permitted the execution of his design. Urban, however, formed a scheme which embittered the remaining days of the emperor, by seducing his son Conrad into a most unnatural rebellion against his father. This young prince assuming the title of king of Italy, was crowned at Milan, and having married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily, the greatest part of the Italian cities as well as the nobles submitted to his sovereignty. The emperor despairing of reducing by force so general a revolt, assembled the German princes, put his son Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his other son Henry, king of the Romans. Conrad, however, died soon after; and his death was followed by that of pope Urban II. The faction at Rome then raised Paschal II. to the pontificate. This pope was a second Gregory, and seemed to plan his conduct on the same turbulent principles. He was no sooner seated in the papal chair than, having assembled a council, he summoned the emperor to appear before him. On his non-compliance with the citation, he fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication, and excited young Henry, king of the Romans, to revolt, by representing to him that he ought not to acknowledge an excommunicated person, either as a father or a sovereign. The emperor having tried in vain the arts of persuasion, dictated by parental affection, prepared to decide by arms the contest with his rebellious son. Young Henry then perceiving the

formidable arrangements of his father, and dreading the superiority of his military skill, had recourse to the basest of stratagems. He feigned the deepest compunction, threw himself at his feet, and asked his pardon, which being granted, a perfect reconciliation seemed to be effected. But the emperor had no sooner disbanded his troops, than his perfidious son caused him to be treacherously seized and committed to prison. He then assembled a diet of his partizans, in which the pope's legate presided, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, who was formally deposed and his son Henry V. proclaimed in his place. The unfortunate Henry IV. was not only dethroned and imprisoned, but left in want of the common necessaries of life. A long series of troubles had embittered his reign, and reiterated misfortunes had now reduced him to the most deplorable state of human distress; but nothing could extinguish his courage or sink him into despondency. He found means to escape from his confinement, and reaching Cologne was there received as emperor. In the Netherlands also he found many friends, who raised him a considerable body of troops. He then wrote circular letters to all Christian princes to induce them to espouse his cause against his unnatural son, and attempted to bring about an accommodation with the papal see. But while things were in this state of suspense, he died at Liege, A.D. 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and forty ninth of his reign, which had been an almost continual scene of bloody wars and turbulent contention. Puffendorf says that this emperor, after having fought sixty-two battles, in most of which he had been victorious, died in a state of extreme want and misery. He was a prince of a noble
and

and dignified appearance, and of excellent talents and accomplishments; eloquent, courageous, and enterprising, and at the same time mild and merciful; but no monarch ever experienced in a greater degree the troubles attending a crown.

Henry V. his son, being now lawful emperor, resolved as his father had done, to support the majesty of the empire, and embroiled himself with the pope on account of the old subject of investitures. He immediately marched towards Rome with a formidable army, and Paschal II. being unprepared for resistance, received him with great apparent cordiality. But as neither the pope nor the emperor would resign the right of investitures, they soon came to an open rupture. All Rome was in arms, and a contest took place in the city, in which the emperor had the advantage, and Paschal was made prisoner. The carnage is said to have been so great, that the waters of the Tyber were tinged with blood.* The pope, now defeated and a prisoner, became more tractable. He crowned Henry, and resigned the right of investiture. The treaty was confirmed by the most solemn oaths and most sacred rites.† The emperor, however, was no sooner departed to quell a revolt in Germany than the pope, although he himself preserved the exteriors of good faith and friendship, convoked a council, which annulled the bull of investitures and decreed the excommunication of the emperor. Henry, having reduced the rebels of Germany, now set out for Italy;

* Russel Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 1. letter 22. p. 325.

† Puffend. vol. 2. ch. 8. reign of Henry V. Russel ubi supra. Russel says the pope divided the host with the emperor, pronouncing a dreadful anathema on the party that should violate the treaty. Vide Russel and the authorities there referred to.

and sent ambassadors to the pope requesting him to revoke the sentence. But Paschal, without so much as favouring them with an audience, convoked a second council, in which his treaty with the emperor was again declared invalid. The emperor on this advanced towards Rome; and the pope, abandoning the city, took shelter among the Norman princes of Apulia. Henry now entering Rome, was there crowned a second time by the archbishop of Prague; but his presence being required in Tuscany, Paschal again seized on the city, where he died a few days after his return. Cardinal Cajetan was then elected pope, without consulting the emperor, and took the name of Gelasius II. Enraged at seeing his authority thus set aside, Henry declared the election of Gelasius void, and raised to the papal chair Bardinus archbishop of Prague, who assumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, and confirmed to him the right of investiture. Gelasius II. then took refuge in France, where he died. The cardinals setting aside Gregory VIII. elected the archbishop of Vienna, who took the name of Calixtus II. and commenced his pontificate by excommunicating the emperor, Gregory the antipope, and all their adherents. Gregory VIII. retired to Sutri, whither Calixtus, assisted by the Norman princes, pursued him and commenced the siege of that place. The inhabitants dreading the consequences, delivered Gregory to his competitor, who causing him to be mounted on a camel with his face towards the tail, conducted him in this manner through the streets of Rome, exposed to the insults of the populace, and afterwards condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

Henry

Henry now seeing no end of these commotions and revolutions in the see of Rome; and the whole empire being wearied and exhausted in those long and bloody quarrels between the popes and the emperors, an accommodation at last took place. In a council of 300 bishops, and about 700 abbots, the affair of investitures was at length settled, on the conditions that the bishops and abbots should be chosen by the monks and canons, in the presence of the emperor, or his ambassador; and that in case of a disputed election the decision should be left to the emperor, who should consult the bishops on the subject; that the bishop or abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, and receive from him not the ring and crozier, but a sceptre, as more proper for investing the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal.* Thus ended, in 1122, that sanguinary contest concerning investitures, which since the year 1076 had filled Italy and Germany with confusion, and shaken the empire to its foundations. It is easy to perceive that the accommodation was extremely disadvantageous to the emperor, that the privileges which he retained were merely formal and nominal, involving no real power, and consequently that he was by this treaty divested of all actual jurisdiction over the clergy. These contests of emperors and popes, those wars among priests and soldiers, in which the people constantly suffered, would not merit the recollection of

* Russel's Hist. of modern Europe, vol. 1, lett. 22, on the authority of Padre Paulo, and Schilter's Puffend. tom. 2, ch. 8, briefly says, that Henry conceded to the pope the right of conferring bishoprics, which was a great diminution of the imperial authority, and a great augmentation of the papal power.

posterity, did they not contribute to shew by what gradations the vast empire of Charlemagne was weakened and crumbled to pieces; and the papal chair, which derived from it its first temporal importance, rose all powerful on its ruins.

In the above-mentioned treaty nothing had been stipulated respecting the authority which the emperors had claimed and exercised in the election of popes. On the demise, therefore, of Calixtus II. the cardinals, clergy, and people of Rome, without the emperor's participation, proceeded to a new election. Henry V. died the next year, leaving behind him the reputation of a resolute and politic prince; but his unnatural behaviour to his father has fixed an eternal blemish on his memory. This emperor had married Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Henry I. and mother of Henry II. kings of England, by whom he had no issue.

Henry V. was succeeded in 1125, by Lothario, Duke of Saxony. This emperor made two expeditions into Italy, where he reinstated Innocent II. in the papal chair, from which he had been driven by the antipope Anacletus. He also drove Roger, King of Sicily, out of Apulia and Calabria; which he formed into a principality, and conferred it on Renaud, a German prince.* Lothario died 1138, with the character of a lover of justice and peace, a reputation more honourable than that of a warrior and conqueror. He ordained that justice should be administered according to the Code of Justinian, a copy of which was found in Italy about the beginning of his reign.

Conrad III. Duke of Franconia, was now elected

* *Annal de l'Empire*, tom. 1.

emperor;

emperor; but the imperial throne was disputed by Henry, Duke of Bavaria, who died during the contest, having been first stripped of his dominions; but the war was still continued by the duke's brother, in conjunction with Roger, king of Sicily. During this contest arose the distinction of Guelphs and Gibbelines, so famous in the histories of those times. The name of the Duke of Bavaria's family was Guelph, and the Duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who commanded the imperial army, being born at a village called Hieghibelin, gave to his soldiers the name of Ghibelines, an epithet by which the imperial party was afterwards distinguished in Italy; while that of Guelphs was given to its opponents, and particularly to the papal faction. It was also at this period that the remarkable act of female heroism, so celebrated by historians, took place. Guelph, Duke of Bavaria, with his principal adherents, being closely besieged in the castle of Weinsberg, were reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But the duchess being aware of the enmity which the emperor bore to her husband, requested that she and the other females in the castle might be permitted to retire with as much as they could carry of their most valuable effects. The request being granted, the emperor and his army, to their great astonishment, saw the duchess and her fair companions march out each carrying her husband. Conrad highly applauded their conjugal affection, and a reconciliation between the parties was the happy consequence.* The expedition of this prince to Palestine, in conjunction with Louis VII. King of France, has already been mentioned.† Conrad died

* Heiss's Hist. de l'Empire, lib. 2.

† See Historical View of France.

in 1152, when his nephew, Frederick, Duke of Suabia, surnamed Barbarossa, was unanimously elected emperor. One of the first actions of his reign was that of crowning, with his own hands, the King of Denmark, who received from him the investiture of his dominions, as a vassal of the empire.* After having settled the affairs of Germany, he set out for Italy, where new commotions had risen, and to be crowned at Rome by the pope. It was on this occasion, according to some writers, that Frederick, besides the accustomed ceremony of kneeling down to kiss the feet of his holiness, which being customary he did not regard as degrading, was obliged to hold the pope's stirrup, and lead his palfrey by the bridle. The emperor considering this as an insulting innovation, made many objections, but found himself obliged to submit. Adrian IV, an Englishman, not inferior either in ambition or talents to Gregory VI. then sat in St. Peter's Chair, and resolved to carry the papal power to its greatest height. This man exhibits a striking instance of the great effects of personal abilities seconded by favourable circumstances. He was, according to some, the son of a priest, or to others of a wandering mendicant; it is certain that he was a person of the very lowest extraction. Strolling about from country to country, he was at last employed as a servant in the monastery of St. Rufus, in Provence. Here the superiority of his natural talents was soon observed: he was admitted a monk, and being raised to the rank of abbot and general of the order, at last found means to attain to the pontificate. Thus the world exhibited the singular spectacle of an English beggar raised, by his

* *Annal de l'Empire, tom. 1.*

abilities and good fortune, to the papal chair, disposing of kingdoms, and seeing emperors prostrate at his feet.*

Frederick, by his compliances, conciliated the haughty pontif; but he had not yet conquered all his difficulties; the citizens of Rome demanded so many concessions, and the spirit of faction appeared so prevalent, that the emperor's coronation was performed without the walls of the city. Some differences soon after took place between the pope and the emperor, which were not followed by any serious consequences. But Frederick's attention was soon called to a different quarter, and he found himself obliged to march alternately against the Bohemians and the Poles. Having conquered those nations and rendered them tributary, the success of his arms secured the fidelity of the German princes, by showing the danger of revolting against so martial an emperor. But Italy, as usual, was again a theatre of discord. Some of the cities, as well as the princes, aspired at a complete independence; and in Rome the spirit of party threw all into confusion. Two opposite factions had elected two popes, Victor IV. and Alexander III. Germany, Bohemia, and about half of Italy acknowledged Victor. The other part of Italy, with several other kingdoms and states, supported Alexander. A dreadful civil war ensued. The emperor, espousing the cause of Victor, dismantled Brescia and Placentia, and deprived of their privileges all the other cities which had assumed independency. But Milan, one of the largest and most populous of the Italian cities, had always been the most rebellious, and having long harrassed the em-

* It was this pope who gave Ireland to Henry II. See Rapis, vol. 14

perors with incessant revolts, it experienced the severest fate, being, by the emperor's orders, razed to its very foundations, and its ruins sowed with salt as a mark of its total annihilation.

Alexander had been obliged to take refuge in France; but on the death of Victor, his rival, he returned to Rome and renewed the war. The emperor then caused Paschal III. to be elected pope, who dying soon after, Calixtus III. was nominated as his successor. Alexander, however, not in the least intimidated, excommunicated the emperor and the anti-pope, and kept possession of Rome.* The chief cities of Italy now entered into an association for the defence of their liberties, joined the party of Alexander, and procured the support of the Greek Emperor. The confederates were every where victorious: the imperial army was worn out with fatigues, diseases, and successive defeats, and the emperor himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His fleet was also defeated, and his son captured at sea by the Venetians. These misfortunes induced the emperor to think of making peace with the pope; but in order to give greater weight to his negotiations he made the most vigorous efforts, and collecting his scattered forces, gained some advantage over the enemy. Seizing this favourable opportunity of momentary success, he made proposals of peace to Alexander. A congress was held at Venice, then mistress of the sea, and the greatest commercial city of the world, where an end was put to this sanguinary dispute. Alexander III. was acknowledged as pope; the emperor kissed his feet and held his stirrup; the associated cities of Italy were left at liberty to enjoy their own laws and forms of government, on condition of

swearing

swearing fealty to the emperor as their paramount lord. It has been said, that, at this treaty, the emperor prostrating himself the pope set his foot on his neck in token of the complete subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power. This tale, however, though often repeated, is not credited by the most judicious historians.* It was soon after decreed, in a general council, that no pope should be duly elected but by the concurrent suffrages of two-thirds of the College of Cardinals.† Calixtus, the antipope, now seeing himself abandoned, had no other resource than to throw himself on the clemency of his antagonist. He accordingly made his submission to Alexander, who, greatly to his own honour, treated him with kindness. Frederick soon after his accommodation with the pope marched into Germany, where he quelled the revolt of Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria. He afterwards undertook an expedition into Palestine, where Saladin, having corrupted the Count of Tripoli, commander of the Christian armies, had totally defeated them at the battle of Tiberias, reduced the city of Jerusalem, and almost wholly subdued the kingdom of Antioch. The emperor took the cross with his son Frederick, Duke of Suabia, and about seventy of the most eminent nobles of Germany, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. He advanced with an army of about 150,000 men, by the way of Vienna and Hungary, and through the dominions of the Greek empire. But the Greek Emperor endeavouring to impede the march of the Germans, Frederick defeated his forces, laid the country under contributions, pillaged some of the towns, and obliged him to sue for peace. He after-

* Puffend, vol. 2, ch. 4. † Meibom Hist. Eccles. vol. 2.

wards crossed the Hellespont, defeated the Turks, in several engagements, and filled all Asia with the terror of his arms. But a fatal accident terminated his warlike exploits, and blasted the hopes which the Christians of Syria had formed from his military talents. The manner of his death is variously related. Some say, that while bathing in the river Cydnus, remarkable for the coldness of its waters, he caught a mortal distemper of which he soon afterwards died; and others, that he was drowned, either in riding or swimming across that river. So uncertain is history in regard to circumstantial details. The principal affair, however, is certain, that in some one of these ways Frederick I. surnamed Barbarossa, perished A.D. 1189, or 1190, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. He was a prince of great abilities, an able politician, and an excellent general.

On the news of Barbarossa's death, Henry, his son, was elected emperor, by the name of Henry VI. The death of his father was immediately followed by that of his brother-in-law William, King of Naples and Sicily, to whose dominions he was heir, in right of his wife the Empress Constantia. But Tancred, her natural brother, having usurped the sovereignty, Henry levied an army and marched into Italy for the double purpose of being crowned at Rome, and of recovering his wife's inheritance. The ceremony of his coronation was performed by Pope Celestine III. and accompanied by a singular circumstance. The emperor kneeling before the pope, who was seated in a magnificent chair, his holiness having placed the crown on his head, immediately kicked it off with his foot, signifying, by that ceremony, that the sovereign pontiff possessed the absolute power of giving or taking

taking away empires. It appears, indeed, that the popes were constantly devising new ceremonies, in crowning the emperors, in order to inspire them with a sense of their dependence on the Holy See; and the emperors knowing the precarious nature of the imperial authority in Italy, were glad to purchase, by their compliance, the appearance at least of a sovereignty, which they could not resolve to relinquish.

Henry now resolved to undertake the conquest of Naples and Sicily; and his first operations were extremely successful. Having captured most of the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria, he invested the city of Naples. But a dreadful mortality prevailing among his troops, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise, and Tancred kept possession of his kingdom. After the death of that prince, however, Henry, partly by force and partly by perfidy, gained possession of his dominions. It was this emperor who so long detained Richard I. King of England, in prison, and extorted so exorbitant a ransom for his liberty. This emperor having convoked a diet at Worms, procured a decree which declared the empire hereditary. He then made preparations for a croisade to Palestine; and such multitudes enlisted themselves for this pious expedition, that Henry divided them into three large armies, one of which he conducted into Italy, in order to reduce the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had revolted against his government. He succeeded in reducing the rebels; but he stained his success with cruelties which must for ever render his name odious to posterity. The empress herself, shocked at his inhumanity, having renounced her allegiance and her conjugal fidelity,
headed

headed the revolt: and Henry, who thinking the Sicilians completely subdued, had sent forward his troops into Syria, was obliged to submit to such conditions as his wife thought fit to impose. A treaty was concluded, and the emperor soon after died at Messina of poison, as it was supposed, and even as some think, administered by the empress. The character of Henry VI. requires but a few words for its delineation. He was a monster, who disgraced the imperial dignity, and merited the execration of posterity.

Frederick II, son of the deceased emperor, succeeded to the imperial crown in 1198. But being in his minority, Philip Duke of Suabia, his uncle, undertook the government of the empire.* Several of the German princes, however, exasperated at the empire becoming hereditary, assembled a diet at Cologne, and elected Otho, Duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, who was patronised by his uncle, the king of England, and also by the pope. Innocent III, an able and ambitious politician, seizing this favourable opportunity of humbling the house of Suabia, which had long been in possession of the imperial dignity, and had often proved terrible to the Roman pontiffs, excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. The two opposite parties of Philip and Otho involved the empire in a ruinous civil war, and nothing was seen throughout Germany but scenes of horror and desolation. Such are the miseries which the factions of the great inflict on the people. Philip at length drove Otho, his rival, out of Germany; but at the moment when his throne was about to be established, he was assassinated by the Count Palatine of Bavaria.† On

* Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 2.

† Weiss, Hist. de l'Allemagne, liv. 2, ch. 15.

the death of Philip, Otho returned, took possession of the empire, and was crowned at Rome, after ceding to the papal see all the possessions which the popes had dismembered from the empire. The new emperor, however, no sooner found himself established on the imperial throne, than he resumed his grants, recovered these possessions, and ravaged the dominions of the young king of Naples and Sicily, one of the vassals of the Holy See. Innocent fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication; and Frederick II. having now attained his sixteenth year, was elected emperor in a diet of the princes. The battle of Bovines, fought against Philip Augustus, King of France, completed the ruin of Otho, who retired to Brunswick, and spent the remainder of his days in the duties of religion.* Frederick II, being now unanimously acknowledged emperor, was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, and at his coronation, made a vow to conduct an army of croisaders to Palestine.† Innocent III. dying about this time, Honorius, his successor, ordered a croisade to be preached up throughout Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia, and Hungary. The emperor excused himself from his vow, till he had regulated the affairs of Italy; but an almost incredible number of noblemen with their vassals having taken the cross under the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the Archbishop of Mentz and the bishops of Munster and Utrecht, Andrew King of Hungary was declared generalissimo.‡ Thus we see that in Germany, Hungary, and other countries, as well as in England and France, princes, nobles, and prelates, were in-

* Vide Historical View of France in this work.

† Heim. liv. 2, ch. 17.

‡ Annals Paderborn. ap. Russel, vol. 1, lett. 31.

fectured with this croisading frenzy. How ridiculous the follies of one age appear in another! This formidable armament, however, like those by which it had been preceded, exhibited in its operations nothing but a tissue of misconduct and misfortunes.* *Damietta* in Egypt was indeed taken, after a siege of eighteen months; but the Christian camp being, by reason of an injudicious choice of the ground, inundated by the waters of the Nile, that important fortress was restored, and the croisaders were obliged to conclude a dishonourable treaty. About this time serious differences arose between the pope and the emperor, which being at length composed, an assembly was convened for deliberating on the affairs of the East. *John de Brienne*, titular king of Jerusalem, who had come to Europe to solicit assistance against the Sultan of Egypt, attended, together with the pope and the emperor. A marriage was here concluded between *Frederick* and the only daughter of *John de Brienne*. The kingdom of Jerusalem was assigned for her dower, and the emperor engaged to go and take possession within the space of two years.† Italy, however, afforded sufficient employment for all his activity and policy. The principal cities had entered into a league to throw off the imperial authority; but a general diet being assembled at *Cremona*, and a variety of subjects discussed, a temporary accommodation produced a short period of tranquillity.

It was an important part of the papal policy to find employment for the emperors at a distance from Italy.

* *Vertot Hist. de Chevaliers de Mal. tom. 1.*—*Mairmbourg Hist. des Croisades, tom. 2.*

† *John de Brienne*, a Frenchman, or of French extraction, a younger brother of the family of that name in Champagne, was one of the greatest heroes of his age. Vide *Gibbes Dec. Rom. Emp.*

Honorius

Honorius III. was now dead; but Gregory IX, his successor, acting on the same fixed principles, urged to Frederick the necessity of fulfilling his coronation vow; and represented to him the glory that he would acquire in conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, his consort's inheritance. Frederick, however, well knew that these views, although flattering to ambition, were inconsistent with sound policy, while his authority over Italy was so extremely precarious. On this consideration, therefore, he postponed his Syrian expedition, till the pope, enraged at his delay, declared him incapable of holding any longer the imperial dignity. The emperor, in revenge, began to ravage the patrimony of St. Peter; and Gregory fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication. The two parties of Guelphs and Ghibellines revived with increased animosity, and all Italy presented one entire scene of civil war and desolation. Frederick seeing no end to these troubles, resolved, at last, to perform his vow; and leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, Duke of Spoleto, he departed for Palestine, where he found the armies of the Sultan of Egypt much easier to be subdued than the rebellious Italians. He concluded his expedition by an advantageous treaty with the sultan, who ceded to the emperor as king of Sicily, the city of Jerusalem and all its territory, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jerusalem and Ptolemais, with Tyre, Sidon, and the adjacent districts.* Since that time the kings of Naples and Sicily have borne the titles of kings of Jerusalem.

The emperor having successfully terminated his

* Heinec. liv. 2, ch. 17.—Maimbourg Hist. des Croisades, tom. 2.—Puffend. ubi supra.

Asiatic expedition, returned to Italy, where his presence was extremely wanted. The cities had revolted; and his eldest son, Henry, King of the Romans, had rebelled against him. Frederick, however, rose superior to these troubles, and reduced both his son and the associated cities. The pope, however, thundered a second excommunication against him, and sent a bull into Germany, in which he described the emperor as the beast of the apocalypse, opening its mouth in blasphemies. Frederick, in return, published an apology, in which he declared Gregory to be no other than Antichrist and the great dragon. As Germany remained tranquil, the emperor marched into Italy, thinking to advance immediately to Rome, where there was a strong party hostile to Gregory's interests. But his schemes were rendered abortive by the activity of the pope, who gave orders for preaching a croisade against him as the enemy of the Christian faith. Things were in this turbulent state when Gregory IX. died; and the pontificate of Celestine IV, being of a short duration, Innocent IV. was elected to the papal chair. But the same unhappy contests still continued. The pope retiring into France, assembled a general council at Lyons, and formally deposed the emperor; and the German bishops, without consulting the princes, elected Henry Landgrave of Thuringia to fill the vacant throne.* Innocent now renewed the war against Frederick, and employed the Dominicans and the Franciscans to preach up the croisade against him.† The Landgrave of Thuringia dying, William count of Holland was elected in his place. Frederick, however, was not intimidated either by the papal thunders, or by the defection of his German subjects, and made

* Russel's Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 1, letter 31.

† Ibid.

a vigorous resistance against all the efforts of rebellion and treason. Being, however, totally routed near Parma, and hearing at the same time of the defeat and capture of his natural son, the king of Sardinia, by the Bolognese, he found himself under the necessity of retreating into his kingdom of Naples. He was there diligently employed in recruiting his army, when he fell sick of a fever, and died A.D. 1250, in the 55th year of his age.* Frederick II. was a prince of great genius and courage. In the midst of his troubles he patronized learning, although a reign so turbulent and chequered with such a variety of fortunes, could not be very favorable to the interests of literature. Conrad, his son, retired into his kingdom of Naples, where he died in 1254; and two years afterwards the emperor, William, was slain in battle against the Frisians.

After the death of William a number of candidates for the imperial dignity appeared; and different emperors were elected by different factions. Among these were Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, and Alphonsus X, King of Castile.† But neither of these took any effectual measures for acquiring possession of their new dignity: indeed, the imperial crown had long been, and was still more likely than ever, to prove a crown of thorns, rather than of laurels or roses. Although several emperors were elected, none of them were acknowledged, except by their own faction; and a confused interregnum of seventeen years, from 1256 to 1273, completed the revolution in the political state of both Italy and Germany, which, during the space of three centuries

* Russel, ubi supra.—Heim. liv. 2, ch. 17.

† Russel's Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 1, lett. 31.—Puffend. vol. 2, ch. 6.

and a half, had been gradually tending to its accomplishment.

It has been already observed, that on the decline of the family of Charlemagne, and especially about the period in which the empire was transferred from his posterity, by the election of Conrad, Duke of Franconia, A.D. 912, the governors of provinces in Italy and Germany, as well as in France, began to render themselves hereditary sovereigns of their respective governments. The other nobles following their example, a long train of insubordination was produced; and the prelates always powerful, acting on the same principles, acquired in those times of confusion, an equal degree of independence. The continual troubles which harassed the emperors, and especially their reiterated quarrels with the popes, favoured the rising power of the aristocracy; and on every new election, the princes, the prelates, and nobles, had an opportunity of acquiring new privileges, and of imposing additional restraints on the imperial authority. The cities, also, gradually increasing in population and importance, began to assume new powers, and extort new rights. At the close of the reign of Frederick II. the power of the emperors was extinguished in Italy; and during the following interregnum, the most horrible confusion prevailed in Germany. The operation of laws entirely ceased, and every thing was decided by force. Robbery and pillage every where prevailed, in the cities, in the country, in the villages, and on the high roads. In order to remedy these disorders, several cities and towns entered into a confederacy for their mutual safety, to which many princes and lords also acceded. These joining their forces, drove the plunderers from their castles, and cleared the roads
of

of the banditti with which they were infested.* This confederacy has by some been considered as the origin of the Hans towns, but others date the commencement of that union from an earlier period. Several authors have investigated the subject; but their different opinions only serve to prove the present impossibility of ascertaining the precise æra of that famous mercantile and political confederation.† Dr. Russel fixes it about the time of this interregnum, and in this he is authorised by Lambecius, librarian to the emperor, who considers it as posterior to the famous league concluded in the year 1241, between Hamburg and Lubeck, the purpose of which was to facilitate intercourse and commerce by guarding the seas against pirates, and the roads against robbers, at their joint expence.‡ From this respectable authority, it seems that the Hanseatic league must have originated either during the interregnum, or in the tumultuous times which took place during the latter part of the reign of Frederick II. Others, again, fix the æra of that famous association so early as the year 1169, and some even at an earlier period.§ But at what time soever they were formed, it appears that many cities had then acquired great power and privileges, as it was one of their standing regulations not to admit any city into the league that did not keep the keys of its own gates, and exercise civil authority within itself, although it might acknowledge allegiance to a superior lord.|| It

* Passend. vol. 3, ch. 8. † Vide And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 151—161.

‡ Lambecius Orig. Hamburg. lib. 8.

§ Werdenhagen apud And. ubi supra.—Dr. Robertson states the commencement of the Hanseatic league to have been towards the close of the 13th century Hist. Ch. V, vol. 1, p. 406.

|| And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 168.

is therefore evident, that they both understood the principles and enjoyed the benefits of liberty. The cities of Germany, indeed, as well as those of other countries, had been greatly favoured by many of the emperors. At the first, if founded on the estate of a baron, they constituted a part of his fief, and were destitute of municipal jurisdiction and liberty. But the institution of communities being borrowed from the Italians, sovereigns found it an excellent expedient for abridging the power of the barons; and Frederick Barbarossa was the first emperor who multiplied communities through this political motive.* Cities originated from various circumstances, and a variety of circumstances also concurred to their aggrandisement, such as the erection of episcopal sees, the building of cathedrals, the holding of various kinds of assemblies, councils, and courts of judicature, the privileges and immunities granted them by sovereigns, the security afforded by a numerous and concentrated population, with the conveniencies and amusements which they soon began to afford. All these, and a variety of other advantages, first contributed to the aggrandisement of cities, before the resources of commerce, and the resort of the opulent, gave them still greater importance.

The series of facts, which compose the annals of the empire, from the reign of Charlemagne to the period here under consideration, the perpetual quarrels of popes and emperors, disgraceful to religion, and disastrous to humanity, which blacken its history, would not be worth recording or reading, if they had not a reference to something more interesting. But they

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. Charles V, vol. 1, p. 311, et sequor. cit. in loco. Note 17.

were introductory to a state of political society, which has ever since, till of late, existed in Italy and Germany. Both these countries had composed part of the empire of Charlemagne; and under his successors, they began to exhibit the same picture as France under her last kings of that race. Before the end of the tenth century, this picture was complete; and Italy, France, and Germany, displayed the same confused system of aristocratical power, assumed according to circumstances, and consequently undefined and irregular. In France, however, as in several other countries, various causes contributed to weaken, while in Germany every thing contributed to strengthen its aristocracy. The French monarchs of the Capetine dynasty, like many other European sovereigns, established the regal power on the ruins of the feudal system, while the German nobles and Italian cities aggrandised themselves on the ruins of the imperial authority. And while France was organising her monarchy, by uniting its discordant parts in one compact political system, Italy and Germany split into a number of independent principalities and states, with this single difference, that those of the former remained unconnected, while those of the latter country formed a political confederation under the paramount authority of the emperor as the head of the association. But the union between the two countries, which was never well consolidated, being entirely dissolved at the death of Frederick II. in 1250, the affairs of Italy require to be separately considered: in the remainder of the present chapter it is necessary to confine our observations to those of Germany.

During the turbulent period which had elapsed since the removal of the sceptre from the house of Charle-

France, the princes, the prelates, and the principal cities gradually assuming independent powers, at last composed an empire of a particular kind; and it seems, that before the accession of Rhodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the present house of Austria, the Germanic constitution, such as it has lately been seen, was nearly formed.* The secular and ecclesiastical princes, and the imperial cities, had attained to that independent situation which they have since so long enjoyed; and possessing absolute sovereignty in their respective territories, under the superior authority of the emperor, exhibited a highly finished model of the feudal system, which has remained sacred and inviolable in Germany, while exploded and abolished in most other countries, and declining in all, except Poland. In the latter country it was carried to almost as great a height as in Germany, until the extinction of that kingdom by the partitioning powers.

During the dark and unpleasant period of history, which has here been brought under consideration, the total change which took place in the political state of Italy and Germany, although the most important, is not the only interesting feature that presents itself to the reader's inspection. Amidst the reiterated tumults of political confusion and military depredation, which mark those unhappy times, literature, sciences, and arts, were almost extinct in Europe, and particularly in Germany. Commerce could be as little expected to flourish in a country so circumstanced; but its commencements may be discovered on the shores of the Baltic as early, at least, as the twelfth century. And without mentioning the city of Winet in the isle of Usedom, or that of Julia in the island of Wollin, near

* Dr. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1, p. 212.

the mouth of the Oden, the famous emporium of the pagan Slavi, concerning both of which, the accounts of the writers of the middle ages are so confused, so contradictory, and, according to every appearance, so exaggerated; it is certain that Lubeck, Hamburg, and some other towns, carried on a considerable trade in the beginning of the thirteenth century, or even at an earlier period.* Those times, of which the enthusiastic spirit produced the croisades, also gave rise to the Teutonic knights, as well as to the Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. They were first instituted at Jerusalem, when that city was recovered from the hands of the infidels. These were originally religious fraternities, the members of which devoted themselves to the humane and pacific employment of relieving distressed pilgrims, and attending the sick and wounded. But the circumstances and the spirit of the times, which were tinged with a singular mixture of religion and romance, converted them into military institutions. They became a sort of monastic militia, formidable by their valour: the enthusiasm of the age increased their numbers; princes conferred on them wealthy possessions; and their martial exploits gained them great reputation.† The Teutonic knights made a settlement in Livonia in 1168, and in process of time, those formidable apostles who propagated christianity by fire and sword, conquered and converted the greatest part of Prussia; and, by their acquisitions in Europe, indemnified themselves for their losses in Asia.‡

* *Ant. Hist. Com.* vol. 1, p. 73, 74, where the accounts of ancient authors relative to Jalis and Wisat, are collected and compared.

† See the account of the destruction of the Templars in *Historical View of France*, in this work.

‡ *Barré Hist. de l'Allemagne*, tom. 6.

After the long interregnum, which has led to the preceding observations, Rhodolph, count of Hapsburg, the ancestor of the present house of Austria, and the founder of its greatness, was elected emperor. It was not his possessions or his power that raised him to the imperial dignity, for he was far from being one of the most considerable princes of the empire; his personal qualifications, however, amply justified the choice which the Germans had made of a sovereign. The suppression of those disorders which had prevailed during the interregnum, required the most rigorous exercise of his authority. He caused about 100 highwaymen to be executed at once at Erfurt and in Thuringia; and destroyed above sixty castles, which served as retreats to bands of robbers. By these vigorous measures he re-established peace and security in the empire, and promoted trade and social intercourse. Ottocar, king of Bohemia, having seized on the marquisate of Austria after the death of its last possessor, Rhodolph dispossessed him of these territories. He gave Austria, with its appendages, to his eldest son Albert, who was afterwards in the diet of Augsburg publicly invested with these possessions, and incorporated with the college of princes. This event was the rise of the present house of Austria. He invested Rhodolph, another of his sons, with the duchy of Suabia, which devolved on him in right of his wife; and he gave his three daughters in marriage to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, three of the most powerful princes of the empire.* These investitures and alliances laid the foundation of the future greatness of his family. But although his authority

* *Passed. ubi supra.*

was fully established in Germany, he left Italy, the other branch of the empire, to itself, and could never be persuaded to attempt its subjugation. He was not ignorant that the revolts of Italy had been the source of all the misfortunes of the preceding emperors, and he considered it as useless to attempt the conquest of a country which he knew would never remain in subjection. Confining, therefore, all his attention to Germany, he raised the empire to a respectable and flourishing state.* This emperor first introduced the German language into the public acts, instead of the Latin, which had been hitherto used.† He died in 1291, after a reign of eighteen years, with a high reputation both for political and military abilities.

After the death of Rhodolph, an interregnum of nine months elapsed, before the German princes could agree on the choice of another emperor. At length, however, Adolphus, count of Nassau, was elected; but his reign was a continued series of troubles. He was at last deposed; and Albert of Austria, son of Rhodolph, was raised to the imperial throne. Adolphus lost his life in a battle fought against his competitor, near Spire, in 1298. Albert was, therefore, left in peaceable possession of the empire. In the reign of this emperor happened the famous revolt of the Swiss cantons, which the house of Austria was never able to subdue.‡ The principal vice of Albert was avarice, and he fell a victim to his own rapacity, being assassinated by John, duke of

* Barre ubi supra.—Annal. de l'Empire, tom. 2.

† Puffend ubi supra.

‡ Vide Historical View of Switzerland.

Swabia, his nephew, from whom he unjustly withheld his inheritance.*

Henry, Count of Luxembourg, was next elected emperor, A.D. 1309. His reign is rendered remarkable by his Italian expedition, of which the relation properly belongs to the history of Italy.† It suffices here to say, that the unsettled state of that country presenting a favourable opportunity of asserting the ancient claims of the emperors, a diet was held at Frankfort, in which it was resolved to undertake the conquest of Italy. The necessary supplies being granted, Henry set out for that country, accompanied by the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria, the Archbishop of Treves, the Bishop of Liege, the Counts of Savoy and Flanders, and other noblemen, at the head of a formidable army. As the Italians were divided into a thousand factions, the success of the emperor was so rapid as to promise a complete conquest; but in the midst of his good fortune he died suddenly at Benevento. It was suspected that his death was caused by poison administered to him in the sacrament, by a Dominican friar, bribed by the Florentines. But in an affair of so secret a nature, and in a country so agitated by the spirit of party as Italy then was, it must have been extremely difficult for historians to ascertain the truth.‡ The death of Henry VII. happened in 1313, after a reign only of four years; and the suffrages of the electors being divided on the choice of a successor, two emperors were at once

* Passend ubi supra. † Vide Historical View of Italy.

‡ Dr. Russel says, Henry was poisoned in the consecrated wine. Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 3, lett. 32.—Passend says, the poison was administered in the host. Etats formés en Eur. vol. 2, ch. 2.

elected,

elected, Louis, duke of Bavaria, and Frederick, duke of Austria. Louis was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Frederick at Bonne. A war between the two rival emperors desolated Germany during the space of nine years, a melancholy proof, among thousands of others that might be adduced, of the bad effects of elective governments. Frederick being at last made prisoner, in a battle fought in 1329, tranquillity was restored to the empire. A quarrel which afterwards took place between Louis and John XXII. the reigning pontiff, who arrogated to himself an absolute authority over the emperor and the empire, was the cause of another expedition into Italy.* The emperor was at first successful, but at last proved unfortunate. It would be of little use to enter into the particulars of this contest, between the papal see and the emperor, which in its general features nearly resembles those already related. It suffices to say that it proved fatal to the latter, who, after having been excommunicated by three successive popes, was deposed, and Charles, marquis of Moravia, after having made the necessary concessions to the Holy See, was elected emperor. The death of Louis, which happened soon after, left Charles IV. in the peaceable possession of the imperial dignity. This emperor went to be crowned at Rome, where he ratified every thing that Clement IV. who then filled the papal chair, thought fit to extort, and seemed to have entirely renounced the politics of his predecessors, in regard to Italy, which, indeed, had been the source of all their misfortunes. In his reign the famous constitution called the Golden Bull, was established, in a diet assembled at Nuremberg,

* Puffend ubi supra.—Baluzii. Vit. Pontif. Aven. vol. 1.

consisting of all the princes, prelates, abbots, and deputies of the imperial cities. This celebrated charter, which settled every thing relating to the political system of the empire, was published with the most solemn pomp.* The three ecclesiastical electors, arch-chancellors of the empire, appeared in the procession, carrying the three imperial seals. The Archbishop of Mentz carried that of Germany, and the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne those of France and Italy, countries in which the empire no longer possessed any thing but empty claims. But the style of this singular public instrument, the famous Golden Bull, is strongly expressive of the spirit of the times. "It begins," says Dr. Russel, "with an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, and luxury; and it says, that it is necessary the number of electors should be seven, in order to oppose the seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and it asserts that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the trinity."† If this account be true, so extraordinary a piece of literary composition is a striking proof and a lasting monument of the ignorance which at that time prevailed in Germany. Among the remarkable acts of Charles the IVth's reign, may be reckoned the alienation of almost all that remained of the imperial domains, with their taxes and tolls, to the three ecclesiastical electors, and the Count Palatine, in order to secure the election of his son to the empire. During several centuries the revenues of the emperors had decreased more rapidly even than their authority. The emperors of the race

* Heim's Hist. de l'Allemagne, liv. 2.

† Hist. Mod. Ess. vol. 1, lett. 41.

of Charlemagne, and those of the Saxon line possessed extensive domains, both in Germany and Italy. Those in the latter country were soon alienated by sale, or lost by revolt. The Italian cities having at an early period acquired wealth, and aspiring at independence, purchased of the emperors various immunities and privileges.* But those immunities, which were purchased, enabled them to extort others by force; and the quarrels ensuing between the popes and the emperors rendering the Italians still more independent and factions, the revenues of the whole empire, as already observed, were exhausted in keeping them in subjection. While the imperial authority in Italy was so unsettled, the emperors in every moment of transient success, and in those intervals of tranquillity, of which the duration was mostly short and always precarious, were glad to sell for money immunities, privileges, and domains, which they knew would soon be extorted or seized by force. In Germany, also, a great part of the lands which formed the imperial domain, were seized by the princes and prelates during the contests with Italy; and while the sovereigns were thus deprived of their territorial property, they were in like manner robbed of their casual revenue, the nobles and bishops appropriating to themselves the taxes, &c. that used to be paid to the emperors.† The alienation made by Charles IV. of almost all that remained, after so many defalcations, completed the impoverishment of the imperial crown, and gave the last fatal blow to its authority. From that period, the revenues of the empire were so small as to be inadequate to the expences of the emperor's

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1, p. 457, et auctor. cit.

† Ibid, p. 458.

household. In the year 1546, Cardinal Grenville asserted, in the presence of several of the princes, that his master, Charles V. drew no money at all from the empire. Ever since the reign of Charles IV. the emperors have depended entirely on their hereditary dominions as the source not only of their power, but even of their subsistence.* It may here also not be amiss to remark, that the former emperors spent a great part of their time in visiting the different parts of the empire, especially those of their domain; but after these were seized, or alienated in the manner described, they began generally to reside in their hereditary dominions. Louis of Bavaria was the first, who, by fixing his residence at Munich, set the example, which was followed by his successors.† Germany could not, therefore, be said to have a metropolis, until the imperial dignity being so long annexed to the house of Austria as to make it seem hereditary in that family. Vienna was at last considered as the capital of the empire.

Charles IV. dying in 1378, was succeeded by Winceslaus his son, king of Bohemia, who giving himself up to his pleasures without regarding the affairs of the empire, was deposed; and, without making any effort to retain the imperial crown, retired into his kingdom of Bohemia. Frederick, duke of Brunswick, was elected emperor; but was assassinated before his coronation. The electors, therefore, conferred the imperial dignity on Robert count palatine of the Rhine. This emperor made an unsuccessful expedition into Italy, in order to re-establish in that country the imperial authority; but Galeazzo Visconti duke of

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1, p. 462.

† Puffendorf ubi supra.

Milan, was so well prepared for his reception, that he soon found it expedient to desist from his enterprize.* Robert dying A. D. 1414, Sigismund, king of Hungary was elected emperor, who summoned the famous, or rather infamous council of Constance. The principal purpose for which this council was convened, was to terminate the schism which then prevailed in the church. This august assembly succeeded in settling the disputes concerning the pontificate; but at the same time both the council and the emperor tarnished their honour, by condemning John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames. It is not to the present purpose to examine the particular doctrines of those two opponents of the established religion in Bohemia; but it may be observed, that in the chief points they nearly agreed with those which, a little before that time, Wickliff had held in England, and which Luther, with some variations, afterwards established in Saxony. The execution, however, of these two men, notwithstanding the safe conduct which had been granted them, has fixed a perpetual brand of infamy on the memory of Sigismund.

Divine Providence did not suffer this perfidious cruelty to pass unrevenged. It is natural to revolt against oppression, and especially against that kind of tyranny which is exercised over the conscience; and the Hussites, in supporting the freedom of opinion, took a severe vengeance for the murder of their apostles.† They first raised a terrible insurrection in Prague, where they forced the town-hall and massacred the magistrates. The revolt soon became general, and they levied a formidable army. Wincellaus, king of

* Heiss. Hist. de l'Allemagne, lib. 2. ch. 28.

† Mosheim, Hist. Ecclæ, vol. 3.

Bohemia, the emperor's brother, dying about the same time, that kingdom devolved on Sigismund, who sustained a long war against the Hussites, and was several times defeated by Count Ziska their general. This intrepid chief maintained his ground with success during his life, and at his death ordered a drum to be made of his skin. Instead of detailing the particulars of this war, it will suffice to observe that the Hussites at last obtained a general amnesty, and the privilege of the cup in the communion, a concession which they considered as of the utmost importance.* Such, in those days, was the attachment both of the reformers and the enemies of reformation to the ceremonial of religion, while its practical doctrines and active power were too little regarded.

Sigismund died in 1438, and was succeeded in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary by his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, who was also elected emperor. Since that period the imperial throne has been hereditary in the august house of Austria. Albert died the next year, 1439, and was succeeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia by his infant son Ladislaus. Frederick of Austria, Albert's cousin, was elected to the imperial dignity. This emperor paid a visit to Italy, where he was received in the principal cities, with all the empty honours that could be paid to nominal sovereignty. The Bolognese and the Florentines even sent deputies to crave the honour of entertaining him.† At Rome he was crowned king of Lombardy, although Francis Sforza, a man of the most obscure extraction, but one of the greatest warriors of the age, reigned in Milan, and set the imperial authority at defiance. In this manner the Italians flattered the emperor with empty

* Mosheim ubi supra.

† Machiav. Hist. Fior. lib. 6.

honours, from which he derived neither power nor profit. On his return to Austria, he found himself involved in disputes with his subjects, which, however, were not attended with any important consequences.

Amidst these transactions, an event took place which bore a threatening aspect to Europe, but particularly to the German empire. Constantinople, so long a barrier against the Ottoman power, was, in 1453, taken by Sultan Mahomet II. and the progress of the Turkish arms alarming the princes of Christendom, impelled them to think of uniting for their mutual defence. On this subject a diet was convoked at Ratisbon, and another soon after at Frankfort. Other diets were successively held, but nothing of importance was undertaken. A numerous concourse of princes were assembled, and great zeal appeared in debate; but attended with a general backwardness to action. It is here impossible not to observe how much the chivalrous spirit which distinguished the age of the croisades, was now superceded by a cautious policy. Two or three centuries previous to this period, every rank and order of people, kings, princes, prelates, and vassals hurried away, as if impelled by frenzy, to attack the Mahomedans in Asia; but none could be roused to action, when they had established themselves in Europe, and their continual progress threatened all Christendom. The only effort which the German princes could be prevailed on to make, was to send a body of forces to the assistance of John Hunniades, the famous Hungarian general, a hero, who would have done honour to Greece or Rome in the most brilliant periods of their military glory. He gained several advantages over the Turks, when their martial reputation was in its meridian, and gallantly defended

defended his country against Mahomet II: the conqueror of Constantinople and the terror of Christendom, whom he totally defeated in an obstinate and decisive engagement and compelled him to raise the siege of Belgrade. But the fruits of this victory were lost by the death of Hunniades, which happened soon after the battle.

The history of Hungary becoming now more than ever connected with that of Austria, it is requisite to cast a glance on its ancient state. A considerable part of it had once been subject to the Romans, and was included in the Roman province of Dacia; but they do not appear to have ever possessed the tract situated between the Teys and the Danube.* Hungary was repeatedly overrun by the barbarous nations in their passage westward from the northern shores of the Euxine. Among these may be reckoned the Goths and the Huns, whose famous king Attila, had his royal residence in a village on the great plain. To the Huns succeeded the Avars and other Slavonic tribes. These were conquered by the Magyars, or Ogurs, towards the end of the ninth century. From that period Hungary was governed by dukes. An irregular feudal system was established; the country was divided among a number of petty chiefs; the dukes and afterwards the kings had only a very limited authority. In fine, this country exhibited the same picture as all the rest of Europe in those dark ages. But the people were more barbarous, and continued pagans long after the conversion of Germany; into which country, as already observed, they used to make terrible inroads. About the year 1000, Stephen, duke of Hungary, was converted to Christianity, and esta-

* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 1. p. 27.

blished that religion in his country. He received from the pope the title of king, and after his death his name was enrolled among those of the saints. The crown was always elective; but, as in most other elective kingdoms, a predilection was often preserved for the children or relatives of the deceased monarch. The wars of the early Hungarian kings were chiefly against the Venetians, who were in possession of Dalmatia. Louis I. who began his reign in 1342, and was contemporary with Edward III. of England, was a successful prince. He subdued the greatest part of Dalmatia, and carried his arms into Italy. He was succeeded by his daughter Mary, who dying in 1392, the Hungarians elected Sigismund, afterwards emperor of Germany. After him was elected his son-in-law, Albert of Austria; and on his death Ladislaus, his infant son, was elected king: he was placed under the guardianship of the emperor Frederick III. and the celebrated John Hunniades was appointed regent of the kingdom. The young king Ladislaus, dying in 1457, about the same time as the regent, Matthias Corvinus, the son of Hunniades, was raised to the throne by the unanimous suffrages of the Hungarian states. But the Emperor Frederick III. disputing his election, a war ensued in which Corvinus was so successful, that he took Vienna, conquered the whole of Austria, and kept possession of that duchy till his death. The reign of Matthias Corvinus constitutes the most brilliant epoch in Hungarian history. He was a brave and politic prince, versed in literature, and a liberal patron of letters, science, and arts. He founded a noble library at Buda, and furnished it with many valuable MSS. as well as with the best Greek and Latin authors. He died in 1490; and after re-

peated contests, the crown of Hungary returned to the house of Austria in 1527, in the person of Ferdinand. The kings of Hungary had several bloody wars with the Turks, and this country was long considered as the bulwark of Christendom. But in the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand, those formidable enemies of the Christian name, obtained possession of a considerable part of Hungary. This prince, on being elected emperor, resigned the crown to his son Maximilian, in 1563; since which period it has ever since remained an appendage to the house of Austria.

In resuming the history of the empire, it suffices to say that Frederick III. dying in 1493, was succeeded by his son Maximilian I. The most important feature of whose history is the annexation of the Netherlands to the house of Austria, by his fortunate marriage with Mary, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. He had various wars; but none of them were productive of any important consequences to the empire or the imperial family. Maximilian died in 1519, and his grandson, the famous Charles V. was raised to the empire. Charles being by hereditary right king of Spain, of Naples and Sicily, and possessing the extensive dominions of the house of Austria in Germany and the Netherlands, together with the sovereignty of the new world, which was ready to pour its treasures into his coffers, was by a particular train of circumstances exalted to the imperial dignity. Francis I. king of France had declared himself a candidate for that high honour, and both their claims appeared equally plausible. The situation of Germany at that juncture required an emperor, in whom great abilities should be seconded by ample resources. The Turks, then in
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the zenith of their power and their military fame, were every where irresistible. Selim II. had conquered the Mamaluke kingdom of Egypt, made himself master of Syria, and so completely secured his empire on the side of Asia, that he was ready to turn the whole force of his arms against Europe. His power, his ambition, and the fame of his conquests, had excited throughout Christendom a general alarm. Germany [was, by her local position, exposed to the first attack of the Ottoman power; and this consideration was sufficient to determine her princes in the choice of an emperor. The kings of Spain and France presented themselves as the only princes of Europe that were able to oppose an effectual resistance to the progress of the Turks, and to ensure the safety of the empire. The great power of Charles and his extensive dominions, gave him the first place among Christian princes. The dominions of Francis, although less extensive, were more compact: his subjects were numerous and warlike; and in regard to age, experience, and military reputation, he possessed a personal superiority over his rival. The other European princes could not remain indifferent spectators of a contest, the decision of which so nearly affected their interests. The Swiss cantons dreaded the elevation of either of the candidates, but their apprehension of the aggrandisement of so near and so hostile a neighbour as Francis, inclined them to give an open preference to Charles. The Venetians, through a similar jealousy of the proximity and ambition of Austria, although they wished to see both the rivals set aside, were by their dread of the elevation of Charles disposed to favour the claims of the French monarch. Henry VIII. king of England, was equally interested in

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in the exclusion of both the competitors from a dignity which, added to their former power, would raise them so high above other monarchs, and came at last to the resolution of offering himself as a candidate for the imperial dignity. His ambassador, though loaded with caresses by the German princes, returned with the information that no success could be expected from so late an application. Henry reconciled himself to the disappointment by imputing it solely to this circumstance, and gave himself no further concern about the election or exclusion of the other candidates.* Henry wanted that steady attention, as well as that accurate discernment which, with the advantages of his political situation, might have enabled him to hold the balance of Europe. Leo X. a pontiff equally distinguished by his political abilities and his patronage of letters, observed with accurate attention the proceedings of the two rival monarchs, and his acute penetration enabled him to foresee the consequences. The exaltation of a king of Spain and of Naples to the imperial dignity, filled him with serious apprehensions; and the accession of a king of France to the throne of Germany, was a prospect not less alarming. He considered the election of either as fatal to the independence of the Holy See, and to the peace of Europe. The sagacious pontiff, therefore, directed all his efforts to induce the German princes to elect out of their own body an emperor, who would be less formidable to other European princes. For this purpose he put in motion every spring of political intrigue.† His plan was the best that it was possible in his situation

* *Mém. de Fleurbaey*, p. 314.

† Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* vol. 2, p. 79.

to adopt; but in affairs so extremely complicated, all the views of political sagacity are frequently baffled. The German electors perceived the full force of his representations and arguments. They had ever considered it as one of the fundamental maxims of their policy to limit and depress the power of the emperor. To this maxim they had for ages invariably adhered; and to its observance they owed the splendour and independence which they had gradually acquired. The pope did not forget to remind them, that in electing either Francis or Charles, they would give the empire a master instead of a head, and reduce themselves from the condition of sovereigns to that of subjects. Influenced by these considerations, the electors resolved to reject both the candidates, and unanimously fixed on Frederick, duke of Saxony, whose virtues and abilities rendered him worthy to wield the imperial sceptre, and whose power was not such as could excite any jealousy. This prince, however, more attentive to the safety of the empire than dazzled with the splendor of the imperial dignity, rejected the offer with a magnanimity, of which history records but few instances. He represented to the Germanic body the impolicy of an obstinate adherence to old maxims, inapplicable to the present circumstances; reminded them, that new conjunctures required new expedients; that the Turkish armies, led by a warlike and victorious emperor, were ready to pour into Germany, that the imperial sceptre must be committed to some more powerful hand than his or that of any other German prince; that, in so pressing an exigency, there was no other expedient than that of chusing one of the two rival monarchs, either of whom could bring into the field forces sufficient to

arrest the progress of the enemy, and provide for the security of the empire. But he added, that since the king of Spain was a member and prince of the empire, and possessed valuable and extensive hereditary dominions, stretching along the frontier most exposed to the enemy, his claim was certainly preferable to that of the French monarch, who was in every respect a stranger, and had no hereditary possessions in Germany.

The two rival candidates, in the mean while, left nothing undone that intrigue or bribery could effect. Charles employed all the refinements and artifice of negotiation, and remitted vast sums of money from Spain in order to give weight to his claims.* Francis at the same time attempted to gain the favour of the princes by immense presents and boundless promises, and as the method of conveying money by bills of exchange was then little known, the French ambassadors were attended with a train of horses loaded with treasure. On the 28th of June, 1519, after an interregnum of five months and ten days, this important contest, which held all Europe in suspense, was decided by the election of Charles to the imperial throne. From what passed on this memorable occasion, an idea may be formed of the various manœuvres which are practised where crowns are elective.

This contested election, however, left between the two potent rivals an enmity that was never extinguished, and which a thousand circumstances contributed to keep alive. Two such powerful monarchs, whose dominions were in close contact, could never be at a loss for plausible pretexts of quarrel; and their perpetual rivalship and ceaseless hostilities, kept the

* *Mém. de Fleury*, p. 226. *Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. p. 75.*

greatest part of Europe in a state of continual agitation. Spain and all the other hereditary dominions of the emperor were necessarily involved in the contest. Italy and England were also implicated. The part which they took in those general commotions is briefly mentioned in that part of the work which treats of their history and of France.* In order, therefore, to avoid tedious prolixity and useless repetition, it suffices in this place to confine the narrative to a concise representation of those affairs, which more particularly tended to influence the future condition of Germany.

Among these one of the most important was the reformation of religion, which took its rise in this country. Its origin is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to mention, that the scandalous abuse of indulgences first excited thinking men to enquire into their nature and consequences, and to dispute the legality of that authority by which they were dispensed. Those extraordinary releases of the living from sin, and of the dead from the pains of purgatory, were first fabricated by Urban II. for the encouragement and recompense of those who engaged in the croisades. They were next extended to such as contributed money to the support of those wild expeditions, or to other pious purposes; but the sums so raised were often diverted to other uses. Leo X. the great patron of letters and of arts, having exhausted his treasury in liberal rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and in expensive pleasures, had recourse to a measure which had been so successfully practised by his predecessors. He published a general sale of indulgences, and he was not without an

* Vide Historical View of France, reign of Francis I.

apology for this extension of papal authority. He was then engaged in a most expensive undertaking, the building of the superb cathedral of St. Peter, the largest and most magnificent structure of the Christian world; and money was also wanted to establish a fund for carrying on a war against the Turks the progress of whose arms threatened Europe with subjugation. But impositions employed with success in one age, often prove dangerous experiments in another. As an accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, and a patron of arts and literature, Leo stands almost unparalleled. Had he been a king of England or France, his name would have been an honour to royalty; but as a pope he was certainly misplaced. The laxity of his religious principles approaching to Deism, rendered him careless of the interests of the church, and his liberal disposition involved him in wants which imperiously demanded a supply. His necessities, the natural consequences of his immense expenditure, put him upon measures for raising money which shook the papacy to its foundation, and diminished the revenues as well as the power of his successors by separating half the Christian world from the communion of Rome. The councils of the Governor of the Universe are inscrutable; but the moral philosopher will perceive, and both the friends and the enemies of the reformation must acknowledge, that Leo was not less than Luther an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence in the introduction of this extraordinary revolution.

The sale of indulgences, established by papal authority, and sanctioned by prescription, had often succeeded, and probably might still have escaped animadversion, had the Dominican friars, to whom the
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business was entrusted, in Saxony, executed their commission with greater discretion and decency. The irregularities of their conduct gave general offence; and the Augustinians, ever enemies to the Dominicans, could not overlook their misconduct, nor be unconcerned spectators of their lucrative commission. Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, and professor of theology at Wurtemberg in Saxony, began bitterly to inveigh from the pulpit against the vices and irregularities of the monks who retailed the indulgences, and afterwards to controvert the doctrines on which they were founded. He published ninety-five theses containing his sentiments concerning indulgences, not as points of absolute certainty, but as subjects of enquiry, which he invited the learned to examine. The Augustinians were highly pleased with his invectives against the Dominicans, whom they hoped to see exposed to the hatred and scorn of the people; and the Elector of Saxony encouraged Luther's proceedings, in the hope that this dispute among churchmen might check the exactions of the court of Rome, which the secular princes had long but unsuccessfully endeavoured to oppose.* Such were the commencements of the reformation in religion, which has operated so many and so important changes in Europe.

The greatest revolutions often proceed from small beginnings, and originate from circumstances apparently trivial. Every opposition that had hitherto raised itself against the church had been speedily crushed. The papal power had triumphed over emperors and kings: it was reserved to a poor monk to shake the whole, and overturn one-half of the colossal fabric. This was an event so little expected,

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. vol. 2. p. 124.

that

that while Luther's doctrines were spreading over Germany, they excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo X. absorbed in elegant and refined pleasures, delighting in works of magnificence, and intent on great schemes of policy, regarded with the utmost indifference the theological cavils of an obscure friar. He imputed the whole to monastic emulation and enmity, and seemed willing to let the Augustinians and the Dominicans wrangle about the matter without interposing in the contest. It would be unnecessary to attempt to trace the reformation through the different stages of its progress; volumes have already been written on the subject. It will, therefore, suffice to make a few general observations.

Leo X. gave himself little concern about points of doctrine. Attached to pursuits of a different kind, and naturally averse to severe measures, he was not formed for a persecutor. All the personal adversaries of Luther, and many dignified ecclesiastics, exclaimed against the unprecedented lenity of the pope in suffering an incorrigible heretic to remain so many years within the pale of the church. In consequence of these invectives and representations, Leo found himself obliged to act more decisively, and in 1520 he issued a bull, in which Luther was excommunicated and his writings condemned. This fatal bull completely opened the breach that for ever separated the church into two parties, and was followed by numberless subdivisions. A celebrated modern writer, in speaking of the commencement of the reformation observes, that "during the whole of these transactions the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with
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that profound sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance, which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to the rest of Europe.* Had the pope acted with more promptitude; had Luther's first departure from the church immediately drawn upon him the full weight of its censures, such severity, as the same author observes, would probably have deterred the elector of Saxony from protecting him, and the people from listening to his discourses, or might even have overawed the reformer himself. If on the contrary, the pope had testified his displeasure at the vices and excesses of the Dominicans, who retailed the indulgences and imposed silence on the disputants, Luther would in all probability have proceeded no farther, and the whole affair would have insensibly died away, or the question would, like many others, have been confined to the schools.† According to every appearance, the breach might have been easily made up, as during a long time Luther professed the most profound veneration for the pope, and was so far from questioning his authority, that he made repeated offers of submission to his decisions. But Leo concerned himself little about religion; and those whom he employed, particularly cardinal Cajetan endeavoured rather to widen the breach than to promote the unity of the church. The pope, considering the discontents of a poor friar as unworthy of his attention, left Luther unmolested during the space of some years, which gave him leisure to propagate his opinions: but no rational or equitable measures were taken to procure his reconciliation to the church, and the sentence of excommunication,

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2, p. 142.

† Robertson ubi supra.

which at an earlier period might have had a decisive effect, was delayed until it was no longer an object of terror. While the daring intrepidity of Luther's character, and, the impetuosity of his temper, rendered him the fittest person to undertake so bold a work as the reformation, the careless inattention of Leo X, and the haughtiness of his agents, concurred to its advancement. The most conspicuous actors on the theatre of the world, are only instruments in the hand of Divine Providence.

Various causes had previously concurred to prepare the public mind for the reception of Luther's doctrines. The long and scandalous schism, which during the space of forty years, from 1378 to 1418, divided the church, had greatly diminished the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending pontiffs at once excommunicating and cursing one another, discredited their pretensions to infallibility. "The laity, to whom," as Dr. Robertson observes, "all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far as to chuse among those infallible guides, which they would please to follow. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil spread this disrespect for the Roman see still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing popes, taught the world, that there was in the church a jurisdiction superior to that of the pope, which they had long believed to be supreme." The wound given on that occasion to the papal authority was scarcely healed, when the pontificates of Alexander IV. and Julius II. gave a new scandal to Christians. The profligate morals and tyrannical administration

ministration of the former, and the restless ambition of the latter, greatly contributed to lessen the respect of the Christian world for its spiritual head. The disorderly lives and secular manners of the clergy, contributed also in no small degree to draw on them the aversion of the laity. These disorders were more prevalent in Germany than in most other countries. Many of the bishops and abbots being not only ecclesiastics, but princes, their manners were rather accommodated to the latter than to the former character. And the people gradually enlightened, could hardly regard as ministers of Christ and successors of the apostles, men wearing a military habit with facings of gold and silver lace, employed in tilts and tournaments, and exhibiting nothing in their life and morals conformable to the sanctity of their ecclesiastical profession.* Since the period of the great schism in the see of Rome, the art of printing had begun to diffuse some degree of knowledge among the laity, to keep up among them the remembrance of past transactions, and to excite them to exercise their thinking powers. From these and various other circumstances, of which the detail would here lead to too great a prolixity, it is evident that about the time of Luther's reformation a revolution had gradually taken place in the public mind, which procured him a success so different from that of Wickliffe, Huss, and other premature reformers.

When Charles V. arrived in Germany, the doctrines of Luther were every where propagated, but no breach was made in the church; none of the princes had embraced his opinions, no encroachments

* Letter of the Emp. Charles V. to the archbishop of Mentz, A.D. 1559, ap. Robertson Hist. Charles V. vol. 2, p. 162.

had been made on the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy, nor any change introduced into the established forms of public worship. A deep impression, however, had been made on the minds of the people, whose reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken, and the materials were already scattered which produced the conflagration that spread over the best part of Europe. Charles cited Luther to appear before the diet at Worms, and granted him a safe conduct. Several of the reformer's friends reminded him of the fate of John Huss, and dissuaded him from placing himself in the emperor's power. Luther on this occasion gave proofs of the intrepidity of his character. "I am lawfully summoned, said he, to appear in that city, and thither I will go, in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles on the houses were there combined against me.*" He accordingly went, and his reception at Worms was such as might have satisfied the most aspiring vanity. The populace every where assembled in crowds to see him, when he walked abroad, and his apartments were constantly filled with princes and persons of the greatest distinction. Being examined before the diet, he refused to retract his opinions, and neither threats nor promises could prevail with him to alter his resolution. Some proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance in the case of John Huss, and to commit to the flames this heretical monk, while he was yet in their power; but the members of the diet refused to commit such a violation of the public faith, and the emperor being equally unwilling to bring a stain upon his character and his administration by so ignominious a measure,

* Luther's works, vol. 2, p. 412.—Robertson, vol. 2, p. 178.

Luther was permitted to depart in safety.* An edict, however, was shortly after published in the name of the emperor, and by the authority of the diet, proscribing his person, prohibiting any prince of the empire to afford him protection or harbour, and requiring all to concur in endeavouring to seize him as soon as the term of his safe conduct should be expired. The elector of Saxony, however, took him secretly under his protection, and with that prince Luther found a secure asylum.

Charles soon began to have other affairs to engage his attention. The revolt in Spain, and hostilities with France, called him to a more arduous field of action, and gave full exercise to his political abilities.† The leading transactions of this period are spoken of in another place. In the mean while Solyman the Great, emperor of the Turks, had entered Hungary and taken Belgrade. He then turned his arms against Rhodes, the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the bulwark of Christendom in the Levant. While the Christian princes were wasting their strength against one another, they suffered the Turks to make themselves masters of that important city and island, which the knights under the gallant L'Isle Adam, a Frenchman, their grand master, defended to the last extremity, and at last surrendered on honourable terms. Charles and Francis were equally ashamed of having by their quarrels occasioned such a loss to the Christian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, assigned to the knights the small island of Malta for their residence. France, Italy, and Germany, however, began at last to be desirous of

* F. Paul Hist. council of Trent, p. 13.

† See Hist. Views of France and Spain.

peace. Charles had quieted the tumults in Spain, appeared in Italy as a conqueror, and received the imperial crown from the hand of the pope; but his presence was wanted in Germany. Ferdinand, his brother, on whom he had conferred the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and who had been elected king of Hungary, had obliged Solyman to raise the siege of Vienna, and abandon his conquests; but his return was expected, and the disorders of the religious system were daily increasing. The French army before Naples was almost annihilated, and their garrison in Genoa obliged to surrender. All these circumstances impelled the contending parties to adopt conciliatory measures, and in 1529 a peace was concluded at Cambray.*

During the contest between the emperor and France, almost the half of Germany had revolted from the see of Rome, and its dominion was greatly weakened, even in those states which had not disclaimed its authority. Charles on his return appointed an imperial diet to be held at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. This diet, after much deliberation, confirmed the edict published at Worms against Luther, and prohibited any further innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass until the meeting of a general council. Against this decree the elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, with fourteen imperial cities, entered a solemn protest, from which they derived the appellation of Protestants, which has since become common to all the sects that have revolted from the church of Rome,

* Guicciard. lib. 20, p. 560.

however

however they may differ from one another in doctrine or discipline.

The diet next assembled at Augsburg, and the system known by the name of the confession of Augsburg was there presented and read, and after a slight examination condemned. The Protestant princes and states perceiving their danger, assembled at Smalkalde and entered into a league of mutual defence. But Solyman being ready to enter Hungary with the whole force of the Turkish empire, Charles saw the necessity of union, and by a treaty solemnly ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, granted the Protestants liberty of conscience till the meeting of a general council; and they agreed on their part to assist him against the common enemy. Solyman, however, entered Hungary at the head of 300,000 men. Charles put himself at the head of the imperial army, consisting of 120,000 disciplined troops, and an immense crowd of irregulars. But these two greatest monarchs in the world so cautiously conducted their operation, that neither could gain any advantage; and a campaign, from which the most important consequences had been expected, was terminated without any memorable event.*

An age of either religious or political revolutions, is generally an age of enthusiasm. The human mind once broke loose from the shackles of system, and the influence of established opinion, is too frequently hurried away into the boundless field of visionary theories; and imagination gaining an ascendancy over reason, takes random flights. The reformation had freed the minds of men from the control of spiritual oppression; but experience frequently shews that

* Barre Hist. vol. 8, p. 347.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3, p. 65.

freedom, though one of the greatest of human blessings, is too often abused. Different sects sprung up among the reformers, some of whose tenets were but little conformable to scripture or reason. The disorders arising from a sect of fanatics, distinguished by the name of anabaptists, forms a singular feature in the history of this period. Their peculiar tenet, from whence they derived their appellation, was, that baptism ought only to be administered to persons of mature age, and that not by sprinkling but dipping. This doctrine was perfectly harmless; but they imbibed others of a more dangerous tendency. They maintained that the civil magistracy was an encroachment on Christian liberty, that all distinctions of rank ought to be abolished, polygamy allowed, and a community of goods established.

These levelling principles were greedily imbibed by numbers among the lower class of people, who embraced with enthusiasm opinions, which promised to place them on an equality with their superiors. The peasants in many places rose in great bodies, and committed innumerable excesses; but being destitute of a skilful leader they were easily dispersed, and Muncer, their first prophet, perished on the scaffold. Several of his followers, however, continued secretly to propagate the opinions of the sect. About eight years after the execution of Muncer, two anabaptist prophets, both of them Hollanders, John Boccold a journeyman taylor of Leyden, and John Matthias a baker of Haarlem, fixed their residence at Munster, and having made a number of proselytes, assembled their associates from the neighbouring country, made themselves masters of the city, and expelled all the citizens that had not embraced their opinions.

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These fanatics formed a singular kind of government in Munster, which they called the republic of Mount Sion, although Matthias assumed an absolute authority. The prophet sent emissaries to his friends in the Netherlands, to come and assemble at Mount Sion, that from thence they might set out in a body, and reduce all nations under their dominion. Having excited the multitude to pillage the churches, he ordered them to destroy all books, except the Bible, as useless or impious. He confiscated the property of such as had fled, and having commanded every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and valuable effects, he deposited the whole in a public treasury. The members of this singular commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he ordered all of them to eat at tables prepared in public. His next care was to provide for the defence of the city. He collected vast magazines, repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person, without distinction, to work in his turn, and formed into a regular militia all the inhabitants that were able to bear arms. By his own example, he animated his disciples to refuse no labour, and repine at no hardships, while he endeavoured to add the vigour of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm, which was kept from subsiding by a continual succession of revelations and prophecies. The Bishop of Munster in the mean while collected a considerable force, with which he advanced to besiege the city. On the approach of the hostile army, Matthias sallied out, attacked, and forced one quarter of the camp, and returning loaded with spoil, was received in the city with loud acclamations. Intoxicated with this success, he thought nothing impossible to the favourites of heaven. Accompanied

accompanied by no more than thirty of the most enthusiastic of his followers, he went out again to attack the enemy, brandishing his spear, and boasting that, like Gideon, he would with a handful of men "smite the host of the ungodly." The issue of this mad enterprise was, that the prophet and his thirty fanatical associates were slain.

The death of Matthias occasioned at the first great consternation among the disciples. Buccold, commonly called John of Leyden, their other light, however, soon revived their spirits, and assumed the same absolute direction of affairs that the former prophet had possessed. But he changed the plan of operation, and instead of attempting to annoy the besiegers by sallies, he acted entirely on the defensive. This man, though less daring than his predecessor, was more ambitious, and a wilder enthusiast. Having by revelations and prophecies prepared the minds of the people for some extraordinary events, he stripped himself naked and perambulating the streets proclaimed aloud, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand, that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted." He then commanded the churches to be levelled with the ground. His next measure was to abolish the senate established by Matthias. Knipperdolling, formerly a wealthy citizen, and one of the first disciples, was degraded from the dignity of consul to the office of hangman, to which strange transition he submitted without reluctance, considering it as the will of heaven revealed to the prophet. In the place of the deposed senators, Buccold created twelve judges, corresponding with the number of the tribes of Israel, retaining to himself the same authority that

Mosca

Moses anciently possessed, among the chosen people. Being thus in possession of unbounded authority and power, he was in the next place prompted, by ambition, to assume the regal title. A prophet, whom he had tutored, assembled the people and declared it to be the will of heaven, that John Buccold should be King of Sion, and sit on the throne of David; and John protesting that he himself had received a revelation, commanding him to obey the heavenly call, was immediately acknowledged as sovereign by the deluded multitude. From that time he wore a crown of gold, and royal robes. A numerous body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public, and a Bible and a naked sword were carried before him. He assumed all the pomp and exercised all the functions of royalty; and in the appointment of the officers of his household and kingdom, Knipperdolling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former obedience.

Buccold, now arrived at the height of power, gave unrestrained indulgence to sensual passion. He ordered the prophets and teachers to exhort and even to command the people to make use of what he called their Christian liberty, by taking a plurality of wives, a privilege, which they declared to be granted to the saints. He himself set the edifying example by marrying fourteen wives. The multitude, imitating the conduct of their king and prophet, gave way to the most horrible licentiousness. All the young women grown up to maturity were compelled to marry, and none of the godly would be satisfied without a plurality of wives. Freedom of divorce, the constant attendant of polygamy, was also introduced,

duced, and every excess, of which unrestrained sensuality is capable, was committed.

The profligacy of Buccold and his followers, so disgraceful to the Christian name, filled both Catholics and Protestants with horror. Luther inveighed against this fanatical spirit with great force of argument, and called on all the states of Germany to put a stop to a phrenzy so fatal to religion, and so pernicious to society. The emperor was occupied with other affairs; but the diet voted supplies to the Bishop of Munster, who through his inability of keeping a sufficient army on foot, had converted the siege into a blockade. The bishop's army being thus reinforced, the city was more closely pressed; but the strength of the fortifications, and the diligence with which they were guarded, rendered it dangerous to attempt an assault. The Anabaptists had undergone excessive fatigues in working at their fortifications, and notwithstanding the prudent attention of their king in regulating with the utmost œconomy their public meals, they began to feel the pressure of famine. But such was the ascendancy which Buccold had gained over these infatuated people, that their hopes and their spirits suffered no depression; and they harkened with implicit credulity to the predictions of their prophets, who assured them, that heaven would soon interpose miraculously in their favour. Such as were suspected of an inclination to surrender were punished with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in distrusting the power of God. One of the king's wives having expressed some doubts concerning his divine mission, he cut off her head with his own hand, in presence of the others, who were so far from shewing any senti-
ments

ments of horror at this atrocious deed, that they joined him in dancing, with frantic exultation, round the bleeding corpse.* While Buccold, their prophet and king, thus exercised a power equally despotic and sanguinary over the minds and bodies of his subjects, they suffered, without murmur or repining, all the horrors of famine. Animated by the most extravagant enthusiasm, their courage was buoyed up with fanatical hopes of celestial assistance, and rather than listen to the terms of capitulation offered by the bishop, they joyfully underwent hardships, of which a circumstantial detail would shock the feelings of humanity. A deserter at last having made his escape from the town to the enemy's camp, informed the general of a weak part of the fortification, where the besieged, exhausted with famine and fatigue, neglected to keep a sufficient guard. He offered to conduct a party thither in the night, and the proposal being accepted, a select detachment scaled the walls unperceived, and having seized one of the gates of the city, gave entrance to the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, being thus surprised, concentrated themselves in the market-place, where they fought with desperate valour; but being overpowered by numbers most of them were slain, and the rest made prisoners. Among the last were Buccold the king, and Knipperdolling the governor. The king, loaded with fetters, was carried from city to city, as a spectacle to gratify public curiosity, and exposed to every kind of popular insult. His spirit, however, was not broken by his misfortunes; and he adhered with inflexible firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. Being

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3, p. 89.

brought

brought back to Munster, he was put to death with the most exquisite and lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. Such are the wonderful effects of enthusiasm in communicating courage; and as an elegant modern writer observes, "So difficult it is in such cases to distinguish between the martyr and the visionary."* This extraordinary man, who though only a journeyman taylor, had been able to acquire so astonishing a dominion over the minds of his followers, was no more than twenty-six years of age.† His talents, as well as those of Matthias, his predecessor, might, perhaps, in some situations, have proved as useful as they were here found dangerous to society. This extraordinary affair is here detailed at some length, as it exhibits the most singular conjunction of voluptuousness with religion, and of dissolute sensuality with fanatical devotion, any where recorded in history; a moral phenomenon, indeed, which, by developing in so striking a manner the wonderful and almost incredible effects of enthusiasm on the human mind, highly merits the attention of the moral philosopher.

It is requisite here to observe, that after the extinction of the fanatical kingdom of Mount Sion, at Munster, the sect of Anabaptists, so tumultuous and sanguinary at its first appearance, soon became innoxious and pacific. In England and some other countries they exist in considerable numbers; but they reject the enthusiastic and dangerous tenets of

* Russ. Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 2, lett. 59.

† Mosheim. Hist. Eccles. vol. 4. For the Anabaptist war see Dr. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3, book 5, and the numerous authorities there referred to.

those who first bore that name, and are in general industrious, humane, and charitable, and in every respect worthy members of society.

During these commotions in Germany, Charles was in Spain, preparing for an enterprise, which may be esteemed the most glorious transaction of his reign. The famous corsair, Hayradin Barbarossa, had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers, and obtained the command of the Ottoman fleet. By a complicated train of treachery and force he had seized the kingdom of Tunis; and Muley Hassan, the exiled king, finding none of the African princes able and willing to afford him effectual support against the usurper, applied to the emperor for his assistance in recovering his throne. At the same time his own subjects in Spain and Naples brought daily complaints against the piracies and ravages committed by the galleys of Barbarossa.* Every motive, therefore, that ambition and policy could present, or the love of glory inspire, impelled him to undertake the restoration of an exiled prince, and the relief of his own subjects from barbarian oppression. He therefore concluded a treaty with Muley Hassan, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament. The strong fort of Goletta, situated on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of that city, was carried by assault, and the whole fleet of Barbarossa was either captured or destroyed. He was also defeated in a bloody engagement on the land; and 10,000 Christian slaves having at the same time made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But the victorious troops stained their laurels by an act of the most savage cruelty, which would have disgraced

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3, p. 100, 114.

Mahomedans or Pagans. While the emperor was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his soldiers, fearing to be deprived of the booty which they expected, burst suddenly into the town and massacred all without distinction. No fewer than 30,000 perished in this indiscriminate carnage, and 10,000 were made prisoners. Muley Hassan was put in possession of the kingdom, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified sea-ports, and pay an annual sum of 12,000 crowns, for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the fort of Goletta. In addition to the glory of conquest a spectacle presented itself, which a philanthropist might have contemplated with pleasure, amidst the horrors of war. Twenty thousand Christian slaves of all nations, liberated from bondage, by arms or by treaty, imploring the blessing of heaven on the emperor as their deliverer, spread his fame throughout Europe. This was certainly the most glorious triumph ever enjoyed after victory.* The expedition being thus fortunately terminated, Charles returned to Europe covered with glory, and Barbarossa retired to Bona, where he recovered new strength, and again became the tyrant of the Mediterranean.

This African expedition, and the extinction of the fanatical kingdom of the Anabaptists, at Munster, took place in the summer of 1535, and the next year the war was renewed between Francis and Charles; but neither party gaining any decisive advantage, a truce was concluded in 1538, through the mediation of Paul III. the reigning pontiff. The year 1540 was signalized by the revolt of Ghent, where Charles

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2, book 5, p. 214.

exhibited an awful instance of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were executed; a greater number were banished. The city was despoiled of its ancient privileges; a new political and civil administration was prescribed. A large sum was levied on the inhabitants in order to defray the expences of erecting a citadel; and an annual tax was imposed for the support of a garrison. The Ghentois were, in almost every respect, treated as a conquered people.

The emperor now found it necessary to direct his attention to Germany, where the breaches in the church were daily widening. A conference was appointed between some of the most celebrated divines, and commenced in the diet at Worms. The pope highly disapproved of the measure, considering any attempt to regulate the affairs of religion in a conference of German divines, as an infringement of his authority. His remonstrances, however, were ineffectual. The conference was renewed at the diet of Ratisbon, in the emperor's presence. But all attempts to procure a reconciliation, and to re-establish the unity of the church, proved ineffectual. The minds of men were agitated with theological disputes; the different parties were influenced by opposite interests and mutual jealousies; and a spirit of fanaticism actuated the professors both of the old and of the new religion. The pope, the rigid Catholics, and the Protestants, were alike displeased at the proceedings of the diet: the former thought that too much, the latter that too little was conceded.

The alarms of war now again interrupted the deliberations on religion. After various disputes concerning the possession of Hungary, Solyman, emperor of the Turks, under a pretence of supporting the

claims of the infant son of John Zopol, had seized on that kingdom, and annexed it to the Ottoman empire, having allotted the province of Transylvania to the infant sovereign. This revolution proved extremely favorable to the Protestants, to whom the emperor made great concessions, and who in return granted him such liberal supplies of men and money, as relieved him from all anxiety concerning the security of Germany. He hastened, therefore, to join the fleet and the army which he had ordered to assemble on the coast of Italy, for an expedition against Algiers, that port having, since the taking of Tunis, become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corsairs. From the time that Hayradin Barbarossa, as Captain Basha, had taken the command of the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegado eunuch; who exceeded, if possible, his master in daring courage and savage cruelty, and whose galleys interrupted the commerce and harrassed the coasts of the Mediterranean. Charles, resolving to humble these desperate ruffians, set sail late in the autumn contrary to the advice of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose so fine an armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing to approach at that season the stormy coast of Algiers.

The remonstrances of Doria proved prophetic. No sooner had the emperor landed in Africa, than a dreadful hurricane arose, which scattered his fleet; and a great number of his vessels were totally wrecked; while he, with his land forces, were left exposed to all the fury of the elements in a hostile country, without a hut or a tent to afford them a shelter, and harrassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. The admiral, Doria, having at last the good fortune to assemble

semble the shattered remains of the fleet, Charles re-embarked, after having lost a great part of his army by the inclemency of the weather, by fatigue, famine, and the sword.* Those who survived were doomed to encounter new difficulties in their return. The fleet was dispersed by a second storm, and the ships were obliged separately to take shelter in different ports of Spain and Italy. As the first expedition of this emperor to Africa was the most glorious, the second was the most disastrous of his reign; and its unfortunate issue shews the danger of temerity in important undertakings. Had Charles listened to the counsel of Doria, his experienced admiral, and to that of the pope, who also represented to him the danger which he would incur by not waiting for a more favorable season, he might have avoided this dreadful calamity. But if he paid dearly for his obstinate rashness, his misfortune developed some valuable qualities in his character. His magnanimity, fortitude, and humanity were, on this occasion, eminently conspicuous. He never appeared more truly great. He endured the same hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his example. When the army embarked, although a body of Arabs, hovering at no great distance, threatened to attack the rear, he was among the last that left the shore.

The calamitous issue of this expedition, which took place in the year 1541, encouraged the French monarch to recommence hostilities; and an action, equally contrary to the law of nature and of nations, furnished him with too good a pretext. The Marquis del Guasto,

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V, vol. 3, book 6.

governor of Milan, having received intelligence of the destination of two French ambassadors, one to Venice, and the other to Constantinople, ordered some soldiers of the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for them as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors, with most of their attendants, were murdered, and their papers were seized. So horrible a crime, which would have dishonoured the most barbarous period and the most uncivilized nations, justified Francis in the public opinion of Europe.* After a war of three years without any decisive advantages, a peace was concluded between France and the emperor in 1544. About two years afterward Charles, resolving to reduce the Protestants, concluded a dishonourable truce with the Turks, leaving Solyman in the undisturbed possession of that part of Hungary which he then occupied, and stipulating that his brother Ferdinand should pay to the Porte an annual tribute for the other part, which acknowledged his dominion.

The emperor had constantly solicited the calling of a general council; in this he had been joined by the other princes of Europe: the Protestants had united their suffrages for the same purpose; and Luther had constantly declared his determination to submit to its decisions. But by a strange kind of policy successive popes had invariably sought and found pretexts for postponing a measure, which alone could re-establish the unity of the church. If the papal see had not been more intent on preserving its power and authority than on providing for the security of religion, it would certainly have concurred with the general wish of christianendom. Had a general council been called within a few years after Luther first began to propagate his

* *Mém. de Bellay*, p. 367, 368.

doctrines,

doctrines, what salutary reforms might have been introduced into the church; what wars and commotions might have been prevented! But the authority assumed by the councils of Constance and Basil, had created in the court of Rome a decided aversion against those assemblies. The difficulty of fixing on a place of assembly agreeable to all parties, particularly to the king of France and the emperor, together with the intervening wars between those two monarchs, had furnished various and plausible pretexts for delay. At last, however, the court of Rome being no longer able to resist the earnest solicitations of the emperor, the council of Trent was called in 1546, not less than twenty-seven years after Luther's defection, during which period the doctrines of that reformer had been rapidly spreading. It requires no great depth of penetration to perceive, that the remedy was applied too late, and that a council summoned by the authority, and under the influence of the papal see, could produce no beneficial effect, when half of Germany had separated from the communion of Rome, and the reformed doctrines had struck so deep a root in several other countries. The Protestants, as might have been expected, denied the legality of the council of Trent, which they considered as called to condemn rather than to examine their opinions. The death of their great apostle, Luther, which happened about this time, threw them into great consternation; but his opinions were now so firmly rooted, and so extensively spread, as to stand in no further need of his fostering hand.

The military preparations of the emperor, in the mean while, began to rouse the attention of the princes of the Smalkaldic league. Having discovered that he had entered into an alliance with Paul III. for the

extirpation of heresy, they saw that not only the suppression of the reformed religion, but also the extinction of the German liberties was intended. They therefore resolved neither to renounce their religious opinions, nor to abandon their civil rights; and, in consequence of this determination, they immediately had recourse to arms. A warlike people soon crowded to the standard of religion. Enthusiastic zeal seconded their native ardour.* In a few weeks the confederates were able to muster 70,000 foot and 1,500 horse, provided with every thing necessary for the operations of war, and had they immediately commenced hostilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But either through imprudence or pusillanimity, they spent their time in negotiating instead of acting, till the emperor received supplies from the Netherlands and Italy. Several of the Protestant princes, dreading his power, remained neutral, and others allured by the prospect of advantage, had entered into his service: among the latter, was Maurice of Saxony, Marquis of Misnia, who surpassed all the other Protestants in political abilities and military skill. Ulm submitted to the emperor, and examples of defection from the common cause were daily multiplied. Thus a confederacy at first so powerful as to threaten the imperial throne, in the space of a few weeks, fell to pieces. Its members, however, obtained no very favorable terms; for Charles wanting money, imposed heavy fines on those who had taken arms against him, besides obliging them to deliver up their artillery and warlike stores, and to admit garrisons into their principal towns and fortresses.† The Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse

* Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 2, p. 298.—Thuanus, lib. 1.

† Robertson's Hist. Charles V, vol. 3, book 3. † Thuanus Hist. lib. 4.

still remained in arms, and Charles resolved to make them the victims of their obstinacy.

A storm, however, began to gather round the emperor, which threatened to baffle all his views, and defeat all his projects. Paul III, alarmed at his rapid progress against the Protestants, began to have well grounded apprehensions for the liberties of Italy, while the king of France observed, with deep concern, the humiliation of Germany, and saw the necessity of a timely and vigorous effort for reducing the power of his rival; who, without some speedy check, would soon be able to give the law to all Europe. He resolved, therefore, to form such a combination against the emperor, as might put a stop to his career of aggrandisement. He negotiated for this purpose with the pope, the Ottoman Porte, the Venetians, and England; and began to make the most formidable preparations for war.* Francis, however, was prevented by death from carrying his schemes into execution; and this, together with various other circumstances, left Charles at liberty to act with vigour in Germany. He marched into Saxony with an army of 16,000 veterans, defeated the Elector of Saxony at Mulhausen, and made him prisoner. He then caused him to be tried for treason and rebellion by a court-martial of Italian and Spanish officers, who condemned him to suffer death by decapitation.† The elector heard with the utmost indifference this sanguinary sentence, which, however, was not carried into execution. At the earnest entreaty of his wife, he resigned the electoral dignity, and put Wittenberg, his capital, into the hands of the emperor, who, in return for these important

* *Mém. de Ribier*, vol. 1, p. 595.

† *Robertson's Hist. Charles V.*, vol. 3, book 9.

brought back to Munster, he was put to death with the most exquisite and lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. Such are the wonderful effects of enthusiasm in communicating courage; and as an elegant modern writer observes, "So difficult it is in such cases to distinguish between the martyr and the visionary."^{*} This extraordinary man, who though only a journeyman taylor, had been able to acquire so astonishing a dominion over the minds of his followers, was no more than twenty-six years of age.† His talents, as well as those of Matthias, his predecessor, might, perhaps, in some situations, have proved as useful as they were here found dangerous to society. This extraordinary affair is here detailed at some length, as it exhibits the most singular conjunction of voluptuousness with religion, and of dissolute sensuality with fanatical devotion, any where recorded in history; a moral phenomenon, indeed, which, by developing in so striking a manner the wonderful and almost incredible effects of enthusiasm on the human mind, highly merits the attention of the moral philosopher.

It is requisite here to observe, that after the extinction of the fanatical kingdom of Mount Sion, at Munster, the sect of Anabaptists, so tumultuous and sanguinary at its first appearance, soon became innoxious and pacific. In England and some other countries they exist in considerable numbers; but they reject the enthusiastic and dangerous tenets of

^{*} *Rena. Hist. Mod. Eur.* vol. 2, lett. 59.

† *Mosheim. Hist. Eccles.* vol. 4. For the Anabaptist war see Dr. Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* vol. 3, book 5, and the numerous authorities there referred to.

those who first bore that name, and are in general industrious, humane, and charitable, and in every respect worthy members of society.

During these commotions in Germany, Charles was in Spain, preparing for an enterprise, which may be esteemed the most glorious transaction of his reign. The famous corsair, Hayradin Barbarossa, had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers, and obtained the command of the Ottoman fleet. By a complicated train of treachery and force he had seized the kingdom of Tunis; and Muley Hassan, the exiled king, finding none of the African princes able and willing to afford him effectual support against the usurper, applied to the emperor for his assistance in recovering his throne. At the same time his own subjects in Spain and Naples brought daily complaints against the piracies and ravages committed by the galleys of Barbarossa.* Every motive, therefore, that ambition and policy could present, or the love of glory inspire, impelled him to undertake the restoration of an exiled prince, and the relief of his own subjects from barbarian oppression. He therefore concluded a treaty with Muley Hassan, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament. The strong fort of Goletta, situated on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of that city, was carried by assault, and the whole fleet of Barbarossa was either captured or destroyed. He was also defeated in a bloody engagement on the land; and 10,000 Christian slaves having at the same time made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But the victorious troops stained their laurels by an act of the most savage cruelty, which would have disgraced

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3, p. 100, 114.

Mahommedans or Pagans. While the emperor was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his soldiers, fearing to be deprived of the booty which they expected, burst suddenly into the town and massacred all without distinction. No fewer than 30,000 perished in this indiscriminate carnage, and 10,000 were made prisoners. Muley Hassan was put in possession of the kingdom, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified sea-ports, and pay an annual sum of 12,000 crowns, for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the fort of Goletta. In addition to the glory of conquest a spectacle presented itself, which a philanthropist might have contemplated with pleasure, amidst the horrors of war. Twenty thousand Christian slaves of all nations, liberated from bondage, by arms or by treaty, imploring the blessing of heaven on the emperor as their deliverer, spread his fame throughout Europe. This was certainly the most glorious triumph ever enjoyed after victory.* The expedition being thus fortunately terminated, Charles returned to Europe covered with glory, and Barbarossa retired to Bona, where he recovered new strength, and again became the tyrant of the Mediterranean.

This African expedition, and the extinction of the fanatical kingdom of the Anabaptists, at Munster, took place in the summer of 1535, and the next year the war was renewed between Francis and Charles; but neither party gaining any decisive advantage, a truce was concluded in 1538, through the mediation of Paul III. the reigning pontiff. The year 1540 was signalized by the revolt of Ghent, where Charles

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 4, book 5, p. 114.

exhibited an awful instance of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were executed; a greater number were banished. The city was despoiled of its ancient privileges; a new political and civil administration was prescribed. A large sum was levied on the inhabitants in order to defray the expences of erecting a citadel; and an annual tax was imposed for the support of a garrison. The Ghentois were, in almost every respect, treated as a conquered people.

The emperor now found it necessary to direct his attention to Germany, where the breaches in the church were daily widening. A conference was appointed between some of the most celebrated divines, and commenced in the diet at Worms. The pope highly disapproved of the measure, considering any attempt to regulate the affairs of religion in a conference of German divines, as an infringement of his authority. His remonstrances, however, were ineffectual. The conference was renewed at the diet of Ratisbon, in the emperor's presence. But all attempts to procure a reconciliation, and to re-establish the unity of the church, proved ineffectual. The minds of men were agitated with theological disputes; the different parties were influenced by opposite interests and mutual jealousies; and a spirit of fanaticism actuated the professors both of the old and of the new religion. The pope, the rigid Catholics, and the Protestants, were alike displeased at the proceedings of the diet: the former thought that too much, the latter that too little was conceded.

The alarms of war now again interrupted the deliberations on religion. After various disputes concerning the possession of Hungary, Solyman, emperor of the Turks, under a pretence of supporting the

claims of the infant son of John Zopol, had seized on that kingdom, and annexed it to the Ottoman empire, having allotted the province of Transylvania to the infant sovereign. This revolution proved extremely favorable to the Protestants, to whom the emperor made great concessions, and who in return granted him such liberal supplies of men and money, as relieved him from all anxiety concerning the security of Germany. He hastened, therefore, to join the fleet and the army which he had ordered to assemble on the coast of Italy, for an expedition against Algiers, that port having, since the taking of Tunis, become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corsairs. From the time that Hayradin Barbarossa, as Captain Basha, had taken the command of the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegado eunuch; who exceeded, if possible, his master in daring courage and savage cruelty, and whose galleys interrupted the commerce and harrassed the coasts of the Mediterranean. Charles, resolving to humble these desperate ruffians, set sail late in the autumn contrary to the advice of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose so fine an armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing to approach at that season the stormy coast of Algiers.

The remonstrances of Doria proved prophetic. No sooner had the emperor landed in Africa, than a dreadful hurricane arose, which scattered his fleet; and a great number of his vessels were totally wrecked; while he, with his land forces, were left exposed to all the fury of the elements in a hostile country, without a hut or a tent to afford them a shelter, and harrassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. The admiral, Doria, having at last the good fortune to assemble

semble the shattered remains of the fleet, Charles re-embarked, after having lost a great part of his army by the inclemency of the weather, by fatigue, famine, and the sword.* Those who survived were doomed to encounter new difficulties in their return. The fleet was dispersed by a second storm, and the ships were obliged separately to take shelter in different ports of Spain and Italy. As the first expedition of this emperor to Africa was the most glorious, the second was the most disastrous of his reign; and its unfortunate issue shews the danger of temerity in important undertakings. Had Charles listened to the counsel of Doria, his experienced admiral, and to that of the pope, who also represented to him the danger which he would incur by not waiting for a more favorable season, he might have avoided this dreadful calamity. But if he paid dearly for his obstinate rashness, his misfortune developed some valuable qualities in his character. His magnanimity, fortitude, and humanity were, on this occasion, eminently conspicuous. He never appeared more truly great. He endured the same hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his example. When the army embarked, although a body of Arabs, hovering at no great distance, threatened to attack the rear, he was among the last that left the shore.

The calamitous issue of this expedition, which took place in the year 1541, encouraged the French monarch to recommence hostilities; and an action, equally contrary to the law of nature and of nations, furnished him with too good a pretext. The Marquis del Guasto,

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V, vol. 3, book 6.

governor of Milan, having received intelligence of the destination of two French ambassadors, one to Venice, and the other to Constantinople, ordered some soldiers of the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for them as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors, with most of their attendants, were murdered, and their papers were seized. So horrible a crime, which would have dishonoured the most barbarous period and the most uncivilized nations, justified Francis in the public opinion of Europe.* After a war of three years without any decisive advantages, a peace was concluded between France and the emperor in 1544. About two years afterward Charles, resolving to reduce the Protestants, concluded a dishonourable truce with the Turks, leaving Solyman in the undisturbed possession of that part of Hungary which he then occupied, and stipulating that his brother Ferdinand should pay to the Porte an annual tribute for the other part, which acknowledged his dominion.

The emperor had constantly solicited the calling of a general council; in this he had been joined by the other princes of Europe: the Protestants had united their suffrages for the same purpose; and Luther had constantly declared his determination to submit to its decisions. But by a strange kind of policy successive popes had invariably sought and found pretexts for postponing a measure, which alone could re-establish the unity of the church. If the papal see had not been more intent on preserving its power and authority than on providing for the security of religion, it would certainly have concurred with the general wish of christendom. Had a general council been called within a few years after Luther first began to propagate his

* Mem. de Bellay, p. 367, 368.

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doctrines, what salutary reforms might have been introduced into the church; what wars and commotions might have been prevented! But the authority assumed by the councils of Constance and Basil, had created in the court of Rome a decided aversion against those assemblies. The difficulty of fixing on a place of assembly agreeable to all parties, particularly to the king of France and the emperor, together with the intervening wars between those two monarchs, had furnished various and plausible pretexts for delay. At last, however, the court of Rome being no longer able to resist the earnest solicitations of the emperor, the council of Trent was called in 1546, not less than twenty-seven years after Luther's defection, during which period the doctrines of that reformer had been rapidly spreading. It requires no great depth of penetration to perceive, that the remedy was applied too late, and that a council summoned by the authority, and under the influence of the papal see, could produce no beneficial effect, when half of Germany had separated from the communion of Rome, and the reformed doctrines had struck so deep a root in several other countries. The Protestants, as might have been expected, denied the legality of the council of Trent, which they considered as called to condemn rather than to examine their opinions. The death of their great apostle, Luther, which happened about this time, threw them into great consternation; but his opinions were now so firmly rooted, and so extensively spread, as to stand in no further need of his fostering hand.

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* Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 2, p. 298.—Thuanus, lib. 1.

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* *Mém. de Ribier*, vol. 1, p. 595.

† *Robertson's Hist. Charles V.*, vol. 3, book 9.

concessions, granted him his life, and promised to settle the city of Gotha, with its territory, and a revenue of 50,000 florins, on him and his posterity. The electorate of Saxony was immediately bestowed on Maurice, Marquis of Misnia. By the persuasion of this prince, the Landgrave of Hesse, who was still in arms, submitted to the emperor, and threw himself at his feet. But Charles immediately ordered him to be confined as a prisoner, although Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg had rendered themselves sureties for his personal freedom. The good fortune of the house of Austria was now at its height; and its power scarcely admitted of any controul. In Germany the emperor exercised all the rights of a conqueror, while his brother Ferdinand tyrannized with still greater severity over Bohemia.*

The emperor now summoned a diet at Augsburg, and having entered that place at the head of his Spanish troops, quartered them in the city, and cantoned the rest of his army in the environs; he took possession of the cathedral, where he re-established, with solemn pomp, the Roman mode of worship. After these preliminary steps, calculated to intimidate the members, and make them acquainted with his will, he exhorted them to recognize the authority of the general council, which he had been so solicitous to procure. This council itself, however, had undergone an important change. The pope, actuated by jealousy at the emperor's rapid success against the Protestants, had not only withdrawn his troops from the imperial army, but had also translated the council from Trent to Bologna, a city subject to his own jurisdiction.† Such of the prelates, however, as depended on the emperor, still

* Thuanus, lib. 4.

† Pallav. p. 11, &c.

remained

remained at Trent, so that the council was separated into two divisions. The diet of Augsburg, at the emperor's desire, petitioned the pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates to return to their first place of assembly. But Paul III, eluding their request, Charles saw that he could not entertain any hope of acquiring such an ascendant in a council held at Bologna, as to render it subservient to his aim. He sent thither two Spanish lawyers, who, in the name of the emperor, and in presence of the legates, protested against the translation of the council, declaring, that while its sittings continued at Bologna, it ought to be considered as a schismatical conventicle, and all its decisions held null and void.

Charles, resolving not to acknowledge the council assembled at Bologna, as a legal representation of the church, employed some divines of known abilities and erudition, to prepare a provisional system of doctrine, known by the name of "the Interim." This he presented to the diet, as a regulation to which all should conform, "till such a council as they desired could be called." It was in almost every article conformable to the church of Rome; and the observance of the Romish rites were enjoined. In regard to two particulars, some latitude in doctrine and discipline was admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married were allowed to retain their wives, and to perform their sacerdotal functions; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup in the communion, were still indulged in that privilege.* This conciliatory system was hastily ratified in the diet; and although disapproved by many, not one had the courage to make any opposition. The emperor, there-

* F. Paul, lib. 3.

fore, prepared to enforce its observance as a decree of the diet. It was accordingly published in the Latin and German languages; but, like all conciliatory schemes proposed to men heated by disputes, religious or political, it pleased neither party. The Catholics thought it granted too much indulgence, the Protestants thought it allowed too little; and both were dissatisfied. The measure was no sooner known at Rome, than the members of the sacred college were filled with indignation, and exclaimed with the greatest acrimony against the emperor's profane encroachment on the pontifical function. Several of the German princes remonstrated against the Interim, and the imperial cities, with one voice, refused its admission. Charles, however, resolved to carry the plan into execution, in spite both of Rome and the Protestants. Employing force to teach submission, he stripped Augsburg and Ulm of their privileges, and by the prompt severity of his measures, terrified the other cities into a feigned compliance. The pope, in the mean while, although highly displeased at the emperor's assumption of the pontifical authority, in presuming to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worship, had the satisfaction to see, in those measures, the seeds of new commotions, which would soon shake the imperial throne, and prevent its dangerous aggrandisement. His long experience in important transactions, and his extensive observation of human affairs, enabled him to perceive, that the Interim would prove one of the most troublesome enterprizes of Charles's reign; and that a system which all condemned, and none approved, could not be of long duration.* Paul, however, did not live to see the result. His death was, by most of

* F. Paul, lib. 3.—Cardinal Palavicini, vol. 2.

the writers of that age, attributed to an excess of grief for the conduct of his grandson, Octavio Farnese, who had withdrawn from his alliance, and put himself under the protection of the emperor: and their fanciful narratives are considered by the judicious and elegant Dr. Robertson, as a striking instance of "the credulity or weakness of historians, in attributing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes." None such, indeed, need be sought to account for the exit of an old man in the eighty-second year of his age, which can scarcely be considered as a wonderful event.*

Paul was succeeded by Julius III; who, knowing by experience the difficulty of confining the enquiries and decisions of a general assembly of the church within such bounds as the court of Rome wished to prescribe, shewed no haste in causing the council of Trent or Bologna to resume its deliberations. Unable, however, to resist the pressing solicitations of the emperor, who persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants into the pale of the church, this pope at last issued a bull, commanding the council to reassemble at Trent.† Charles, in the mean while, held a diet at Augsburg, in order more fully to enforce the observance of the Interim, as well as to procure an authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the authority of the council, and commanding implicit conformity to its decrees.‡ He carried his point in the diet: all Europe was astonished at the absolute ascen-

* Dr. Robertson, in a long note, in which he has compared numerous authorities, has exposed and confuted those whimsical relations. Vol. 4, book 10.

† F. Paul Hist. Coun. Trent, lib 3.

‡ Russ. Hist. M^d. Eur. vol 2, letter 61.

dancy which he had acquired over the Germanic body. Germany itself was no less terrified than amazed at seeing the emperor assume the powers and prerogatives which the pontiffs of Rome had so long exercised. The princes who had hitherto supported his measures, and contributed to his aggrandisement, began to tremble for their own safety, and to take measures for preventing the dangers with which they were threatened.

Charles had long aimed at bringing all Germany to an uniformity in religion, and of rendering the imperial power despotic. His measures had hitherto been so successful, that he considered the accomplishment of these designs as almost infallible, and formed, in the next place, the grand project of transmitting the German empire, as well as his other dominions, to his posterity. But here his ambition received a check. Ferdinand, his brother, had already been elected king of the Romans, and had not only made it his study to render himself agreeable to the Germanic body, but had also a son who was born a German, and whose accomplishments endeared him to his countrymen. Philip,* the emperor's son, born and educated in Spain, was a stranger to the language and manners of Germany. Charles had brought him to the diet at Augs- burg, that the members might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the prince, in whose favour he solicited their interest. But the character of Philip being haughty, reserved, and severe, and his manners diametrically opposite to those of his uncle Ferdinand, and his cousin Maximilian, his stately and distant demeanour, instead of gaining new friends, disgusted those who were the most inclined to favour

* Philip II, King of Spain.

his pretensions. In this project, therefore, of placing his son Philip on the imperial throne of Germany, Charles met with so determined an opposition from his brother Ferdinand, and from all the electors, both ecclesiastical and secular, as convinced him of its impracticability. Seeing his hopes disappointed in this scheme of domestic ambition, he directed his whole attention towards the establishment of uniformity in religion.

New troubles in Italy, unimportant in themselves, prevented the council from re-assembling on the first of May, 1551, the time that had been fixed for that purpose. It was therefore adjourned to the 1st of September, when about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical state, or from Spain, with a few Germans, convened at Trent.* At the opening of the session, the abbot of Bellorane, the French king's ambassador, demanded audience; and in the name of his master, Henry II, protested against the authority of an assembly convened at so improper a juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, rendered it impossible for the Gallican prelates to resort to Trent with safety, or to deliberate on matters of religion with the requisite tranquillity. He finished by declaring that the king, his master, did not acknowledge this to be an œcumenic council, but should consider it as a particular and partial convention.*

The emperor, in the mean while, exerted his utmost authority, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of the council. His zeal even anticipated its decrees; and he began to take the most rigorous measures towards exterminating the Protestant doc-

* F. Paul, lib. 4, p. 268.

† Ibid. p. 301, — Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 4, p. 37.

trines, before they were condemned. His arbitrary proceedings now fully developed his intention of subverting the Germanic constitution as well as the reformed religion. Maurice, elector of Saxony, and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promise of liberty of conscience, and the prospect of further advantages, had hitherto adhered to the emperor, saw the necessity of setting bounds to his usurpations. Maurice conducted the execution of his designs with admirable policy and impenetrable secrecy. In order to preserve the emperor's confidence, he established in his dominions the form of doctrine and worship prescribed by the interim, and adopted every other measure that could tend to conceal his designs, while a revolution which happened in Hungary greatly contributed to their successful execution.*

It has already been observed, that when Solyman seized on Hungary, he assigned to the infant king and his mother the province of Transylvania, of which the government was administered by the queen-mother and Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, whom the late king had appointed co-regents, when the office was of greater importance. This co-ordinate jurisdiction creating dissensions, the queen courted the protection of the Turks; and the bishop, whose ambitious and enterprising genius was fertile in expedients, engaged Ferdinand to invade Transylvania. The army destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German troops, commanded by Castaldo, Marquis de Piadena, an able and enterprising officer, was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. The queen was obliged to resign her son's title to Fer-

* For a circumstantial account of his professed policy and cruel dissimulation, vide Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 10.

dinand,

Ferdinand, on condition of his granting him the investiture of the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Silesia, and bestowing on him one of his daughters in marriage. According to this stipulation she surrendered the fortresses which she held, and gave up the ensigns of royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as the Hungarians were made to believe, had descended from heaven, and conferred on the person that wore it, an undoubted right to the sovereignty. In return for his important services, Martinuzzi was appointed governor of Transylvania; his revenues already very great, were increased; he was nominated Archbishop of Gran; and Ferdinand prevailed with the pope to raise him to the dignity of cardinal. This enterprising prelate, having acquired so extensive an authority, assumed the direction of the war against the Turks, and conducted it with great success. He not only established Ferdinand's authority in Transylvania, but reduced under his dominion the Bannat of Temeswar, and several of the adjacent countries. Castaldo, jealous of the authority and merit of this brave and enterprising prelate, misrepresented all his actions to Ferdinand, who soon began to dread his abilities and to suspect his fidelity. He was at last persuaded, that in order to secure to himself the Hungarian crown, it was necessary to cut off that ambitious ecclesiastic; but considering it dangerous to proceed openly against so powerful a subject and so consummate a statesman, he degraded himself so far as to adopt the detestable measure of assassination. Castaldo undertook the infamous service; and, with some Spanish and Italian officers, entered into Martinuzzi's apartment under pretence of presenting to him some dispatches; and while he was attentively perusing a

paper, one of them stabbed him with a poignard. The cardinal, with his usual intrepidity, notwithstanding his wound, seized the assassin, and threw him on the ground. But the other conspirators rushing on, it was no difficult matter to dispatch an old man, who, alone and unarmed, could not long sustain so unequal a conflict. Thus fell the brave cardinal, Martinuzzi, a distinguished patriot, politician, and warrior, and in every respect one of the greatest characters of his age. The consequences, however, which followed from his death, although such as Ferdinand deserved, were very different to those which he expected. All men spoke of the deed with horror and execration. The Hungarian nobles detested the jealous and cruel policy of a court which, upon uncertain surmises, had given up a person equally conspicuous for his merit and his rank, to be butchered by assassins. And the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose abilities they knew and dreaded, immediately began to prepare for renewing hostilities. Thus Ferdinand, instead of securing the possession of Hungary by that infamous act, saw that kingdom about to be more vigorously attacked, while it had lost its most able and zealous defender.*

Prince Maurice of Saxony had now completed his preparations, and formed an alliance with the king of France; but even when ready to take the field he did not lay aside his arts of policy, which he so dexterously employed as to elude the penetration both of the emperor and of Grenville his minister, who, though one of the most profound and subtle politicians of his own or any other age, was deceived by the exquisite ad-

* Thuan, lib. 9.—Istanbemi Hist. Hung. apud Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 10.

dress with which the elector concealed his designs. Maurice having assembled his army, which amounted to 25,000 foot and 5,000 horse, published a manifesto, explaining his reasons for taking arms; namely, to secure the reformed religion, to maintain the Germanic constitution, and deliver the landgrave of Hesse from a long and unjust imprisonment. The French king at the same time published also a manifesto, in which he assumed the extraordinary title of Protector of the liberties of Germany, and of its captive princes.†

Imagination may conceive, better than words can express, the emperor's astonishment at events so unexpected. He was far from being in a condition to resist so formidable a force, and attempted to elude the danger by negotiation. An interview took place between Maurice and Ferdinand, king of the Romans; but nothing was concluded. The elector continued his operations with such vigour and rapidity, that he was very near surprising the emperor at Inspruck: but Charles being informed of his danger, saved himself by a precipitate flight. Being at that time ill of the gout, which rendered him incapable of bearing any violent motion, he was carried in a litter across the Alps in a dark and rainy night, and by roads that were almost impassable. His courtiers and attendants followed with equal precipitation; some on such horses as they could hastily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmost confusion.‡ Maurice arrived at Inspruck only a few hours after the emperor's flight; and having pursued him to some distance without success, he returned to the town, and gave up the imperial baggage to the pillage of the soldiers. Charles,

* Mem. de Ribier, p. 2.

† Robertson, book 10, p. 62.

‡ Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 10, p. 81.

in the mean while, pursuing his journey, arrived at Villach in Carinthia. In consequence of these transactions, the Council of Trent was broken up. The German prelates immediately returned home to provide for the safety of their territories; and the pope's legate was glad of so plausible a pretext for dismissing an assembly which he found it so difficult to govern. On the 28th of April, 1552, the council was prorogued for two years; but ten years elapsed before it re-assembled.*

This Council, so long and so earnestly desired by the princes and states of christendom, and from which so much had been expected, instead of restoring harmony to the church, had, by the mixture of human policy and passions with the views of religion, rendered the breach irreparable. Instead of any attempt being made to reconcile the contending parties, a line of distinction was drawn with studied accuracy, which confirmed their separation, and still keeps them at a distance; and, indeed, as Dr. Robertson observes, "without some signal interposition of Divine Providence, the separation must now be perpetual."† The success of Prince Maurice, however, produced the memorable peace of Passau, concluded in 1552; the principal conditions of which were the liberty of the Landgrave of Hesse, the establishment of the Protestant as well as the Catholic religion, and the complete restoration of the Germanic constitution. This celebrated treaty overturned the vast fabric of despotism, in erecting which Charles had, during so many years, exerted all the efforts of his power and policy, and established the Protestant church on a solid foundation. But it was somewhat singular, that

* F. Paul Hist. Coun. Trent, lib. 4.
Hist. Charles V, book 10, p. 84.

nothing was stipulated in favour of the king of France, who thus deserted by his allies, considering it as conducive to his interest to keep on good terms with the Germanic body, dissembled his dissatisfaction, and continued single-handed his war against the emperor.

Immediately after the signature of this treaty, Maurice, elector of Saxony, in pursuance to his engagements with the king of the Romans, marched into Hungary with his forces, which consisted of about 20,000 men. But the superiority of the Turkish armies, the frequent mutinies of the Spanish and Italian soldiers, occasioned by their want of pay, and the dissensions which took place between him and Castaldo, prevented him from performing any thing of great importance. The emperor, in the mean while, leaving his retreat at Villach, made formidable preparations for carrying on the war against France. The French having conquered Metz, Toul, and Verdun, Charles resolved to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of those important places. The French monarch, apprized of his design, had committed the government of Metz to the celebrated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, and he could not have chosen a person more worthy of such a trust. The reduction of that place was the first object of the emperor's operations. He undertook the siege in person, having under him the famous duke of Alva, with the most experienced of his Italian and Spanish generals, who represented the danger of commencing the siege of a place of such strength at so advanced a season. Charles, however, with his usual obstinacy, ordered the city to be invested on the 19th October, 1552, and the trenches were almost immediately opened. The result, however, was completely calamitous.

Every effort was made to reduce the place: but the winter setting in with unusual rigour, the imperial camp was alternately deluged with rain and covered with snow. Provisions became extremely scarce, as bodies of French cavalry, hovering in the neighbourhood, often intercepted the convoys; and a contagious disease raged in the army; while the valour and vigilance of the duke of Guise and the garrison, composed of veteran troops, with numbers of the French nobility who served as volunteers, baffled every mode of attack. The emperor, in order to save the shattered remains of his army, was obliged to raise the siege, after having laid seven weeks before the town, and lost upwards of 30,000 men by disease and the sword. The duke of Guise at the same time, by his humanity to the sick and wounded of the enemy, who were left in the most pitiable condition, completed the fame which he had acquired by the gallant defence of Metz and covered himself with merited glory.* The following year, 1553, was rendered memorable by the death of the celebrated Maurice, elector of Saxony, who was mortally wounded in a battle fought against Albert of Brandenburg, whose turbulent ambition had long disquieted the empire. The contest was long and obstinate. Maurice gained a decisive victory, but died two days after the battle, in the thirty-second year of his age. He may justly be considered as the most remarkable personage of that active age, when singular occurrences and violent revolutions afforded an opportunity for the display of extraordinary talents. His exorbitant ambition, and his unwarrantable usurpation of his kinsman's dominions, exclude him from the praise of a virtuous character; but his

* Robertson's Hist. Ch. V. book 11, and authorities there referred to.

prudence and vigour in forming and conducting the most intricate plans, entitle him to the appellation of a profound politician.*

The war between the emperor and France continued with vigour and with various success. Charles, although the most potent prince of Europe, if extent of territory and number of subjects be considered as the criterion of power, had so greatly exhausted his finances by schemes of ambition, by continual wars and expensive political intrigues, that the want of pecuniary resources frequently crippled his exertions. His armies often mutinied for want of pay, when they might have marched to victory, and thus disconcerted the best laid plans.† This was also the case with Ferdinand, king of the Romans. His troops in Transylvania were so irregularly paid, that they lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants. Their insolence and rapacity disgusted all ranks of men, and alienated them from a sovereign, who instead of protecting, plundered his subjects. The affairs of the house of Austria daily declined in Hungary, where the murder of Martinuzzi was not yet forgotten; and the national indignation at that outrage was kept alive by fresh injuries. The Spanish and German soldiers, instead of advancing against the Turks, mutinied for want of pay; and declared their resolution of marching back to Vienna. Castaldo, their general, was therefore obliged to abandon Transylvania, and to put himself at the head of the mutineers, in order to restrain them from plundering the Austrian territories through which they had to pass in their return.

The emperor concluded, in 1554, the marriage of his

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 11.

† See various instances of this in Robertson's Hist. Charles V.

son Philip with Mary, queen of England. The year following, he resumed his favorite project of placing him on the imperial throne; but his second attempt was attended with no better success than the former: he found the same inflexible firmness in the king of the Romans, and the same dislike to the measure among the princes of Germany. In the same year, 1555, was framed the recess of Augsburg, an amplification of the treaty of Passau. This recess, after confirming the establishment of the Protestant religion as formerly regulated, provided that the Catholics and the Protestants should give no disturbance to each other; that the Lutherans should hold all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they were then in possession; that each particular state should have the right of establishing what system of religion it might deem proper, granting to such of its subjects as did not chuse to conform, permission to remove whithersoever they pleased with their effects. That if any prelate or ecclesiastic should in time to come abandon the Catholic religion, he must relinquish his diocese or benefice, and a successor immediately be appointed.

This recess confirming, explaining, and amplifying the treaty of Passau, may be considered as the basis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union between its different states. It has been the foundation of the religious system of the empire, and has fixed the German church in that state in which it has with little alteration ever since remained. For at the same time that it placed the reformed religion on a firm and permanent basis, it proved an effectual barrier to its further extention; as from that period few dignified ecclesiastics have been willing to sacrifice wealthy benefices to unsubstantial ideas and theological

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cal opinions. It may here also be observed, that this famous treaty was merely a political institution formed on views of mutual convenience and benefit, not on any principles of religious toleration. One of its articles expressly declared, that the benefits of this pacification should extend only to the Catholics and to the Protestants of the confession of Augsburg. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin, with all other sectaries, still remained exposed to all the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics; nor did they obtain any legal security until the peace of Westphalia, near a century after this period.

After reviewing the complicated series of negotiations, wars, and revolutions, which so long agitated the empire and the neighbouring states, we now draw towards the termination of this eventful reign. Charles, whose ruling passion had ever been the love of power, and who during so many years had harrassed and terrified Europe by his intrigues and his arms, on a sudden astonished the world by renouncing all schemes of ambition, and changing the highest station of human grandeur for the calm tranquillity of retirement. It is no wonder that the voluntary resignation of such extensive power and dominion should give rise, among the historians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives that could induce a prince of so restless and enterprising a character, to take so extraordinary and unexpected a resolution, at the age of fifty-six, when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are often pursued with the greatest ardour. But without examining the motives assigned by some frivolous and fanciful authors, it suffices to follow intelligent historians, who ascribe to neither caprice, nor to mysterious secrets

of state, a conduct, for which simple and obvious causes will readily account. Charles's health was rapidly declining; he had been attacked early in life by the gout, and its violence increased as he advanced in age. The vigour both of his body and his mind was broken by the excessive pains which he frequently suffered. The long and violent paroxysms of that excruciating disorder, often rendered him totally incapable of attending to public affairs. As he had been always accustomed to inspect the business of every department, to examine every thing with his own eyes, and to decide according to his own ideas, it gave him the utmost concern to find himself obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his ministers, and both in council and in action to rely on the abilities of other men. It is somewhat astonishing that writers should torture their imagination to discover the motives for this extraordinary act, when Charles has so fully explained them himself. After reading the act of resignation, in presence of his son Philip, his sister the Queen of Hungary, the assembled states of the Netherlands, and numbers of the grandees of Spain and of the princes of Germany, he rose from his chair of state, and leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, because unable to stand without support, he recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all that he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his reign. He observed, that "From the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure; that either in a pacific or a hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain

Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Netherlands ten times, England twice, Africa twice, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal in any degree to the arduous office of governing so extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable disease, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire, nor was he so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects." From this speech of the emperor, his motives for resigning his crown are sufficiently evident, and they appear to be inspired by prudence and magnanimity. Constitutional disease and excessive fatigues having brought on him a premature old age, he judged it more prudent to conceal his infirmities in solitude, than to expose them to the public eye; and wisely determined not to forfeit the fame, nor lose the acquisition of his better days, by vainly struggling to retain the reins of government, "when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or guide them with address." Having, in the most pathetic manner, given to his son Philip his last instructions, on the 17th September, 1556, he set sail for Spain. His voyage was prosperous, and as soon as he landed, considering himself as a man dead to this world, he kissed the earth, saying, "Naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee thou common mother of all mankind." He then retired to the monastery of St. Justus, only a few miles distant from the city of Placentia in Estremadura. In passing that way many years

years before, he had been struck with its charming situation, and remarked, that this was a place to which Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind, that he fixed on this monastery as his last retreat. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds covered with lofty trees. From the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most salubrious and delightful situation in Spain. His apartments consisted of six rooms, four of them with naked walls, the other two hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the simplest style.* Here he buried in solitude and silence his grandeur, his ambition, and all his vast projects, which now seemed completely effaced from his mind. He even restrained his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the political transactions of Europe, and appeared to regard the busy scene which he had left, with a contempt and indifference arising from his experience of its vanity. He employed a considerable portion of his time in religious exercises, and the rest in cultivating with his own hands the plants in his garden, in riding to the neighbouring wood attended by a single servant on foot, in entertaining at his homely table a few neighbouring gentlemen, or in mechanical amusements in which he had always delighted. He was particularly curious in regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after a multiplicity of trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he is said to have reflected with surprize and regret on the time that he had employed, and the pains he had taken in the still more

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 12.

vain attempt of bringing mankind to an uniformity of opinion on the speculative doctrines of religion.* Happy would it have been for himself, happy for his subjects, had he begun sooner to make such reflections.

In this sequestered retirement, Charles probably enjoyed, during more than a year, greater happiness than he had ever found on the imperial throne. But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with increased violence. His constitution, already exhausted, was unable to withstand such a shock, and it seems that his mind as well as his body was impaired. From that time a kind of languor depressed his whole frame, and the eccentric act of celebrating his own obsequies, seems an indication of a weak and disordered fancy. His domestics, with black tapers in their hands, marched in funeral procession to his tomb, which was erected in the chapel of the monastery. Charles himself followed, wrapped in his shroud, and being with awful solemnity laid in his coffin, the service for the dead was chanted by the monks. This mock ceremony was soon followed by his real funeral. The very next day he was seized with a fever, and expired on the 21st September 1556, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.†

On the momentous reign of Charles V, I have ventured to expatiate more largely than on most other periods. The great and singular revolutions which then took place, and the order of things to which it gave rise, hold it up to the reader's attention as the

* Robertson ubi supra.

† Faminanus Strada de Bell Belgico lib. 1. p. 11.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V, book 12, and the authorities there referred to.

most remarkable and important æra of modern history. It forms the most conspicuous line of demarcation between the barbarity of the middle ages and the civilization of modern times. The revival of learning, its subsequent progress, and its rapid diffusion by means of the newly invented art of printing, had begun to operate an important change in the state of the human mind. And the reformation, which was in a great measure one of the effects of this incipient revolution, contributed in no small degree towards its completion. The reformation, indeed, was the most important event that had occurred since the reign of Charlemagne, or even since the subversion of the western empire. Its consequences were greater, perhaps, in a political and moral, than even in a religious point of view. The reformers separating into the two grand divisions of Lutherans and Calvinists, and a number of subdivisions, differing not less from one another than from the church of Rome, were far from establishing an uniformity of doctrine. But the reformation produced two great effects of more conspicuous importance than all speculative opinions, the freedom of the human mind, and the improvement of clerical morals. Spiritual despotism was banished from one half of Europe, and in the other its power has ever since gradually diminished. The clergy being before that period all powerful, acted almost without control, and, as already observed, scarcely shewed in their manners any conformity to their sacred profession. But as soon as the church was split into different divisions, the clergy of each party seeing their actions exposed to the rigorous inspection of the other, grew more cautious in their moral conduct, while the immense field of theological controversy which was then opened,

opened, obliged them to cultivate their intellectual faculties. A system of emulation was naturally established, which roused them to exertion; and the great body of the Christian clergy, including all parties, soon made a considerable advancement in learning and piety.

The reformation of religion is singly sufficient to distinguish the reign of Charles V. as one of the most remarkable periods in the history of Europe; but several other circumstances also concur to render it memorable. The Germanic constitution, in regard both to church and state, after being for some time ready to sink under imperial despotism, recovered its former privileges, and assumed the form under which it has ever since appeared, until the recent changes effected by the arms of France. In this reign, the power and glory of the house of Austria was in its zenith. On the resignation of Charles V, that illustrious house was divided into two branches, the German and the Spanish, and soon afterwards began to decline. This memorable reign, in fine, may be considered as the period which fixed the political system of Europe, and gave rise to a long train of succeeding events.*

In regard to the character of this celebrated prince, ambition was his ruling passion, and occasioned the restless activity of his life. Artful, politic, bold and enterprising; he was equally remarkable for cautious prudence in deliberation, and promptitude in execution. Those qualities which so strongly marked his character, gave him that decided superiority over the

* For a clear view of the political and religious events of this period, Dr. Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* and father Paul's *Hist. of the council of Trent*, are the best guides, and these I have chiefly consulted.

other princes his contemporaries, which he long maintained. He possessed in an eminent degree the science which is of the utmost importance to a sovereign, that of knowing men, and adapting their talents to their proper departments. This was conspicuous in his generals, his ministers, his ambassadors, &c. whose abilities scarcely ever failed of justifying his choice. But his ambitious projects were the bane of his government, and involved him in continual wars, which exhausted his resources, oppressed his subjects, and prevented him from giving due attention to the interior police and improvement of his extensive dominions. His whole reign was a series of insidious policy and restless hostilities.

Charles at the same time that he abdicated his hereditary crowns in favor of his son Philip, resigned also the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, who had long before been elected king of the Romans. This prince ruled the empire in peace; and his reign, though not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence, was the commencement of a happy period in the annals of Germany. Paul IV. being dead, in 1559 Pius IV, his successor, issued his bull for re-assembling the Council of Trent. All attempts for re-establishing the unity of the church, however, were ineffectual. The Protestants unanimously resolved to adhere to the confession of Augsburg. They contended that the right of convoking such an assembly belonged not to the pope, but the emperor.* The conciliatory measures proposed by Ferdinand, were rejected both by his Holiness and the Protestant princes. From a view of preceding occurrences, of the interests, the passions,

* Barré Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. 9.—Thuanus, lib. 28.

and prejudices of the parties concerned, and of the then existing state of things, it evidently appears that the breach was irreparable. The court of Rome resolved to engross, if possible, all the power that Heaven was supposed to have delegated to mortals on earth; the reformers had already obtained and were determined to keep their share, and neither party was inclined to give up the claim. To reconcile such opposite interests and views, which the various occurrences of almost half a century had produced and confirmed, was impossible; and the famous Council of Trent, which had been so often suspended and renewed, convened much too late, prorogued too often, and continued too long, was, in December 1563, finally dissolved, almost twenty-one years after Paul III. issued his first bull for its convocation, and about seventeen years after the opening of its first session.*

Ferdinand I, a prudent and peaceable prince, dying in 1564, was succeeded by his son Maximilian II. This prince found himself obliged to enter into a war with the Turks, which proving successful, the imperialists took Tokay, and were ready to enter Transylvania when a negotiation took place, and a transient peace was concluded. Maximilian, however, not trusting to appearances, convened a diet at Augsburg, and in concert with the whole Germanic body, took every precaution for the security of the empire against the Turks. The famous expedition of Solyman against Malta, does not properly belong to the history of Germany; but its failure induced him to invade Hungary. The Turks advanced to Sigoth, a strong city situated in a marsh, which they took after

* Vide Father Paul of Venice, and Cardinal Palavincini's Hist. of this famous council.

a murderous siege and the loss of 20,000 men. Zerini, the governor, sallying out with a small number of men, gallantly fell by the sword of the enemy.* During the siege of this place, Solyman died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and soon after a truce of twelve years was concluded between his successor, Selim II, and the emperor Maximilian. The remainder of this reign was pacific, and amidst an extensive scene of war, in which most of the neighbouring nations were engaged, Germany enjoyed a long and happy repose. This internal tranquillity was interrupted only by Grumbach and his associates, who having murdered the bishop of Wurtzburg and pillaged the nobility, was banished the empire; and John Frederick, duke of Saxony, his protector, being made prisoner, the affair was soon terminated.† Maximilian II. dying in 1576, was succeeded by his son Rhodolph, who inheriting the pacific disposition of his father, Germany continued in tranquillity. But the Turks having invaded Hungary, Matthias, the emperor's brother, was sent to oppose their progress, and his arms proving successful, a peace was soon after concluded. The Hungarians thus freed from a powerful enemy, and growing jealous of some of the measures of Rhodolph, conferred their crown on Matthias their deliverer, who confirmed their civil and religious liberties. He obtained by similar means possession of Austria, and the pacific Rhodolph, in order to avoid the horrors of a civil war, resigned to him those usurped dominions, together with the succession to the crown of Bohemia.‡

Rhodolph dying in 1612, Matthias his brother suc-

* Heise Hist. de l'Emp. lib. 3.—Barré Hist. de l'Allemagne, tom. 9.

† Puffend. tom. 2, ch. 8.

‡ Heise, liv. 3.

ceeded him in the imperial dignity, as well as in the other possessions of the German house of Austria. A war soon after broke out between this emperor and the Turks. Achmet II. having succeeded his father Selim II, aimed at signalizing the commencement of his reign by the conquest of Hungary. But a war at the same time taking place against the Persians, he was obliged to withdraw his forces from the western to the eastern frontier of his empire. A peace was therefore concluded, in consequence of which the Turks, who were then in possession of Buda, Pest, and several other places, restored them and evacuated Hungary.* Fortune [thus procured for Matthias all the advantages that could have been expected from arms. Finding himself advancing in years, and declining in health, and without either sons or nephews to succeed him, he procured his cousin Ferdinand, duke of Styria, to be elected king of the Romans.

The happy period of repose which Germany had, with few and trifling interruptions, enjoyed ever since the resignation of Charles V, was now about to expire. Discontents which had taken rise under the mild administration of Rhodolph, had been augmented during the reign of Matthias, and towards its close broke out in a furious war, which interested all the powers of Europe, and during the long and calamitous period of thirty years, desolated Germany. Mutual jealousies had given rise to two politico-religious confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Catholic League and the Evangelical Union. Henry IV. of France, in order to humble the house of Austria, had determined to support the latter. The Swiss, the duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, took part in the alliance, and the

* *Heiss Hist. de l'Empire, liv. 8.*

French monarch having assembled an army of 40,000 veteran troops, was about to take the command in person;* but his assassination in 1610, two years before the death of Rhodolph, put an end to the undertaking and prolonged the tranquillity of Germany. The flame, however, although smothered, was not extinguished. The Lutheran religion had taken deep root in Hungary and Bohemia, and Matthias, in order to accomplish his ambitious designs, had formerly shewn great favour to its professors. On his accession, therefore, to the imperial dignity, they presented memorials, demanding an extension of their privileges, while their enemies of the Catholic league wished to impose on them new restrictions. The dispositions of Matthias, now emperor, were different from those which he had shewed when only archduke; he thought himself in no further need of their assistance, and his conduct convinced them that he resolved to be their master. Various circumstances too minute to be detailed in a general history, contributed to exasperate the two great factions which divided the empire. A revolt of the Hungarians and the Bohemians, was only the beginning of troubles which continued so long and extended so far: the former were soon appeased, but the latter continuing in arms, were joined by the mal-contents of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria, as well as by an army of German Protestants. Such was the state of things when the emperor Matthias died and was succeeded in the imperial dignity, as well as in his other dominions, by Ferdinand II, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector Palatine and the states of Bohemia. The elevation of Ferdinand, however, instead of intimidating the Bo-

* *Mém. de Sully, liv. 37.*

hemians, roused them to more vigorous measures. Having formally deposed him in an assembly of the states, they chose for their king Frederick, the elector Palatine, who, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his father-in-law James I, king of England, imprudently accepted the precarious crown, and exposed himself to the vengeance of so powerful an enemy as Ferdinand. Bethlem Gabor, waiwode of Transylvania, was also proclaimed king of Hungary.*

Ferdinand was now abandoned by all the Protestant princes except the elector of Saxony. But as motives of interest mostly predominate in wars which have religion for their pretext, that prince still adhered to his party, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of Cleves and Juliers, which had long been an object of dispute. The efficient force of the Germanic body was almost equally balanced for and against the emperor, while both Hungary and Bohemia had totally cast off his authority. Assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, the king of Spain and the archduke Albert, he proved, however, an overmatch for all his enemies. The elector Palatine being totally routed near Prague, was degraded from his electoral dignity and stripped of his dominions: the Bohemians were reduced to subjection, and Bethlem Gabor was obliged to resign his title to the crown of Hungary.†

Ferdinand thus triumphant over all opposition, carried every thing before him. By repeated defeats he completely reduced to subjection the members of the Evangelical union; obliged the king of Denmark, who had been chosen general of the league in lower Saxony, to sue for peace; and saw himself at last in possession of almost an absolute authority. For-

* Barré, tom. 8.

† Barré Hist. de l'Allemagne, tom. 9.

unately, however, for the German princes, and perhaps for Europe, Ferdinand's ambition overshot itself, and raised obstacles, which neither his policy nor his power could surmount. He formed the two vast designs of re-establishing the imperial jurisdiction in Italy, and of converting Germany into an absolute monarchy. But in this view of reducing the princes and prelates of Germany, from the condition of sovereigns to that of simple subjects, he was sensible of the danger of attacking both the religions at once. He resolved, therefore, to begin with the Protestants, and accordingly issued an edict, ordering them immediately to restore all the benefices and church lands, which they had held since the pacification of Passau. The princes of the Augsburg confession remonstrated against this edict, which, being issued by the sole authority of the emperor, they considered as an infringement of the Germanic constitution, and contended that the affair ought to have been made a subject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly convoked at Ratisbon; but although the majority of the Catholic princes exhorted Ferdinand to preserve the peace of the empire by confirming the treaty of Passau, the ecclesiastical electors opposing their counsel by arguments more conformable to his views, he continued inflexible in his purpose. Cardinal Richelieu, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, however, defeated his ambitious designs both in Italy and Germany. The cardinal having concluded a peace with the Hugonots, crossed the Alps at the head of 20,000 men, gained several advantages over the imperialists and the Spaniards their allies, expelled the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and prevented

prevented the revival of the imperial power in Italy.* The alliance which the Protestants were driven to make with the king of Sweden, the part which France took in the war, first as an auxiliary and afterwards as a principal, are concisely developed in treating of France and Sweden.† It may here, however, be observed, that during this memorable contest the German Protestants did little for themselves; all was done by their allies, particularly the Swedes, whom on their defeat at the battle of Nordlingen they pusillanimously abandoned. The Protestants of Germany, indeed, seem to have had in those ages, either less zeal or less courage than those of France. The religious wars of the empire exhibited few great native characters, and were productive of few splendid achievements.‡ Ferdinand II. did not live to see the end of this sanguinary contest; he died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III, who continued the war with unabated vigour. On both sides the greatest exertions were made. The emperor sometimes brought to the verge of ruin, recovered his losses by his vigorous efforts and the conduct of his brave commanders. He was, however, reduced to the utmost distress; and Prague, with the whole kingdom of Bohemia, was about to fall a second time into the hands of the enemy,§ when the Hollanders growing jealous of the power of France, and the

* Aubert Hist. de Card. Rich. apud. Russ. Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 3, p. 104.

† See Historical Accounts of France and Sweden in this work.

‡ Compare the German Histories of Heins, Barro, &c., with those of France by Mezerai, Hennault, &c.

§ Prague had been taken, and the greatest part of Bohemia conquered in the beginning of the war and recovered by Wallenstein. See Historical Account of Sweden.

Swedes being weary of long continued hostilities, afforded him an opportunity of saving himself from destruction by a timely peace. This war was distinguished by brilliant exhibitions of military skill and bravery, too numerous to be particularized in general history. The great Gustavus Adolphus, and the Swedish generals, duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, Bannier, Torstenson, Wrangel, and others, immortalized their names. Among the French, Turenne and the famous Condé, acquired a fame as lasting as history itself; and the imperial commanders, Tilly, Wallestein, Piccolomini, Merci, Montecuculli and others, will ever be illustrious in the military annals of Europe. But after all their marches and counter-marches, battles and sieges, less alteration took place in the territorial division of Germany than might have been expected. The princes and states of the empire were, with a few trifling exceptions, restored to the lands and prerogatives which they enjoyed previous to the war. The lower Palatinate was restored to the son of the deposed elector Palatine, and an eighth electorate was created in his favour, the upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity being confirmed to the duke of Bavaria. The republic of Switzerland was declared independent of the imperial jurisdiction. In regard to religion, the stipulations were accurate and comprehensive. Those of the treaty of Passau were fully confirmed, and extended to the Calvinists as well as the Lutherans. It was also agreed that the imperial chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant and twenty-six Catholic members, that six Protestants should be admitted into the aulic council, and that the general diets of the empire should consist of an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies.

deputies. To these grand regulations were added a number of others of inferior importance. Such were the outlines of the treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the thirty years war so famous in the annals of Germany, and which was generally considered as the basis of all subsequent treaties, until the extraordinary and unprecedented consequences of the late revolution in France overturned the whole political system of Europe.

During the long period which elapsed from the elevation of the house of Austria till the famous treaty of Westphalia, commerce had made a gradual progress. A country so extensive and populous, generally fertile, and affording great quantities of indigenous produce, must also, as civilization advanced, have had a great demand for foreign commodities. From circumstances already mentioned numerous cities arose,* and the German princes, from feudal lords, becoming petty sovereigns, began gradually to imitate in their little courts, the splendor of great monarchs. The cities situated on the shores of the Baltic, or on the great rivers, taking advantage of their situation, equally convenient for exporting the native productions and for importing and dispersing throughout Germany those of foreign countries, began at an early period to turn their attention to trade. The famous confederacy of the Hans Towns has already been mentioned. This confederacy, of which Lubeck was the head, was first formed, as already observed, in the turbulent times of robbery and piracy, which rendered all commercial intercourse unsafe,

* See what is said on this subject in this chapter, and in that of France under the reign of Charlemagne.

both by land and by sea.* The accounts of old German writers relative to more ancient emporia, such as Julin, Winet, Staden, Bardewie, &c. are so obscure, so uncertain, and at the least so apparently tinctured with exaggeration, as to merit but little regard. But although the origin of the Hanseatic league be involved in some degree of circumstantial obscurity, its subsequent history, during the period now under consideration, is well known, and forms a commercial phænomenon of the middle ages. Sixty cities are said to have entered at last into this confederacy, and they obtained particular privileges from the German emperors, and from foreign potentates. They were divided into four classes. Lubeck was at the head of the first, which comprised the Vandalic and Pomeranian towns. This city, indeed, was considered as the head of the whole union, and to its care were committed the common stock and the records; and here the general assemblies were held. Cologne was the chief of the second division, comprising the towns of Cleves, Overysse, Gelderland, and Westphalia. Brunswick was at the head of the third, containing the cities of Saxony; and Dantzick presided over the fourth, which consisted of the towns of Prussia and Livonia.† Thus forming a singular commercial republic under the paramount sovereignty of the emperor, they employed themselves in extending their commerce and acquiring wealth. They established comptoirs in different parts of Europe, and obtained great privileges from several sovereigns. About the year 1262, they began to resort much to Bruges, in

* *Ant. Hist. Com.* vol. 1, p. 151—161—200—et auctor. cit. in loca.

† *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 162.

Flanders. Here they had one of their chief comptoirs, which, as already observed, was one principal cause of the great and almost incredible riches of that city, and of others in the Netherlands, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.* Almost the whole commerce of Europe was carried on by the cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, &c. in the south; the German Hanse Towns in the north; and the Netherlands as the middle station.† This was a sort of systematic commerce, on which the trade of all the other parts of Europe depended. Cologne, Hamburg, &c. dispersed the commodities of foreign nations into the interior of Germany, and collected the native commodities for exportation. Through the medium of the comptoir at Novagorod, their trade was also extended into Russia, and even to Constantinople. In order, however, to caution the reader against forming false ideas, it is requisite here to observe, that this commercial system, though very remarkable for those barbarous times, would sink into insignificancy in a comparison with that of modern Europe. It was, however, sufficiently important to procure for the Italian, the Flemish, and the Hanseatic cities, a degree of power, wealth and splendor, which eminently displayed the advantages arising from trade. The Hanse Towns, which, in this place, are particularly the subject of consideration, soon grew so powerful as to excite the jealousy of some of the neighbouring princes, particularly of the kings of Denmark and Norway, with whom they had violent contests. So early as towards the close of the thirteenth century, Olaus III. king of Norway, having abolished, or at least suspend-

* Vide Historical View of the Netherlands.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 225

ed the privileges which the Hanseatic merchants had enjoyed in that country, the fleets of Lubeck and Hamburg blocked up all the ports of his kingdom, and obliged him to conclude a peace on such conditions as they proposed.* About the middle of the fourteenth century, the Hanse Towns, in a naval war with Denmark, totally destroyed the Danish fleet and compelled Waladimir III. to make a disadvantageous peace.† In 1360, this mercantile confederacy seems to have been completed by the union of no fewer than sixty-six cities. From that time they were almost the only carriers by sea between the northern nations of Europe, till after the commencement of the fifteenth century, when the improved method of curing herrings gave to the Flemish fisheries a superiority over those of all other countries, and greatly increased the trade and navigation of the Netherlands.‡ During the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Hanse Towns were in the zenith of their greatness, absolute masters of the northern seas: their naval power was dreaded, and their alliance courted by the greatest princes, who often hired their ships for the purpose of maritime war. They cleared the Baltic of the numerous pirates by which that sea was infested, and who were mostly persons of quality possessing strong castles on the shore. The castles were taken and destroyed, and the pirates dispersed.§ This may be reckoned among the number of circumstances which shew the turbulent and unhappy state of society in those ages, and the insecurity of commerce and navi-

* Lamb. *Origines Hamburgens.* lib. 2.

† *And. Hist. Com.* vol. 1, p. 324.

‡ De Witt. *Interet de la Hollande*, par. 1, ch. 11.

§ *And. Hist. Com.* vol. 1, p. 377.

gation, when both the land and the sea were rendered unsafe by an extensive system of robbery and pillage.

The Hanseatic confederacy, however, having once attained to its meridian greatness, began gradually to decline. About the year 1403, having engaged in a destructive war with Eric VIII. king of Denmark, that prince called to his assistance the Flemings, who then had acquired a numerous shipping. By the help of those allies, he humbled the pride and greatly diminished the naval power of the Hanse Towns. From this time, the Netherlands gained ground on the Hanseatic league, and in little more than a century, acquired the ascendancy in the trade, even of the countries bordering on the Baltic.* It appears, however, that for some time they still continued formidable; and in 1420, they not only fitted out a powerful fleet, with which they defeated and almost annihilated a new confederacy of pirates, called the Vitelliani, but the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg having levied a corps of 3000 foot and 800 horse, attacked, took, and utterly destroyed some towns and forts in Saxony, where the duke had afforded them encouragement and protection.† The naval strength of the Hanse Towns was at this time so great, that in the year 1428 they sent out from the station port of Wismar a fleet of 260 ships, carrying 12,000 men, on an expedition against Copenhagen, which however proved unsuccessful.‡ Many causes contributed to the decline of this potent confederacy, among which may be reckoned their frequent quarrels with the neighbouring princes, but particularly, their ruinous wars with Denmark, and the rising trade of Copenhagen, which

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 406.

† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 437.

‡ Meursius. Hist. Danica, lib. 5.

being,

being, by Christiern II. in 1515, made the sole emporium for Danish commodities, gave a fatal blow to the trade of the Vandalic Hanse Towns.* About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Hollanders had almost entirely supplanted them in the Mediterranean trade, of which the Hanseatics scarcely retained any other branch except that of selling their large ships at Venice, after which they returned overland home.† The Hanse Towns had scarcely any manufactures to support their trade, while the Netherlands could supply vast quantities of manufactured goods.‡ The rise and fall of the Hanseatic, and afterwards of the Dutch trade, were chiefly owing to the same causes.§ The inattention of other nations to mercantile affairs, threw the whole of the carrying trade into their hands. As soon as those nations began to make commerce an object of attention, and to traffic with their own commodities, the trade and consequently the shipping of the Hanse Towns began to decline. In this respect Holland exhibits a counterpart of their history. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, the famous Hanseatic league was little more than a name, and among all the cities of which it was composed, only Dantzick and Hamburg have retained till our days any great commercial importance.

From a view of commerce we must again turn to the turbulent scenes of politics. The outlines of a great part of the Germanic history, subsequent to the peace of Westphalia, are noticed in treating of the

* Mourins. Hist. Danica, lib. 2.

† Werderhagen, ap. And. Hist. Com. vol. 2, p. 301.

‡ De Witt. Ist. de la Hollande, part. 1, ch. 2.

§ See Historical View of the Batavian Republic.

affairs of England and France; and to these the reader must, in many places, be referred, in order to avoid repetition. Ferdinand III. after having concluded that treaty, passed the remainder of his days in peace, and dying in 1657, was succeeded by Leopold, who had to contend with two formidable enemies, France and the Ottoman Porte. Both these made encroachments on his territories. In 1664, the Grand Vizier, Cuprogli, entered Hungary at the head of 100,000 men, where he was totally defeated by the famous Montecuculli. But the emperor being threatened by a revolt of the Hungarians, the Turks obtained a favourable peace. The Hungarians revolted, but in consequence of the vigorous measures of Leopold, they were soon subdued. That brave people, however, who had so often repelled the infidels, and watered their native fields with their own blood and with that of their enemies, still remained dissatisfied, and at last broke out again into open rebellion. Peace had been concluded at Nimeguen, in 1678, between the empire and France, and general tranquillity was restored to Europe. But the encroachments of Louis XIV. were about to rouse Leopold to arms, when the revolt of the Hungarians threatened the ruin of the house of Austria. Tekeli, chief of the insurgents, called in the Turks to his support; and Mahomet IV. the reigning sultan, prepared the most formidable force ever sent by the Ottoman Porte against Christendom. Leopold, seeing the gathering storm, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, whose name had long been terrible to the Ottoman armies. Their force on this occasion, however, seemed to be such as might set all opposition at defiance, and the

the circumstances of the times were extremely favourable to their undertaking. Ever since Constantinople fell under the power of the Turks, Hungary had been the barrier of Europe; and the valour of its inhabitants had always presented an insuperable obstacle to the progress of the Ottoman arms. But now those brave Hungarians, driven to despair by imperial oppression, were constrained to unite with the enemies of Christendom, in order to resist the arbitrary measures of the house of Austria.

Every thing being ready for this important enterprise, on the issue of which the fate of Europe depended, the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, set out from Constantinople to take the chief command. The Turkish forces consisted of 50,000 Janissaries, 30,000 Spahis, and 200,000 other soldiers, with an immense artillery proportioned to the magnitude of the armament. Being joined by the Hungarians under Tekeli, chief of the mal-contents, this prodigious assemblage of military force entered Austria, and advanced towards Vienna. The Duke of Lorraine, the imperial general, found himself unable to check the progress of the enemy: the emperor abandoned his capital: an immense crowd of inhabitants followed the example of the court: the roads were thronged with fugitives in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, and numerous waggons, laden with moveables, completed the scene of confusion.* A general consternation prevailed throughout Germany; and all Europe waited the event with anxious expectation. On the 17th of July, 1683, the Turks invested Vienna. The garrison consisted of about 15,000 men; to these were joined near 60,000 armed citizens, and all were determined to

* *Annales de l'Empire, tom. 2.*

make the most vigorous defence. Before the 1st of September, however, the suburbs being destroyed, a breach was made in the fortifications of the city, and an assault was hourly expected. The Ottoman army having in its march taken the right side of the Danube, and the Hungarians, under Tekeli, the left, the Duke of Lorraine succeeded in preventing their junction, but was unable to afford any relief to the capital. The fate of Vienna was now drawing towards a decision, when a signal made from the mountain of Calemberg, by John Sobieski, king of Poland, inspired the besieged with hopes of deliverance. That prince, with his troops, having joined the imperialists, the whole Christian army amounted to about 64,000 men, a force not equal in number to one-fourth part of that which it had to oppose. The Grand Vizier, relying on the strength of his army, which he considered as irresistible, had consumed his time in luxury and indolence, instead of attending to the operations of war, and neglected to push the assault till it was too late to repair the mistake. The Christian army, under the command of the King of Poland, and the Duke of Lorraine, attended by a great number of the German princes, descended the mountain and advanced towards the Turkish camp, while the Grand Vizier, resolving to make a vigorous effort, marched out to battle with the main body of his army, and ordered a corps of 20,000 men to make, at the same time, an assault on the city. But the name of the King of Poland was sufficient to paralyze the Turks. Those who made the assault on the city were vigorously repulsed, and their vast army being seized with a panic, was routed almost without resistance. Of the Christians, not above 500 fell in this singular engagement,

ment, nor did the loss of the enemy amount to much more than double that number. So great however was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the Turks, that they left behind them not only their tents, artillery and baggage, but even the famous standard of Mahomet, which was taken and sent as a present to the pope. The King of Poland and the imperialists advanced soon after in the pursuit of the enemy. A battle took place in the plain of Barcan, in which the Turks were again defeated, and at last the emperor recovered all Hungary. Such was the success of one of the most formidable armaments that had menaced the civilized world since the irruption of the northern nations into the Roman empire.*

Leopold having completed the conquest of Hungary, got the crown declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son Joseph proclaimed king. Although still engaged in war against the Turks, he had leisure to turn his attention towards France, and framed that famous association known by the name of the League of Augsburg, the object of which was to check the power and put a stop to the encroachments of France.* In this league the emperor, Spain, and Holland were principals: Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy afterwards acceded. The flames of war were again lighted up in Germany; and the Palatinate was wasted with fire and sword, in a manner that reflects eternal disgrace on Louis XIV. and the commanders employed in that quarter. The emperor in the mean while was successful against the Turks. Belgrade was taken, and the imperialists, commanded by the Prince of Baden, defeated the Ottoman armies in three succes-

* For a circumstantial account of this memorable siege of Vienna, vide *Annales de l'Empire*, tom. 2. and *Barré Hist. de l'Allemagne*, tom. 10.

sive engagements. This good fortune, however, was not permanent. The Turks imputing their losses to the misconduct of the Grand Vizier, that officer was made a sacrifice to the public indignation. A new vizier, a man of abilities and exertion, was appointed. Tekeli, the Hungarian mal-content, was declared waiwode of Transylvania. The Turks recovered Belgrade, and all the Upper Hungary; but again received a dreadful check, being, in the year 1691, totally defeated by the Prince of Baden, with the loss of about 20,000 men. The Grand Vizier, the Seraskier, and most of the principal officers were slain. The next year the town of Great Waradin was taken by the imperialists.*

The year 1697 gave a favourable turn to the emperor's affairs. The treaty of Ryswick re-established tranquillity in the west of Europe, and in the east his arms were successful. Mustapha II. the reigning sultan, more enterprising and active than his predecessor, commanded his army in person; and the celebrated Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who had already distinguished himself on many occasions, was placed at the head of the imperialists in Hungary, where his consummate abilities shone forth in all their lustre at the memorable battle of Zenta. In this decisive engagement the Grand Seignor was totally defeated. Above 20,000 Turks fell by the sword, and 10,000 were drowned in the river Theysse, which runs by the village of Zenta. The Grand Vizier, the Aga of the Janissaries, and twenty-seven Bashas were found among the slain. All the ammunition, provisions, artillery, and baggage of the Turks, with the magnificent pavi-

* Henault. Ab. Chron. vol. 2, p. 1691.—Barré Hist. de l'Allemagne, tom. 10.

lion of the sultan, and the great seal of the Ottoman empire, fell into the hands of the imperialists.* Scarcely any victory was ever more complete; but from the advanced season of the year, its immediate consequences were less important than might have been expected. After a fruitless attempt to retrieve his losses in another campaign, Mustapha, however, was obliged to agree to a peace, which was signed at Carlowitz, in 1699, by the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers. By this treaty, the Morea and several parts of Dalmatia were ceded to Venice, Kamienieck was restored to the Poles, Russia was confirmed in the possession of Asoph; but what most particularly appertains to the portion of European history here under consideration, all Hungary on this side the Save, with Transylvania and Slavonia, were ceded to the house of Austria.† This treaty, by which general tranquillity was restored to Europe, fixed the boundaries of the Austrian dominions and the Ottoman empire nearly the same as they have ever since remained.

This pleasing calm, however, was only a prelude to one of the most extensive scenes of war that had hitherto ensanguined the history of modern Europe. The Spanish succession was the grand object, which, since the peace of Ryswick, had exercised the speculative talents of politicians, and which shortly after spread the flames of war over all the western and southern countries of the continent. Charles II. king of Spain, being without issue, and in a languishing state of health, his death, which was daily expected,

* Barre, tom. 10.

† *Dumont Corps Diplomatique, apud Russ. Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 4. part 2, p. 214.*

raised the hopes of the various competitors for the succession. These were Louis XIV. the Emperor Leopold, and the Elector of Bavaria. The two first were in the same degree of consanguinity with the King of Spain, being both grandsons of Philip III.; the Dauphin and the Emperor's eldest son, Joseph, king of the Romans, had, therefore, a double claim, their mothers being two daughters of Philip IV. The King of France and the Dauphin were both descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; but the imperial family pleaded in support of their claim, besides the solemn renunciations of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. of their title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria. The Elector of Bavaria claimed the right of male representation, as husband of the Archduchess, the only surviving child of the Emperor Leopold by the infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV. who had declared her descendants heirs to his crown in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa. In virtue, therefore, of that declaration, and of the renunciation of Maria Theresa, the son of the elector was, in default of issue by Charles II. entitled to the succession. The general interests of Europe required, that in order to prevent the aggrandisement of either Austria or France, the Prince of Bavaria should succeed to the crown of Spain; but he was unable to contend with either of the other two competitors. A complicated train of political intrigues, therefore, took place, and every machination that statesmen could devise was employed by the claimants and their abettors. William III. king of England, foresaw the dangerous consequences that must arise from a translation of the Spanish monarchy

to the house of Bourbon, and considered it as a master-piece of policy to provide against that event, by a partition treaty concluded with Louis XIV. by which Spain and her American empire were assigned to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the rest of her territories were divided between the Dauphin and the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. This treaty was to have been kept a secret; but as it was necessary to obtain the emperor's consent to a measure, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition, the whole negotiation soon transpired. The Spanish ministry were fired with indignation at finding a division of their monarchy made by foreigners. The king called an extraordinary council in order to deliberate on so unprecedented a transaction, and at length came to the resolution of making a testament, by which he declared the Electoral Prince of Bavaria sole heir to the whole of his dominions.* This decision, which was conformable both to the testament of Philip IV. and to the maxims of sound policy, was perfectly calculated to remove the apprehensions of Europe, as it was infinitely more favourable to the general balance of power than the partition treaty. But the sudden death of the Electoral Prince annulled the whole transaction, and revived those hopes and fears which had undergone a temporary extinction. William III. and Louis XIV. again set their politics to work, in order to obviate the consequences; and a second treaty of partition was privately agreed to by England, France, and Holland, by which Spain and her American dominions were assigned to the Archduke Charles, and the rest of the Spanish territories, with some trifling ex-

* *Voltaire Siècle de Louis XIV. chap. 16.*

changes and indemnifications, were guaranteed to the Dauphin. Particular clauses also provided that Spain should never be united either with France or the Empire under one monarch. Whether Louis XIV. was sincere in any of these negotiations, however, is extremely problematical.

Every engine of political manoeuvre was now set to work. The Emperor Leopold expecting the succession to the whole Spanish monarchy, rejected the treaty of partition. The German princes were unwilling to excite the resentment of the house of Austria, and the Italian states were alarmed at the idea of seeing France in possession of Naples and Sicily, and of other districts in their country. The Swiss cantons refused to accede as guarantees, and the Duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality. Louis XIV. though he had agreed to the partition, resolved to try for the whole; and the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, by his dexterous policy and insinuating address, soon gained a powerful party to his master's interest at the court of Madrid. The inclinations of Charles preponderated in favour of the house of Austria; but the Spanish grandees and the clergy, especially the latter, desired a prince of the Bourbon family. Every intrigue was practised, and every argument was used to sway the mind of the dying monarch, who, wishing to act in conformity to justice, consulted the pope on this important subject. His Holiness, sensible that the aggrandisement of the house of Austria would endanger the liberties of Italy, decided in favour of the family of Bourbon. In consequence of this decision, Charles made a will in which he declared the Duke of Anjou, second son of

the Dauphin, his successor in all his dominions.* The nomination fell on this young prince, in order to prevent the union of France and Spain, as it was the particular wish of the Spaniards to preserve their monarchy entire and independent. This testament was kept a profound secret till the death of Charles II, A.D. 1701, developed its contents. The Duke of Anjou being immediately proclaimed king of Spain by the name of Philip V, was crowned at Madrid, with the universal consent of the whole nation.† Louis XIV. took the most effectual measures for supporting him in his newly acquired throne. French squadrons were sent to the port of Cadiz, and to those of Spanish America; and the court of France being empowered by Spain to seize on the barrier towns of Flanders, the Dutch immediately acknowledged his right.‡ The king of England, unable to draw his Parliament into his hostile views, found it necessary to adopt the same measures. Of all the great powers of Europe, the emperor was therefore the only one who refused to acknowledge the title of Philip V. to the crown of Spain.

Leopold, therefore, entered the lists against France and Spain, without a single ally. In 1701 he commenced hostilities by sending Prince Eugene into the Milanese with an army of 30,000 men. That general drove the French beyond the Oglio, made himself

* For the whole detail of these complicated politics, vide *Voltaire Siècle de Louis XIV. Mem. de Torcy*; *Hume's Hist. Eng. Burnet's History of his own Times, &c.*

† This portion of history might have been placed under the article of Spain: but all these intrigues and negotiations were the acts of foreigners.

‡ *Mem. de Noailles, tom. 1.*

master of all the district between the Adige and the Adda, and penetrated into the territory of Bresciano.* But Louis XIV, having, on the demise of James II, acknowledged the pretender, his son, king of England, by the name of James III, the Parliament immediately concurred with the sovereign in resenting the insult. William III. died amidst his preparations for war; but his political views were adopted by Anne, his successor. The Dutch entered fully into the measures of England. The grand alliance was formed between England, Holland, and the emperor, and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna. Savoy and Portugal afterwards acceded to the confederacy, and a general war was kindled in the west of Europe. In this compendium of history, the object of which is to exhibit the progress of nations, rather than the cabals of courts and the operations of campaigns, it would be impossible to examine the intricate maze of politics, or to detail the military manœuvres of this period. All that this work can admit on the subject, is concisely sketched in treating on the affairs of England and France. It suffices here to observe, that the allies, as is often the case in war, incurred an immense expenditure of blood and of money to little purpose. Louis XIV. carried his point by exhausting his dominions, and his grandson, Philip V. was, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1714, confirmed on the throne of Spain.†

Leopold, who began the succession war, dying in 1705, left it to be continued by Joseph I, his son and

* Voltaire Sièclé de Louis XIV, ch. 17.

† For a detailed account of the military transactions of this period, vide the abovementioned authors, Duke of Berwick's Memoirs, and Memoirs de Noailles. For the events of this period, see also Hist. Views of England and France.

successor, whose reign it entirely occupied. Joseph died in 1711, and was succeeded by his brother, the Archduke Charles, whom the allies were endeavouring to place on the throne of Spain. The elevation of this prince to the imperial throne materially changed the state of political affairs, and greatly contributed to promote the peace of Utrecht. That treaty, however, which the emperor in vain endeavoured to prevent, was no sooner concluded, than a war, which arose in another quarter, gave occupation to his arms. The Turks had happily remained quiet during the grand contest of the Christian princes for the Spanish succession; but no sooner was the general peace concluded, than Achmet III, who by this conduct appears to have been no profound politician, commenced hostilities against the Venetians, and seized on the Morea, in direct violation of the treaty of Carlowitz. The house of Austria being guarantee of that treaty, and one of the principal parties concerned, Charles was bound, both in honour and interest, to oppose its infringement. He accordingly declared war against the Ottoman Porte in 1716; and the celebrated Prince Eugene was sent to add fresh laurels to those which he had already acquired in Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany. The prince having passed the Danube with a powerful army, totally defeated the grand vizier, Ali, at the battle of Peterwaradin. The year following he undertook the siege of Belgrade, where, being surrounded in his camp by a numerous army of the enemy, he sallied out of his intrenchments, routed the Turks with great slaughter, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. The immediate surrender of Belgrade was the fruit of this important victory; and after a short war of two years,

the Porte was reduced, by successive defeats, to the necessity of concluding the treaty of Passarowitz, by which Belgrade and the bannat of Temeswar were ceded to the emperor. But Venice did not recover her possessions in Greece; the Morea being left in the hands of the Turks. After these transactions followed a series of political intrigues, negotiations, and alliances, which produced no events of great importance. The emperor, after some unsuccessful hostilities with France, Spain, and Sardinia, undertook a new war against the Turks. The Porte was at that time engaged in hostilities with Russia, and had already lost Asoph and Ockzakow. Charles thought the crisis extremely favorable for making new acquisitions, by dismembering from the Ottoman empire some of its provinces. But the result was contrary to his expectation. Prince Eugene was dead; and none of the surviving generals equalled him in abilities. The imperialists were repeatedly defeated: several important places were lost; and Charles, resolving to terminate a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace and misfortune, a peace between Russia, Austria, and Turkey, was concluded in 1739. Belgrade, Sabatz, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with Servia and Austrian Wallaghia, were ceded to the Porte; and the Danube and the Save were made the boundaries between the imperial and the Ottoman dominions. The next year, 1740, Charles VI. died. In him was extinct the male issue of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, the disputed succession to whose hereditary dominions rekindled the flames of war, and involved Europe in new calamities.

One of the grand objects of this emperor's politics was the arrangement, known by the name of the Pragmatic

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matic Sanction, which guaranteed to his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the succession to all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. Almost all the European powers had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; but lawless ambition can only be restrained by force; and as Prince Eugene had before observed, "A hundred thousand men would have been a better guarantee than a hundred thousand treaties." Charles was no sooner laid in the grave, than numerous pretenders to the Austrian succession arose. The Elector of Bavaria laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, and the king of Sardinia pretended a right to Milan, while Augustus III, king of Poland, as well as the kings of Spain and France, had claims to the whole of the hereditary dominions, as descendants from different branches of the house of Austria. Maria Theresa, however, took peaceable possession of her vast inheritance, and by her engaging affability soon gained the hearts of her subjects. Her first care after conciliating the affections of her people, was to raise her husband to the imperial throne; but she was destitute of money, and a number of pretenders were rising up against her in order to assert their claims, either to the whole or a part of her dominions. The king of Prussia, Frederick the Great, was the first who proceeded to action. In virtue of certain antiquated claims, he made a sudden irruption into Silesia, with an army of 30,000 men, in order, as he said, to establish his right. When in the heart of that province, and in possession of Breslau, its capital, he shewed an inclination to negotiate. He proposed to Maria Theresa to supply her with money and troops, to protect all her other dominions, and to exert all his interest to
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place

place her husband, Francis of Lorraine on the imperial throne; and, in consideration of all these good offices, he required only the cession of the Lower Silesia.

This was, indeed, a small sacrifice to make for so many and so great advantages; but the queen of Hungary knowing, that to comply with the requisitions of one pretender, would only give encouragement to others, resolved to begin with vigorous measures, to repel aggression by force, and oppose every attempt to dismember her dominions. She accordingly sent Count Neuperg, one of her ablest commanders, with a strong body of troops, to expel the invaders. At the village of Molwitz, near Neiss in Silesia, a desperate engagement took place between the two armies, which were nearly equal in number. The Austrians, in spite of the most vigorous efforts, were defeated with the loss of 4,000 men. This victory was soon after followed by the reduction of the whole province of Silesia.*

Although France had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, the Cardinal de Fleury, a lover of peace, was unable to withstand that ardour for war, which was excited in the French court by the king of Prussia's successful invasion of Silesia. A plan was immediately formed for finally crushing the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins. This was to be effected by dismembering the dominions of the queen of Hungary, and raising to the imperial dignity the elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of France. The Count, afterwards Marshal and Duke de Belleisle, with the chevalier, his brother, were the principal authors of this project; and to them its execution was

* Voltaire Siècle de Louis XV, ch. 5.

chiefly

chiefly committed. Two French armies, one of 50,000, the other of 40,000 men, immediately entered Germany; and the Count de Belleisle, acting in the double capacity of ambassador and general, concluded on the basis of this plan a treaty between France, Prussia, and the elector of Bavaria. The elector being appointed by Louis XV, generalissimo, with the Mareschals Belleisle and Broglio, to act under him, surprised Passau, entered the Upper Austria, and advanced within a few leagues of Vienna, which, being ill fortified, was not thought capable of making any vigorous defence. Multitudes of the inhabitants fled from the capital: the Danube was daily covered with boats, and the roads were crowded with carriages and passengers. In this extremity the queen, committing her desperate affairs to the care of her husband and her generals, retired to Presburg, where having assembled the states of Hungary, she recommended herself and her eldest son, yet an infant in her arms, to their protection. Her youth, her beauty, and her distress, made a deep impression on all that were present. The Palatines, drawing their sabres, declared themselves ready to die for the support of her cause. From promises they immediately proceeded to action. The nobility were instantly in arms, and Count Palsy, with 30,000 Hungarians, marched to the relief of Vienna. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrison of 12,000 men. The grand duke and his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, were at the head of another large body; Count Neuperg had 20,000 under his command in Bohemia, while Prince Lobkowitz and other generals were exerting themselves in raising fresh levies. These formidable appearances induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his expectations. Instead of investing

investing Vienna he marched into Bohemia, and being joined by 20,000 Saxons, laid siege to Prague. The famous Count Saxe, natural son of Augustus II. king of Poland, took the city by storm, and displayed, on this occasion, his humanity not less than his courage and bravery. He not only saved the inhabitants from violence, but the town from pillage; by which he acquired a glory that conquest alone cannot give. The elector of Bavaria was crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, and, proceeding to Frankfort, was elected emperor by the name of Charles VII. But the day of his elevation to the imperial throne was the last of his good fortune. The Austrian general, Kevenhuller, retook Lintz, dislodged the French from all their posts in Upper Austria, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine, advancing at the head of 48,000 men, expelled the Prussians and Saxons from Moravia, and Prince Lobkowitz, with 16,000 men, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia. The retreat of the Prussians and Saxons seemed to afford the Austrians an opportunity of concentrating their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglie; but the king of Prussia having received a re-inforcement of 30,000 men, marched to the assistance of his allies, and defeated Prince Charles of Lorraine at Czaslan. The loss, however, was nearly equal, about 8,000 men being killed on each side. Soon after this engagement the Prussian monarch, either weary of the war, or dissatisfied with the court of France, concluded an advantageous peace with the queen of Hungary, by which he obtained the cession of the whole province of Silesia, with the county of Glatz. A peace

was also about the same time concluded between the queen and Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony.

The Mareschals Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by their allies, than abandoning their magazines and baggage, they retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves in a meadow, which the windings of the river Moldaw formed into a sort of peninsula, while prince Charles of Lorraine, with the Austrian army, encamped in sight of them on the hills of Grinitz. The French generals now surrounded by superior forces, deprived of all supplies, and harassed by perpetual assaults, were reduced to the greatest extremity. A situation so difficult and distressing, gave rise to a complicated plan of military operations, of which the brevity of this work precludes the detail: a short summary of this curious portion of military history must therefore suffice. Mareschal Maillebois, commander of the French forces on the Rhine, marched with 42,000 men to the relief of Prague, and was joined at Amberg by 30,000 French and Imperialists under Seckendorf and Count Saxe. The prince of Lorraine, apprised of this movement, committed the blockade to general Festitz with 18,000 men, and advanced with the main body of his army against Maillebois. In the meanwhile the Mareschals Belleisle and Broglio broke out of Prague, in spite of the blockading army, which was too weak to oppose them, and attempted to form a junction with Maillebois, who was then in the neighbourhood of Egra. But the prince of Lorraine having secured all the passes, rendered the measure impracticable. Maillebois was at last obliged to retreat

treit into the Palatinate, while Belleisle and Broglio were driven back into Prague. The siege of this important place was now resumed. Maillebois being recalled, Mareschal Broglio made his escape in disguise, in order to take the command of the French forces in the Palatinate. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards Mareschal Belleisle and his small but gallant army, now destitute of all resources but those of military skill and courage. In this desperate situation, Belleisle made known all the resources of his genius, while his intrepid spirit, undaunted by misfortune, communicated itself to his officers and soldiers. Almost every day the French made desperate sallies, which occasioned great loss to the besiegers. The blockade, however, being closely kept up, the French were reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions; and Mareschal Belleisle saw, with great concern, the havoc which famine and disease, its usual concomitant, were beginning to make among his troops. He resolved, therefore, to make one grand effort, in order, if possible, to effect a retreat. The great extent of the walls of Prague, about twelve English miles in circuit, rendered his plan more practicable. Having made in one quarter of the town, such dispositions as led the besiegers to expect a general sally, he marched out on the opposite side with 11,000 foot and 3,000 horse, and got almost a days march of the enemy. The ground was covered with snow, and the cold was intense. He was in the heart of an enemies country. Prince Lobkowitz, with a superior force, hung on his rear; and the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads to Egra, which was still in the hands of the French. Amidst all these difficulties, Mareschal
Belleisle

Belleisle so judiciously planned his route, striking over frozen morasses, perhaps never before trodden by the foot of man, he himself always pointing out the way, that after a fatiguing march of twelve days he reached Egra, and proceeding into Alsace completed his retreat, one of the most memorable in military history, having lost about 1000 men through the excessive rigour of the season, but not one by the sword of the enemy.

The court of Great Britain now appeared seriously disposed to take a part in the continental war against France, and the queen of Hungary elated with her unexpected success, as well as rendered confident by the acquisition of so powerful an ally, rejected proposals of peace that were made by the court of Versailles. She was now completely victorious, being in possession of the territories of the emperor Charles VII, while the French had lost above 100,000 men in supporting his cause. Her good fortune still continuing to attend her, she daily received the news of fresh victories: the prince of Lorraine defeated the imperialists near Branaw, and Prince Lobkowitz marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate. These two generals afterwards obliged Mareschal Broglio to abandon his strong camp on the Danube, and to retire with precipitation towards the Rhine, while the Austrian irregulars harassing him in his march, cut off great numbers of his troops. The emperor finding himself stripped of his dominions, and abandoned by his allies, took refuge in Frankfort, where he remained some time in obscurity and indigence.

Great Britain at last sent an army to the continent, which being joined by the troops of the electorate of Hanover,

Hanover, the earl of Stair took the command of the whole. A series of complicated movements took place, and the duke de Noailles, the French general, at last cut off all supplies from the allied army. At this juncture George II., king of Great Britain, with his son the duke of Cumberland, arrived at the camp of the allies, whom he found in great want of provisions. The necessity of a retreat in order to procure subsistence, as well as to join a body of 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians which was in danger of being cut off by the enemy, brought on the battle of Dettingen. In this engagement, George II. and the duke of Cumberland displayed great courage and conduct. The British and Hanoverian troops, animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, distinguished themselves by their valour. Victory declared herself in favour of the allies, and the duke de Noailles was obliged to retreat with the loss of about 5000 men.* By some it has been said, that if the French had been closely pursued, their defeat would have been total; but the king of Great Britain here shewed his conduct, as eminently as he had already displayed his courage. His troops had been long under arms after a fatiguing march, and during some days had received little sustenance; while the enemy, who had still a superior army, having retreated over the Maine, on bridges previously erected, was ready, with a formidable train of artillery, to dispute the passage of the river. In such circumstances a pursuit must have been dangerous, and scarcely warrantable by the rules of prudent warfare.

A series of treaties and political intrigues now occu-

* For an accurate account of this battle, and of the previous movements, vide Mem. de Noailles, tom. 4.

pied the contending powers. The Queen of Hungary, who at the commencement of the war was reduced to such extreme distress, now every where successful, refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, who was now reduced to the condition of an illustrious beggar, dependent on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. Her haughty behaviour produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their ancient jealousy of the house of Austria was revived, and they resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire. The court of Versailles encouraging these dispositions, a treaty of alliance was concluded with the emperor, the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine.* A family compact of perpetual alliance, and mutual guarantee of possessions and claims, was also concluded between France and Spain.† The greatest preparations were made by those two powers for supporting an extensive system of war. And his Prussian majesty, by a previous agreement with the court of Versailles, had exempted himself from the obligation of taking up arms until France should begin to make vigorous exertions. The king of Sardinia at the same time entered into a treaty with the queen of Hungary, by which, in consideration of various advantages, besides an annual subsidy of 280,000*l.* sterling from Great Britain, he engaged to keep up an army of 40,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry.‡ In consequence of her engagements with his Prussian majesty, France now began to act with great vigour. Louis XV. put himself at the

* Mem. de Nouilles, tom. 4.

† Ibid. Ibid.

‡ Ibid. ubi supra.

head of his army in Flanders, which consisted of 120,000 men. The field marshals the duke de Noailles and the count de Saxe, commanded under the king, and carried all before them. But Prince Charles of Lorraine, having passed the Rhine with 60,000 Austrians, and entered Alsace, the duke de Noailles was obliged to march with 40,000 choice troops to join Mareschal de Coigni who commanded in that province. The king himself followed with a farther reinforcement, and left the count de Saxe to command the forces in Flanders. In the mean while the king of Prussia had entered Bohemia, and before Prince Charles could march to oppose his progress, had made himself master of Prague, and of all that part of the kingdom which lies to the east of the Moldaw. Prince Charles, however, being joined by a large body of Saxons and another of Hungarians, obliged his Prussian majesty to evacuate Bohemia and retire with precipitation into Silesia. In this retreat the Prussians lost above 30,000 men, with all their heavy baggage and artillery. While Frederick III. experienced this reverse of fortune, the fugitive emperor, Charles VII, recovered once more possession of his capital and his hereditary electorate; Seckendorf, the imperial general, with the assistance of a body of French, having driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But by the retreat of the Prussians, and the rapid progress of the prince of Lorraine, he was in danger of being again expelled from his dominions, when death relieved him, in 1745, from a life of disquietude and misfortune. His son, Maximilian Joseph, wisely concluded a peace with the queen of Hungary, who confirmed him in the possession of his hereditary dominions, on condition, that renouncing all claim

to any part of the Austrian succession, he should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and give his vote to the grand duke of Tuscany, her husband, at the ensuing election of an emperor.*

During the whole of this period, the war was not less vigorously carried on in Italy than in Germany; but as it is not the design of this compendium to enter into details of military transactions, and as no important revolutions were effected in that country, it is requisite to confine our historical remarks to the house of Austria, the principal party in all these transactions, and whose exaltation and decline is the chief political feature in the modern history of Germany. The queen of Hungary had now no other object in view, than the elevation of the grand duke her husband to the imperial throne, and would gladly have agreed to a peace on such terms as might have promoted her views. But the courts of France and Spain were resolved to oppose his election, and made an offer of the imperial crown to Augustus III, king of Poland and elector of Saxony. That prince, however, prudently refusing a gift which it was not in their power to bestow, renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The two grand objects of Louis XV, being the exclusion of the grand duke from the imperial throne, and the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, he assembled two great armies, one on the Rhine in order to support the king of Prussia, and overawe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfort; the other in Flanders under the famous Count de Saxe, who invested Tournay. The famous battle of Fontenoy, took place April 30, 1745, in consequence of the allies attempting to relieve

* Tiedal's *Conto. Regin.* p. 11.

this important barrier town. The king of France and the dauphin were present at this battle. The British and Hanoverian troops were commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, the Austrians by Count Kouigseg, and the Dutch by the prince of Waldec. The dispositions of Mareschal Saxe were the most masterly that could be conceived. The cannonading began in the morning as soon as it was light. About nine both armies were engaged, and the action lasted till three in the afternoon. Military history does not record a more desperate and gallant attack than that made by the British infantry, commanded by the duke of Cumberland in person, assisted by Sir John Ligonier. Mareschal Saxe himself, seeing them bear down all before them, concluded that the battle was lost, and sent advice to the king to provide for his own safety by retreating over the bridge of Colonne. But Louis XV, sensible that such a measure would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post; his firmness prevented the ruin of his army, and gave an unexpected turn to the action. All the bravery, however, of the French monarch and his son, as well as the tactical skill of Count Saxe, would have been ineffectual, had the English been properly supported by the Dutch; the French would have been totally defeated, and even the retreat of the king and the dauphin perhaps intercepted.* The English column, after having repulsed all the regiments in the French army which advanced in succession, was at last obliged to retire with the loss of 7,000 men. The Hanoverians also behaved gallantly and sustained great loss; but that of the Austrians and the Dutch was inconsiderable. The

* Voltaire *Sid. de Louis XV*, ch. 15.

French lost about 10,000 men, among whom were many persons of distinction. Their victory, however, was followed by important consequences. The allies were never afterwards able to face the enemy. Saxe and Lowendahl carried all before them, and at the end of the campaign had reduced every town in Austrian Flanders.

The queen of Hungary, meantime, obtained the great object of her ambition, the elevation of her husband the grand duke to the imperial throne, in spite of the policy and power of France, whose army on the Maine being inferior to that of the Austrians, was unable to impede the election. The king of Prussia in the mean while having gained two bloody victories over the Austrians at Fridburg on the confines of Silesia, and at Slandentz in Bohemia, invaded Saxony and made himself master of Dresden. So many advantages and losses alternately succeeding, and counterbalancing one another, at last induced the German powers to think of restoring tranquillity to the empire. The queen of Hungary, and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, concluded treaties of peace with the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine. Augustus agreed to pay the king of Prussia 1,000,000 of German crowns in consideration of his evacuating Saxony, and the queen of Hungary confirmed him in the possession of Silesia. His Prussian majesty on his part, as well as the elector Palatine, agreed to acknowledge the validity of the emperor's election. Such was the termination of this memorable contest, which at its commencement threatened the total annihilation of the house of Austria, and ended in its complete re-establishment. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband of Maria Theresa, was by
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the whole Germanic body acknowledged as emperor under the name of Francis I, and their union being blessed with male issue, the imperial sceptre, as well as the hereditary crown, were continued in the ancient and illustrious house of Austria.

The war, so far as it particularly related to Germany, was now terminated; but it was still carried on with vigour in the Netherlands and Italy. In the Netherlands, the French under Saxe and Lowendahl were almost constantly victorious. In Italy, success fluctuated between the contending parties. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to this singular war, in which almost all the powers of Europe had been engaged; and after an infinite number of complicated operations, and of gallant exploits, after various turns of fortune, and a prodigious destruction of the human species, all, except the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, were losers. Even the two latter had gained nothing by all their exertions since the year 1742. The queen, except in the elevation of Francis to the imperial throne, might then have made peace on as good terms as she afterwards obtained; and his Prussian majesty gained nothing more by the treaty of Dresden in the year 1745, than had been ceded to him in 1742 by the treaty of Breslaw.*

Germany reposed in tranquillity till the year 1756, when the empress queen of Hungary, who could never be reconciled to the loss of Silesia, one of the most fertile countries of Europe, and which yielded an annual revenue of 4,000,000 of dollars, entered into a league with the empress of Russia and the king of

* Vide reflections on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, as relative to Great Britain and the house of Bourbon, in the Historical View of England.

Sweden for the purpose of recovering this fine province, and even of stripping the king of Prussia of his dominions. The ancient animosities and jealousies which had ever subsisted between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, seemed to be forgotten; a close union was formed between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, and France entered into a league with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, against Prussia. An account of that war, which during the space of seven years devastated Germany, will be more properly placed in a sketch of Prussian history, in order to exhibit with greater perspicuity and connection the contrast between the past and the present state of a kingdom, not half a century ago so illustrious in arms, but at present so unfortunately humiliated. It suffices, therefore, in this place to say, that after one of the most active and bloody, as well as the most ably conducted wars recorded in history, peace was, in 1763, restored on the principle of mutual restitution. Austria and Prussia were placed in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities; and thus the two great powers, that divided the efficient strength of Germany, were finally fixed in the station which we have seen them occupy previous to the late tremendous revolutions on the continent.

The emperor Francis I. dying in 1765, Joseph II, his son by Maria Theresa queen of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded to the imperial dignity. Immediately after his accession, he began to discover great ambition, penetration, and activity. Desirous of observing the state of other countries besides his own, he visited incognito, and with few attendants, Rome and the other principal cities of Italy. He afterwards paid a visit to Paris, where he was received with
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the most distinguished honours by his illustrious sister and her husband, the late unfortunate king and queen of France. He also made the tour of his own dominions, and in every place where he travelled, observed with accuracy the state of arts, science, manufactures and trade. His journey to Cherson, and its supposed consequences, are mentioned in treating of the affairs of Russia under Catherine II. The political events of his reign, except the part which he took in the partition of Poland, were not of great importance. The dispute concerning the Bavarian succession, is spoken of in the historical sketch of Prussia, and the Belgic revolt in that of the Netherlands. In 1789 the emperor, in conjunction with Russia, entered into a war with the Ottoman Porte, and took the command of his army in person, having under him the celebrated general Laudohn, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the last contest with Prussia. On the 12th September the Austrians commenced the siege of Belgrade, and on the 8th October that important place, with its numerous garrison, surrendered after a vigorous resistance. The remainder of the campaign was a series of important successes. Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, surrendered almost without opposition to the prince of Cobourg. Orsova, however, gave a check to the rapid progress of the Austrian arms; Mareschal Laudohn, after having laid six weeks before that place, was about the middle of December obliged to raise the siege. But in a short time after the place was again invested, and notwithstanding the gallant defence made by its garrison, Orsova was, on the 16th April, 1790, reduced under the Austrian dominion.

Amidst this tide of success, the Belgic revolt greatly disconcerted

disconcerted the emperor's measures. Other circumstances also contributed to that languor, which was visible in the military operations of the Austrians after the reduction of Orsova. Joseph II. was never a favorite of the Hungarians, who had so greatly idolized Maria Theresa his mother. She gained their affections by the affability of her manners, and by her respect for their privileges. Joseph's manners were affable and engaging, but his measures were arbitrary, and many of his most beneficial reforms gave umbrage to the haughty Hungarians, for no other reason than because they were introduced by the imperial authority. On his succession to the hereditary dominions of his mother, the empress queen, he lost the affections of the Hungarians by omitting the ceremony of his coronation at Buda, and still more by removing the crown of Hungary to Vienna. Such is the attachment of men to ceremonies, forms, and insignia, and such the necessity of respecting established prejudices. Nothing can more fully demonstrate this truth, than the incredible joy, pomp, and festivity, with which the Hungarian crown was received, when sent back to Buda two days before the death of this emperor.* The abolition of villainage, although afterwards confirmed in a general diet of the states of the kingdom, was at first deemed illegal, because it proceeded from an imperial mandate and not from an act of that assembly. But Joseph's attempt to impose a land tax, a measure unprecedented in Hungary, completely alienated the affections of the nobility. These well meant, but arbitrary measures, prevented the emperor from receiving any assistance from the Hungarians, to whom the house

* *Statute Books Annotat. p. 1000.*

of Austria, when attacked on every side in the commencement of the preceding reign, owed its principal support, and perhaps even the continuation of its existence. And a well informed writer makes us acquainted with a circumstance not generally known, namely, that Joseph's failure in the Turkish war, after so successful a beginning, was owing to the want of supplies, and the backwardness with which the Hungarians complied with the military requisitions.* A peace, however, was concluded between Austria and the Porte, in consequence of which all conquests were restored.

The character of Joseph II. is singular and striking. Possessing a penetrating, active, and enterprising genius, and an extraordinary talent for observation, he was anxiously desirous both of aggrandizing his own power, and of meliorating the condition of his subjects. His various institutions and reforms, most of them highly beneficial as well as rational, often met with considerable opposition, especially among those of his own religion; among the Protestants they were in general better received. In his manners, he was affable and condescending. Amiable in private, and active in public life, he was constantly forming views for the improvement of his dominions, and the happiness of his people. To sum up, in a few words, the character of Joseph II, it may suffice to say, that he was a philosopher and a philanthropist. His only fault was that of not, perhaps, sufficiently respecting the prejudices of mankind. His reforms seem to have been introduced in too arbitrary a manner; but perhaps that was the only manner in which

* Townson's Trav. in Hungary, p. 94.

they

they could be carried into effect. He seems to have been desirous of rendering mankind happy, even against their will. His peculiar views of things led him into arbitrary measures, and the whole plan of his government tended towards despotism. This excited great disaffection in the minds of his subjects, and the latter part of his reign was agitated by turbulent commotions. Few monarchs have had an opportunity of being more fully convinced of the ingratitude of mankind. But if the character of Joseph II. has been aspersed, if he has been represented as despotic and capricious, and if his most salutary measures have excited discontent and met with opposition, let it be remembered that he only experienced the common lot of reformers.

The view of progressive improvement throughout an extensive empire is a pleasing object in history. The brevity of this compendium renders it impossible to enter into a detail of the salutary regulations which took place, not only in his hereditary dominions, but throughout the empire during his reign. It may not be amiss to mention some that carry an appearance of singularity, though founded on the soundest physical and moral principles. He considered it as a practice equally indecent and dangerous to convert the temples of the Supreme Being into pesthouses, by making them the receptacles of putrid carcasses. This superstitious custom he entirely abolished, by a law which he enacted in his hereditary dominions, and of which he procured the establishment throughout the whole empire, prohibiting the interment of the dead in any church or chapel whatever. This law is strictly enforced without respect of persons: neither rank nor
opulence

opulence can obtain any exemption from its operation.* He also prohibited, under severe penalties, the wearing of stays by females, as a practice destructive to their health and shape. Another of his wise regulations was the suppression of Blue Monday, a riotous holiday among the mechanics, spent in drinking and all kinds of debauchery. In consequence of this pernicious custom, which prevailed throughout Germany, not only a day's labour was lost among that class of people; but Monday was particularly distinguished by riots, tumults, and outrages of every description. At length the abuse became intolerable. The companies of taylor, shoe-makers, and other mechanics in many cities of Germany, formed riotous confederacies, and being soon joined by numbers of disorderly and ill-disposed persons; committed the most violent outrages, and openly set all laws at defiance. The edicts issued by different German princes were totally disregarded, the affair became of the most serious nature, and equally hostile to trade and to public security. The mechanics of Vienna sent notices to those of Berlin, Dresden, Leipsic, Frankfurt, &c. exciting them to riot, and denouncing vengeance on all who should presume to work on Monday. These proceedings excited a general alarm throughout Germany, and seriously attracted the attention of the emperor, especially as Vienna was the focus of the mischief. At his command the matter was taken into serious consideration at the diet. The baneful effects which such disorders must produce on trade, were evident; and the whole Germanic body

* Dr. Reuter's Travels in Germany, vol. 1, p. 66. This writer relates a shocking accident in consequence of an interment in a Protestant church, 66 to 73.

considered

considered it as highly necessary to interpose. An edict of the emperor and the diet was therefore published, by which the custom of keeping Blue Monday was totally abolished. The punishment inflicted on offenders was six years confinement to hard labour in the fortifications. The edict was at first disregarded, but as it was vigorously carried into execution, and several ringleaders were condemned to the punishment which it denounced, all those disorders ceased, Blue Monday was soon forgotten, and the empire received an increase of labour as well as of public security.* The numerous monasteries in the Austrian dominions could not escape the observation of the penetrating Joseph. He considered their enormous number as a political evil, and without dreading the imputation of impiety suppressed a great part of those religious houses. But the measure which throws the greatest lustre on his reign, is the establishment of religious and civil liberty, in granting an universal toleration, and abolishing the feudal system. If, therefore, his government was despotic, he used his despotism for the laudable purpose of freeing one part of his subjects from the tyranny of the other.

The depressed state of the peasantry had, soon after the general peace of 1763, attracted the attention of the empress queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa; and the year following, she enacted the regulation called the *Urbarium*, by which indeterminate dues, whether in labour, produce, or money, from the peasantry to the lords, were abolished, and the rights of both were defined. The standard of this regulation was taken from a farm containing twenty-five acres of 1200 square fathoms each. For such a farm the peasant was to

* Reader's Travels in Germany, vol. 1, p. 100—104.

pay one-ninth of the produce of the soil, and also of the lambs, kids, and bees, two shillings for ground rent, three shillings for fowls, tutter, &c. twelve days mowing in meadow ground, and about 111 days of other labour. The commutation of labour, for money, was estimated at about nine-pence sterling per day's work. Such was the fixed rent for what was called a whole farm; and for the half, one-fourth, one-eighth, &c. part in proportion.* The *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa may be considered as a curious monument in the history of society, and far more interesting than the relation of a battle or a siege. The emperor, Joseph II. completely put an end to the feudal system in his dominions, by abolishing the *adscriptio glebæ* in Bohemia and Moravia, in 1781, and in Hungary in 1785. The nobility, although they considered the abolition of villainage, by an imperial mandate, as illegal, were soon so fully convinced of the benefits arising from that measure, that in 1791, after the emperor was dead, the liberty of the peasants, as well as religious toleration in its fullest extent, was established in the Hungarian diet.† A late traveller, speaking of Joseph II. says, "Had the life of that profound legislator been extended to a later period, his empire would have made, at the present day, a more brilliant figure than it does—in the improvement of the arts and sciences, in the police, in agriculture, and in every thing that can interest the welfare of society."‡ Another observes, that it was the avowed intencion of Joseph II. to form out of his extensive, dominions, peopled by 25,000,000 of inhabitants, governed by different laws, enjoying different privileges, speaking different languages, and in different degrees of civili-

* Townson ubi supra. † Ibid. ‡ Rendar's Travels, vol. 1. p. 98.

zation, one uniform government.* This, indeed, appears to have been the chief object of his political views: it was a grand, and perhaps not an impracticable, plan; and it was certainly not unworthy of a great politician and legislator. Could this great design have been carried into effect, and history affords many examples which seem to demonstrate its possibility, it must have greatly contributed to increase the prosperity and power of the Austrian empire.†

Since the trade and navigation of the Hanseatic confederacy fell to decay, the commerce of Germany took a turn more suitable to the situation and natural resources of the country. The establishment of numerous manufactures, especially in the free cities, proved a great source of wealth. But the period which elapsed from the general peace of 1763 to the French revolution, was the happiest that Germany ever experienced. The courts of Vienna and Berlin yied with each other in promoting national improvement. Many of the other princes imitated their example; and amidst the enjoyments of peace, Germany made a rapid progress in arts, sciences, literature, agriculture, and commerce.

Joseph II. dying in 1791, his brother, Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, succeeded to the imperial throne, as well as to the hereditary dominions

* Townson's Travels, p. 99. Both Townson and Reisbeck seem to have a less favourable opinion of Joseph II. as a legislator and a politician than Dr. Rander and several other entertain. Some historical and political writers, represent him as capricious and tyrannical. From a comparison of different opinions on the subject, and especially from the transactions of his reign, his character is here delineated.

† Witness the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the different nations of Russia, &c. All great empires are formed by the union of smaller states.

of the house of Austria. By his conciliatory measures the Belgic provinces were re-united to the Austrian empire, and a peace was concluded with the porte. In his reign was held, at Pilitz, the famous conference in which the plan of attacking France was proposed and discussed. The emperor hesitated for some time, but at last seemed to ~~resolve~~ on vigorous measures, when he died, after a short sickness, in 1702. His politics were far more conciliatory than those of his predecessor. He appeared little inclined to innovation, and willingly left mankind to enjoy their prejudices.

Francis II. his son, succeeded to his hereditary dominions, and in July the same year was elected emperor. His reign has been distinguished by bloody and unsuccessful wars against France: From its commencement, the history of Austria, and, indeed, of the whole German empire, is implicated in that of France, to which, for the sake of avoiding repetition, the reader must be referred. It may here suffice to observe, that in consequence of these wars Austria has been stripped of her Italian and Belgic dominions.

HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.

THE history of Prussia cannot bring forward any claims to a splendid antiquity; but it may justly boast of its modern lustre, although it has lately suffered a temporary eclipse. The two great branches of the monarchy of Prussia and Brandenburg were long distinct; while the former was first governed by its native chiefs, the latter was an electorate of the empire, and its history, until the formation of the present Prussian monarchy, is included in that of Germany.

Amidst the obscurity of barbarous ages, and the confusion of names, it is difficult to discover whether the first known inhabitants were of Slavonic or Gothic original. The Pruzzi, however, from whom the country is supposed to derive its name, are mentioned by the most ancient chroniclers of the northern nations as one of the chief Slavonic tribes. Tacitus and Pliny had only a very confined knowledge of those countries, which lay beyond the limits of Roman conquest, and almost of Roman geography; but the amber of Pomerania and Prussia was well known as one of the luxuries of Rome.* Those countries had been subdued by the Swedes, the Danes, and the Poles, but had always recovered their liberty. Their inha-

* Helmold, lib. 1, c. 4.

bitans, however, adhered to Paganism longer than any other nations of Europe except the Laplanders, and, perhaps, some other tribes in its northern extremities. The frenzy of the croisades and the romantic rage for fighting the infidels, so prevalent in the middle ages, had, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, given rise to several orders of religious knighthood, who were obliged, by vow, to use their endeavours to protect and extend Christianity. Among these, the Teutonic order in Germany was one of the most illustrious. Those knights having distinguished themselves in the wild enterprises carried on in Palestine, and being at last expelled from their acquisitions in Asia, were obliged to return into Europe. Their fervid zeal and impetuous valour, however, could not remain inactive. After having so long employed their arms against the Mahometans of the east, they resolved to turn them against the Pagans of the north. They invaded Prussia, and after bloody wars and great slaughter, completed, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the conquest and conversion of that country.* These knights, in 1250, built the town of Elbing, and in 1254, they, in conjunction with Ottocar, king of Bohemia, laid the foundation of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia.† Their government was a kind of republic under its grand master, who was a prince of the empire. They had long and bloody wars with the Poles, but about the year 1456, the cities of Dantzick, Thorn, and Elbing, dissatisfied at the administration of the knights, transferred their allegiance to Casimir, king of Poland. A war in consequence took place between that prince and the Teutonic knights; and

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2, p. 376.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 311—319.

after a contest which continued thirteen years the Poles were victorious. That part of Prussia which lies on the west of the Vistula was annexed to Poland, from which circumstance it became distinguished by the appellation of royal; the knights retained the other part situated to the east of that river, under condition of doing homage to the Polish monarch.* This homage, however, was often disputed by the knights, which occasioned frequent wars between them and the Poles. Albert, a prince of the house of Brandenburg, being, in 1511, elected Grand Master of the Order, maintained a long war against Sigismund, king of Poland; but having become a convert to Luther's doctrines, his zeal for the interests of his fraternity was gradually abated. The confusions which prevailed in the empire afforded him a favourable opportunity of concluding a treaty with the Polish monarch greatly to his private emolument. That part of Prussia which belonged to the Teutonic Order was erected into a hereditary duchy, of which the investiture was given to Albert, under condition of doing homage to the kings of Poland.† The knights exclaimed so loudly against the dissolution of their government, and the treachery of their Grand Master, that he was put to the ban of the empire; but he still kept possession of the province, and transmitted it to his posterity. In 1618, the inheritance devolved on the electoral branch of the family of Brandenburg, in the person of John Sigismund. This prince dying the next year, was succeeded by George William, whose reign, coinciding with the thirty years war, was a continued series of misfortunes, his

* *Mém. de Brandebourg*, vol. 1.

† *Robertson's Hist. Charles V.* vol. 2, p. 276.

country being alternately ravaged by the Swedes and the imperialists.

Frederick William succeeded, in 1640, to the electorate of Brandenburg, and the duchy of Prussia. He was then about twenty years of age, and discovered uncommon marks of genius and prudence. The greatest part of his dominions were in the hands of the Swedes; Cleves was in those of the Spaniards.* By skilful negotiations, and pecuniary sacrifices, which at this juncture he found necessary, he obtained a truce from the Swedes, with the restitution of part of his dominions. At the general peace of Westphalia, he lost a part of Pomerania, but that treaty assured to him Magdeburgh and several other important places. He distinguished himself in several wars against the Poles and the Swedes. He acquired Elbing and extended his frontiers. The peace of Oliva, while it fixed the balance of the northern powers, secured to the elector his conquests. Frederick William also gained great reputation by the aid which he gave to the emperor, when Austria was threatened with destruction by the Turks. In the war against France, he shewed himself a worthy rival of the great Turenne, and had the glory of saving that illustrious enemy by giving him information of a plot formed against his life.† This prince, who succeeded to the wreck of a dismembered inheritance, not only recovered his dominions and extended their ancient limits, but also retrieved his finances. Having restored peace to his country, he promoted the arts, and, wisely profiting by the errors of despotism and intolerance, he received and encouraged the French

* Segur's Frederick William II. Introduction, p. 11.

† Ibid, Introduction, p. 41.

refugees, who recompensed the protection afforded them by diffusing knowledge and industry throughout his dominions.

This prince, justly called the Great Elector, dying in 1690, Frederick I. his son and successor, obtained from the emperor, Joseph I. the regal title, and was soon after acknowledged as king of Prussia, by all the European powers. This first Prussian monarch, however, does not appear to have possessed any great talents for government. He was succeeded, in 1713, by his son, Frederick-William I. a prince of great political abilities,* who, having undertaken a successful war against Charles XII. king of Sweden, obtained the cession of part of Pomerania. Frederick-William, however, was rather a politician than a warrior. He encouraged trade and added to the improvement and population of his dominions by establishing in various parts of them numerous colonies of Swiss and other foreigners. His administration was externally pacific, but internally severe. He was more intent on preserving, than on extending his possessions; but being of an austere disposition, and a strict observer of military discipline, he governed the state by the same laws as the army. His political principles were completely despotic, and some idea may be formed of the obdurate inflexibility of his temper, in recollecting that for a trifling fault he imprisoned his son, and compelled him to be present at

* In the enumeration of the kings of Prussia, a distinction is made between the Fredericks and the Frederick Williams, not only by the Prussians, but by all the Germans. The princes, therefore, who in England are so frequently called Frederick II. Frederick III. and Frederick IV. are on the continent always called Frederick William I. Frederick II. and Frederick William II. I have followed the Prussian mode of speaking — Mem. de Brandebourg, tom. I.

the execution of his intimate and confidential friend. Several other instances of his severe and arbitrary conduct might be adduced; but he was certainly on the whole a great prince. The immense treasure which he had amassed by the most rigid economy, and the army which he had raised and disciplined, enabled his son, the great Frederick, to make such efforts as astonished Europe. Frederick-William I. may justly be considered as the author of the subsequent greatness of Prussia, and his illustrious son in his memoirs gives him that honour. "Frederick-William," says he, "left at his death 66,000 men, whom he maintained by his economy, his finances augmented, the public treasury well filled, and a surprising order in all his affairs. If we owe the shade of the oak to the virtue of the acorn which produced it, all the world will agree that in the laborious life and sagacious conduct of this prince may be discovered the source of the future prosperity of the royal house."^{*}

Frederick-William I. died in 1740, and his son Frederick II. frequently called by the English Frederick III. and by all Europe deservedly surnamed the Great, ascended the Prussian throne. Reviving some antiquated claims of his family to a part of Silesia, he entered that province, about a year after his accession, with an army, in order to establish his right. As the queen of Hungary, sole heiress of the dominions of the house of Austria, which has so long been the head of the empire, was the most conspicuous personage in the complicated war that ensued, its principal events are related in the historical view of Germany, to which the reader must in consequence refer, for an account

^{*} Mem. de Brandenbourg, tom. 2.

of the Prussian affairs from the commencement of hostilities in 1741 till the peace of Dresden, in 1745. After a bloody and eventful war Prussia again enjoyed the blessing of peace, and its monarch the sweets of leisure. Frederick, however, did not consume his hours in the display of vain pomp, or in the indulgencies of voluptuous effeminacy and indolence. Study served him as a relaxation from labour. He rendered his hours of repose illustrious by his literary productions; and his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, published in 1751, six years after the conclusion of peace, shew how well he filled up the vacancies of time. In the year 1756, however, the calm was succeeded by a storm, which agitated the greatest part of Europe, and which to Prussia was tremendous and dangerous beyond all example. The court of Vienna had, ever since the treaty of Dresden, viewed the rising greatness of Prussia with jealousy, and had never been reconciled to the loss of Silesia. The empress queen, therefore, entered secretly into a league with Russia and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, for the recovery of that fine province, and even for partitioning all the Prussian dominions. This confederacy did not escape the vigilance of the penetrating Frederick. He had ever observed, with a watchful eye, the intrigues of the court of Vienna, and regarded only as a truce the treaty of peace which transferred Silesia from the house of Austria to that of Brandenburg.* The war between France and Great Britain taking place at the same time, and the former of these powers entering into the confederacy with Austria and Russia, the king of Prussia concluded with his Britannic majesty a treaty, of which the fundamental article was

* *Hist. de la Guerre de Septans, ch. 1.*

to oppose the entrance of foreign troops into Germany. His Prussian majesty having demanded from the cabinet of Vienna a clear explanation on the subject of the hostile preparations which he saw carrying forward on the borders of Silesia, and receiving only evasive answers, resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies. He called heaven and earth to witness, that the empress queen, whom he had made the arbitress of peace or war, would alone be chargeable with all the blood that must be spilt, and all the consequences that must ensue from the prosecution of hostilities.

Being fully convinced of the intentions of the court of Vienna, Frederick resolved to begin his operations, by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's dominions, instead of waiting for their attack. In order to facilitate the successful invasion of Bohemia, he first took possession of Saxony with an army of seventy battalions and eighty squadrons, which, entering the electorate in three bodies, and pursuing as many different routes, formed a junction in the vicinity of Dresden. Augustus being unable to resist such a force, abandoned his capital, and retired to his camp at Pirna. The king of Prussia, leaving a considerable body of troops to blockade the Saxon camp, resolved to give battle to the Austrian army under General Brown, who had taken a strong position at Lowositz. The action was long and obstinate, and the loss nearly equal. Both parties claimed the victory; but, if we may judge from the consequences, the only means of deciding such questions, it is evident that the Prussians had the advantage; for Marshal Brown, failing in his attempt to relieve the Saxons, their army consisting of about 14,000 men, was obliged to surrender; and

and Augustus, who had taken refuge in the fortress of Konigstein, retired into Poland. Saxony being thus abandoned, served for winter quarters to the Prussians. The victorious Frederick levied heavy contributions on the country, seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden, and broke open the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were kept. From these documents, he learned the particulars of the confederacy formed against him by the courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Petersburg. A process was now instituted in the Aulic Council against his Prussian majesty on account of his invasion of the Saxon electorate. Through the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the confederacy, which it had formed, he was put to the ban of the empire. The circles were accordingly commanded to furnish their contingents of men and money. These, however, were slowly collected, and probably the army of the empire would scarcely have been able to act, had it not been seconded by the French under the Prince de Soubise, who made himself master of Cleves, Meurs, and Gaeldres, while Marshal d'Erées seized on the town of Embden, and the Prussian territories in East Friesland. Prussia was now in such a situation as seemed to threaten the total extinction of the monarchy. An army of 130,000 Russians was ready to enter that kingdom, while the Swedes, having also acceded to the confederacy, were ready to invade Pomerania; and the empress, Queen of Hungary, had augmented her forces to 180,000 men.* These formidable armies were to take the field at the same time, and to act in concert. In the mean while, Marshal Brown had broken the Austrian army into

* Lloyd, vol. 1.

four divisions, in order to cover Bohemia. Making every allowance for the superior abilities of her monarch, and the acknowledged discipline and valour of her troops, it scarcely seemed probable that Prussia could withstand the shock of such tremendous armaments. Frederick, however, resolving to penetrate into Bohemia, modelled his army like that of the Austrians, in four divisions. The formidable forces of the enemy and the strong positions which they had taken, did not prevent him from penetrating even to Prague. A bloody battle was fought on the 8th of May, 1757, in the vicinity of that city. The king of Prussia was completely victorious, but with the loss of 3,000 men killed, and 6,000 wounded. Among these were almost 400 officers, many of whom were of high rank. General Zieten, one of the bravest of the Prussian commanders, here lost his life, while rallying his division, which was beginning to give way. The loss of the Austrians, who fought with extraordinary bravery, was considerably greater than that of the Prussians. Marshal Brown was mortally wounded, and died in a short time after the action. In this famous battle of Prague, which proved fatal to two of the greatest generals of Europe, the valour and military skill, both of the Austrians and the Prussians, were eminently displayed.†

After this defeat, the main body of the Austrian army, about 50,000 in number, took shelter in Prague, while about 16,000, chiefly cavalry, joined Marshal Daun; who, having advanced from Moravia, had, on hearing of the defeat of Marshal Brown, encamped at Bolsnisch. The intrepid Frederick now ventured on a measure which astonished all Europe, and which

* Lloyd ubi supra.

cannot,

cannot, indeed, be defended on principles of military science. He invested Prague, with an army but little superior to that which was confined within its walls. It seems, indeed, that the king of Prussia, in all his manœuvres, from his victory at Prague to his defeat at Kolin, acted with as great a self-confidence as if he supposed that nothing could resist his victorious arms.* But the greatest commanders, as well as the greatest politicians, are not exempt from mistakes. Marshal Daun, having prudently remained inactive until he had received strong reinforcements, began to advance; and the Prussian monarch, while besieging Prague, was in danger of being himself besieged in his camp by that general. Being informed of Marshal Daun's movements, he marched from before Prague, and having formed a junction with the prince of Bevern, advanced to attack the Austrians at Kolin. The dispositions of Marschal Daun were the most masterly that could possibly be planned. The grand attack being made by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at the head of the Prussian columns, supported by a powerful train of artillery, was pushed with such irresistible force against the right wing of the Austrians as to throw them into confusion. They instantly, however, recovered themselves, and maintained their position with inflexible firmness. The Prussians, in their turn, began to give way, but soon renewed the combat. Never did any army display greater bravery. During the space of four hours and a half, from two o'clock in the afternoon till half past six, the Prussians returned seven times to the charge. The last and most violent

* Major-Gen. Lloyd considers the siege of Prague as an imprudent measure. He also censures the king of Prussia's mode of attack at the battle of Kolin. Lloyd's Campaigns, vol. 1.

effort was made by the king in person at the head of the cavalry. About seven o'clock victory declared for the Austrians. The Prussians sinking under the superiority of numbers, and the disadvantage of the ground in which their cavalry could not act with effect, were obliged to relinquish the contest. They remained, however, about two hours longer on the field; and retreated without being pursued. The slaughter on both sides was great; about 20,000 men being left dead on the field. The Prussian monarch, in consequence of this memorable defeat, which happened on the 18th of June, 1757, was obliged to raise the siege of Prague, and to evacuate Bohemia. This misfortune was soon after followed by others. A Russian army of about 100,000 men, under Marschal Apraxin, had entered Prussia; and being little acquainted with discipline, their light troops, consisting of Kosacks, Kalmucs, and Tartars, behaved like real barbarians. The cruelties which they committed on the inhabitants, were such as had long been unheard of in the military history of Europe. The Russian commanders used every possible means to put a stop to these enormities, but without success.* The country was deserted by the husbandmen, and their army was in danger of being deprived of the means of subsistence. General Lehwald, with only 24,000 men, ventured to attack this formidable horde. Superiority of numbers obliged the Prussians to retire and leave the enemy masters of the field; but they retreated in excellent order. Lehwald, though beaten, had the satisfaction of having killed five times more of the Russians than he had lost of his own men, and of seeing the Prussians more formidable after their defeat, than the

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 303.

enemy was after his victory. The retreat of General Apraxin, whom the chancellor Bestuchef recalled during a dangerous sickness, with which the empress Elizabeth was attacked, delivered Prussia for a short time from this destructive enemy.*

While the Prussian dominions were ravaged on one side by the Russians, they were invaded on the other side by the French. The convention of Closter Seven left Marshal Richelieu, and the prince de Soubise, at full liberty to direct their whole force against Prussia. A Swedish army of 20,000 men also entered Pomerania, and laid the country under contribution. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and another penetrating through Lusatia, suddenly presented itself before Berlin, and levied a contribution on that capital. The king of Prussia, now surrounded with enemies, was obliged to direct his attention and his efforts towards every quarter. After a train of masterly manoeuvres, he gained on the 5th of November, 1757, a complete victory over the French and Imperialists at Rosbach. Here the Prussians fought like heroes: the columns of the enemy, unable to withstand their irresistible attack, were totally routed and driven off the field with the loss of near 9,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the last were eleven generals, besides 300 officers of inferior rank. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed 300 men. This signal victory, however, was counterbalanced by serious losses. A numerous army of Austrians and Hungarians, under the generals Daun and Nadasti, having entered Silesia, took the strong town of Schweidnitz, and made the garrison consisting of near 6,000 men prisoners of war. They afterwards stormed the in-

*Tschob's Hist. Maria, vol. 2, p. 625.

trenchments

trenchments of the Prussian army under the prince of Bevern, who was made prisoner two days after, while reconnoitering the position of the victorious enemy: Breslau immediately after surrendered to the Austrians.*

Amidst these reverses of fortune the king remained still undaunted. Resolving to make a vigorous effort in order to retrieve his affairs, and being joined by the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, he marched immediately against the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Daun receiving intelligence of the king's approach, and relying on their superior strength, advanced towards Glogau in confidence of victory. The two armies met near Lissa, where a general engagement took place; and after an obstinate contest, in which each party alternately had the advantage, the Austrians, at last, were totally defeated. The king of Prussia in this action displayed the most masterly strokes of generalship; but the military skill of Marschal Daun appeared less conspicuous here, than at the battle of Kolin.† The Austrians left about 6,000 dead on the field, with nearly the same number of wounded; and the approach of night seems to have been the only circumstance that prevented the total destruction of their army. The loss of the Prussians amounted to about 5,000 killed and wounded. But the importance of the victory at Lissa is best seen in its consequences. Within a week after the battle, the Prussians took 20,000 prisoners, 3,000 waggons, and 200 pieces of

* Lloyd's Campaigns, vol. 1.

† Compare the account of the battle of Lissa, Russel's Hist. Modern Eur. vol. 5, with Lloyd's reflections on the battle of Kolin, Lloyd's Campaigns ubi supra.

cannon, with a great number of military trophies. This battle was fought on the 5th of December, 1757; and on the 19th Breslau, though defended by a garrison of several thousand men, surrendered to the arms of his Prussian majesty. Prince Charles of Lorraine, with the remains of his shattered forces, retired into Bohemia. The retreat of the Russians having, at the same time, left General Lehwald at liberty with near 30,000 men, to act against the Swedes, he obliged them to abandon their conquests in Pomerania, and drove them under the cannon of Stralsund. While this tide of success attended the army of Prussia, fortune also declared in favour of her allies. The French having violated almost every article of the convention of Closter Seven, his Britannic majesty justly considering himself as no longer bound by that treaty, invested Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of the electoral forces. That consummate general, after driving the French from post to post, at last compelled them to evacuate their conquests and repass the Rhine. Prince Ferdinand followed them across that river. A variety of manœuvres took place. The duc de Broglie, having defeated the Hessian army, gained the command of the Weser. Prince Ferdinand, in his turn, was obliged to repass the Rhine, and to put his army into winter quarters in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim.* The operations of the Hanoverian general, however, so completely occupied the French arms, that his Prussian majesty having nothing to fear from that quarter, began the campaign of 1758 with the siege of Schweidnitz, which he soon compelled to surrender. He then suddenly entered Moravia, and laid siege to Olmutz.

* Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 5, p. 371.

Marschal Daun was too cautious to attempt the relief of that place by a battle, but he effected his purpose by intercepting a convoy of 400 waggons destined for the use of the besieging army. The loss being irreparable, his Prussian majesty saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprise. He gained, however, as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Marschal Daun did in rendering it necessary. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he broke up his camp about midnight and proceeded into Bohemia without molestation. The Russians having again entered the Prussian dominions, and invested Custring, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he immediately marched to its relief. The Russian generals, Fermor and Brown, receiving intelligence of the king of Prussia's approach, immediately raised the siege, and posted themselves between the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorf. The king, though greatly inferior in numbers, relying on the valour and superior discipline of his troops, resolved to bring the enemy to an engagement. The event did not disappoint his hopes. The dispositions of the Russian generals were excellent; but the attack of the Prussians was made with such impetuosity, and continued with such vigour and skill, as to be absolutely irresistible. Never, however, was an attack more obstinately sustained. Whole regiments of Russians were cut down; but not a man quitted his ranks; and fresh regiments still pressing forward, the Prussian infantry, which had supported so many violent shocks with unmoveable firmness, yielded at last to the collected impulse. All seemed lost, when the king, by a rapid and masterly movement, brought the cavalry of his right wing to support his centre. The Prussian

horse, now pressing upon the Russian foot, drove them back with great slaughter, and allowed their own battalions leisure to recollect themselves and rally. Returning to the charge, the Prussian infantry decided the doubtful contest. The enemy being every where thrown into confusion, it was no longer a battle, but a mere carnage. But incredible as it may seem, the Russians, though broken, distracted, and cut to pieces, never offered to quit the field. They kept their ground until seven in the evening, and even then made a new struggle for victory. When darkness put a stop to the effusion of blood, they left 10,000 men dead on the field, and about 5,000 mortally wounded. The loss of the Prussians amounted to about 1,500 men.* In consequence of this terrible defeat, the Russian army retreated to the frontiers of Poland; and the king marched to the relief of his brother, Prince Henry, who was surrounded with enemies. The Prussian monarch and Marschal Daun vied with each other in skilful manœuvres, till at last, on the 15th of October, 1758, the Austrian general attacked and defeated the Prussians at Kirlitz. The loss in men, however, was nearly equal, being about 7,000; but the king, besides leaving behind him the greatest part of his camp-equipage, lost Prince Francis of Brunswick and Marschal Kieth, two of his ablest generals. His Prussian majesty, however, soon after offered battle to the Austrians; but not being able to bring them to a second engagement, he immediately marched into Sile-

* *Hist. Mod. Europe*, vol. 5, p. 375. The historian of Russia says "both sides claimed the victory." He does not particularize the loss, but says that it was undoubtedly the greatest on the side of the Russians; and that their military chest, with the greatest part of their artillery, fell into the hands of the enemy. *Tooke's Hist. Russia*, vol. 2, p. 314.

sia; and having by a train of masterly movements driven the Austrians from that country, without hazarding a battle, he returned into Saxony; and forced Marschal Daun to raise the siege of Dresden. The sieges of Leipsic and Glogau were abandoned at the same time. The Russians, also, who in their retreat had invested Colberg in Prussian Pomerania, were constrained to relinquish their enterprise; and the Swedes, who had entered that country, were not more successful in their operations. Prussia was triumphant over all her enemies, and seemed to be a match for all nations in arms.

The fortune of war, however, was preparing for the great Frederick a dreadful reverse. The Russians under General Count Soltikoff, having advanced into Silesia and defeated General Wedel, the king resolved to oppose them in person. Leaving Prince Henry to watch the motions of the Austrians, he marched with about 10,000 of his best troops to join Wedel. Marschal Daun, in the mean while, knowing that the Russians always lay under great disadvantages on account of the inferiority of their cavalry, had detached General Laudohn with 12,000 Austrian horse, in order to give stability to their army.* Laudohn and Soltikoff stationed themselves at Cammerdorf opposite to Frankfort. This combined army consisted of about 100,000 combatants. The king of Prussia could not muster above half of that number; but his pressing circumstances and his sanguine hopes induced him to hazard an engagement. On the 12th of August, 1759, the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great slaughter. The Russians lost more than half of their

* Mr. Tooke says General Laudohn brought also 2,000 to the Russian army. Hist. Russia, vol. 9, p. 318.

artillery; but although defeated in every quarter, they were not discouraged: they again formed under cover of the Austrian cavalry, and posted themselves in an advantageous situation, called the Jews' Burying-ground. Prudence and past experience of the obstinate valour of the Russians, ought to have taught the king to rest satisfied with so great an advantage gained over an enemy so superior in numbers; but animated by the expectation of completing his victory by the total destruction of the Russian army, and supposing only one effort more to be necessary for attaining this grand object, he unfortunately renewed the attack. But his harrassed troops were not equal to this tremendous attempt. The infantry attacked the main body of the Russian army, but were repulsed with a terrible slaughter. The king put himself at the head of his cavalry, but their vigour was spent. After having been so long engaged in one of the most desperate battles ever fought, and one of the hottest days ever felt, both men and horses were equally exhausted. The Austrian cavalry broke in upon them with the impetnosity of a torrent, and the fire of the Russian artillery resembled a volcano. The Prussians were at last obliged to yield to the irresistible shock. The king endeavouring to rally them, seemed prodigal of his life. He had two horses killed under him, and several bullets passed through his cloaths. All his exertions, however, were ineffectual. The battle was irretrievably lost, and the approach of night only preserved the Prussian army from total destruction.* All their cannon was taken. About 30,000 men were left on the field, and 16,000 of them were Prussians.

* Tooke Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 314.

It is impossible to describe the consternation of the court and city of Berlin on receiving intelligence of this disaster. When the king had obtained possession of the village of Cunnnersdorff, he wrote to the queen in these terms, "We have driven the Russians from their entrenchments. Expect within two hours to hear of a glorious victory." On the receipt of this billet, all was joy and exultation. But soon after another was received by the queen, in the same laconic style, "Remove," says the king, "from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy."* Nothing but terror and dismay was now to be seen at Berlin. The general consternation was augmented by the indistinct rumours that followed, and from which nothing could be learned, except that the army was totally routed, that no account could be heard of the king, and that the Russians were advancing against the capital.

His Prussian majesty, however, by his subsequent conduct, wiped away all the disgrace incurred by his temerity; and the dreadful disaster which he had suffered, only served to display the vast resources of his genius, as well as the unshaken fortitude of his mind. By a judicious movement, he posted himself so advantageously that the Russians durst not approach Berlin; and Soltikoff, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusace, where he joined the grand Austrian army under Marschal Daun. The king in the mean while having refreshed and recruited his

* Hist. mod. Europe, vol. 5, p. 301. From a comparison of the accounts published by authority at Berlin and Vienna, Tecke states the loss of the Prussians at 20,000, and that of the Russians at 10,000. Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 324, 325.

shattered army, and supplied the loss of his artillery from the arsenal of Berlin, again appeared formidable; and while all Europe believed that the Austrians and Russians had nothing left to do but to make a rapid conquest of his dominions, his skilful measures obliged both to act entirely on the defensive. A detachment of the army under General Wunch, having joined another under General Finck, recovered all Saxony except Dresden. Prince Henry marching with incredible celerity into that electorate, joined those two generals, and obliged Marschal Daun to separate from Soltikoff in order to cover Dresden. The king also getting between the Russians and the town of Glogau, obliged them to relinquish a design which they had formed for reducing that place, and to retire into Poland.*

His Prussian majesty might now have terminated the campaign with advantage; but being desirous of closing it with some decisive stroke, he formed the grand design of not only cutting off from the Austrians all means of subsistence, but also of rendering their retreat impracticable by seizing the passes into Bohemia. He accordingly detached General Finck with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf. This service was successfully executed, and no doubt was entertained that Marschal Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle or to surrender at discretion. The case, however, proved exactly the reverse. That able commander having sent detachments to seize on the neighbouring eminences, so completely surrounded the Prussians as to preclude all possibility of escape. General Finck, with eight other general officers, and

* Hist. Mod. Europe, vol. 5, p. 303.

near 20,000 men, were, after a gallant defence obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.* To a commander circumstanced like the Prussian monarch, this was a most serious loss.

This unfortunate affair ended the campaign of 1759. The king of Prussia began the next on a defensive plan, with the most judicious arrangements that military science could devise. But the enterprising spirit and sagacious conduct of the Austrian General Laudohn, totally disconcerted his measures. That skilful and active commander, by artful feints and rapid marches, deceived the Prussian general Fouquet, and surrounded his small army. That gallant officer being attacked in his entrenchments was mortally wounded, and 4000 of his men being killed, the rest, about 7000 in number, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The reduction of Glatz by General Laudohn was the immediate consequence of this decisive victory. The victorious Laudohn was now ready to lay siege to Breslaw. The king of Prussia's defensive system being now overturned, he quitted his fortified camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and directed his route towards Silesia. Marschal Daun advanced towards the same quarter, and by forced marches outstripped his antagonist. In consequence of this movement, the king displaying a bold stroke of generalship, wheeled in the opposite direction and suddenly appeared before Dresden. This place, however, being well garrisoned, as well as strengthened by additional fortifications, baffled all the assaults of the Prussians, and held out till the approach of Marschal Daun from Silesia obliged them to raise the siege. General

* Hist. Mod. Eur. on the authority of the Austrian and Prussian relations compared, vol. 5, p. 335.

Laudohn in the mean while commenced the siege of Breslaw, but after annoying the town by a heavy bombardment, was compelled by Prince Henry to relinquish his enterprise. The Russian army under Count Czernichef had now reached the frontiers of Silesia; another body of Russians entered Pomerania, and the Swedes with 20,000 men recommenced their operations in that province.

The king was no sooner apprized of the approach of the Russians, than he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. He was at that time in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz, by the three Austrian armies of Daun, Laudohn, and Lasey, who had effected a junction, and formed the design of attacking him with their united forces. The Prussian monarch, who apparently was not ignorant of their plan, quitted his camp in the night, occupied the heights by which Laudohn was to advance, and defeated that enterprising general, who, after losing about 8,000 men, was obliged to retreat, while Daun could not possibly come to his assistance. By this victory the Prussian monarch not only rescued himself from imminent danger, but prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies in Silesia. Having joined Prince Henry, he marched in the next place against Marschal Daun who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz, and compelled him to abandon his enterprise.

While the king was making these grand efforts in Silesia, General Hulsen, in Saxony, gallantly supported the reputation of the Prussian arms; but in another quarter the state of affairs was very different. Count Czernikoff the Russian commander, having joined the Austrian General Lasey, their united forces made
themselves

themselves masters of Berlin, where they levied a contribution, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, and took up their quarters in the royal palaces, which they pillaged of a great part of their valuable furniture. But on hearing of the king's approach to the relief of his capital, they retired by different routes. Through the good offices, however, of General Tottleben, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and had for some time lived in Berlin, the city suffered less than might have been expected.* In the mean time, almost all Saxony was conquered by the Imperial army. The French laid Hulberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg by land and by sea. The king's situation now seemed desperate; all his motions were watched by Daun, while Laudohn had laid siege to the important fortress of Cosel in Silesia, and threatened the whole province with subjugation. It now became necessary that his Prussian majesty should call up all the vigour of his genius, and attempt by bold exertion to extricate himself from these complicated difficulties. He resolved, therefore, to make an extraordinary effort. Marschal Daun had an army of 80,000 men encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau, in the strongest position that tactical science could chuse. The Prussian monarch had only 50,000, yet in his desperate situation he resolved to attack that able and experienced general in his apparently impregnable camp, and to strike a decisive blow before the close of the campaign. The battle of Torgau, fought November 23, 1760, was, in regard both to valour and tactical skill, one of the best contested

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 328.

actions in the annals of war. The courage and conduct of the two commanders were equally conspicuous. Marschal Daun received a dangerous wound in the thigh, and the king a slight contusion by a musket ball on the breast. About 10,000 were killed and wounded on each side. The Prussians took near 8,000 prisoners, among whom were four generals, and 200 inferior officers.* The Austrians as well as the Prussians claimed the victory, but the consequences decided the question. The king recovered all Saxony before the end of the campaign. He had added new lustre to his arms, and the shock seemed to be communicated to every hostile quarter. General Laudohn immediately raised the siege of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg, and retired into Poland. The Swedes in Pomerania were defeated by the Prussians, and obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund.

During the campaign of 1761, his Prussian majesty finding his resources exhausted, and his armies consumed in unavailing efforts and indecisive victories, acted solely on the defensive. But this plan did not exempt him from misfortunes. The Austrians under General Laudohn took Schweidnitz by surprise, and Colberg surrendered to the Russians. The king found himself in a worse situation at the close of this than of any former campaign. The Russians wintered in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia. By this position they were ready to commence their operations earlier than formerly, and to act with greater vigour and concert. Nothing seemed capable of averting the fate of the illustrious Frederick, who was now

* Hist. Mod. Eur. on the authority of the Austrian and Prussian gazettes compared, vol. 5, p. 343.

considered as a victim devoted to the vengeance of his numerous and powerful enemies. But when all human efforts appeared unavailable, Providence interposed. The tremendous storm which seemed ready to burst upon Prussia, was dissipated by one of those sudden and unforeseen changes in human affairs, which instantly decide the fate of nations, and baffle all political conjecture. The death of Elizabeth empress of Russia, and the accession of Peter III. to the throne, produced an unexpected revolution in the affairs of the belligerent powers. The new emperor immediately concluded a treaty of peace, and afterwards of alliance with his Prussian majesty.* And Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin. The king of Prussia now relieved from a great part of that load of power by which he had long been oppressed, was enabled to act with vigour against his remaining enemies. A body of Russian irregulars being ordered to co-operate with the Prussians, made an irruption into Bohemia, and the Austrians in their turn experienced the ravages of these ferocious allies, now become formidable enemies.† But the sudden revolution in Russia, by which Peter III. was deposed, and his consort Catharine II. was elevated to the throne, seemed to portend a fatal reverse to the Prussian monarch. The event, however, was more favorable than might have been expected. That prudent princess, indeed, withdrew her troops from his alliance, but she preserved inviolate the treaty of peace concluded by her predecessor.

* Tooke Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 345, 346.

† Hist. mod. Eur. vol. 3, p. 381. Tooke says that his Prussian majesty did not make use of the Russians at this time. Hist. Rus. vol. 2, p. 346.

The two grand objects of his Prussian majesty, were the recovery of Schweidnitz, and the expulsion of the Austrians from Silesia. Both these designs were successfully carried into effect. Schweidnitz, although defended by a garrison of 9000 men, was after a siege of two months obliged to surrender, in spite of the efforts of Daun and Landohn to obstruct the king's operations. The Prussian armies now made irruptions into Bohemia. One body advanced almost to Prague, and destroyed a large magazine, while another laid a great part of the town of Egra in ashes. Some parties penetrated into Franconia and Suabia, ravaging the country and levying heavy contributions. In these predatory expeditions, the Prussians are said to have levied contributions to the amount of 1,000,000 sterling, and several princes of the empire were obliged to sign a treaty of neutrality in order to preserve their territories from future depredations. In the month of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was concluded between the king of Prussia and the empress queen of Hungary, on the condition of mutual restitution of conquests and oblivion of injuries. Thus terminated this obstinate contest between Austria and Prussia. After the repeated devastation of so many fertile and flourishing provinces, the defacement of so many fine cities by bombs and balls, and so tremendous a destruction of the human species, both parties were placed in the same situation as at the commencement of the war. What a burlesque on political science! What a view to the moral philosopher!

From this period the illustrious Frederick no more displayed his formidable banners, except in the short dispute with Joseph II. concerning the Bavarian succession, which, notwithstanding the vast preparations that

that were made on both sides, happily terminated without any important consequences. Having acquired the reputation of the greatest general of modern times, he employed the remainder of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace, with the same ardour that he had formerly displayed in war: His powerful patronage, as well as his refined taste, eminently contributed to the advancement of arts, sciences, and learning in Prussia. Potsdam owes to him almost its creation, and Berlin its principal embellishments.* Under his auspices agriculture was greatly improved. He has at the same time been accused of loading the trade of his dominions with unnecessary and cumbersome restrictions. His views of commerce, indeed, appear to have been confined; at least his ideas on the subject were somewhat singular. His predilection for the language, the literature, and manners of France, and his contempt of those of Germany, have also been censured. During his reign, every thing was French at the court of Berlin, as much as at that of Versailles. He composed all his works in that language, in which he distinguished himself among writers of the first class, if not for elegance, at least for perspicuity; and if the negligence of his style be sometimes perceptible, the depth of his thoughts will always be admired. It is only to be lamented that his philosophy was not more in unison with Christianity. In his military enterprises he has sometimes been accused of temerity, but it must be confessed, that his circumstances were frequently such as did not permit him to consult time and situations, and that rashness could scarcely dictate any thing that in his condition was incompatible with prudence. His military talents

* Carr's *Summer's Tour*, p. 183, 399, 400, 491.

on the whole have, seldom been equalled, perhaps never excelled, in ancient or modern times. Equally distinguished for valour and conduct, the exploits of every contemporary commander were lost in the splendor of his victories and his retreats. His conduct in regard to Poland, in conjunction with the other partition powers, is mentioned in the historical sketches of that country and of Russia. Policy may apologize for his conduct, justice pronounces its condemnation. The most striking features of his character, are those of the warrior, the statesman, and the scholar. He was the patron of all that is elegant in letters, and the model of all that is great in arms. He died in 1786, and left to his successor a consolidated power, a formidable army, able generals, and a full treasury.*

Frederick the Great was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William II. This prince had already given the most flattering hopes that his reign would be as glorious, and his administration less rigorous than that of his uncle. The Prussian monarchy was in the height of its splendor, being one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, flourishing in arts, formidable in arms. The beginning of his reign realized all the expectations that so favorable circumstances naturally concurred to excite. Cabals of courtiers, and novelty of circumstances, contributed to destroy the flattering calm. The councils of Europe began to fluctuate, and the tremendous revolution of France gave rise to new plans of policy. Prussia and Austria undertook to reduce that revolted nation, and re-establish the authority of its monarch. The enterprise appeared easy to two such formidable powers. Scarcely

* *Sege. Fred. William II.*, vol. 1, p. 11.

any one doubted of its success. The general opinion which prevailed throughout Germany was, that the undisciplined troops of France could make little resistance against the warlike battalions of Prussia or Austria.* As the scene was wholly new and unprecedented, the issue of the enterprise baffled all political and tactical calculation. These memorable events being already mentioned, it suffices in this place to remark, that the conduct of Prussia has been inexplicable. The great promoter of the revolutionary war, she was the first that made peace with the Gallic republic. Frederick William II, was succeeded in 1797 by his son Frederick William III. After constantly refusing to join in the second coalition of the great continental powers, and losing so favorable an opportunity as presented itself previous to the battle of Austerlitz, when she might have come forward with almost a moral certainty of success, Prussia at last undertook single handed to cope with that formidable power, which had recently shaken to its very foundations the Austrian throne, and shattered to pieces the formidable army of Russia. The issue of the contest was not less extraordinary than the time was ill chosen. It could scarcely have been supposed that the magnificent edifice of Prussian greatness, which Frederick II. had erected, could have been crumbled to pieces in a few days. Some strange insatiation seems to have fallen upon Prussia, or some lurking treachery must have obstructed her political views, and impeded her military operations. The Prussian army was one of the finest that Europe had ever seen in the field, and was scarcely less than 200,000 in number. The resistance which it made,

* Reinbeck's Travels, vol. 3, p. 28. See Historical sketch of France. however

however, was only of short duration. On the 10th October, 1806, Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia lost his life in the first skirmish that took place with the French.* But his death was shortly after revenged. Prince Hohenloe on the 13th gained a very considerable advantage over the enemy. On the 14th the decisive battle took place, which put a period to the greatness of Prussia. The king and the duke of Brunswick commanded in this action. The army consisted of about 180,000 of the finest troops in the world; that of the enemy commanded by the French emperor was somewhat superior in number. The Prussians were totally defeated, the number of killed and wounded amounted to more than 90,000, and according to the most authenticated accounts near 40,000 were made prisoners. The duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, and died some days after the action. The French advanced to Berlin, and took possession not only of Brandenburg and the greatest part of Silesia, but also of Hamburg, Lubeck, Mecklenburg, and several other German states. Most of the Prussian towns surrendered without resistance; and the different divisions of the army flying from the scene of defeat and disaster, being every where pursued and intercepted, fell into the hands of the enemy. According to the French bulletins 143,000 prisoners were taken within a few weeks after the entrance of their army into the Prussian territories.†

The loss of a battle is nothing uncommon, but the overthrow of a great and warlike nation by one single defeat, is a phenomenon in modern history. If extent of territory and number of inhabitants be taken

* Gazette account of the rencounter, 10th October.

† Bulletins, from Oct. 24 to Nov. 3, 1806.

as the criterion of national strength, Prussia was far more powerful in the year 1806, than when she successfully resisted half a century ago the united forces of Austria and Russia, supported by France and Sweden. What a field of remark and reflection for the politician and the philosopher. What a theme for the future historian when partiality and prejudice shall have subsided, and more authentic documents shall have dispelled the chaos of contradictory information.

The battle of Jena, the most decisive of all those that are recorded in modern history, annihilated the greatness and glory of Prussia, and crumbled to pieces that magnificent military fabric, which Frederick the Great had erected. After that fatal day, she scarcely made any further resistance; her cities, her towns, her magazines, and her scattered battalions, fell one after another into the hands of the enemy. And this mighty power, which not half a century ago was one of the most formidable in Europe, has been obliged to make peace with France on the hard conditions of resigning her dominions in Westphalia and Poland, together with the city of Dantzick, and of shutting her ports against the trade of Great Britain.

The commercial history of Prussia is much less striking than her military annals. The origin of her trade is as ancient as that of perhaps any other nation of the north, as appears from her early connections with Novogorod and the Hanse Towns of Germany; but its progress has been gradual, and distinguished by few interesting features. The merchants of Hull traded to Prussia so early as the year 1372.* But it was in the year 1386 that the first commercial treaty

* Federa, vol. 6, p. 718.

appears to have been concluded between England and the knights of the Teutonic order; then sovereigns of Prussia.* In later times the trade of that kingdom had considerably increased, and the acquisition of the great commercial city of Dantzick had rendered it respectable. But Prussia has now lost that celebrated port, and indeed her commerce may at present be considered as annihilated.

* Federa, vol. 7, p. 525.

DENMARK, NORWAY, &c.

 CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and Artificial Curiosities.

THE Danish dominions, consisting of Denmark Proper, Norway, and Iceland, countries separated by wide intervening distances, and in physical and moral circumstances very dissimilar, will be best described by following those natural divisions which no political events can annihilate.

Situation.]—Denmark Proper, consisting of those ancient seats of the Danish nation, the isles of Zealand, Funen, Laland, and Falster, with others of inferior extent, together with the Chersonesus Cimbrica, which contains Holstein, Sleswick, and Jutland, is situated between 54° and 58° north latitude, and between 6° and 11° east longitude. But of countries so detached, and lying in so irregular a form, it is impossible to calculate the area, with any appearance of an approximation to accuracy.

Face of the Country.]—The islands of Zealand and Funen are fertile and pleasant, consisting of fields separated by mud walls, and interspersed with cottages of brick or white washed, and finely diversified with

vales and gently swelling hills, interspersed with woods of beech and oak. The isle of Funen in particular is well cultivated; Sleswick, Holstein, and Jutland are also level countries; the latter contains several extensive forests and moors; but there is nothing like a mountain either in the peninsula or the isles that compose the ancient kingdom of Denmark; nor any river either of historical fame or commercial importance, although the rivulets as well as the creeks are numerous. Among the latter, the Lymfjord may be considered as a remarkable geographical feature, being a creek or inlet of the sea in the province of Jutland, penetrating almost quite through the peninsula, from the Cattegate to within less than three miles of the German Ocean. In the interior of the country it forms an extensive lake, sending forth a multitude of different branches, which running in every direction, compose so singular a figure that nothing but the view of a good map can convey any idea of its topography. It abounds with fish and contains many islands; and Busching describes it as navigable.*

Canals.—Denmark presents few canals. Its situation, indeed, in a great measure precludes the necessity of inland navigation. The principal communication of this kind is the canal of Kiel, in the province of Holstein, uniting the Baltic with the river Eydar, which flows into the German sea. This canal, which must be considered as a very important work, extends something more than twenty English miles, and admits vessels of about 120 tons.†

Lakes.—There are several lakes in the peninsula and the isles, but except that formed by the Lym-

* Busching, vol. 1, p. 328.

† Coxe's Travels, vol. 5, p. 301.

fiord already mentioned, none of them are considerable.

Mineralogy.]—Denmark Proper presents scarcely any thing to the observation of the mineralogist, and is equally deficient in mineral waters.

Soil.]—The country being level, the soil is generally fertile; and the unproductive tracts, which are chiefly in the northern parts of Jutland, being not mountainous but marshy, are capable of great improvement. The agriculture of Denmark is of late greatly improved, a circumstance chiefly owing to the emancipation of the peasantry.

Climate.]—The climate of Denmark is cold and humid. The winters are often very severe; and the transitions from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, are often sudden and violent. In 1658, the great Belt, which is at least twenty English miles in breadth, was so completely frozen over, that Charles X. king of Sweden, marched his troops across it from Zealand to Funen.

Vegetable Productions.]—The vegetable productions of Denmark are not materially different from those of the northern parts of England and Germany. They consist chiefly of pasturage and different kinds of grain; and as agriculture is constantly improving, abundance must consequently increase.

Zoology.]—The zoology of Denmark Proper has nothing peculiar. The horses, especially those of the Holstein breed, are large and fine. The king has above 2,000, among which is a breed remarkable for being of a milk white colour.* His majesty allows all the farmers to have their mares covered gratuitously, by his best stallions, which contributes greatly to improve the breed of horses in this country. The

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 100.

horned cattle, which are also of a good size, are numerous.*

Natural Curiosities.]—Denmark Proper scarcely presents any thing that can be called a natural curiosity.

Artificial Curiosities.]—The vestiges of antiquity are likewise few in number, and of little importance, all the ancient monuments being those called runic. Circles of upright stones are common in all the Danish territories. In Iceland, in particular, their origin is clearly ascertained, from their denomination of Dombing, or circles of judgment. A variety of monuments also are found, of those kinds, which antiquarians have long considered as Druidic; but which appear to be of a different and much later origin.

NORWAY.—

Situation, Extent, &c.]—Norway, situated between 55° north latitude, and the Arctic Ocean, presents a vast, although not well ascertained, extent of territory, bounded by the Ocean on every side, except on the east towards Sweden, from which it is separated by a long range of mountains, running almost the whole length of the country.

Face of the Country.]—The face of the country is extremely diversified and romantic, being almost entirely mountainous, especially the inland or eastern parts, which are a truly Alpine region. The grand chain which divides Norway from Sweden, is, in passing through the different provinces, distinguished by different names, as Joglefeld, Buglefeld, Hardan-

* Swinton's Trav. p. 28.

gerfeld,

gerfeld, Dofrafeld, &c. The most elevated part of the chain is about the parallel of Drontheim, in $63^{\circ} 26'$ north latitude. That continuation of it which passes along the east and south of Danish Lapland, assumes the appellation of the mountains of Kolen, is of an inferior height. Areskutan, a solitary mountain of Yœmpland, at some distance from the grand chain, is said to be 6162 English feet above the nearest rivers, and Swackustoct, 4658 feet above the lake of Famand, which is supposed to be 2000 or 3000 feet above the level of the the sea.* But the height of the Norwegian mountains seems to be very imperfectly estimated; and the confused and contradictory accounts given by Busching, Bergman, Ascanius, Pen- nant, and Pontoppidon; and in part collected by Pin- kerton, throw very little light on the subject.† From comparing the different statements, however, it ap- pears that the Soandinavian chain is inferior in height, not only to the Alps of Switzerland, but also to the Pyrenees and the Carpathian mountains. Many lofty elevations also branch out of the westward from the grand chain, and stretch in various forms towards the coast.

Rivers.]—The rivers, most of which rise from the Alpine chain, have only a short course. The princi- pal river of Norway is the Glomen, which issues from the lake of Oresund, and runs nearly south about 300 English miles. Before it receives the Worm, from the lake Mioss, it is as broad as the Thames at Putney.‡ But numerous cataracts and shoals render it un- navigable, although about 50,000 trees are annually floated down it to Fredericstadt.§ The want of navi-

* Pink. Geog. vol. 1, p. 513.

† Ibid.

‡ Cox's Trav. vol. 5, p. 62.

§ Ibid, vol. 5, p. 31.

gable rivers in this country, however, is, in a great measure, supplied by the numerous creeks with which the coast is indented.

Lakes.—There are no canals in Norway but a great number of lakes, some of which are of a considerable extent, and highly picturesque. That of Tyri in particular, although not one of the most extensive, is one of the most beautiful, being diversified with a multitude of bays and creeks. Its length and breadth are each about fifteen miles; and the environs, consisting of corn fields, fertile meadows, and hanging forests, backed with lofty mountains, towering amphitheatrically one above another, compose a romantic and delightful scenery.* The lake of Mioss extends near sixty English miles in length, but is very narrow except towards the middle, where it displays an expansion of from twelve to eighteen miles, and contains an island about ten miles in circuit, fertile in corn and pasture, and ornamented with wood.† That of Fæmund, thirty-five miles in length by about eight at its greatest breadth, is surrounded with mountains of a considerable height.

Mineralogy.—The mineralogy of Norway is a copious subject. Some gold ore has been found, but not to any considerable amount, while in silver, Norway displays a superiority over Sweden; the mines of Kongsberg, forty miles south-west of Christiana, having long been esteemed the richest in Europe. Mr. Coxe mentions a mass of native silver in the royal cabinet of Denmark, weighing 409 marks, and worth 600*l.* sterling. These mines were discovered by some peasants in 1623. They are worked by thirty-six shafts, and used to employ 4000 men. At that time

* Coxe's Trav. vol. 5, p. 33.

† Ibid, vol. 5, p. 39—60,

their

their annual net produce was about 70,000*l.* sterling, but now it is supposed that these famous mines barely defray the expence of working; and more than half of the hands have removed to the cobalt mines at Fossum.* Other silver mines have also been discovered at Yarlberg, about thirty miles to the north-east of Kongsberg; but they have hitherto proved of inconsiderable account. The mines of cobalt at Fossum, about twenty miles to the north of Kongsberg, are a recent discovery. This mineral production yields smalt, or powder blue; and the mine is supposed to produce a net annual revenue to the crown of 15,000*l.* sterling. In the region to the eastward of Drontheim, are the copper mines of Raras, Storward, Qucikne, and Selboe, some of which, especially those of Raras, are very productive, and yield to the crown a considerable revenue. But of all the Norwegian mines, those of iron, situated near Arindal, in the province of Christiansand, and near Skeen, between Arindal and Kongsberg, are esteemed the most profitable. Norway also produces rock chrystals of a large size, jade and magnets, and the cairngorm stones of Scotland, with abundance of beautiful marbles of various kinds, as also the lapis ollaris, with which the cathedral of Drontheim and several other edifices are built.† Allum works are seen in the vicinity of Christiana.

Mineral Waters.]—Although Norway is so abundant in mines, it appears to be deficient in mineral waters, or at least these have hitherto escaped research as there are none of any considerable celebrity.

* For an ample description of those mines, vide Coxe's Trav, vol. 5, p. 45, 46, 47, &c.—Journal des Mines, No. 16.

† Pontoppid. Norway, vol. 1, p. 166, vol. 2, p. 276.

Soil.—It is unnecessary to say that a country so extensive and so mountainous as Norway must present a great variety of soil. Rocky sterility is, however, the predominant feature, although there are numerous vallies extremely rich and fertile. In the southern parts, especially, several districts unite the most pleasing fertility with the most variegated aspect; and numerous cottages, romantically placed on rocky eminences, interspersed amidst luxuriant forests, display the seats of peaceful industry.*

Climate.—Norway, extending along the western side of the Scandinavian Alps, is exposed to the vapours of the Atlantic, which render the cold less severe than might be expected from so northerly a situation. But from this circumstance, the western storms and heavy rains prevail nearly in the same manner as on the western coasts of Scotland, and consequently have the same effect in impeding the progress of agriculture.

Vegetable Productions.—The vegetable productions of Norway are the same as those of Sweden. The Norwegian Alps are generally clothed with pines and firs more than half the way to the tops, and the greatest part of the country may be considered as an immense mass of mountains and forests. Here as in Sweden, northern Russia, and other countries under the same parallels, vegetation is so rapid that in some places the corn is sowed and reaped in less than two months, yet the portion of arable land is so small, on account of the rockiness of the soil, and the climate so unfavourable, by reason of the heavy autumnal rains, that the quantity of grain produced is far from being adequate to the consumption; and hence

* Coxe's Travels, vol. 5.

arises the custom of mixing the bark of the larch tree with the bread, in conformity to the practice of the Swedish peasantry. Even the mountainous parts, however, abound in pasturage and cattle, which here, as in several other countries of a similar nature, are driven to the hills in summer. An agricultural society has been established, by the judicious exertions of which the country is so much improved, that the landed property has, within half a century, risen almost fifty per cent. in its value.*

Zoology.]—The zoology, as well as the botany, is likewise similar to that of Sweden, except the lemming, or Norwegian mouse, a singular animal of a reddish colour, and about five inches in length, which seems peculiar to Norway and Danish Lapland. Immense numbers of these sometimes appear, and spread desolation like the locust. They proceed from the mountains of Kolen by a direct course towards the sea, into which at last they submerge themselves, after having devoured in their route every thing that is edible. It is said, that if provisions fail them in the way, they devour one another. Danish as well as Swedish and Russian Lapland, has its peculiar animal—the rein deer, and as far as has hitherto been discovered, all the Laplandic regions display the same zoology, as well as the same botany. Scarcely any country equals, but probably none excels Norway in its ornithology, whether numbers or variety of species be considered. In the number of sea fowls, in particular, it greatly surpasses Sweden. Along the vast extent of the Norwegian coast, and the numerous rocky isles, with which it is skirted, their numbers often darken the air, and the sound of their wings

* Cox's Trav. vol. 5, p. 18.

resemble the roaring of a storm. The flesh of some of them is greatly esteemed, and the eggs are an excellent food. Eagles of the largest size are common throughout Scandinavia, but more numerous in Norway than in Sweden. Fish abounds on the coast; but the existence of the sea-serpent, so confidently asserted by Egede, is now considered by naturalists as extremely problematical; and the kraken, mentioned by Pontoppidon, Leems, and other credulous writers, as well as the mermen and mermaids, and other strange monsters of the Norwegian seas, are consigned to the region of fable, and classed among the imaginary beings produced by ignorance and credulity.

Natural Curiosities.—Norway presents many singular features of nature. The most remarkable is the Maelstrom, or Muskoestrom, a tremendous whirlpool, formed by the local position of the island of Muskoe and the adjacent coast. During about a quarter of an hour, at the turn of the ebb and the flood, it is calm; but while the tide is rising and falling, its noise is heard at the distance of several leagues, and it forms a dreadful vortex, into which ships, if they come within its reach, are inevitably drawn, and instantaneously shivered into fragments. The whale, in spite of his struggles, is often drawn into this vortex, and, when it is violently agitated, vessels are sometimes attracted from an incredible distance. But the Muskoestrom has been so often and so amply described that the subject is now become trite; and on the south of the Ferroe-isles there is another whirlpool of a similar nature. A great number of picturesque views in Norway might be considered as natural curiosities, by a traveller unaccustomed to such

such romantic scenery. There are many stupendous caverns: and mountains have sometimes been split, or engulfed by subterraneous waters, of which a dreadful instance has lately occurred in Switzerland. Busching relates, that, in 1703, a farm in the province of Christiana was swallowed up with all its buildings, and that a chasm full of ruins and sand now occupies its place.

In regard to antiquities, or artificial curiosities, nothing of the kind is seen in Norway, except the judicial circles so often mentioned. The ancient buildings having been all of wood in Norway, as well as in Denmark, are perished without leaving any remains.

 CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices.—Islands.

COPENHAGEN, the capital of Denmark, is delightfully situated on the eastern coast of the isle of Zealand, about twenty-five English miles to the south of the noted passage into the Baltic, called the Sound. It is between four and five English miles in circuit, regularly fortified, and contains about 4000 houses, and 82,000 inhabitants,* exclusive of the sailors' quarters and four regiments of soldiers. The streets are divided by canals, which facilitate the conveyance of goods; but the foot paths are narrow and inconvenient. Copenhagen is the best built city in the north of Europe. Petersburg displays a more ample extent, and more magnificent edifices: but Copenhagen is more uniform; the houses being mostly of brick, stuccoed in imitation of stone. Some of them, however, are of free stone, which is brought from Germany, and constructed in the Italian style of architecture.† Four superb streets, inhabited by the nobility, lead to an octangular area, called *La Place*

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 43.—Finkerton makes the population 90,000. Geog. vol. 1, p. 505.—Copenhagen is in a very low situation, seeming at a distance to be built in the water. Swinton's Travels, p. 25.

† Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 42, 43.—Coze's Travels, vol. 5, p. 126, 127.

Frederick,

Frederick, in which are the palaces of the royal family. In the centre of the octagon, is the equestrian statue of Frederick V. in bronze. It was erected in 1769, by the Danish East India Company, and cost 80,000*l.* sterling.* The theatre of Copenhagen is small but handsome, and elegantly decorated: but the receipts are not large, the officers, both naval and military, having free admission. Here is also an academy of painting. The top of the Church of Christian Haven, one of the quarters of this capital, commands a superb view. The whole city of Copenhagen, with its environs, the Sound full of ships, and the shores of Sweden, lie extended as in a map. None of the other churches attract much attention. The Lutherans, indeed, pay little regard to the embellishment of their temples.† The royal palace of Fredericksberg, on the outside of the city, was a magnificent pile before it was almost destroyed by fire in 1794. It stands on a beautiful eminence, and commands a grand prospect of the city, the sea, and the adjacent country. This superb edifice was erected by Christian VI. at the enormous expence of 6,000,000 rix dollars, which at 4*s.* 9*d.* amount to 1,420,000*l.* sterling, a sum which he paid out of his private purse.‡ The knights' saloon was 118 feet by 58. The library, which contained 130,000 volumes, was greatly damaged by the fire. In this palace are the picture gallery, and the museum, neither of which were consumed. Here are some good pictures, a cup which belonged to the famous Margaret of Valdemir, and a celestial globe, made by Tycho Brahe. This truly magnificent palace, however, has by some been considered as too enormous a

* Carr's Travels, p. 54.

† Ibid, p. 56.

‡ Ibid, p. 39, 40.

fabric for the magnitude of the capital and the kingdom.*

The harbour of Copenhagen is spacious and commodious, having to the south the isle of Anak. The magistrates are appointed by the king; but the burgeses are allowed to have deputies for the protection of their rights.

Copenhagen is a place of no great antiquity, being founded A.D. 1169, in the reign of Waldemir I. It consisted of scarcely any thing more than a castle for the protection of shipping against the sea pirates, who were then very numerous. From this circumstance it received the name of Kiopmans-Hafen, from which is derived its present appellation. Great numbers of people soon resorted thither; and from a few fishermen's huts it became a large trading town. It was twice taken, plundered, and almost destroyed, by the Lubeckers, in 1242 and 1248, and twice by the Hanseatic fleets, in 1361 and 1369, and was not made the capital of Denmark before 1443, till which time it had been the property of the bishop of Roschild, who then transferred it to the king.† Roschild, an inland town in the same isle of Zealand, had till that time been the metropolis.‡

Altona.]—Altona on the Elbe, within a mile or two of Hamburg, may be considered as next to Copenhagen, and in population and importance the second in the whole Danish dominions. Busching computes the number of inhabitants at 25,000, and Pinkerton adopts the same opinion.§ But the population of so

* Carr's Travels, p. 54, 41.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 163, 314, 345, 354, 455.

‡ Busching, vol. 1, p. 182.—Coxe's Travels, vol. 5, 267, &c.

§ Busching, vol. 2, p. 68.

commercial

Commercial a town, and so favoured by the Danish government, must have considerably increased since the time when Busching wrote. Altona was originally a village in the parish of Ottensen: in 1640 it became subject to Denmark, and in 1664 was constituted a city. In 1713 it was almost reduced to ashes by the Swedes; but from its situation and commercial privileges it has since risen to its present importance.

The whole Danish empire presents only three other cities that merit a place in geographical description, not one of which, however, would be thought worthy of notice in the more southern parts of Europe. These are Bergen, Christiana, and Drontheim, all in Norway.

Bergen.]—Bergen is situated in a valley, on a small semicircular bay of the sea: On the land side it is environed with mountains, and defended on that of the sea by fortifications. Its trade is considerable, and its exports consist chiefly of fish, hides, and timber. The population is, by Busching and Pinkerton, given at 19,000.* This city being in former times wholly, and at present chiefly constructed of wood, has dreadfully suffered by repeated conflagrations: Since the year 1248, it has been no less than six times almost totally destroyed, the last time being in 1771. But now many of the houses, and all the churches are of stone. Bergen was founded A.D. 1070, and from the middle of the thirteenth to that of the sixteenth century, it was one of the comptoirs of the Hanseatic merchants.†

Christiana.]—Christiana contains about 10,000 inhabitants, and is unquestionably the most beautiful

* Busching, vol. 1, p. 369,—Pinkerton ubi supra.

† And. Hist. Com. p. 104.

city of Norway. It is situated in the province of Christiansand, the southernmost of that kingdom, in a fertile and most delightful country. Mr. Coxe describes the view from the hills above Christiana as the most beautiful and picturesque that can be conceived.* This city being situated almost in the centre of the iron and copper mines, the export of metals is considerable; but tar and deals are its staple commodities: of the latter England takes off the greatest quantity. Christiana is of a recent origin, being founded in 1624, by Christian IV.

Drontheim.—Drontheim, the most northern town of any note in the world, except Tornea and Archangel, being situated in 63° 20' north latitude, was the residence of the ancient kings of Norway. Its present population is computed at about 8000, and its trade is inconsiderable, although it exports some timber, fish, and tallow, as also some copper from the mines of Medal and Roras.† Drontheim, anciently called Nidaros, from the river Nid, on which it is situated, was founded about A.D. 997, and had, after the establishment of Christianity in Norway, an archiepiscopal see, which was suppressed at the reformation. Of the ancient cathedral, built of lapis ollaris, the choir alone remains.

Edifices.—The Danish dominions display but few splendid edifices besides the palaces already mentioned. The two royal palaces of Fredericksberg, about twenty English miles from Copenhagen and Jagersberg, or the hermitage, near Elsinour, can only claim a very brief description. That of Fredericksberg, where the king often resides, was built by Chris-

* Coxe's Trav. vol. 5, ch. 4 p. 33.

† Anc. Hist. Com. Append. vol. 3, p. 200.

tian IV. and according to the taste of that age partakes of the Grecian and Gothic architecture: within it is richly ornamented. It stands on an eminence. The gardens, sloping from the terrace, although not extensive, are laid out in a good taste, and open to the public.* Jagersberg is a pleasing summer retreat. The castle of Cronberg, at Elsinour, commands the strait of the Sound, which is four English miles across to Helsingors, in Sweden.† Here all vessels passing the Sound pay the toll, which is fixed by precise regulations. This castle mounts 365 pieces of cannon, and has subterraneous apartments for a regiment of soldiers.‡ It was formerly esteemed impregnable, and supposed to be capable of preventing the entrance of any hostile fleet into the Baltic; but the British Admirals Nelson and Parker passed it in safety without deigning to return a shot. The most remarkable sacred edifice is the cathedral of Ronschild, where the Danish sovereigns were formerly interred, and where their monuments are still to be seen.

Islands.]—The islands which constitute the principal seat of the Danish monarchy have been considered in the general description. The smaller isles are numerous. Off the western coast of Jutland are several which are chiefly remarkable for the disasters they have suffered, from the assaults of the ocean. The isle of Nordstrand was, on the 11th of October, 1634, about ten at night, almost totally swallowed up by that tremendous element. The sea rushing in with irresistible fury, entirely submerged the lower parts of the island, and swept away 6 churches, 30 mills, 1,539

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 58.

† Ibid, p. 108.—Swinton is mistaken in stating the width of the Sound at only two miles. Travels, p. 24.

‡ Carr's Travels round the Baltic ubi supra.

houses, 6,400 persons, and about 50,000 cattle. The isle of Helgeland has also been exposed to violent inundations, by which its extent has been considerably diminished.* Almost the whole coast of Norway is skirted with a continued series of small and unimportant isles, in general mountainous like the opposite shores, with precipitous rocks, and a deep sea dashing against their bases. These rocky islands form numerous and romantic groupes, separated by a multitude of narrow creeks, overshadowed by vast heights, and most of them uninhabited, except by innumerable flocks of sea-fowl. Even these that are peopled and cultivated are of too little importance to merit a place in general description. That of Wardhus may be mentioned as containing a fort and a Danish garrison in the Arctic Ocean.

The large and celebrated isle of Iceland is worthy of greater attention. Its length from east to west is about 260 miles by about 200 in breadth from north to south; but its inhabitants are supposed not to exceed 50,000. The face of the country is mountainous, and the soil in general barren. The interior is very imperfectly known; but according to the best information, the principal chain of mountains runs from the south-east to the north-west, with various branches diverging towards the north-east; and the most elevated peaks are covered with perpetual snow. Among these Snæfel, or the snowy mountain, is the highest. It overhangs the sea in the south-west part of the island, and its elevation is, according to Pennant, supposed to be about 2,286 yards, or something more than an English mile and a quarter † Several of the Icelandic mountains are volcanoes, among which that of

* Busching. vol. 1, p. 293, &c.

† Arct. Zool. p. 63.

Hekla is the most famed; but those of Kråbla and Kattlegia were more known by their eruptions during the last century. Mount Hekla is situated in the southern part of the island, about twenty British miles from the coast, and rises to the height of about 5,000 feet, or very near an English mile above the level of the sea. The summit is always covered with snow, except in those parts where it is melted by the subterraneous heat.* The craters are numerous, although the eruptions are not frequent, none having happened from 1698 to 1766, when it emitted flames accompanied with a torrent of lava. The rivers are, from the limited extent of the country, confined to a short course, mostly rising from the central ridge, and running to the northern coast. The boiling springs of Iceland are a remarkable phenomenon: among these, that of Geysir, which rising from an aperture of nineteen feet in diameter, springs up at intervals to the height of from fifty to ninety feet, is the most remarkable. The climate of Iceland is stormy; but the cold, being mitigated by the vapours of the sea, is less intense than might be expected from its situation, the northern extremity of the island reaching to the arctic circle. The vegetable productions of a climate and soil like that of Iceland, can neither be numerous nor abundant; although in the fertile spots the vegetation is rapid, as in other high northern latitudes. Wood does not thrive, and very few trees of any kind are to be seen in the island, though the quantities found in many places underground, and sometimes at a considerable depth, afford an indication that it was once much more abundant. As this case is similar to what is seen in the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the isles of Shet-

* Van Troil apud Pinkerton, vol. 1, p. 519.

land, and the bogs of Ireland, the reader may be referred to the remarks already made on the subject. Corn cannot be cultivated to advantage in Iceland, as the crops are unproductive and ripen with difficulty. There are some tolerable pastures; but the cattle are of a diminutive size, and the horses, in particular, remarkably small. The surrounding seas afford abundance of fish, especially of cod, which contributes in no small degree to the support of the inhabitants, and constitutes an article of their trade.

Some have pretended that Iceland was originally peopled from Scotland or Ireland, and that the first Norwegian settlers found Christian inhabitants, whose language and manners indicated a Scottish or Irish descent. These accounts, however, appear to be fabulous: at the best they are extremely suspicious, being founded on no creditable authority. All that we know from authentic documents is, that about A.D. 874, a colony of Norwegians, discontented with the proceedings of their king, Harald Harfager, retired into Iceland, where they formed an aristocratic republic. In 1070 Christianity is said to have been introduced into the island.* The Icelanders, whose country afforded few incitements to avarice or ambition, continued during the space of almost two centuries, under their aristocratical government, independent of any foreign powers; and the kings of Norway, by whose subjects it had been peopled, never thought of asserting their sovereignty over that colony till the year 1261, when Haquin reduced it under his subjection. From that time it became an appendage to Norway, and with it was annexed to Denmark.

* Jonas's Comment of Iceland, and Adam of Bremen's Hist. Eccles. apud And. Hist. Comm. vol. 1, p. 81—116.

A country so sequestered from the rest of the world could afford little matter for political annals: But it must be considered as a singular circumstance in the history of literature, that, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, learning flourished in Iceland more than in any other country of northern Europe. This literary phenomenon seems to have originated from the remote and sequestered situation of that island, at a distance from the incessant revolutions and political convulsions with which other countries were agitated.* Poetry seems to have flourished at an early period among the Icelanders. The runic characters were first used in their writings. On the reception of Christianity, the Latin characters were immediately introduced. A college or school was founded at Scalholt, and soon after four others for the instruction of youth in the Latin language, theology, and some branches of philosophy. Among other valuable works, Iceland has produced the Edda, and from that source is derived all our knowledge of the Gothic mythology. From the Icelandic chronicles, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians, draw their chief intelligence relative to their ancient history. The Landamma, which records the names and the property of the original settlers, with the circumstances attending the distribution of that barbarian colony, is an unique and valuable work. Even at present the Icelanders are far from being immersed in ignorance, as the variety of their intercourse with the rest of the world might lead us to imagine. A late intelligent traveller informs us that he found more knowledge among the lower classes in Iceland, than is to be met with in most other countries; and that almost every peasant is well acquainted

* Swinton, p. 54.

with the principles of religion and the history of his country; a circumstance not to be generally observed in more opulent and polished nations.

It is an unquestionable fact, that Iceland was four or five centuries ago in a much more flourishing state than at present. This change in its condition is to be ascribed to a variety of circumstances, with many of which the present age is not particularly acquainted. The principal causes, however, seem to have been the natural poverty and rigorous climate of the country, which, since its subjection to Denmark, has caused it to be neglected. Indeed it is not surprising that such remote corners as Icolm, Kill, and Iceland, which, by serving as places of refuge from political troubles, became the flourishing seats of learning and piety, should now be neglected and almost forsaken, when countries more favoured by nature, being no longer agitated by the barbaric convulsions of the Gothic ages, enjoy tranquillity and attend to improvement. Iceland, in consequence of its physical circumstances, has more than once been exposed to all the horrors of famine. These calamities have often been caused by the immense quantities of ice drifting on its shores from Greenland, which sometimes remaining unthawed during many months, or even the whole summer, not only prevents all supplies from abroad, by rendering the coast of difficult and dangerous access, but puts an entire stop to the fishing, and at the same time generates a cold so excessive as to destroy all vegetation and prove fatal to animal life.* The numerous bears which arrive with the ice, are also extremely destruc-

* In 1756, the drift ice on the northern coast prevented any supply from being received, and caused a famine, of which many perished. Copenhagen Gazette apud *And. Hist. Comm.* vol. 1, p. 327.

tive to cattle. This island has also, at various times, suffered greatly by epidemical diseases. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was almost depopulated by a kind of pestilence, called the black-death; and the small-pox has since made terrible ravages. From these circumstances it is no wonder that the country is thinly peopled, and its commerce of no great importance. The persons of the inhabitants are of a middle size, and well made, but not very strong. Their living is poor, consisting of milk, fish, vegetables, &c. with some meat, but very little bread. Their manners are simple and inoffensive: they are strongly attached to their poor country, and never think of emigration, or travelling,

CHAP. III.

**Historical View—General Progress of Society,—of Arts and Sciences—
Letters and Commerce.**

THE history of Denmark, like that of the other northern countries, was, till a late period, involved in obscurity; and that ambitious boast of an ancient origin, which has warped the judgment of all primitive writers, has bewildered the researches of modern antiquarians. The celebrated Puffendorf, himself, has been so misled by fabulous legends, as to assert that the Danish monarchy was founded long before the Christian era, and to adopt the monstrous fiction, that, at the precise time of the nativity of Christ, Frotho III. reigned over Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England and Ireland.* The Cimbrian Chersonese, comprising Sleswick, Holstein, and Jutland, was known to the Romans; and the most early information concerning the islands in the Baltic, which constitute the chief seat of the Danish monarchy, is derived from Tacitus, who describes them as inhabited by the Suiones; who, according to his account, had fleets consisting of vessels of a singular construction. He also adds, that they lived under a monarchical government.† The original population of Denmark cannot, perhaps, be ascertained, but it seems to have been the Cimbri, or

* Puffend. *Hist. des Principaux Etats de l'Europe*, traduction Française, vol. 2, ch. 9, p. 114.

† Tacit. *de moribus Germanorum*, cap 41.

Celts, the ancestors of the modern Welch. On the progress of the Goths from the east, the Cimbri were expelled, and obliged to go in quest of new settlements. During the first six or seven centuries of the Christian æra, the Danes and their history seem to have been totally forgotten. No antiquarian research can unveil its obscurity; and even until about the year 920, or even somewhat later, it can only be collected from the scattered fragments of the Francic historians.

The depredations and conquests of the Danes and Norwegians in the southern countries of Europe, constitute indeed the most important, although not the most pleasing part of their history. The modern monarchy has never been an object of terror to the southern powers, nor had any preponderating influence in the political scale. But their piratical expeditions long agitated the maritime countries of Europe, and their more permanent conquests produced great revolutions. They made complete conquests of England and Ireland, with the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the isles of Shetland, as well as of Normandy in France: in Italy they obtained a permanent establishment, and founded a kingdom in Sicily. Their daring enterprises, their horrible ravages, and their romantic successes, have been commemorated by the historians of those countries, and delineated in a masterly manner by the classical pen of Gibbon. It will here be readily understood, that the Danes and Norwegians, united with the Saxons, were expelled from the north of Germany by the victorious arms of Charlemagne; and a mass of adventurers from the maritime provinces of Sweden, although, as already observed, collectively known by the different appellations of Danes in Eng-
land,

land, Easterlings in Ireland, Normans in France, and Varagians in the East, are included in one general representation.* If we consider that the Varagians, who subdued the Slavonian states of Novogorod and Kiof, founded the Russian empire, extended their conquests from the Gulph of Fiuland to the Euxine, and carried devastation to the gates of Constantinople, issued from the same barbaric source as those bands, who, about the same period, were rendering themselves so terrible to the countries bordering on the ocean and the Mediterranean, we cannot contemplate without astonishment, the prodigious revolutions which those Scandinavian adventurers effected in Europe.

The Danes first appear in the Francic histories about the year 517, when having sailed up the Meuse and ravaged the country between that river and the Rhine, they were, in their retreat, beaten and expelled from Antwerp by Theodoric, bastard son of Clovis, king of the Franks.† But in treating of the affairs of the reign of Charlemagne, it has already been shewn, that their piratical expeditions were neither frequent nor formidable till his conquest of Saxony.‡ Immediately after that epoch they became terrible to all Europe. Their vessels, though carrying sometimes 100 men, were small and of a slight construction. With these they were able to ascend the rivers and ravage the interior parts of the country, of which we find numerous instances in the histories of France and England. Their first expeditions were perhaps excited by the

* Vide *Historical View of Russia* in this work.—*Tooke's Hist. Russia*, vol. 1.

† *Macon's Hist. Germans*, lib. 21.

‡ See what has been said on that subject in the *Historical View of France*.

poverty of their country, inadequate to the support of an increasing population; but having declared themselves the allies of the Saxons, and being strengthened as well as stimulated by those fugitives, they began to appear with formidable armaments. They soon proved so successful, that their system of piracy began to be considered not only as advantageous, but also as honorable; so that the princes and nobles of Denmark and Norway vied with one another in those piratical enterprises, from which they began at last to aspire to permanent conquests. During the long space of 200 years, from the commencement of the ninth to that of the eleventh century, the histories of Europe are filled with the accounts of their transactions. And when we consider the rapid succession of their armaments, and the formidable bands of those adventurers in different parts of Europe, it naturally excites our astonishment, that Scandinavia and the Danish islands in the Baltic, with perhaps a part of the peninsula of Jutland, of which the whole collective population at this day, with all the advantages of an improved agriculture and commerce, scarcely amounts to 6,000,000, could furnish such numerous armies.* The French historian, Mererai, says, that those countries were at that time extremely populous; but this he asserts on a bare supposition. He also affirms that the inhabitants, incited by the hope of plunder, enlisted in such numbers in those expeditions, and, that in the end so many of them were either destroyed or settled in other countries, that Scandinavia remains unpeopled to this day. And he compares the state of those countries with that of Spain, "drained," as he says, "of its peo-

* Somewhat, perhaps, above 2,500,000 for the Danish, and about 3,000,000 for the Swedish dominions.

ple, by the emigrations to America." But the Scandinavian territories have certainly had sufficient time to recruit their population, since the period in which they poured out their prædatory swarms. Mezerai, however, makes another remark, extremely consistent with probability, that "all the dissolute French, and many of a like description belonging to other countries, joined them." This was a probable, and indeed common circumstance in the irregular wars of the middle ages. The people being oppressed under the feudal system, and trained to deeds of rapine and blood in the frequent baronial wars, every country contained numbers of dissolute and desperate men, ready to join any party, and to engage in any enterprise that afforded a prospect of plunder. Of this, instances are found in the wars between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda for the English crown, as well as those of Edward III. against Philip of Valois, when a considerable part of the armies were composed of men of that description from different countries. Such were the *campagnons* of France; and there is little doubt that numbers of profligates and desperadoes of various nations contributed to augment the Danish armies. Historians, as already observed, inform us, that in the reign of King Alfred, bands of English freebooters used to ravage the country under the disguise of Danish soldiers.*

It would be equally tedious and useless to enter into a narrative of those barbarian wars. The principal events are noticed in speaking of the countries in which they took place. But one circumstance which rendered the Danish wars peculiarly embarrassing,

* Vide Historical View of England in this work.—Campell's Political Survey.

was, that no lasting peace could, on any terms, be concluded with those invaders. All the historians who relate these transactions, remark the faithlessness of the Danes, and their violation of the most solemn treaties. The same observations have been made on the Saxons who invaded Britain; and such appears to have been the case with most of the barbarians who overturned the Roman empire. In order to account for this circumstance, it is necessary to remark, that it was not perhaps so much to be ascribed to the perfidiousness of those nations, as to the nature of their expeditions. These, at least for a long time, were not national concerns, but the enterprises of private adventurers, undertaken at their own expence and risque, and for their own emolument. When, therefore, a treaty was concluded with one of their leaders, it was not regarded as binding by the next invaders, and as they followed one another in constant succession, no permanent peace could be established.

Christianity began to be propagated in Denmark about the commencement of the ninth century, by missionaries from Hamburg,* but it was not fully established till the reign of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, when it was followed by its general consequences, the cessation of piracy and rapine, and the diffusion of industry, commerce, and civilization. The Danes then began to carry on their wars on the same principles as other Christian nations, and we hear no more of their prædatory inroads and their sanguinary massacres.† Canute the Great was succeeded by his son Harold, who reigned only two years. Canute IV, brother of the last men-

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 73.

† Rapin, vol. 1, reigns of Ethelred and Canute.

tioned king, then ascended the throne. This prince greatly augmented the power and authority of the clergy in Denmark, and assigned to them the tythes throughout his dominions, a measure which, in some parts of the country, excited great discontent. An insurrection having on this occasion taken place in Jutland, the king was there massacred in 1087, and the clergy placed him in the number of saints;* indeed they were bound in gratitude to honour him with a place in the calendar, as he died a martyr to their cause.† Eric II, who reigned from 1095 to 1103, captured the rich and powerful city of Julien in Pomerania, and died in the isle of Cyprus, in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Waldemir I, after a series of civil wars with two competitors for the crown, began his reign 1157, was successful in his wars against the Wends or Slavonic inhabitants of Pomerania. In this reign, Absalom, bishop of Ronschild, laid the foundation of Copenhagen.‡ Waldemir died in 1182. Waldemir II. was, in the beginning of his reign, exceedingly prosperous and powerful. He conquered the greatest part of Livonia and Esthonia. The Danish empire at that period extending over Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Holstein, &c. comprised almost all the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic. But Waldemir, by his misconduct, lost a great part of his dominions. The Conte de Schuvrin, on taking a journey to the Holy Land, committed his estate and his wife to the king's care during his absence. But Waldemir having seduced the countess, this nobleman on his return seized the king's person by stratagem, detained him

* Puffend. Hist. de princip Etats, vol. 2. c. 9.

† Puffend. ubi supra.

‡ Ibid. ibid.

three years in prison, and at last obliged him to pay a large sum for his ransom. During the king's confinement, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lubec and Dantzick, revolted. Adolphus Count de Schanvemburg seized on Holstein, and the Knights of the Cross took possession of Esthonia and Livonia.* Waldemir, however, having towards the end of his reign recovered Esthonia and the town of Revel, died A.D. 1227. From this period to the accession of Waldemir III, the Danish history displays only a series of troubles, and scenes of confusion. Intestine commotions, revolts, massacres, and assassinations, constitute its distinguishing features. Eric V, son of Waldemir, was assassinated by Abel his brother in 1250, Christopher I. was taken off by poison in 1286, and Eric his successor was in the same year massacred by some of the nobles. During these troubles, the kingdom was split into so many divisions, that the regal authority was almost annihilated. The nobles and prelates had acquired a domineering ascendancy, while the sovereign was left almost without either power or territory. Denmark then exhibited a picture similar to that of France at the end of the Carolingian dynasty, and such as the histories of several other countries present to our view at different periods.

The anarchy which prevailed in the kingdom, at last induced the Danes, after an interregnum of seven years, to elect for their king Waldemir, the son of Christopher II. their last monarch. This prince had been educated at the court of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, and ascended the throne of Denmark in 1341. He retrieved in a great measure the affairs of the kingdom, and restored internal tranquillity. He

* Puffend, ubi supra.

also took and plundered the great mercantile town of Wisby in the isle of Gothland, from whence he carried off a great booty,* a circumstance which involved him in a war with the Hanse Towns.† These having entered into an alliance with the king of Norway, the duke of Mechlenburg, and the earl of Holstein, their united fleets took and destroyed Copenhagen, which, however, was at that time a place of only trifling importance.‡ The marriage of Margaret, daughter of this prince, Waldemir III, with Haquin VI. king of Norway, produced the famous union of the three northern crowns, regulated by the treaty of Calmar, of which the circumstances and consequences are related in treating of Sweden. That kingdom soon found reasons for renouncing the union of Calmar, but Denmark and Norway constitute to this day only one monarchy. *

In taking a retrospect of the Danes as a civilized people, although after the establishment of Christianity in Denmark by Canute the Great, they no more molested the southern parts of Europe, we perceive that they were in general masters of the navigation and trade of the Baltic, and indeed none but the Hanse Towns could contest with them that pre-eminence. In this respect, indeed, the situation of the Danish islands is extremely advantageous. Masters of the passages into the Baltic, the kings of Denmark, as early as about the middle of the fourteenth century, began to impose a toll on all shipping entering the Sound. Since that time they have had frequent disputes with foreign nations relative to the subject, as the toll has often been arbitrarily increased.

* Puffend. vol. 2. ch. 9.

† Meuzius Hist. Danica, lib. 4.

‡ Meuzius ubi supra.

But these exactions at last obliged England, France, and Holland to unite in 1659, for fixing and mutually guaranteeing those tolls, which for the future were never to be augmented in respect of these three nations. It has already been seen, that till the reign of Waldemir II. the Danes were extremely powerful, possessing almost all the shores of the Baltic, and had acquired considerable wealth. The principal source of the riches of Denmark at that period, appears to have been the herring fishery on the coast of Schonen; opposite to Elsinour, and the southernmost province of Sweden, although then belonging to Denmark.³ Arnold, the continuator of the Chronicon Slavicum of Helmoldus, in speaking of Denmark in the first part of the reign of Waladmir II, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, informs us that the people of that kingdom abounded in riches "the wealthy being clothed not only in various sorts of scarlet, but also in purple and fine linen, occasioned by the herring fishery, which is annually undertaken on the coast of Schonen; whither traders of all nations resorting, bring with them gold, silver, and other precious commodities for purchasing herrings of the Danes."⁴ And Mr. Anderson on this passage observes, that if this was the case, they must have had some method of curing them with salt for their preservation, although probably inferior to that discovered by the Netherlanders in the succeeding century. At present, however, no more is heard of this famous fishery on the Schonen coast, the great shoal of herrings having, through causes unknown to naturalists, long since changed its course.

³ And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 597, vol. 2, p. 207, 208, 242, 249, 446.

⁴ Arnaldus apud And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 190.

The wars between Denmark and Sweden, originating chiefly from the treaty of Calmar, and the consequent claims of the former to the sovereignty of the latter kingdom, are noticed in the historical sketch of Sweden, where the most interesting scenes took place. The horrible massacre of the Swedish nobility by Christian II. is there related, and it only remains to observe, that this monarch having by his misconduct and cruelty rendered himself odious to his Danish subjects, was expelled from the throne. Frederick duke of Holstein, was elected king of Denmark in 1523, and dying in 1533, was succeeded by his son Christian III, who meeting with great opposition from the clergy, introduced the Lutheran religion into Denmark and Norway. Christian III. died in 1558, and was succeeded by his son Frederick II, who carried on a war of nine years against Sweden, in which both sides having greatly suffered, a peace was concluded at Stettin.* Frederick dying in 1583, Christian IV. his son and successor involved himself in the troubles of Germany, in which he was unsuccessful, as well as in his wars with Sweden. But the reign of Frederick III. his son, who ascended the throne of Denmark in 1649, was particularly distinguished by a bloody and unsuccessful contest with Sweden. In this war Charles Gustavus, or Charles X. king of Sweden, taking advantage of the severe winter of 1657, marched his army over the ice from Jutland to the island of Funen, and from thence over the Great Belt, which is about twenty miles broad, into Zealand. He then laid siege to Copenhagen, but Frederick defended his capital with great magnanimity, till a treaty was concluded at Ronschild.

* Puffendorf, vol. 2, ch. 9.

The conditions, however, being extremely disadvantageous to Denmark, the Swedes were no sooner departed, than the king began to take measures for eluding its execution. But the Swedish monarch, with admirable celerity, disconcerted his plans, and immediately returning into Zealand, reduced the castle of Cronenberg, and again besieged Copenhagen by land, while his fleet blockaded it by sea.* The king of Denmark shewed in these difficult circumstances an unshaken firmness, and the citizens made an obstinate defence, till a Dutch fleet arriving in the Baltic engaged and defeated that of Sweden, which was consequently obliged to relinquish the blockade. The scale was now turned in favour of the Danes, and Frederick, who on every occasion displayed great abilities, gained many signal advantages over the enemy. The king of Sweden was obliged to raise the siege of Copenhagen, and soon found himself in a difficult situation. At this juncture an English fleet appeared in the Baltic, which enabled him to recommence for the third time the siege of the Danish capital. But through the mediation of England and France, a peace was concluded in 1659, by which the island of Bornholm was restored to the Danes; but the provinces of Halland, Bleking, and Schonen, with the island of Rugen, were ceded to Sweden.† The Danes had, during the space of three centuries, been in possession of Schonen, and consequently so long had been masters of both sides of the Sound.

This peace was followed by a revolution of an extraordinary nature, an elective and limited monarchy, rendered hereditary and absolute, not by the force or intrigues of the monarch, but by the voluntary act of

* Puffand. ubi supra.

† Ibid. vol. 2, ch. 9.

the people.* The Danish monarchy, like those of Sweden and Poland, had hitherto been constituted on the Gothic principles. The crown was elective, and the legislative power, as well as the right of electing the sovereign, resided in the states, which originally consisted of two orders, the nobility and the deputies of the people. The establishment of Christianity occasioned the introduction of a third order, that of the clergy. These orders had their respective rights and privileges, while the crown had also its prerogatives and fixed revenues rising from the demesne lands. But afterwards, when standing armies took place of the feudal levies, it was necessary to have recourse to various modes of taxation, in order to defray the public expenditure. The representatives of the people, in the barbarous period of the middle ages, being greatly inferior in credit, talents, and influence to the two superior orders, were unable to counteract the efforts of the nobility and clergy, who divested the crown of its prerogatives, and tyrannized over the people. Such was the original form of government among all the Gothic nations, after their establishment on the ruins of the Roman empire, and such was its progress in each, till a certain period, when commerce diffused wealth, and civilization produced political refinement, which established civil equity. At the period of which we are speaking, a series of unsuccessful wars had so greatly impoverished Denmark, that the nation was unable to raise money for paying the arrears of the army. The nobility had always been exempt from taxation, but the commons wished, in the present exigencies of the state, to abolish that exemption; and the Lutheran clergy,

* *Passed. ubi supra.*

who

who had been divested of the power and influence which their Catholic predecessors had possessed, joined with the commons. In a meeting of the states, it was proposed that the nobles should bear their share of the public burden. Upon this Otto Craig, a nobleman, insultingly desired the commons to recollect that they were only slaves to the lords. Nanson, the speaker of the commons, immediately replied, exclaiming against the word slaves, and the assembly broke up in a ferment. The commons and the clergy having chosen the bishop of Copenhagen for their speaker, waited on the king with a formal offer of rendering his authority absolute, and his crown hereditary. The monarch received the proposal with rapture, and promised the people all the benefits of royal protection. Prompt and decisive measures were taken for carrying the plan into execution. The gates of Copenhagen were immediately shut, and the nobles thus surprised and inclosed, had no other alternative than unconditional submission. Three separate acts were then drawn up and signed by each of the three orders, in which, renouncing all constitutional rights, privileges, and claims, they vested the king with absolute authority, and declaring the throne hereditary, gave him the full power of regulating the succession.*

This important and singular revolution took place in the commencement of the year 1661, the act of renunciation on the part of the nobility, which is kept as a precious relic in the archives of the kingdom, bearing date the 10th of January. But the people obtained from it very little benefit, except that of seeing the nobility reduced to the same state of abject submission as themselves. Frederick III, however,

* Puffend. vol. 2. ch. 9.

having gained without bloodshed this decisive victory over the Danish aristocracy, may, with propriety, be said to have made a singular and complete conquest of his own kingdom, of which, as far as human regulations can be effective, he secured the throne to his posterity. This prince was in 1670, succeeded by his son Christian V, who recommencing hostilities against Sweden, invaded the province of Schonen, where he was for some time successful, but was totally defeated at the bloody battle of Lunden by Charles XI.* Christian, however, still continuing the war, was again entirely defeated at Laudscroon, and after having exhausted his resources in military operations, although Denmark had gained considerable advantages by sea, he was at length obliged to obtain peace by the restoration of all the conquests he had made in Schonen, after which he became a subsidiary of Louis XIV, and died in 1690, after a restless and unprosperous reign. He was succeeded by Frederick IV, whose wars carried on, in conjunction with Saxony and Russia, against Charles XII. king of Sweden, are concisely related in the historical sketch of that country. A general peace being concluded between those powers, soon after the death of Charles at Fredericks-hall in Norway, Denmark, after a series of bloody and destructive wars with Sweden, began to enjoy the sweets of a settled tranquillity, which has not since been materially interrupted. In the year 1728, however, this kingdom experienced a dreadful domestic misfortune, in the almost total destruction of its capital by an accidental conflagration. This misfortune, however, like many others of a similar nature, has redounded to the benefit of posterity, in render-

* *Posteod. ubi supra.*

ing the new city more elegant and commodious, and hence it proceeds that Copenhagen is one of the most handsome and uniform cities in the north of Europe.*

Frederick III. dying in 1730, his successors, Christian VI. and Frederick V, by adhering to a pacific system, promoted the happiness of their subjects; and the same plan has been in general continued during the present reign. Christian VII, the present king of Denmark, espoused the Princess Carolina Matilda, youngest sister of his Britannic majesty. From the most authenticated accounts it appears, that soon after their union a plot had been formed for the ruin of this amiable princess: The dowager queen, by a long train of dissimulation and deep laid intrigue, endeavoured to sow the seeds of dissention between the royal pair. In the first place, by an appearance of friendship, she gained the confidence of the young queen, and then by an aggravated detail of the faults and failings of the king, excited her to reproach him gently with his misconduct. Her next step was, to persuade the king not to listen to the counsels of his royal consort, representing it as an unpardonable presumption in a queen of Denmark to assume the authority of directing the king. Count Brandt, a Danish nobleman, and the celebrated Struensee, who being originally a physician of Altona, had by his talents and address risen to the post of principal minister of Denmark, were then his majesty's chief favorites, and both of them professed a great deference for the queen. These circumstances opened a new scene of intrigue at the Danish court. Struensee and Brandt were attempting a variety of reforms in the administration of public affairs, and ex-

* Carr's Trav. round the Baltic, p. 48, &c. Coxe's Trav. p. 5.

perienced the common lot of reformers in being exposed to the virulence of faction, and the murmurs of popular discontent. All the discarded placemen and disappointed courtiers, assiduously paid their court to the dowager queen. A variety of false and injurious reports were now propagated against the governing party. Struensee's ministerial and military reforms were represented as attempts to destroy the whole system of the government. The plans of this minister were certainly rational, and calculated for the public good, had they been more cautiously conducted, and introduced with less precipitation. His principal fault as a statesman was temerity. He wished to operate immediately a change that ought to have been gradual.

The dowager queen and her partizans, having often deliberated on the measures proper to be taken in order to accomplish their designs, it was at length resolved to surprise the king in the night, and oblige him to sign an order for committing the queen, Brandt, and Struensee to prison. After this, accusations of high treason were to be brought forward against them, and among other charges, that of having formed a design of poisoning or dethroning the king; and if that could not be supported, witnesses were to be procured in order to prove a criminal intercourse between the queen and Struensee. On the morning of the 17th of January, 1772, this desperate scheme was carried into execution. A ball had been given at court the preceding evening, at which both the king and queen had been present. About four in the morning the queen dowager, accompanied by Prince Frederick, who had also been at the ball, General Liebstedt, and count Rantzau, went to the king's bed-chamber, and abruptly

abruptly awaked him. They had previously considered the surprise and alarm which so unexpected an intrusion must necessarily excite, as favorable to their design, and hastily informed him that the queen, with Struensee and his brother, having formed a conspiracy to dethrone him, were at that moment preparing an act of renunciation, which they would compel him to sign, and that the only means he had left for preserving his crown and his life, was instantly to sign the orders which they had brought for arresting the parties. According to the generally received accounts, the king was not without some difficulty prevailed on to sign the orders; but at last, overcome by their instances, and alarmed by their representations of his danger, he complied, with hesitation and reluctance. Count Rantzau, with three officers, instantly proceeded to the queen's apartments and arrested her in pursuance to his orders. Struensee and Brandt were almost at the same moment seized in their beds. The brother of Struensee, with most of the members of administration, and others of their friends, to the number of eighteen persons, were all arrested before morning. The queen, with the infant princess, was confined in the castle of Cronenburg. The prince royal, then only in the fifth year of his age, was committed to the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed to be his governess. Struensee and Brandt were imprisoned in the citadel and loaded with irons. Their imprisonment was rigorous, and after having undergone long and repeated examinations, both received sentence of death. On the 28th of April, these two once powerful courtiers, expiated on the scaffold by amputation of the right hand and decapitation, their real or supposed crimes. Struensee at first absolutely

Intely denied all criminal intercourse with the queen; and if he afterwards confessed, the confession of a man under apprehension of torture, ought to be considered as extorted, and not of sufficient validity to determine impartial judgment. The whole of this mysterious affair is involved in impenetrable obscurity, and can be developed only by him, who sees in its true colours every human transaction. Charity and justice forbid us to fix a stigma on the memory of this unfortunate princess, without proofs more certain than any we possess; nor ought we to give implicit credit to all that might be published, to the disadvantage of a helpless female, exposed to all the intrigues of a court, and all the malevolence of a faction, in a foreign country and without a friend.

In May the same year, an English squadron conveyed the unhappy queen to Germany, and his Britannic Majesty appointed Zell, in Hanover, for her residence, where she survived her misfortunes only three years. She died of a fever in May 1775, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

After this unfortunate affair, the powers of government appeared to be lodged entirely in the hands of the dowager-queen and her son, who in his majesty's name transacted all public affairs. All the persons concerned in the revolution were promoted; and a total change took place in every department of the administration; but in April, 1784, another change took place in the court of Copenhagen. The queen-dowager's friends were removed, and a new council was formed under the auspices of the prince-royal, son of the unfortunate Queen Matilda, who had then attained his seventeenth year, and who is now invested with the actual administration. The Danish government

ment had constantly avoided taking any part in the troubles of Europe, till the misunderstanding which took place in 1800 between Great Britain and Russia. At that time Denmark was unfortunately drawn into the vortex of French and Russian politics, which then strangely coincided. On this memorable and lamentable occasion, the British fleet, under Admirals Nelson and Parker, having forced a passage through the Sound, destroyed a great part of the Danish fleet, on the 2d of April, 1801; and bombarded Copenhagen.* The Danes being, by the premature death of the emperor, Paul I. deprived of any assistance from Russia, and apparently, through the same cause, abandoned to their fate by the Swedes, were left to support alone the tremendous attack of the British fleet. On that memorable day, however, they displayed the most dauntless intrepidity. The citizens of Copenhagen flew to their posts, where they behaved in a manner that would have done honour to regular soldiers. Nobles, mechanics, and shopmen went off to the block-ships, and all ranks of people vied with each other in bravery. The combat was of short duration, but sanguinary almost beyond example. The English could have totally destroyed the city and its arsenal, if such had been their intention; but the Danes being fully convinced of the impossibility of resisting the naval force of Great Britain, a cessation of arms took place, and matters were happily adjusted. Previous to that period, the present prince royal of Denmark had conducted the affairs of that kingdom in a manner that does the greatest honour to his abilities, and had signalised his administration

* The Danes in this engagement lost eighteen ships of which seven were of the line.

by measures that had contributed greatly to the welfare of his country. The emancipation of the peasantry, the abolition of the slave trade in the Danish colonies, the liberal encouragement of letters, sciences, and arts, the prudent measures taken for the promotion of industry, as well as for the diffusion of knowledge, all concur to do honour to his character. The grand misfortune and oversight of the Danish government is that of being drawn into the vortex of French politics. During the short war in which Denmark was engaged with Great Britain, she lost her West India islands, and her settlement of Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel. On the conclusion of peace, however, these were restored. Denmark soon retrieved her misfortune; and again saw her commerce flourish. During the first years of the present contest between Great Britain and France, she preserved that neutrality which she found so beneficial. But in 1807, she suffered herself to be a second time influenced by the politics, and implicated in the intrigues of France. By this conduct, she has imprudently involved herself in a war with Great Britain, of whose arms she had so lately experienced the terrible effects. Having refused the judicious and equitable proposals of his Britannic Majesty, Denmark has seen her capital bombarded, and been obliged to surrender her navy and all her military and naval stores to Great Britain. These and the subsequent transactions being already related in the historical view of England, the reader must be referred to that part of the work in order to avoid repetition.

NORWAY.

NORWAY.

The ancient history of Norway is very imperfectly known; although the annals of most countries of Europe commemorate the predatory expeditions of its hardy inhabitants; while those of France and Italy, as well as of Ireland and the Scottish isles, record their more permanent conquests. The Normans who settled in France, and some of whose leaders afterwards established themselves in Italy and Sicily, as well as the Easterlings of Ireland, were adventurers from Norway. The original population of this country were probably Finnish, but the Fins were subdued by the Goths, who made a conquest of all Scandinavia. Till the ninth or tenth century, Norway, like other barbarous countries, was divided into a number of petty principalities, or kingdoms. The seat of the principal monarchy was originally in the south-east part, around the place where now stands the city of Christiania; and it was gradually extended till about the year 910, when Harold Harfager became king of all Norway.

About A.D. 874, Iceland, as already mentioned, was peopled from Norway, and in 982 the Icelanders discovered Greenland, which was long supposed to be an island, but is now well known to be a part of the continent of America. Columbus has the merit and the glory of that important discovery of America, which has operated so great changes in the political, commercial, and social system of Europe; but setting aside the fictions of the Welch antiquaries, it appears to be an indisputable fact, that the Norwegian Icelanders had visited this continent five centuries before that celebrated navigator, and that they were the

first

first Europeans, who discovered its shores. Christianity was established in Norway in the reign of Olaus I. about 990. Olaus II. or St. Olaus, reigned from 1014 to 1030. Harold III. his son and successor, by some historians erroneously called Harfager, being instigated by Toston, aspired to the English crown, and was slain in battle, against Harold, king of England, at Stamford-bridge, in Yorkshire, in 1066. Magnus V. in 1266 surrendered the Hebrides to Scotland. In 1367, Norway was united to Denmark, at which period its history sinks into that of the latter country.*

The history of the Danish monarchy, in latter times, is in general less interesting than that of several other European nations. From the famous union of Calmar till the beginning of the last century, it presents little more than a disgusting series of wars with Sweden, by which both nations were exhausted and impoverished. These rancourous hostilities, however, serve to shew that although Sweden was generally an overmatch for Denmark by land, the latter, having a more extensive commerce, maintained for the most part her naval superiority over the former kingdom. Denmark, however, although from an early period possessing a considerable trade, with a situation favourable to its improvement, does not display many striking circumstances in her commercial history. In the last century, indeed, having wisely abandoned that warlike system, which her resources were ill calculated to support, she had adopted a plan of conduct much better suited to her local situation and political circumstances, and instead of involving herself in ruinous

* The cause of that union is related in the *Historical View of Sweden and Denmark.*

contests, had chiefly confined her attention to internal regulations. Denmark was lately a commercial rather than a military kingdom: her trade was daily improving and the country is in general in a prosperous state.* To this the emancipation of the peasantry has not a little contributed.† The grand misfortune of the government of Denmark is that of suffering itself to be drawn into the vortex of French politics, a conduct to which she owes all her misfortunes.

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 61.—Marshal, vol. 2, p. 289.

† Carr ubi supra.

CHAP. IV.

Present State, Political and Moral—Religion—Government—Laws—
 Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—
 Political Importance and Relations—Language—Literature—Polite
 Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

Religion.—THE religion of the Danish monarchy is Lutheranism. The hierarchy consists of twelve bishops, six in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland; but it differs from that of Sweden in having no archiepiscopal see. Many of the parochial livings are poor: in Jutland some of them scarcely exceed 20*l.* per annum, but the poverty of the inferior clergy is, in some measure, compensated by the respect in which they are held by the people.*

Government.—It has already been observed, that by the revolution of 1661, the government was rendered absolute, and the crown hereditary. The despotism of the Danish government, however, is in general tempered with lenity, and exercised with moderation, the royal edicts passing through several councils before their promulgation as laws.

Laws.—The people of Denmark possess a great advantage in the simplicity and precision of their laws, which are chiefly comprised in the code of Christian V. consisting of only one moderately sized volume. By this brevity and clearness of their

* Reisbeck's Travels, vol. 3, p. 101.

legislative code, the Danes are freed from those tedious and expensive litigations, and that endless train of chicanery, so common in many of the southern countries of Europe. No parent can disinherit a child without a decree of the king in council. The criminal laws are lenient to a fault; but the game laws are severe, shooting being absolutely prohibited.*

Army.—The army is computed at 70,000 men, of which Denmark furnishes 40,000; and Norway the rest.

Navy.—The Danish navy formerly consisted of about thirty ships of the line, manned with 11,000 seamen, and 5000 marines. But it is now annihilated.

Revenue.—The annual revenue was computed at about 1,500,000*l.* sterling, being at least equal, and when the difference of their public debt is considered, superior to that of Sweden. The toll on ships passing the Sound amounted, on an average, to the annual sum of 122,550*l.* The national debt was about 2,600,000*l.*

Commerce.—It has already been observed, that the Danish commerce was lately in an improving state.† The greatest part of the exports consist of native produce, of which corn is a considerable article. Holstein affords a supply of horses and cattle to Holland, Timber, iron and copper, with some silver, and a considerable quantity of hides, particularly those of the goat, are the principal exports of Norway: those of Ioeland consist chiefly of dried fish, salmon, falcons, eider-down, and brimstone. The acquisition of Altona, and the opening of the Holstein canal, which unites the Baltic with the German Ocean, have greatly con-

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 62, 63, 76.

† Carr and Marshal ubi supra.

tributed to increase the trade of Denmark. The colonies of Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel in India, and Christianburg, on the coast of Guinea, with a part of Greenland, and the isles of St. Thomas, St. Jan, and St. Croix, afford some supplies to the Danish trade.

Manufactures.—The manufactures of Denmark are neither numerous nor important. The royal manufactures of Copenhagen employ about 400 looms in the fabrication of woollen cloths of various qualities. The improvements made by Count Roncellen are more worthy of commemoration than the destructive exploits of conquerors. That nobleman, has founded a village of 300 houses in North Jutland, and established manufactures of wool, iron, and leather.* He has also cut a canal of two miles in length, and constructed a wharf and docks for building his own vessels, and exporting his own commodities. His agricultural improvements also are conducted on a grand scale. How great things might be performed for the encouragement of industry, and the general benefit of the human species, if such examples were sufficiently imitated.

Population.—The population of the Danish dominions is computed at 2,500,000. Mr. Anderson informs us, on the authority of the foreign newspapers, that a census having been made in 1759, the number of inhabitants was found to be 2,444,000, and that those of Iceland, estimated at 50,000, did not appear to be included.† If this were the case, and the information correct, the whole number amounted at that time to very near 2,500,000; and as Denmark, during the forty-eight years which have elapsed since that

* Marshal, p. 2.

† Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 309.

period,

POLITICAL IMPORTANCE AND RELATIONS

period, has not experienced the calamities of war, pestilence, or famine, nor been drained of its people by emigration, as its agriculture and commerce are improved, it is reasonable to suppose that its population must be considerably increased: Norway, however, is not supposed to contain above 700,000 souls, being about six to a square mile; and it can scarcely be supposed to have been more populous 800 or 900 years ago, when it poured forth its adventurous bands.

Political Importance and Relations.—The population, the revenues, and all the other resources of Denmark, plainly indicate that her political importance cannot be of any great weight in the balance of modern Europe. Her friendship or her enmity can only be of consequence from commercial circumstances, chiefly from her local position at the entrance of the Baltic, and her command of the Sound. An alliance with that kingdom would on this account be equally advantageous to England, France, or Russia. Denmark, however, being within the vortex of Russian politics, must in consequence of the natural connections between Russia and Great Britain, independently of all other circumstances, feel it conducive to her interest to adhere to these two dominant powers. But of late she has unfortunately lost sight of her real advantages.

Language.—The Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic languages, as well as the German, low Dutch, and Swedish, are dialects of the Gothic. But the Icelandic is considered as the purest and most ancient. The language of the Laplanders is totally distinct from all these, and appears to be radically Finnish, with a few words borrowed from the Gothic.

Literature.]—Among all the northern nations, literature followed the introduction of Christianity: that of Denmark cannot, therefore, boast of a higher antiquity than the reign of Canute the Great, in the eleventh century. This circumstance easily accounts for the confusion and uncertainty of Danish and Norwegian history; till so late a period. The next century produced a literary phenomenon, in the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who, in an illiterate age, and a country scarcely emerged from barbarism, compiled a history of Denmark, which although abounding with fables, displays a classical elegance of style, to which Europe at that period could bring forward nothing superior or equal.

Sueno being more concise, has a greater appearance of veracity; but his materials were necessarily drawn from the same source, uncertain chronicles, traditional tales, and the songs of their bards. Such, indeed, composed the original basis of all primitive history. Norway can boast of only a few native writers, and even these did not appear till a recent period. The more ancient Icelandic literature, so famed in history, but now extinct, has already been noticed. After the general revival of letters, Denmark long continued to maintain that literary ascendancy over Sweden, which she had acquired at an early period; and the name of Tycho Brahe is celebrated in the annals of astronomy, although his fanciful system is long since exploded. During the last century, however, Sweden has obtained the pre-eminence. The Danish literati have almost exclusively confined themselves to the obscure paths of antiquarian research. Older is distinguished as a botanist, and Niebuhr as an intelligent traveller; but it would be difficult to
discover

discover the name of an eminent philosopher, poet, or historian, in the literary annals of Denmark. In the polite arts the Danes are extremely deficient; and indeed may, in that respect, be placed on the same footing as the Portuguese.

Education, universities, &c.—The Danish universities are two; those of Copenhagen and Kiel: There are also many Latin schools maintained at the public expence: Denmark Proper possesses nineteen, Holstein sixteen, Sleswick eleven; but in the wide extent of Norway there are only four, without any university, and only two in Iceland. There are also superior academies at Odensee, Soroe, and Atlenæ. The great business of popular education, although not conducted on a complete scale, by reason of the low salaries of teachers, is much better regulated than in England and the southern countries of Europe. Each parish is provided with two or three schools, where children are taught reading and writing, with the first principles of arithmetic. The masters of these seminaries have salaries of about 12*l.* per annum, with some other small advantages.* Salaries so very trifling must, in a great measure, defeat the end of these institutions, as they cannot suffice for the maintenance of the teachers, since, according to a late traveller, every thing in Denmark is almost as dear as in England.† The Royal Academy of Sciences was founded in 1742; and the Royal Society of Icelandic Literature in 1746. At Drontheim, in Norway, there is also a respectable institution, styled the Royal Society of Sciences.

Manners and customs.—The manners of the superior orders in Denmark, differ little from those of

* Coxe's Trav. vol. 4, p. 57.—vol. 5, p. 187.

† Carr's Trav. round the Baltic, p. 81.

the same classes in other parts of Europe. Through the patriotism and good sense of the prince-royal and the nobility, the peasantry were, some years ago, emancipated; and the landholders have experienced the good effects of that measure in the improvement and advanced value of their estates. The nobility, indeed, have been as much benefited in the augmentation of their rents, as the peasants in the enjoyment of liberty; and both have derived great advantage from the abolition of the old system of villainage. When Mr. Coxe visited Denmark, this arrangement had not taken place; and that traveller draws a disagreeable picture of the state of the Danish peasantry.* But he describes the spirited, free, and open manners of the Norwegian peasantry, as well as their abundance of the comforts of life, in such elevated strains, as might almost tempt a reader to suspect the accuracy of his observations. Among all the abundance of their comforts, however, their ordinary bread is of oatmeal formed into flat cakes, and sometimes mixed with the pulverised inner bark of trees, as in Sweden, a sort of bread which no English labourer would eat.† The Norwegians, however, are the strongest and most robust of all the people of the North, and are remarkable for health and longevity,‡ circumstances which demonstrate both the salubrity of the climate, and the wholesomeness of their food; and it is needless to say, that in all ages they have been distinguished for their courage.

The Laplanders are described in treating of Sweden and Russia. Indeed this singular race of men are marked with the same distinguishing characteristics, throughout the whole extent of country which they

* Coxe's Trav. vol. 5. † Ibid. p. 12. ‡ Swinton's Trav. p. 59.

inhabit. The conversion of the Danish Laplanders to Christianity, appears to have been first attempted by Berdal, bishop of Drontheim, about the year 1660, but with little success. A royal mission, however, being founded in 1714, Lapland is now Christianized. Their Christianity, however, is little more than nominal; many of their pagan superstitions yet remaining. A people so immersed in ignorance cannot be enlightened in a short space of time. Indeed, a very intelligent traveller gives us no exalted idea of the state of religious knowledge among the Danes, even in the peninsula, which is part of Denmark Proper. He says, that they are nothing superior to the Portuguese; and that their priests, although Protestants, are as proud, intolerant, bigoted, and ignorant, as those of Spain.*

National character.—In regard to national character, it suffices to remark, that although the Danes and Norwegians are naturally courageous, they no longer possess that enterprising spirit which distinguished their ancestors.

* Reisbeck's Trav. vol. 3, p. 108, 101.

SWEDEN.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Minerology—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and artificial Curiosities.

SWEDEN, extending from the promontory of Scone, in about 56°, to the northern extremity of Swedish Lapland, on the shores of the Frozen Ocean, and from the Norwegian mountains to the frontiers of Russia, about 1,100 British miles in length, and 600 in breadth, although in some parts considerably narrower, comprises a very considerable area; to which its population, however, is extremely inadequate. Its content has been computed at 208,900 square miles, with a population of only fourteen inhabitants to each.

Face of the country.]—The face of the country would afford matter for volumes of detailed description. Stupendous rocks, extensive lakes, transparent rivers, winding streams and rushing cataracts, verdant vales, gloomy forests, and cultivated fields, constitute a scenery diversified and picturesque, beyond all that imagination is able to conceive.

Mountains.]—Sweden is, in general, a mountainous country. The most elevated chain is that which divides Sweden from Norway, and from which various branches

branches run in a south-east direction. The mountain of Swucku, to which Bergman assigns 9,072 feet of elevation, is considered as the highest of this chain.

Rivers.—This country is intersected with various rivers; but most of them having only a short course, and impeded with cataracts, are of little importance to navigation. The most considerable is the Dahl, composed of two conjunct streams, the eastern and western, but both bearing the same appellation. These rise in the Norwegian Alps; and after a course of about 260 miles, fall into the Bothnic Gulph. Not far from the mouth of this river, where the breadth is equal to that of the Thames at London, is a cataract, which has a fall of between thirty and forty feet, and, together with the sublime surrounding scenery, produces a grand effect.* Many of the rivers assume the form of creeks, and are only the outlets of the various lakes. Such is the Gotha, which runs from the vast lake of Wener into the Baltic, and is impeded by many rocks and cataracts. In Swedish Lapland are several considerable streams, which rise in the Norwegian mountains. The chief of the Laplandic rivers is the Tornea, which issues from a lake of the same name; and, after a course of about 300 English miles, falls into the northern extremity of the Bothnic Gulph. This river derives some celebrity from the voyage of the French mathematicians, who took on its level surface of ice, the base line of their series of triangles, for measuring the length of a degree of the meridian in that latitude within the arctic circle.

Lakes.—Few countries equal Sweden in the number and extent of its lakes, of which scarcely any of its provinces are destitute. The lake of Wener is the

* Wraxal's Tour, p. 138.—Coxe's Trav, vol. 5, p. 99.

largest

largest, being 100 English miles in length, and 50 or 60 in breadth. It abounds with fish, contains many romantic isles, and is almost surrounded with forests and rocks of granite. This extensive lake receives twenty-four rivers: the Götha is its only outlet into the Baltic. The lake of Weter is equal in length, but inferior in breadth, which in few places exceeds twenty miles. This lake contains two remarkable islands, and being surrounded with mountains, is subject to storms in the calmest weather.* It receives about forty small rivers, and has no other outlet than the Motala. The Meler, at the conflux of which with the Baltic, the city of Stockholm is situated, is about sixty British miles in length, and eighteen in breadth, and interspersed with picturesque isles. The northern parts of Sweden present many other lakes, some of which are of considerable extent. Finland abounds with lakes, which give rise to numerous rivers, but of only a short course. The chief Laplandic lake is that of Enara, seventy miles in length, and thirty at its greatest breadth. There are also the Hernasha Staur, the Tornea, and a number of others, in this remote northern province. Besides these may also be named the lake of Saima, situated on the eastern frontier of Finland, being partly in the Swedish and partly in the Russian dominions. This irregular piece of water, with its various creeks and branches, extends about 160 British miles in length, but never above 15 in breadth. It flows into the Ladoga lake in Russia by the river or outlet of Woxen, which forms a vast cataract near its mouth.†

Canals.]—Sweden has not yet much to boast of its inland navigation; but, of late, a considerable degree

* Cox's Trav. vol. 4, p. 574.

† Busching's Geog. vol. 1, p. 674.

of attention has been paid to that important subject. The chief effort has been to cut a canal from Stockholm to Gothenburg. This inland communication, called the Canal of Frolhattan, is conducted along the river Gotha; and stupendous excavations have been made through granite rocks, in order to avoid the cataracts; one of which, of above sixty feet, is called the Infernal Fall; although, through the ignorance of the engineers, the plans have repeatedly failed.

Mineralogy.]—"Sweden," says an eminent geographical writer, "is, perhaps, the parent country of modern mineralogy." Her celebrated writers, Wallerius, Bergman and Cronstedt, have laid the first solid foundations of that science. Among the Swedish mines must be mentioned those of gold at Adelfors, in the province of Smoland; but these seem to be nearly exhausted. The silver mine of Salberg, about thirty English miles west of Upsal, maintains some reputation. The district in which it is situated is somewhat flat, contrary to the general situation of mines. The Swedish gold is sometimes found native, and sometimes combined with sulphur: the silver is generally obtained from the gallena, or lead ore. Silver has also been found in Swedish Lapland. But, on the whole, the Swedish gold and silver mines, are productive of little profit. The mines of copper and iron are those for which Sweden is chiefly celebrated: of the former, the most famous are those of Dalecarlia, and of the latter, that of Danamora.* The great copper mine near the town of Falun, is supposed to have been worked near 1,000 years. The mouth of this mine presents a vast chasm, near three-quarters of a mile in circumference, of

* For an ample description of the mines of Dalecarlia and Danamora, *vide* Coxe's Travels, vol. 5, p. 92—103.

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which the perpendicular depth is about 1,020 feet. The copper is found in large masses; and about 1,200 miners are employed in these extensive works. The iron mines of Danamora, celebrated for the superiority of the metal, were discovered in the year 1488, and employ about 300 persons. The whole number of miners in Sweden are computed at 25,600. Copper is also wrought in the province of Jemmland; and vast quantities of iron are found in various parts of Sweden. The mountain of Gellivar forms a mass of rich iron ore, from 300 to 400 fathom in thickness, and extending in an irregular vein, the space of more than a mile. Sweden is not deficient in lead; but copper and iron are her principal mineral productions. This country also abounds with beautiful granite, and produces some marble and porphyry, the latter chiefly in the mountain of Swucku: chrystals are also found in a rock in the province of Jemmland.

Mineral waters.—There are several mineral waters in Sweden; the most famed are those of Medewi, in Eastern Gothland.

Soil.—The soil of Sweden, like that of all other extensive countries, is various; but although there are many fertile spots of considerable extent, it must be acknowledged, that sterility generally predominates.

Climate.—This kingdom, extending from about the 56th deg. of latitude to some distance within the arctic circle, presents a considerable variety of climate. In the north, winter is long and extremely severe; but the summer, though short, is rendered hot, by the length of the days, and the reflections of the sunbeams from the numerous mountains. At Tornea; about the summer solstice, the sun is for some weeks almost constantly visible, descending at midnight for
the

the space of only a few minutes below the horizon, above which he remains as little in winter.* Even in the middle regions, the winter is long and dreary. At this season the Gulph of Bothnia becomes a vast field of ice; and travellers pass over it from Finland.† The southern provinces lie under the same parallels as Scotland; but the climate is different, as Sweden feels but little of the effects of the western winds from the Atlantic, which deluge the Scottish highlands and isles with almost perpetual rains.

Vegetable productions.]—The vegetable productions of Sweden, although not abundant, are sufficiently various. The fertile parts, especially the vallies, are remarked for the sudden and luxuriant vegetation, which they display as soon as the summer commences; for here, as in most other high northern climates, the transition from cold to heat, and the contrary, is so rapid as to strike out spring and autumn from the list of seasons; and the fields, which before bore the aspect of dreary sterility, are, in a few days, covered with verdure. Even Finland presents many rich pastures, and some fields of rye, oats, and barley; and notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil and the rigour of the climate, a late eminent writer assures us, that the agriculture of Sweden is so skilfully conducted, as greatly to excel that of Denmark and Germany.‡ In treating of the vegetable productions of Sweden, of which, indeed, the description might serve for the whole Scandinavian peninsula, we cannot

* For an account of the Lapland summer, with its innumerable inconveniencies arising from the heat, and the insects which it produces, see the relation of the Voyage of the French Mathematicians, by Maupertius.

† See Mr. Coze's curious account of his journey over the ice. Trav. vol. 4, ch. 1.

‡ Marshal's vol. 3, p. 93.

omit the immense forests of pines and firs that cover its rocky mountains, and constitute a considerable part of its wealth. These afford an inexhaustible supply of masts for shipping, and of plank for various uses; while the tar, turpentine, and pitch, extracted from the trees, are almost of equal value with the timber. Of the other kinds of timber trees there is no great abundance; and the species are far from being numerous. The ash, the oak, and the elm, although not scarce in the southern provinces, are incapable of withstanding the rigours of an arctic winter. In Lapland all traces of timber disappear; the mountains are naked, and even the plains are mostly covered with moss, which affords pasture for the numerous reindeer.* Bountiful Nature, however, has stored these barren regions with a variety of berries, which being preserved under the snow, furnish an agreeable change of food to the inhabitants.

Zoology.]—The zoology of Sweden also comprises, in a great measure, that of the whole of Scandinavia. The horses are small, but hardy and spirited, and by being accustomed to lie without litter, are preserved from many diseases to which those of other countries are subject. The horned cattle and sheep have nothing particularly remarkable. Among the wild animals, the bear, the wolf, the linx, the beaver, the flying squirrel, and many others might be enumerated. The rein-deer is common throughout the whole extent of the Laplandic regions, and adapted by an all-wise Providence to the cold and dreary climate of the north, as the camel is to the scorched deserts of the

* Tooke's *View Russ. Emp.* vol. 1, p. 96, where it is to be observed, that what is said of Russian is equally true of Swedish and Danish Lapland.

south. This animal resembles the stag, but is considerably stronger; and the antlers, which decorate the brows of the female as well as of the male, are larger, and also more branched. Among the Laplanders, the rein-deer supply the place of the cow and the horse, neither of which could thrive in those barren and dreary regions, where winter almost perpetually reigns, and vegetation is nearly extinct. Those inhabitants of the frozen north yoke the rein-deer to their sledges, in which they travel, sometimes to a great distance, over their immense morasses and mountains buried in snow: they nourish themselves with their milk and their flesh, and find them essential not only to their convenience, but also to their very existence. Sweden affords an infinite variety of game, among which is the cock of the forest, a bird known in Scotland, and equal in size to a common turkey. The dreary regions of Lapland are also stocked with inconceivable numbers of land and water fowl of various denominations.

Natural curiosities.]—Sweden and Swedish Lapland abound with natural curiosities, consisting of mountains, caverns, lakes, and cataracts. But it would be in vain to attempt a description of the sublime and singular scenes, which countries so extensive and variegated present. Many of them, indeed, in the northern regions, remain unexplored, few travellers having the resolution to penetrate into those wild recesses.

Artificial curiosities and antiquities.]—Among the monuments of Swedish antiquity, may be reckoned the juridical circles, already described in speaking of Great Britain and some other countries. After these are the monuments inscribed with runic characters; but none

of these can be ascribed to an earlier period than the eleventh century. The remains of Scandinavian antiquity cannot, indeed, be numerous, as the ancient temples, &c. were built of wood, and consequently have long since perished. Near Upsal is the Morastén, or Stone, on which the old Swedish monarchs were crowned; and which, like the fatidical stone of Scone, used for the same purpose in Scotland, was regarded with a superstitious veneration.

CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

STOCKHOLM, the capital of Sweden, is not distinguished by its magnitude, being, in that respect, little superior to Bristol. But its singular situation, on a portion of two promontories and seven small islands, at the junction of the lake Meler with a creek of the Baltic, gives it a romantic and striking appearance.* Most of the buildings being either of stone or stuccoed brick of a white or yellowish colour,† and rising amphitheatrically one behind another; with the surrounding scenery of scattered rock, thin forests of fir, the lake, and the windings of the creek, form a variegated and singular assemblage of contrasted objects; and altogether compose the most picturesque and enchanting prospect.‡ The royal palace, a large quadrangular building, uniting elegance with grandeur, rises in the centre of the city, which it commands in all directions, and from the different quarters of which the four façades are visible. The opera-house is an elegant structure, the work of the late king, Gustavus III. Here are performed Swedish plays, many of

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 118.

† In the suburbs several of the houses are of wood painted red. Pink. Geog. vol. 1, p. 535.

‡ Coxe's Travels, vol. 4, p. 32.—Marshal, vol. 380.—Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 119.

which were composed by that accomplished monarch.* How little did he think, when he erected this edifice, that here he should fall by the hand of an assassin. This structure, with the opposite palace of the Princess Sophia Albertina, forms a beautiful square, called *La Place du Nord*, adorned in the centre with the colossal equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus. This statue, cast from the designs of the famous French artist, Archeveque, and finished after his death by Sergell, was erected in 1790. The pedestal is ornamented with medallions of the most famous generals of Gustavus—Tortenson, Banner, La Gardie, Horn, and Saxe Weimar, and with a figure of History painting to a bust of the Chancellor Oxenstiern.† Stockholm has lately received, or soon will receive an additional ornament of a similar nature in the colossal pedestrian statue of Gustavus III. in the old Spanish costume. It wanted only the perfection of its polishing in 1804, when Mr. Carr visited Sweden.‡ This statue of bronze, designed by the famous Sergell, being erected by the citizens, at an expence of 40,000*l.* sterling, to the memory of their late sovereign, will be a noble monument of public gratitude, as well as a magnificent work of art. Among the objects of curiosity in this capital, the arsenal merits the attention of the traveller. An immense collection of standards and arms, the spoils of different enemies, and a long line of the effigies of the kings of Sweden, in the armour which they actually wore, and all arranged in chronological order, bring to his mind the recollection of past times and of former events. He will also be particularly struck with a sight of the clothes which the famous Charles XII.

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 132.

† *Ibid.* p. 138.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 120, 121.

wore when he was killed at Frederickstadt, and which are here religiously preserved. These consist of a long, shabby blue frock, of common cloth, with large flaps and brass buttons, a little greasy low cocked hat, a pair of stiff military boots, and a pair of handsome gloves.* This great monarch was remarkably plain in his dress, and commonly wore a leather waistcoat and leather breeches, often very dirty and greasy. Such was the ordinary dress of that celebrated monarch, the rival of Peter the Great, and the Ajax of Sweden. The Swedish capital owes its greatest embellishments to Gustavus III. He was the same to Stockholm, that Louis XIV. was to Paris, Frederick the Great to Berlin, and Catharine II. to Petersburg. Almost all its principal ornaments rose from his patronage, and many of them from his designs. Besides the superb statue of Gustavus Adolphus, and the elegant opera house, both of them works of this reign, Gustavus III. completed the embellishments of the royal palace, some of the apartments of which are adorned with the tapestry of the Gobelines from Paris. He was assiduous in collecting the finest specimens of art, and purchased at Rome 500 valuable statues and paintings.† The royal library contains only about 400 M. S. and 20,000 printed volumes. In this city is an academy of sciences, and another of sculpture and painting. Notwithstanding the recent improvements of Stockholm, the streets remain very ill paved, a circumstance that militates equally against convenience and elegance.‡ Mount Moses, a rock in the

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 145. Coxe's Travels, vol. 4. c. 5, p. 79.

† Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 126, 127.

‡ Ibid. p. 120.

southern suburb, commands a beautiful view of the whole city.* The merchants' houses, which are in the same quarter, and run parallel to the spacious quay, are lofty, and built in an elegant style of Italian architecture. But the harbour is of somewhat difficult access, its entrance lying through a narrow strait, interspersed with rocks, without the advantage of tides, and during four months in the year blocked up with ice. The manufactures of Stockholm, consisting chiefly of glass, china, woollen, linen, silks, &c. are far from being considerable. Its population is, by the latest accounts, estimated at 80,000; and the number of births and burials in 1700, amounting, according to the bills of mortality, to 2120 and 2278 respectively, the number of inhabitants does not appear to have increased. Stockholm has no great claim to antiquity, being founded by Earl Birger, regent of the kingdom, about the year 1260. It was at first built on only one of the seven isles, which it now occupies, as a place of security against the Russian pirates of those times. More than 200 years elapsed before it began to grow considerable, and the royal residence was not transferred hither from Upsal till the seventeenth century.

Upsal.—Of the other Swedish cities, Upsal, the ancient capital, is next to Stockholm in dignity, though not in population, which, exclusive of the students, is supposed not to exceed 8000 persons. Upsal is situated in an extensive plain, and the river Sala, which communicates with the lake Melar, passes through the town.† This city has an university of considerable fame. The colleges and some of the houses are

* Coxe's Travels, vol. 6, p. 24.

† And. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 560. Coxe's Travels, vol. 6, p. 173.

handsome,

handsome, being stuccoed and stained of a light yellow colour; but the greater number are built of wood, painted red, with high grass growing on the tops, a thing very common in Sweden, and behind them are gardens and orchards. The cathedral is a vast pile of brick, in the Gothic style, with two square towers. The interior is handsome, and adorned with a most magnificent organ. Here lie interred the famous Gustavus Vasa, Christian IV. king of Denmark, the celebrated chancellor Oxenstiern, and the immortal Linnæus, who was a native of this place. At Upsal is a botanical garden and a good library, in which is the famous M. S. of a Gothic translation of the four gospels, on vellum, richly illuminated with gold and silver letters. This M. S., the only monument of the ancient Gothic language any where to be found, is supposed to be the work of the fourth century. It was carried from Prague in 1648 by Gustavus Adolphus, when his arms were triumphant in Bohemia and Germany. Here are also shewn some Icelandic MSS. said to be above 800 years old. According to Mr. Carr, here are also some Laplandic tracts, but they were probably written in that language* by Swedes. No historical documents authorize the supposition that literature ever penetrated into the dreary region of Lapland.

Gothenburg.]—Gothenburg is in magnitude the second city in Sweden, its population being computed at 20,000. It has a considerable trade, and the herring fishery contributes in no small degree to its wealth.†

Carlescrona.]—Carlescrona is supposed to contain about 11,000 inhabitants.

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 166, 170, 171.

† Coxe's Travels, vol. 4, p. 322, &c.

Abo.—The population of Abo, in Swedish Finland, is computed at about 8,700, and that of Nordkopping is nearly equal.

Nordkopping.—Nordkopping is situated in a country abounding in romantic scenery, and from the hills above the town, the view is extremely picturesque and delightful.* The rest of the towns in Sweden are inconsiderable.

Edifices.—The most remarkable edifices have already been mentioned. Sweden indeed cannot boast of many that are distinguished either by their magnitude or their grandeur. The roads are far superior to those of Denmark and Norway.

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 114. Coxe's Travels, vol. 4, p. 378.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society—Arts, Sciences, and
Commerce.

SWEDISH history, except in a few brilliant periods, is less interesting than that of several other nations. It was chiefly in the reigns of Gustavus Adolphus, and of Charles XII, that Sweden had any considerable influence on the general affairs of Europe.

No historical documents exist to inform us whether the Celts or the Fins were the possessors of Sweden before the Goths, emerging from their primitive seats on the north of Persia, established themselves in the country, and spread themselves over the whole Scandinavian peninsula. That barbarous and warlike nation, which once made so conspicuous a figure in the history of Europe, proceeding from central Asia along the northern shores of the Euxine, appears to have separated into two grand divisions, one advancing westward on the north side of the Danube into Germany, and another in a north-westerly direction into Scandinavia. History, however, affords no certain information relative to the æra of those migrations. The western colony was in time intermixed with the various tribes of successive adventurers; but the northern division, settled in the Scandinavian peninsula, to which no foreign conquest afterwards extended, remained pure and unmixed. The population

tion of the southern parts of Sweden is, therefore, entirely Gothic, while that of the northern provinces is mixed with the remains of the Fins, who themselves are blended with the Laplanders, a branch perhaps of the original Finnish stock, but reduced by the severity of the climate and its concomitant circumstances, to a diminutive stature, like all the other inhabitants of the arctic regions.* The Greeks were probably ignorant of the existence of Scandinavia; and the knowledge which the best informed Romans, Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy, had of that region, extended no farther than to some parts of its southern coasts, opposite to Denmark and Germany, and amounted on the whole to little more than vague conjecture.

Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the Swedish history, besides being uninteresting, is void of consistency. It appears that it was conquered by Denmark about the middle of the eighth century. Sweden in its turn subjugated that kingdom about the year 900; but we know little of these conquests; and indeed the contentions among obscure barbarians in those remote times, scarcely merit any particular enquiry. About the year 1000, Christianity was introduced into Sweden under king Olaf III, but half a century elapsed before it was completely established by Ingi, surnamed the Pious. The year 1387, or 1388, opens a more luminous view, exhibits greater events, and introduces a period more brilliant in the Scandinavian history. Margaret, daughter of Valdemar king of Denmark, and widow of Huguin king of Norway,

* Mr. Tooke seems to favour this opinion, in confuting the reasoning of Voltaire, who supposes the Laplanders to be a distinct race of men, produced by nature in that region. *View Rom. Emp.* vol. 1, p. 333.

already

already reigning over the first of these kingdoms as sovereign, and over the latter as regent, during the minority of her son Olaus, dexterously taking advantage of the discontent of the Swedes, oppressed by their king, Albert of Mecklenburg, procured from them a solemn tender of their crown. She then marched into Sweden and expelled the reigning monarch. The death of her son Olaus, which followed soon after, put her in possession of the crown of Norway by election, and united in her person the sovereignty of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. This princess, styled in history the Semiramis of the North, joined to a towering ambition and extensive views, a sagacity and penetration which rendered her capable of forming the greatest plans, and of conducting the most complicated affairs. She saw the three northern crowns, which were then rather elective than hereditary, placed on her head, and immediately formed the grand design of rendering their union perpetual. She convened the states of the three kingdoms, and in that assembly the famous union of Calmar, so called from the place of meeting, was concluded, in which it was established as a fundamental law, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, should for ever be governed by one sovereign, who should be chosen successively from each of the three kingdoms, and then have his election confirmed by the two others; that each nation should retain its own laws, customs, and privileges, and that the natives of one kingdom, should not be advanced to offices of honour or emolument in another.* But this union, apparently so well calculated for the tranquillity, security, and aggrandisement of the Scandinavian empire, was productive

* Meursius Hist. Danica, lib. 5.

of quite different effects. The vigorous administration of Margaret restrained, although not without some difficulty, the national animosity and jealousy which subsisted between the Swedes and the Danes, and which under Eric, her successor, produced a dissolution of the union, and gave rise to a series of bloody and barbarous wars. The Swedes renouncing all connection with Denmark, elected Charles Camtson, the grand marshal, for their king. A series of wars and revolutions ensued, in consequence of which Sweden was sometimes independent, and sometimes united with, or rather in subjection to Denmark; the Swedes were finally subdued by the arms of Christian II, and reduced to the condition of a conquered people. These unhappy disputes produced some of the most tragical scenes that disgrace the history of mankind. The Swedes, at their last revolt against Christian I, had chosen Steen Sture as regent and administrator of the kingdom. His son succeeded him in the regency; but his authority, although acknowledged by the nation in general, was opposed by the archbishop of Upsal, primate of Sweden, whom Christian II. had brought over to his interest. This prelate, being for his contumacy degraded by the diet and deprived of his benefices, instigated Pope Leo X. to issue a bull of excommunication against the regent and all his adherents, the execution of which was committed to the Danish monarch. Christian II, the Nero of the North, uniting this specious pretext to his former claims, invaded Sweden; but being defeated in battle, he had recourse to stratagems of the darkest policy. Entering into an insidious negotiation with the Swedes, he offered to go in person to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided that

that six persons whom he should name, were delivered as hostages for his safety. This proposal being accepted, Gustavus Vasa, a descendant of the ancient kings of Sweden, with five others of the principal nobility, was sent on board the Danish fleet. The perfidious Christian immediately carried them prisoners to Denmark, and returning the year following with a more powerful armament, invaded Gothland, and wasted the country with fire and sword. The regent of Sweden being killed in an ambuscade, and the senate divided on the choice of a successor, the Danish king taking advantage of their dissensions, advanced to Stockholm, which surrendered at his approach. Gustavus Trolle, the primate, now resumed his archiepiscopal functions, and placed the crown of Sweden on the head of the Danish monarch.

This coronation was followed by one of the most horrid transactions recorded in history. Christian had promised a general amnesty, and repairing to the cathedral, swore on the altar of the Supreme Being, that he would govern Sweden, not with the severity of a conqueror, but with the benevolence of a father. After this ceremony, he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment that lasted three days, but concluded in the most tragical manner. The king and the primate had formed the horrid design of extirpating the Swedish nobility; and in order to afford some pretext for their intended massacre, the archbishop, on the last day of the feast, reminded the king that the amnesty accorded to crimes against the state, did not include those committed against the church, and demanded justice in the name of the pope. The hall was immediately filled with soldiers, who secured the guests. The primate proceeded
against

against them as heretics. A scaffold was erected before the gate of the palace, and ninety-four persons of the first distinction, among whom was Eric, the father of Gustavus Vasa, were executed for no other crime than that of defending their country. The year 1520, constitutes the era of this nefarious transaction, which was soon after followed by the deliverance of Sweden from Danish oppression. Gustavus Vasa, whom Providence had ordained to be the restorer of Swedish independence, escaped from his prison in Denmark, and in the habit of a peasant, concealed himself among the mountains of Dalecarlia. Deserted by his guide and sole companion, who carried off his little treasure, he found himself destitute of all the necessaries of life, and ready to perish with hunger. In this forlorn condition, he entered among the misers, and wrought under ground for bread. He soon became distinguished among the Dalecarlians, not only for his graceful mien, but also by his strength and agility, qualities peculiarly tending to attract the notice of that rude and robust people. Having already acquired a considerable ascendancy over those rough companions of his labours, he discovered himself to them at their annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in asserting the independence of Sweden. They listened to him with surprise and emotion, but to induce them to take up arms and march under his banners, it was necessary that superstition should point out some favorable omen, in order to animate them with hopes of success. Gustavus had resided among them long enough to be acquainted with their ideas, and probably seized the moment when he perceived the wind veer to the north for the beginning of his address. The superstitions of the vulgar have often
been

been artfully converted to useful purposes by men of more enlarged ideas and extensive views, and have frequently promoted or impeded the greatest designs. Some of his rude auditors observing that the wind had blown from that quarter from the moment that he began his speech, the circumstance was considered as a signal of the approbation of Heaven, and they requested to be immediately led against the tyrants of their country. Gustavus took the advantage of this favorable disposition, and without leaving their ardour to cool, entered on the bold and arduous enterprize of conquering, with a few undisciplined miners, a kingdom every where filled with Danish soldiers. Nothing, however, could withstand the precipitate valour of the Dalecarlians. Gustavus saw himself every where victorious, and his successes soon gained him numbers of adherents in every part of the kingdom. His forces daily increased; the Danish garrisons every where surrendered, or their fortresses were carried by assault. Every thing yielded to his courage, his conduct, and good fortune; and within two years after he took the field, and about three from the subjugation of the kingdom by Christian II, Gustavus Vasa ascended the throne of Sweden.

From the ensanguined annals of war and the horrors of tyranny, from the projects of courts and the actions of the great, it is requisite to turn our eyes to the progress of society, and the condition of the great mass of the people. Fewer authentic documents relative to these subjects exist in Sweden, than in several other countries; but the few scattered hints that are extant, suffice to exhibit the outlines of a picture of society extremely disgusting. During the period which elapsed, from the earliest accounts to

the reign of Gustavus Vasa, the government of Sweden does not seem to have ever been firmly established, regularly defined, or uniformly administered. The feudal system reigned with all oppressive abuses; and in no country perhaps had the nobles acquired a greater plenitude of power. In the north, from time immemorial, the sacerdotal order, whether Pagan or Christian, had been held in great veneration; and since the introduction of Christianity into Sweden, the dignified clergy had acquired a vast proportion of wealth, and a preponderating influence in public affairs. As commerce was unknown, or at least neglected, almost the whole wealth of the kingdom consisted in land, which was consequently in the hands of the prelates and nobles. These two classes possessing all the property and power of the state, composed a great council called the senate, which decided on all public affairs. This aristocracy, equally hostile to the authority of the king and the interests of the people, was the bane of the national prosperity. The people were slaves, the king a mere nominal sovereign; and the crown being elective, Sweden was in those ages, what Poland still continued to be, till its internal dissensions invited foreigners to seize on its territories and annihilate its national existence. The same fate had nearly happened to Sweden. The people perished in the contentions between their barons, while their internal disunion exposed them to the inroads and oppression of the Danes; and had Sweden been surrounded by such powerful neighbours, she must long ago have experienced the destiny of Poland.

Such was for ages the deplorable state of Sweden. Gustavus Vasa first gave consistency to the government, and rendered the nation respectable. His circumstances

cumstances, indeed, were peculiarly favorable. None of his predecessors had made their way to the throne through such difficulties, but none of them had ascended it with so many and so great advantages. He was at the head of a victorious army, attached to his person, and struck with admiration at his valour; and he mounted the throne by the universal consent of the nation. The ancient nobility were mostly destroyed. The massacre of the most powerful of that order by Christian II. although in the highest degree nefarious and horrible, proved of great service to Gustavus, in freeing him from those independent and haughty opponents, who had so long been the bane of all regular government in Sweden. The clergy were still powerful by their numbers, their wealth, and their influence, and dangerous by their attachment to Denmark, of which the Swedes had repeatedly experienced the consequences. But the opinions of Luther, which had now made their way into the north, and acquired great credit in Sweden, afforded him an opportunity of annihilating the exorbitant power of that order, by changing the religious system of the kingdom. The establishment of Lutheranism in Sweden, however, was entirely a political measure; for he immediately commenced persecutor, and the vigorous laws enacted in 1544 against the Catholics, shew that Gustavus and the senate of Sweden had no better ideas of religious liberty, than Philip II. and the Spanish inquisitors. In that age, indeed, the irrational spirit of intolerance, actuated all sects and parties: instead of conciliating one another by the mutual exercise of Christian charity, they studied to widen every breach by reciprocal injuries. The reign of Gustavus, however, was on the whole highly beneficial to Sweden;

which, instead of a Gothic aristocracy, the most turbulent and the most wretched of all political systems, became at that time a regular monarchy; and in arts and arms, in letters and commerce, began to make some figure among the nations of Europe.

Gustavus dying in 1559, after a prosperous reign of about thirty-six years, was succeeded by his son Eric, whose jealousy of his brothers excited them to revolt. A civil war thus ensuing, the senate espoused the cause of the princes. Eric was deposed in 1566, and John, his brother, was placed on the throne. His reign was chiefly distinguished by wars with Russia, by the election of his son Sigismund to the throne of Poland in 1587, and by his repeated, but ineffectual attempts to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in Sweden.* John dying in 1592, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, Charles, his brother, was chosen administrator of Sweden, and afterwards elected king in 1599. His reign was greatly disturbed by the practices of Sigismund, king of Poland, his nephew, whose influence was predominant in Russia,† and who had many adherents even in Sweden. The Danes encouraged by these circumstances, once more invaded the kingdom, on which occasion the great Gustavus Adolphus, then only a minor, first appeared on the military theatre, on which he afterwards made so conspicuous a figure.

Charles dying in 1611, Gustavus Adolphus, his son, ascended the throne, and although only in his eighteenth year, was declared of age by the states. No sooner had he seated himself on the throne than he signalized himself by expelling the Danish in-

* *Lecton. Hist. Sacce. lib. 7.*

† See Historical ch. Russia in this work.

vaders, whose progress he had checked, even before the death of his father. In a war against Russia he conquered the greatest part of Finland. He also recovered Livonia, and during the war which he carried on against Poland, he ravaged Lithuania and Prussia.* Livonia, the conquered part of Finland, and some towns in the government of Novogorod, were confirmed by treaty to Sweden, which was aggrandized at the expence of Russia, during the troubles that agitated and enfeebled the empire.† An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland in 1629, now assured the tranquillity and safety of his own dominions; and left him at leisure to display his abilities on the more conspicuous theatre of Germany.

The house of Austria now taking measures that threatened the extirpation of the Protestant religion; the Protestant princes, in order to avert the impending storm, had recourse to the king of Sweden, with whom they secretly formed an alliance.‡ Gustavus had also particular reasons for making war on the Emperor Ferdinand, who had assisted his enemy the king of Poland, and whose plan of aggrandisement tending to make him absolute master of Germany, might have rendered him formidable to Sweden; religious zeal and the love of military fame might also be considered as additional motives. Inspired with an enthusiastic desire of glory; Gustavus, however, was always attentive to the rules of prudence, and assured himself of the support of England and France before he ventured on a war with the Emperor. England, however, although secretly favourable to his designs,

* Puffendorf, lib. 2.

† Vide Historical Chapter of Russia.

‡ Puffendorf, lib. 1.

maintained an ostensible neutrality; but numbers of English and Scotch volunteers, by royal permission from Charles I. crowded to the Swedish standard, and the flower of Gustavus's army, with many of his best officers, consisted of those military adventurers.* But his most constant and effectual support was that which he received from France, in an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres, in virtue of the treaty already mentioned; which did so much honour to the genius of Richelieu.

Gustavus having entered into Germany, in 1631, was joined by several princes of the confession of Augsburg, and marched towards Liepsic, where Count Tilly, the imperial general, was encamped. Tilly advanced to meet his antagonist, and a decisive engagement took place. The imperial army and that of the Swedish monarch were about equal in number. But the Protestant auxiliaries from Saxony, being raw and undisciplined soldiers, took to flight at the first onset. Notwithstanding, however, this disadvantage, the prowess of the Swedes, directed by the abilities of their king, gained a complete victory.† Such was the consternation into which the imperialists were thrown, by this defeat, that if the king of Sweden had marched directly for Vienna it is generally supposed that he might have made himself master of that capital. But Gustavus, through motives which it is now somewhat difficult to discover, or at least to approve, took a different route, and instead of carrying the war into the heart of the emperor's hereditary dominions, advanced towards the Rhine, and had the

* Burnet Mem. Hamilton, vol. 1.

† Harris's Life of Gustavus, apud Russell's Mod. Hist. Eur. vol. 3, p. 110.

satisfaction of erecting, on the banks of that river, a column, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms. The battle of Liepsic, however, was followed by the most important consequences. The king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country, from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprising a space of near 100 leagues full of fortified towns. But this was not the only advantage derived from his victory. The members of the Evangelical Union, encouraged by his success, unanimously joined his standard, and the measures of the Catholic league were entirely disconcerted. The 1st of April the next year, 1632, was rendered memorable by the death of that celebrated general, Count Tilly, who was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech. The passage of that river, with its various circumstances, is considered, in military history, as a master-piece of generalship, and by it Gustavus acquired an immortal reputation. But on marching into Bavaria, and entering the capital, which opened its gates without resistance, he displayed the liberality of his mind in a manner more honourable to his memory than all his conquests.* Being urged to retaliate on Munich the cruelties which the imperialists perpetrated at Magdeburg, when that place was taken by assault. "No," replied Gustavus, "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable, by abusing the rights of conquest, in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art."†

The next important action of the Swedish monarch was his attempt to force the entrenchments of the im-

* Russel's Hist. Mod. Eur. vol. 3, p. 111.

† Harte's Life of Gustav. spud Russel's Mod. Eur. vol. 3, p. 112.

perial general, Wallestein, who had recovered the greatest part of Bohemia, with Prague its capital, of which the elector of Saxony had made himself master, soon after the battle of Liepsic. This attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, and after an engagement of ten hours, in which the king's person was in imminent danger, the Swedes were repulsed with great loss. The Austrian cavalry then making a desperate sally from their entrenchments, nothing but a masterly retreat could save the Swedish army from destruction.*

The fate of Gustavus was now fast approaching. Having learned that Wallestein had removed his camp from Weffensels to Lutzen, he consulted his two favourite generals, Kniphausen, and Bernard, duke of Saxe Weimar, on the propriety of giving battle to the imperialists, a measure not imposed on him by any circumstances of necessity. The former, whose abilities were matured, and whose courage was tempered by experience, reprobated the temerity of hazarding an engagement against an enemy greatly superior in strength, when not enforced by any necessity, as contrary to the true principles of the military science, and reminded Gustavus, that he was neither circumscribed in place, nor in any want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores. The duke of Saxe Weimar, on the contrary, rejected those reasonings as the effects of a too cautious prudence, and declared for an immediate engagement. Gustavus seemed at the first to acquiesce in the opinion of Kniphausen, but afterwards came to a different determination, and resolved once more to try the fortune of arms with the imperial general.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. art. Swed. sec. 8.

exhortations were answered by shouts of applause from the army; and every soldier manifested his determination to conquer or die. Having disposed his army in order of battle, he placed himself at the head of the right wing, and drew his sword about nine in the morning, being attended by the duke of Saxe Lawembourg, Crailsham, grand master of his household, and a body of English and Scotch gentlemen volunteers. The action soon became general, and both sides fought with unparalleled intrepidity. About eleven o'clock, the king of Sweden fell, fighting sword in hand at the head of the Smaland cavalry. He had first received a wound in the arm, to which he paid little attention, till at last he seemed near fainting from loss of blood. At this moment an imperial cavalier, advancing close up, transpierced his body with a pistol shot. The cavalier, however, had but little enjoyment of his triumph, being at the same instant shot dead by the master of the horse. A furious attack being immediately made by Piccolomeni's cuirassiers, rendered it impossible to convey the king from the field. He was for some time held up in his saddle, but his horse being shot in the shoulder, made a violent plunge and fell with his rider to the ground. The imperial cuirassiers rushing forward killed or dispersed all his attendants. Seeing him laid on the ground weltering in blood, they asked him who he was, and on receiving for answer that he was the king of Sweden, finding it impossible to carry him off as a prisoner, they gave him several desperate wounds, and one of them dispatched him by a shot through the head. Thus fell Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest monarch that ever sat on the Swedish throne, and one of the most distinguished heroes of ancient or modern history. He

united

united in an eminent degree the qualifications of the statesman and the commander, possessing that intuitive genius, which conceives the greatest designs, and that happy combination of courage and conduct so necessary to their successful execution. But besides his political and military talents, his private virtues ought to be held up as an example to mankind, as they are capable of being imitated by all ranks and conditions of men in private as well as in public life. He was not more great as king and an able commander, than as a pious Christian, a sincere friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, and an affectionate parent. His public and private character displayed all the talents and virtues that dignify humanity.

After the king had fallen the battle was continued with inexpressible fury. Never was a victory disputed with greater obstinacy. Pappenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, who had arrived with a reinforcement of fresh troops, lost his life on this memorable occasion. The Swedes, instead of being disconcerted or thrown into confusion by the fall of their king, thought rather of revenging his death, and fought like lions under General Kniphausen and the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, who had taken the command. The battle continued nine hours; and such was the determined valour of the Swedes, and the conduct of their generals, that, notwithstanding the cowardice of their Protestant allies, who, on this occasion, as well as on the affair of Leipsic, soon took to flight, and the vast superiority of strength which the enemy acquired by Pappenheim's reinforcement of 7000 additional troops, the action terminated in favour of the Swedes; and nothing but the approach of night prevented them from

from gaining a most decisive victory. Perhaps no army ever displayed greater heroism than that of the Swedes on the memorable day of Lutzen.

The transcendent abilities of Gustavus, both in the cabinet and the field, shewed themselves in the most conspicuous and unequivocal manner after his death. Like Philip of Macedonia, he left behind him a set of generals trained to arms under his banners, and instructed by his example as well as his precepts, who, during the space of eighteen years, gallantly maintained, with astonishing valour and success, the glory of the Swedish arms.*

Gustavus left only a daughter, the famous Queen Christina. She was only six years of age when her father was killed; but through the transcendent abilities of the chancellor, Oxenstiern, Sweden, although engaged in a foreign war of so long duration, was tranquil and prosperous at home. Oxenstiern, indeed, is not less celebrated as a statesman than Gustavus is distinguished as a warrior. In 1634, two years after the battle of Lutzen, the king of Hungary, eldest son of the emperor, being appointed generalissimo of the imperialists, in the place of the celebrated Wallenstein, the army was reinforced by 20,000 Italian and Spanish troops, under the duke de Feria, besides a body of men sent by the cardinal, infant governor of the Belgic provinces, to the support of the Catholic cause, and another of 10,000 men brought by the duke of Lorraine: the duke of Bavaria at the same time united his forces to those of the house of Austria.†

* Puffendorf, lib. 6, 7, 8, &c.—Barre, tom. 9.—Lomera, lib. 9, &c.

† The celebrated imperial general Wallenstein had by his haughty deportment, and the esteem in which he was held by the soldiers, excited

The imperial army being thus augmented by these numerous reinforcements, and animated by the presence of the son of their emperor, were now extremely formidable. The Swedes, under Horn and Saxe Weimar were, after the most desperate efforts of valour, totally defeated by the king of Hungary, at Nordlingen, in one of the most hard fought battles recorded in history. The consequence of this disaster was the defection of the Protestant princes of Germany, all of whom, except the Landgrave of Hesse, deserted the Swedish alliance and concluded a peace with the court of Vienna. Notwithstanding these disasters, Oxenstiern, being supported by Cardinal Richelieu, and afterwards by Cardinal Mazarine, carried on, in conjunction with France and the United Provinces, a war of eighteen years, against both the branches of the house of Austria, with so great credit and success, that Sweden had no small part in dictating the peace of Westphalia.

Christina, the young queen of Sweden, received an excellent education. She possessed a superior genius, and made its cultivation her principal object; for which purpose she invited to her court the most learned men of the age, among whom were Descartes and Salmasius. She corresponded with all the distinguished literati of Europe, and expressed a particular regard for Grotius. While she thus devoted herself to the Muses, however, she did not neglect the duties of a sovereign, but constantly maintained the honour of her crown. Her desire of independency having determined her neither to marry nor any longer

the jealousy of the Emperor Ferdinand. He was accused of concerting a revolt; but the emperor dreading his influence over the army, caused him to be dispatched by assassination.—*Annales de l'Empire*, tom. 2.

to encumber herself with the cares of government, she resigned her crown to her cousin, Charles Gustavus, A.D. 1654; and having imbibed a predilection for the Catholic religion, as well as a classical attachment to Italy, she retired to Rome in order to enjoy philosophical leisure, and pursue her favorite studies.

Charles Gustavus was successful in his wars with Denmark and Poland. His passage over the ice, and his siege of Copenhagen, are mentioned in their place. He made an entire conquest of Poland, but it proved of short duration; for although he obliged the Poles to take an oath of allegiance, they soon revolted. Charles died in 1660. His son and successor, Charles XI, being a minor of five years of age, the regency judged it expedient to conclude a peace with all the neighbouring powers. After Charles had assumed the reins of government, he sometimes received a subsidy from Louis XIV, and sometimes was the ally of England and Holland. He joined at one time with France in a war against Austria; but all those wars, without any important consequences, merit very little attention. The most remarkable event of his reign, was the victory which he obtained over his own subjects, in annihilating the power of the states, and changing the constitution of the country from a limited to an absolute monarchy. This prince fixed an indelible stain on his memory, by condemning the brave Palkul, the chief of the Livonian deputies, to decapitation, for the boldness of his remonstrances in behalf of his countrymen. This intrepid patriot, however, was fortunate enough to make his escape, and thus avoided the sanguinary sentence. Under the administration of this prince, however, Sweden made a respectable figure in the political system of Europe.

Charles

Charles XI. was succeeded by his son, the famous Charles XII. This prince, like his father, ascended the throne in his minority. He was only fifteen-years of age at his accession, and his father's testament had fixed his maturity at eighteen. The term, however, was abridged by the management of Count Piper, who soon became his first minister and principal confidant. It was not long before circumstances called his youthful ardour into full exercise, and afforded him an opportunity of displaying that intrepidity and romantic heroism, which proved so great a misfortune to his own kingdom, as well as to the neighbouring states; but which, under the direction of prudence, would have ranked him with the greatest monarchs of ancient or modern times. Charles, however, though justly condemned for his obstinacy, temerity, and restless propensity to war, cannot be charged with wantonly beginning those hostilities, which were afterwards attended with so copious an effusion of blood; and so great an exhaustion of revenue. The commencement of those convulsions, which so long and so violently agitated the eastern and northern parts of Europe, was rather owing to the cool and sagacious views of Peter the Great of Russia, than to the temerity of the young Swedish monarch. The czar was now intent on prosecuting his great plans for the civilization and the aggrandisement of his empire; and, above all things, desirous of procuring a port on the Baltic, in order to facilitate the execution of his commercial schemes. The province of Ingria had formerly belonged to his ancestors; but Sweden, not a century before, had wrested it from Russia. He considered the youth and inexperience of Charles as affording a favorable opportunity for re-conquering the province, and

and thought that a junction with the kings of Denmark and Poland against Sweden, would facilitate this, or still more extensive acquisitions. Thus a powerful confederacy was formed against the young king of Sweden. The king of Denmark began the war by an invasion of the territories of the duke of Holstein Gottorp, who had married the sister of Charles; while the Russians, Poles, and Saxons, entered Livonia and Ingria. Charles renewed the former alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, and received from these two powers a combined squadron of ships of war. Without loss of time, he immediately landed an army in Denmark, and began the siege and bombardment of Copenhagen both by sea and land. Charles, by this decisive measure, soon brought this war to a termination. The citizens of Copenhagen sent deputies to beseech him to desist from the bombardment, a request which he granted on their agreeing to pay him 400,000 rix dollars. The Danish monarch, at the same time, seeing the Swedes in the heart of his kingdom; and his capital, together with his fleet, ready to fall into their hands, had no resource left but submission. A negotiation was opened; and through the mediation of England and France, a peace was concluded, A.D. 1700, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein.*

Russia and Poland were not included in this treaty, which left the young king of Sweden at liberty to direct his whole force against those formidable enemies. He first turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva. The memorable victory which Charles gained at that place, is mentioned in the historical view of Russia. This was fol-

* Hist. du Nord, tom. 2.

lowed by another decisive battle at Riga, which was then besieged by the Saxons and Poles. The victory on the side of the Swedes was scarcely less complete than at Narva; and the consequences were exceedingly important. Charles now advanced through Courland and Lithuania; and the rapidity of his conquests gave his progress the appearance of a pleasurable tour, rather than of a military expedition. The Poles, disaffected towards their king, Augustus, who was ambitious of governing in Poland as despotically as in Saxony, murmured at seeing their towns occupied by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies; and considering the war with Sweden as nothing more than an artifice of the court in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops, made little resistance against a prince whom they regarded as a deliverer, rather than an invader.*

Charles taking advantage of this state of the public mind in Poland, formed the great design of using the discontents of the Poles as the means of dethroning king Augustus, his implacable enemy. In this project he succeeded to the full extent of his most sanguine expectations. Having entered into a secret correspondence with the Cardinal Primate Rajouski, and several of the discontented grandees, and gained a decisive victory over the king of Poland at Glissaw, he lost not a moment in marching to Cracow, which surrendered without the least resistance. Charles, however, left that city immediately in pursuit of King Augustus, in order to prevent him from reassembling an army. This measure, so well calculated to complete the expulsion of that prince, was considerably

* Parthenay Hist. de Pologne, tom. 1.

impeded

impeded by an accident which happened to Charles, who having his thigh broken in consequence of his horse falling, remained several weeks confined to his bed. During this interval, Augustus assembled a diet at Lublin, and prevailed on the nobles to maintain an army for his defence, and to allow the king of Sweden forty days to determine on peace or war. But before the expiration of that term, Charles being recovered, convened a diet at Warsaw, which annulled the resolutions of that which Augustus had assembled at Lublin. He then advanced against the remains of the Saxon army, over which he gained a complete and easy victory. King Augustus having retired to Thorn, from whence he escaped into Saxony, was now deposed in the diet at Warsaw, and the throne of Poland was in consequence declared vacant. On this occasion, Count Piper, as great a politician as his master was, a warrior, advised Charles to place himself on the vacant throne, which, with a victorious army of Swedes, and a powerful party among the Poles, he might easily have accomplished. But Charles, more powerfully influenced by romantic ideas of glory, than by maxims of political prudence, declared that he had greater pleasure in giving away kingdoms than in conquering them for himself. In pursuance to these notions, he recommended to the Polish diet Stanislaus Leezinski, palatine of Posen, who was elected king by unanimous consent.*

Augustus being expelled from this kingdom, threw himself into the army of the czar, as the only resource that was left him in his desperate situation. Numerous armies of Russians entering Poland, began to waste, with fire and sword, the lands of all the nobles who

* *Volktaire Hist. de Charles XII. liv. 9.*

adhered

adhered to King Stanislaus. But their devastations were not of long continuance. The king of Sweden flew from province to province, defeated them in every quarter, and notwithstanding the vast superiority of their numbers, after exterminating the greatest part of them, in several bloody engagements, at last forced the shattered remains of their formidable force to retire beyond the Borysthenes.* Having effected the expulsion of the Russians, he resolved to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Augustus; and directing his course towards Silesia, passed the Oder with about 24,000 men, and entered Saxony. Augustus now seeing himself destitute of every means of resistance, was obliged to sue for peace, which he obtained on the humiliating condition of renouncing his claims to the crown of Poland, and recognising the title of his rival Stanislaus. These bold and decisive measures, and the rapid success of his arms, had now rendered Charles almost the arbiter of Europe. France and the emperor courted his friendship. Louis XIV, in particular, solicited his alliance, with an ardour proportioned to the distressed situation of his affairs, pressed, as he was, by the victorious arms of Eugene and Marlborough; but the king of Sweden, intent on his design of dethroning the czar, carefully avoided all engagements that might turn his attention from his grand object.

Here we see the intrepid but romantic monarch of Sweden raised, by a continued train of victories, to the zenith of his glory. His subsequent misconduct, and his decisive defeat at Pultowa, where he lost in one day the fruit of nine years of successful war; and after seeing his veteran army, which spread terror over

* Voltaire Hist. de Charles XII, ubi supra.

Europe, totally annihilated, was compelled to fly for refuge among the Turks at Bender, are related in treating of Russia. The fatal consequences of which this defeat was productive to Sweden, in the loss of the provinces on the eastern shores of the Baltic, are also noticed. It will be to no purpose, in this place, to relate the extravagancies of Charles during his residence among the Turks, whose generosity he abused, and whom his imperious behaviour at last compelled to storm his palace at Bender, and keep him confined as a prisoner: all these circumstances are narrated in more detailed accounts.* The effects which the fatal action of Pultowa and the captivity of Charles had on the national affairs, are more within the limits of the present design. During the king's residence of somewhat more than five years and four months in Turkey, the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, carried on the war against Sweden, not only with vigour, but also with the most rancorous animosity; and the operations on both sides displayed a continual repetition of retaliated barbarities. Sweden was harrassed and exhausted, drained of men and money, and without a sovereign, was reduced to a desperate situation. The regency of Stockholm determined no longer to consult Charles in regard to their proceedings, and requested the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, his sister, to assume the government until his return, and to conclude a peace with Denmark and Russia. The king, receiving intelligence of this affair, signified to the Turkish vizier his wish to return through Germany into his own dominions; and the Turks, heartily desirous of getting rid of him, neg-

* These are all detailed at large in Voltaire's Hist. of Charles XII. books 5, 6, and 7, as that author assures us, from genuine sources of information.

lected nothing that could forward his departure. He therefore set out attended by a Turkish convoy, which conducted him to the frontier. The emperor of Germany had given orders that the Swedish monarch should be received, in every part of his dominions, with all the respect due to royalty; but Charles, unwilling to have his progress impeded by pomp and ceremony, chose to travel in disguise, and with only two attendants arrived at Stralsund in Pomerania, on the 21st of November, 1714. From this place, notwithstanding the desperate situation of his affairs, he dispatched orders to all his generals to push the war against Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony, with redoubled vigour. The king of Sweden, however, was now surrounded by such multitudes of enemies, that all the efforts of valour and conduct might, by a cool observer, have been considered as useless. The German troops of the elector of Hanover, George I, king of Great Britain, in conjunction with those of Denmark, invested Wismar. Peter the Great, of Russia, with a fleet in the Baltic of twenty ships of war, with 150 transports, having on board 30,000 troops, threatened a descent upon Sweden, while the king was besieged in Stralsund by the combined army of Saxony, Denmark, and Prussia. Charles, however, was not in the least discouraged by these hosts of assailants, and these complicated dangers. In Stralsund he made as obstinate a defence as any recorded in history, against the besieging army of almost 40,000 men, commanded by the kings of Denmark and Prussia, and the gallant prince of Anhalt. When the place was reduced to the last extremity, the king of Sweden fought like a private man among his grenadiers, in two desperate attacks, in the latter of which the besiegers carried

the hornwork by storm, and could scarcely be dissuaded by his friends from sustaining the grand assault, which was hourly expected. At last, however, he yielded to their arguments on the propriety of leaving a place, which it was impossible any longer to defend, and where he must infallibly be made a prisoner. He therefore embarked in a small vessel, and passing through the Danish fleet, under favour of the night, landed safely in Sweden. The next day Stralsund surrendered.

The remaining three years of Charles's life were a continued series of fatigues and of desperate enterprises, of which the details would here lead to prolixity.* But a new scheme of ambition was suggested by the baron de Goertz, which, although Providence happily prevented its execution, is worthy of notice in history. The baron was one of the most artful and enterprising men of his time, endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating and fertile in resources; and from a congeniality of ideas, in the highest degree bold and romantic, had become the king of Sweden's particular favorite and confidential minister. To such a king, and such a counsellor, nothing appeared impossible. The project which Goertz had framed was that of concluding a peace with Peter, and of joining the arms of Sweden and Russia in order to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain, and to give law to all Europe. Having received full powers from Charles, he entered into negotiations with the heads of the English jacobites, and the courts of Madrid and Petersburg. A marriage was projected between the Pretender and Anna Petrowna, daughter of Peter the

* The transactions of this prince, after his return from Turkey, are detailed by Voltaire Hist. de Charles XII, liv. 8.

Great. Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a great political genius, a man of boundless ambition and of the most enterprising spirit, entered fully into the scheme. Conferences were appointed to be held, and every thing seemed to prognosticate the conclusion of a treaty, which might have been productive of new convulsions in the political system of Europe. But fortunately for the peace of mankind, the death of the king of Sweden rendered the schemes of all those politicians abortive. Charles had, since his return from Turkey, made two expeditions into Norway, in the latter of which he commenced the siege of Frederickshall, in the month of December, when the cold, in that severe climate, was so intense, that the soldiers frequently fell down dead at their posts. The king, in order to animate them by his example, exposed himself to all the rigours of the climate and the dangers of the siege, as much as the meanest soldier. One night, in viewing the approaches, he was killed by a shot, either from the fortifications, or else from some traitorous hand. Some assert that the ball, which terminated his existence, proceeded from a cannon laden with grape-shot, others that he was shot with a blunderbuss by one of his own officers, and that opinion has been very prevalent among well informed persons in Sweden; but no proofs have ever been produced that could entitle it to historical credibility.* The moment that he received the stroke, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that posture; but his

* Voltaire Hist. de Charles XII, liv. 8. Mr. Coxe has made a careful enquiry into this affair, which has caused so much doubt among the historians, Coxe's Trav. vol. 4, ch. 8. He has not, however, been able to solve the question.

death was instantaneous, and he expired without a groan.

The character of Charles XII. has ever excited admiration, but displays no qualities that could command esteem or affection. A dauntless intrepidity, which at all times, and on all occasions, excluded every sentiment of fear; an unwearied perseverance in enterprise; an astonishing firmness of mind under misfortune; a decided contempt of danger, and an enthusiastic love of glory, were its distinguishing features. Qualities like these, united with prudence, would have ranked him with the greatest of heroes; but his romantic valour and blindness to consequences, have caused him to be regarded, by some judicious estimators of the human character, as little better than an illustrious maniac. Avoiding every extreme of censure, as well as of applause, it may not, however, be amiss to repeat the remark already made, that Charles was, by a powerful combination of enemies, forced to unsheath the sword: his only fault, in this respect, was that of never being willing to return it to the scabbard. His romantic obstinacy exhausted the resources of his kingdom, which he left in a miserable state of depopulation and poverty. As to the private character of Charles, it presents no amiable qualities: A stranger to social pleasures, little acquainted with literature, and insensible to the charms of the fair sex; a Goth in his manners, resentful, unfeeling, inaccessible to sympathy, he was calculated to inspire terror, but not to conciliate love or esteem.

Happily for mankind, his life was not of long duration. He fell at the age of thirty-six, A. D. 1718, after a reign of twenty-one years, of which eighteen had been spent in the most bloody and ruinous wars. In
casting

casting a retrospective look on those times, it appears astonishing, that a country so poor, and of so small a population as Sweden, could, without any subsidies, without a single ally, support so long a series of hostilities against so many and so powerful enemies. The death of Charles was the signal for peace. A cessation of arms almost immediately took place, and the Swedes raised the siege of Frederickshall. The baron de Goertz was impeached by the senate of Sweden, of alienating the affections of the king from his people, and died by the hand of the executioner. And the Swedes elected Ulrica Eleonora, sister to Charles, for their queen, obliging her, however, to renounce all hereditary right to the throne, and imposing on her a variety of restrictions; which, besides rendering the crown elective, re-established the ancient aristocracy. A peace was, in the next place, concluded; and the provinces on the eastern shores of the Baltic were ceded to Russia. These conditions were humiliating, but imposed by necessity. Sweden was drained of her men and her money by the ruinous reign of Charles XII, and being totally eclipsed by the rising splendor of Russia, has never since that disastrous æra had any considerable influence on the politics of Europe. The Swedish history, during the greatest part of the last century, has been uninteresting. The court of France had generally a preponderating influence in the politics of Sweden: afterwards that of Russia gained the ascendancy. The reign of Adolphus Frederick, who ascended the throne in 1751, was rendered extremely troublesome by the contending factions, and by the restraints and oppositions which he met with from the senate. He died in 1771,

and was succeeded by the late king, Gustavus III, a man of extraordinary talents and accomplishments.

Gustavus III. ascended the throne in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was at Paris at the time of his father's death, and wrote in the most insinuating terms to the senate. An extraordinary diet was called to deliberate on the affairs of the government, to settle the terms of accession, and to regulate the form of the coronation oath. The king signed a capitulation, consisting of twenty-four articles, relative to the administration of government; among which was an express clause against any attempt to introduce absolute sovereignty, or any infringement of the aristocratical constitution, as established in 1720. The king, having made solemn declarations to rule according to the established form of government, and accepted the crown on condition of maintaining the ancient constitution, immediately began to project its overthrow. The enterprise was hazardous; and the king made use of every art to ensure its success. By his dexterous management and insinuating address, his condescending behaviour to all ranks of his subjects, and his apparent concern for their welfare, he soon began to be considered as the father of his country, and was idolised by the people. Contentions between the different orders of the states, afforded him not only a pretext for his project, but also the means of carrying it into execution. Every means having been employed in order to render the people disaffected to the aristocratical form of government, the king took the proper measures for bringing a considerable number of the military over to his interests. The scheme being now ripe for execution, Gustavus, in less than an hour, made himself master of the whole military force of the capital,

capital, and placed soldiers at the door of the council chamber, where the senate was assembled. He then seized the arsenal, planted cannon at the palace, the bridges, and all the avenues leading to Stockholm, and completely cut off all communication between the capital and the country. The senators were confined in separate apartments of the palace, and the king visited the different quarters of the city in order to receive oaths of fidelity from the municipality and the militia. The next day, 20th August, 1772, the same oaths were tendered to the people, to whom the king addressed a speech, declaring that he abhorred every idea of despotism, and renounced every pretension to absolute sovereignty, esteeming it as, he had ever done, his greatest glory to be the first citizen among a truly free people; protesting at the same time, that his sole intention in overturning the aristocratic form of government, was to suppress licentiousness, to prevent oppression, and to ensure the tranquillity and happiness of his country. A proclamation was then issued, ordering an assembly of the states for the following day.

The next morning, 21st of August, the palace was invested on all sides with troops, cannon were planted in the court facing the hall, and soldiers stood over them with lighted matches. The states were here assembled by the king's command, and his majesty being seated on his throne, surrounded by his guards and a numerous band of military officers, ordered his secretary to read a new form of government, which he had framed, and now offered for their acceptance. Being surrounded by an armed force, which taught them the necessity of compliance, the states signed the

the new constitutional act, and took the oaths to the king which he himself dictated. His majesty then began to sing *Te Deum*, in which he was joined by the assembly; but whether all the members were sincere in this act of thanksgiving, may be deemed somewhat problematical. Thus, in the short space of three days, was this extraordinary revolution completed, and the aristocratical constitution of Sweden subverted without opposition or effusion of blood, so well had the king adjusted his measures and taken his precautions. The new form of government which Gustavus established, has been greatly conducive to the good of his people, as the aristocratic body has never since made any struggle to recover its former power.

The war which Gustavus III. undertook against Russia, appears to have been the most impolitic measure of his reign. It was certainly a rash attempt of Sweden to attack a colossus like Russia; but the embarrassed state of that empire, might afford to Gustavus some flattering hopes of success. All that is necessary to be said of this war, may be found in another part of this work.* This war was of short duration, and its issue of little importance.

But Gustavus was about to act on a more conspicuous theatre, in taking the supreme command of the combined armies of Europe against the French republic, when he was assassinated at a masquerade in the opera-house, on the night of the 16th of March, 1792, by a villain named Ankerstrom, who gave him a mortal wound with a pistol shot, of which he languished till the 29th of the same month, when he

* See Historical View of Russia.

expired in great agonies in the forty-fifth year of his age, and at the close of the twentieth year of his reign. Gustavus retained to the last all his mental faculties, and arranged with great foresight and precision, the future government of the kingdom. Several slugs were extracted, but some rusty pieces of iron having penetrated into his body, beyond the reach of chirurgical operation, all hopes of his recovery were soon extinguished.

Thus fell by the hand of assassination, Gustavus III, a monarch of the most brilliant accomplishments, and the most amiable qualities. Skilled in literature and the arts, and courageous in arms, he seems to have wanted nothing but more extensive means of displaying his talents. Had he been placed at the head of a great and powerful empire, instead of a poor and enfeebled kingdom, he would have obtained a distinguished rank among the most celebrated characters of ancient and modern times; and his reign would probably have occupied some of the most splendid pages of history.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, only fourteen years of age, was proclaimed king, and the Duke of Suedania his uncle, and brother to the late sovereign, appointed sole regent. The prudent and conciliatory measures of the regent, as well as of the young king, who is now at age, do the greatest honour to their characters.

The history of Sweden, when compared with that of some other countries, affords but few opportunities of observing the progress of letters and science, arts and commerce. Amidst the tumults of anarchy, and the darkness of Gothic barbarism, some circumstances of a commercial nature, however, appear, that are
worthy

worthy of observation. Sweden was, in these affairs, much behind Denmark, but so early as 1455, the former sent out a merchant ship of 1,000 tons burthen, which was long before either England or France had vessels of so large dimensions.* But commerce could not flourish in a country so rent with factions, and oppressed by foreign tyranny. The reign of Gustavus Vasa, first gave to trade, as well as to government, vigour and stability. The acquisition of Livonia, in the middle of the sixteenth century, contributed greatly to the increase of the Swedish trade.† But the disastrous reign of Charles XII, in which Sweden lost all the fertile and commercial countries on the eastern side of the Baltic, containing the cities and ports of Riga, Revel, and Narva, gave the most fatal blow to her trade, and cast the balance of commerce, as well as of power, wholly in favour of Russia. The age of Charles, and his great antagonist Peter, will ever be memorable in history, as the æra of this great revolution. In the last century some steps were taken for the revival of Swedish commerce. In 1731 the East India Company was established, and in 1740 a board of trade and manufactures was erected, which has been of considerable advantage to the country.‡ The late king, Gustavus III, also endeavoured by every possible means, to promote both the trade and the agriculture of the kingdom.

* *Ant. Hist. Com.* vol. 1, p. 477.

† *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 115.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. 3, p. 38, 127, 174, 224.

CHAP. IV.

Present State, Political and Moral—Religion—Government—Laws—
 Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—
 Political Importance and Relations—Language—Literature—Polite
 Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character:

Religion.]—THE religion of Sweden is Lutheranism. The Swedish hierarchy is similar to that of England. It consists of one archbishoprick, that of Upsal, and thirteen episcopal sees. The parishes are 2537 in number, the priests about 1378, with 134 vicars, and 192 inspectors.

Constitution.]—In the revolution of 1772, Gustavus III. pretended only to restore the ancient limited form of government, as it was regulated by Charles XI, but which had since degenerated into a factious aristocracy. But in 1789, an act of union was passed, which converted the constitution into an absolute monarchy. The king unites in his person all the powers of government; and the diet can deliberate on no subject but what he chuses to propose. This diet consists of nobles and gentlemen of landed property, clergy, burgesses, and deputies of the peasantry. Each of these four orders has a speaker. The archbishop of Upsal is always the speaker of the clerical body; the king nominates those of the three lay orders. In 1788, the diet consisted of 49 counts, 136 barons, 188 knights, 396 gentlemen, 51 ecclesiastics,

94 bur-

94 burgesses, and 165 deputies of the peasants.* So numerous a body might oppose a formidable barrier to the power of a monarch whose resources are very small, but his dictatorial authority is supported by the great mass of the people, who consider it as necessary for overbearing that of the aristocracy, which is said to consist of about 2,500 families. Many of the most enlightened nobles also seem to regard the absolute power of the sovereign, as the most efficacious means of suppressing the prevalence of faction, as it is evident that the aristocracy of Sweden was formerly verging towards the same point as that of Poland, which has produced so fatal a catastrophe.

Laws.—Although the government of Sweden was rendered by Gustavus III. as absolute as that of any kingdom in Europe, the king does not exercise any despotic authority. The laws are simple, just, and mild, and no marks of tyranny appear.†

Army.—The military force of Sweden consists of about 36,000 national troops, and 12,000 foreign infantry. The national troops are a kind of militia raised by the holders of crown lands, and are enlisted for life. The holders of those lands are obliged to furnish each soldier, gratuitously, with a cottage and a portion of land, and also to cultivate it for him when absent on service, or embodied for exercise. In supporting cold, fatigue, hunger, and indeed every kind of privation, the Swedish troops are equal to any in the world; and their determined bravery in battle, stands gloriously recorded in history. No nation of the ancient or modern world, ever carried heroic

* *Öfvarns Le Nord litteraire* ap. Finkerton Geog. vol. 1, p. 529. 530.

† Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 150.

valour to a higher pitch than the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII.

Navy.]—In the war with Russia in 1792, the Swedish fleet consisted of thirty ships of the line. At present it is reduced to about half that number. But Sweden, as well as Russia, pays great attention to the equipment of galleys of a flat construction, which, as the Baltic is full of shoals, are found more serviceable than ships of larger dimensions.

Revenue.]—The revenue of Sweden is computed at only 1,500,000*l.* sterling, which is equalled by the expenditure. The national debt is supposed to be about 10,000,000*l.* sterling.*

Commerce.]—The commerce of Sweden is far from being important, being chiefly supported by her native productions. The exports are chiefly iron, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and copper. Herrings have long formed a considerable article, but the fishery is much declined.† A considerable part also of the imports from the isle of Bartholomew, in the West Indies, and a still greater proportion of those from China, are re-exported, Sweden affording but a small consumption of these articles.‡ The principal imports are grain of various kinds, especially rye, Sweden rarely producing a quantity sufficient for her own consumption. To these may be added tobacco, sugar, coffee, silks, wines, &c. According to Mr. Coxe's estimates of Swedish commerce, at the time of his calculation, the exports amounted to 1,368,830*l.*, and the imports to 1,008,392*l.* If this statement approach

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 158. Pinkerton's Geog. vol. 1. p. 531.

† Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 174

‡ Aud. Hist. Com. vol. 3, p. 174.

any thing near to truth, the whole commerce of the kingdom of Sweden is not equal to half of that of the single port of Petersburg.*

The scarcity of specie in Sweden is almost incredible. Gold and silver are scarcely ever to be seen, and even the heavy copper coins have almost disappeared, being supplanted by bank notes, some of which are for very diminutive sums. The public debt being mostly incurred at Hamburg, scarcely any kind of currency is seen but the paper money of that city.

Manufactures.—The Swedish manufactures are not numerous. Those of iron and steel are the most considerable. The manufactures of copper and brass, and the building of ships, likewise employ a great number of hands. There are some also of cloth, hats, watches, and sail-cloth; and in 1785 it was supposed that 14,000 persons were employed in those of wool, silk, and cotton.

Population.—The population of Sweden is extremely small when compared with its ample extent; a circumstance arising from the mountainous surface and barren soil of the country, together with the severity of the climate in the northern districts, Swedish Lapland being supposed not to contain above 7000 inhabitants.† To these physical disadvantages may be added the low state of trade and manufactures, which do not, as in some countries, obviate the inconveniencies of sterility, by affording employment to the inhabitants, and drawing supplies from abroad. Sweden may here be contrasted with Holland, or even with some of the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire, which, affording only scanty supplies of native pro-

* Toulce's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 456.

† Fink. Geog. vol. 1, p. 520.

duce, are crowded with numerous inhabitants. The whole population of Sweden does not much exceed 3,000,000; but a late traveller says, that it is rapidly increasing.

Political importance and relations.—The political importance of Sweden; so conspicuous during the glorious reign of Gustavus Adolphus, and his daughter Christina, and even till the inauspicious accession of Charles XII, is not at this time of much consequence. The contest which she has for some time maintained against Russia, whatever may be its result, has, however, imparted to her some weight in the scale of European politics.

Language.—The language of Sweden is a dialect of the Gothic, and nearly allied to the Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic. In the northern parts the Finnish and Laplandic dialects prevail, both of which are rude and barbarous. In proportion, however, as civilization advances, the Swedish language gains ground in Finland, but in Lapland it has made very little, if any progress.

Literature and Sciences.—Swedish literature cannot boast of its antiquity; the most ancient native chronicle, and perhaps the first literary composition of this country, being not more ancient than the fourteenth century. The literature of Sweden, indeed, can hardly be said to have dawned before the middle of the seventeenth century, when Queen Christina, the celebrated daughter and successor of the great Gustavus Adolphus, invited Grotius, Descartes, and other distinguished men of letters and science into the country, who sowed the seeds of learning. These gradually began to prosper under the wise and beneficent reign of Charles XI, and grew to greater maturity in the

last century, when the name of Linnæus alone, would have immortalized the literature of his country. With him many other illustrious names may be joined, in the various departments of natural history. Sweden also boasts of native orators and poets, as well as historians, but not of many distinguished artists, the fine arts having been slow in their progress towards the north. The reign of the late king, Gustavus III, was the Augustan age of Sweden. The institution of numerous academies now promotes the interest of science and literature.

Education.—Sweden boasts of three universities, of which Upsal, the most ancient and famous, has already been mentioned.* The others are Lunden and Abo in Finland. This kingdom has also twelve literary academies, most of which publish memoirs of their transactions. But universities and academies are of less importance than a general system of popular instruction; and this great business appears to have been less neglected in Sweden, than in most other countries of Europe. A late traveller informs us, that in consequence of having in almost every parish a school, almost every peasant in Sweden can read.† It would be well if the same could be said of England and most other countries, where many thousands are incapable of reading the inscriptions on guide posts and milestones.

Persons, manners, and customs.—The Swedes of all ranks, have in general a graceful appearance. The men are robust, and both sexes well formed. The ladies are in general *en bon point*, and have a trans-

* Vide description of Upsal, ch. 2, Sweden.

† Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 177. This, however, is quite different from what Finborton advances. Geog. vol. 1, p. 503.

parent delicacy of complexion.* It is, however, to be observed, that in this country the native complexion is more diversified than in most other northern climates, where it is generally fair; but in some parts of Sweden it is very brown. This, however, is chiefly to be observed among the lower sort of people. In regard to their manners, those of the superior classes, in consequence of their former connections with France, may be reckoned entirely French. The Swedish nobility and gentry of both sexes, are, for the most part, well educated and highly accomplished, many of them speaking English, French, and German with fluency.† An attachment to luxury is observable among the opulent Swedes; and all ranks, in proportion to their circumstances, display a generous hospitality. The peasants are industrious and frugal, and live in the plainest manner. They generally make their own cloths and furniture, trade and manufactures having made but little progress. They bake only once or twice in the year, and their bread, which is made into thin cakes, consists of rye or oats, with which the bark of the larch tree is sometimes intermixed.‡ The manners of the Finlanders are now assimilated to those of the Swedes; but the Laplanders still retain their ancient peculiarities. The Dalecarlians in the west of Sweden, are not less remarkable for their strength, agility, and manly form, than for the honest simplicity of their manners. Their dress is always of coarse cloth, gray or black. Their houses have a hole in the top, which serves for a window, and like all those of Sweden, are warmed by a stove.§

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 148.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 115.

§ Coxe's Trav. vol. 5, p. 12. Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 126.

Their courage and loyalty are rendered famous in history, by the part which they took with Gustavus Vasa in liberating the country from the yoke of Denmark. The Swedish peasantry, in general, have a great deal of vivacity and address.

National character.—The national character of the Swedes, does not, in general, display any striking peculiarities. Honesty, courage, and generosity, seem to be its most prominent features.

EUROPEAN RUSSIA.

CHAP. I.

Situation—Extent—Boundaries—Face of the Country—Mountains—Rivers—Canals—Lakes—Mineralogy—Mineral Waters—Soil—Climate—Vegetable Productions—Zoology—Natural Curiosities—Antiquities and artificial Curiosities.

THIS large division of Europe, comprehending the annexed provinces of Poland, extends from about 14° to 66° east longitude, and from about 44° north latitude to the shores of the Frozen Ocean, where its extreme parallel is not yet ascertained. Its greatest length being about 1,600, and its greatest breadth above 1,000 British miles. About 1,200,000 square miles may be taken as a rough estimate of its area. The whole Russian empire extending over the north of Asia, comprehends the largest space of territory that has ever been united under one political system. The Asiatic part will be spoken of in its proper place; our observations shall here be confined to European Russia.

Face of the country.—The face of the country is much less varied than might be expected in so wide a space. Its principal feature consists in vast plains. There are some elevated level tracts of a great extent, which modern geographers designate by the name of

steppes. These are chiefly met with in the interior and southern provinces. One of these elevated campaign tracts, which lies above the sea of Asoph, extends near 400 English miles.

Mountains.—From this general sketch, it will readily appear, that the mountains constitute no striking feature in the geography of Russia. There are some, however, in the northern and eastern parts, which deserve to be noticed. The principal are the great Uralian chain, forming a marked boundary between Europe and Asia. This immense range of mountains, extends from the 50th to nearly the 67th degree of north latitude, a length of above 1,400 British miles, when the winding obliquities are taken into the account. Their elevation, however, when compared with the Alps, the Pyrenées, &c. are inconsiderable, as Pouda, one of the highest of the chain is, according to M. Gmelin, no more than 4,500 feet above the level of the sea. The Uralian mountains are rich in metals, and adorned with woods, chiefly of pine, fir, birch, cedar, larch, &c.; the south-west sides display a few oaks, elms, and lindens. The mountains of Olonetz, in northern Russia, run in a direction nearly north, the length of more than 1,000 English miles; they are of no great height, but from the northern situation, the arctic part of the chain is covered with perpetual snow. A considerable part of the tract, which lies between Petersburg and Moscow, is an elevated ground, by some called the mountains of Valday, from the town and lake of Valday, situated nearly on the ridge, but nothing like a mountain appears. It is only a high table land, with large sand hills, interspersed with masses of red and grey granite. Near Valday is the highest part of the ridge, stretching
from

from between the lakes Ladoga and Onega in a north-east and south-west direction. The country about Valday is extremely pleasant, "Fine slow rising hills," says Mr. Tooke, "a charming pellucid lake, with an island, on which stands a noble monastery, delightful groves, an extensive scenery, form the most inviting variety."* This elevated tract is not much encumbered with forests, but consists chiefly of beautiful pastures and fields, and grazing is here carried on to advantage. The soil in the valleys is generally fertile, and the whole can only be considered as an open champaign country, the highest elevation being not more than 200 fathoms above the level of Petersburg. This tract, however, is that which sends forth the great rivers Dwina, Nieper, and Volga: and from its inconsiderable elevation, an idea may be formed of the gentle fall of these rivers, as the course of the Volga is reckoned not less than 1,700 miles. The mountains of Taurida, or Crimea, running in a chain along the coast of the Euxine, are of only a moderate height, and scantily adorned with forests; but their vallies are fertile and beautiful, and the trees are of the richest foliage.† In the northern parts, especially in Russian Lapland, there are ranges of mountains, some of which stretch towards the lakes of Ladoga and Onega, but none of those are of any considerable height.

Rivers.—The rivers of this extensive country are numerous; the chief of these is the majestic Volga, which forms, through a considerable part of its course, the boundary between Europe and Asia. This largest

* Russian Empire, vol. 1, p. 104.

† For a particular account of these mountains, see Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. 1, p. 84 to 106.

of the European rivers, derives its sources from the lakes of Valday, in the government of Tweer, between Petersburg and Moscow. Its course is confined to Europe, till it reaches Taritzin, where it turns south-east into Asia. It receives a number of tributary streams from the east and the west, among which the chief is the Kouma, a large river deriving its waters from the Uralian mountains. The Volga running through a level country, having no cataracts and few shoals, is navigable even to Tweer. It discharges itself by several mouths into the Caspian sea, below Astrachan.

The Don, or Tanais, rises from a lake in the government of Tulan, and after a course of about 800 miles, falls into the Sea of Asoph. The Nieper, or ancient Borysthenes, rises in the government of Smolensk, about 150 miles south of the source of the Volga, and after a course of about 1000 miles falls by a wide æstuary into the Euxine. Those conversant in classical literature are not ignorant that this river, watering the country to which Ovid was banished, is celebrated in his mournful elegies. The Bog, or ancient Hypanis, falls into the æstuary of the Nieper. The Neister, or ancient Tyras, now forming the boundary between Russia and European Turkey, derives its source from the north side of the Carpathian mountains, and falls into the Euxine at Akerman, after a course of about 600 miles.

Among the rivers which direct their course to the Arctic Ocean, may be mentioned the Dwina, which passing by Archangel, falls into the White Sea, and the Cara, an inconsiderable stream, but remarkable as forming, for the space of 140 miles, the boundary between Europe and Asia, from the termination of the Uralian mountains

mountains to the sea of Cara-skoi. Several rivers also discharge themselves into the Finnish Gulph and the Baltic Sea; of these the principal is the Neva: it takes its rise from the lakes of Onega and Ladoga, which are joined together by the Svir. The Neva, which pervades the city of Petersburg, is only about forty miles in length, from the lake of Ladoga to the Gulph of Finland; but its breadth and depth are considerable, and it is very subject to great floods. The Narva, on which stands the city of Narva, and the Dwina, which waters Riga, fall, the former into the Gulph of Finland, and the latter into the Baltic.

Canals.]—The canals of this empire are of great importance. Peter the Great projected several grand schemes for inland navigation. The sudden and dangerous storms, to which the lake of Ladoga is so liable, induced him to cut a canal along its margin, extending about sixty-seven miles, from the river Volkov to the Neva. A canal also leads from Moscow to the Don, opening a communication with the Euxine. Peter formed the grand design of establishing an intercourse between Petersburg and Persia, by the lake of Novogorod, the Mesta, the Volga, &c. but the ignorance of the engineers, together with some other causes, occasioned its failure. During the reign of Catharine II. several canals were made or improved, and the inland navigation of the empire owes much to her administration. The celebrated canal of Vishnei Voloshok was nearly brought to perfection by Peter, and it was only needful to join the Twertza with the Sheksna to complete the communication between Petersburg and Astrachan.

The navigation requires for its performance a fortnight, three weeks, or a month, according to the sea-

son of the year, and near 4000 vessels are supposed annually to pass this way.* With the single exception of the communication between Canton and Peking, this, through the interior of Russia, is unquestionably the most extensive inland navigation in the world.† Mr. Coxe has given a detailed account of this inland navigation of Russia, from actual observation, as he examined on the spot the junction canal of Vishnei Voloshok.

Lakes.—Russia contains several lakes, some of which are of considerable extent. The principal are in the north-western part. Among these must be reckoned the lake of Imandra, in Russian Lapland, and likewise that of Onega, which is 150 miles in length and about thirty of medial breadth. That of Ladoga, being 150 miles long and about seventy broad, is one of the largest in Europe. The fishery of this lake seems to be of little importance; but its northern shores furnish a beautiful kind of marble, greatly esteemed at Petersburg. Several other lakes might be enumerated, as that of Ilmen, near which stands the ancient city of Novogorod, and that of Peipus, the source of the river Narova, or Narva. This lake contains an island with three villages, and abounds with fish. The lake Seliger, in the government of Tweer, though narrow, extends about thirty miles in length, and emits one of the branches of the Volga, another of which issues from a smaller piece of water in the same neighbourhood.

There are also a great number of morasses, some of which are very extensive. According to Pallas the northern coast presents an immense swamp, of several

* Philip's Hist. Inland Nav. p. 19.

† Travels in Russia, &c. vol. 3, ch. 7.

hundred versts in width, wholly grown over with moss, destitute of wood, and almost perpetually frozen, being thawed in summer to only a very small depth.*

Mineralogy.]—The principal mines being in the Asiatic part of the empire, will be noticed under that article. There are, however, some in the European part. Among the privileges which the English obtained under Iwan Basilowitz, was that of working the iron mines, under the condition of instructing the Russians in metallurgy; and mines have long been wrought about sixty miles from Moscow. Peter the Great instituted a college of mines in 1719, and may be regarded as the father of the Russian mineralogy. The principal mines in the European division of the empire, are those of the mountains of Olonetz. In 1739, gold was discovered in that chain, and mines were opened; but the quantity which they yielded of that metal was so small, as scarcely to defray the expences of working.

Mineral waters.]—European Russia appears to contain few mineral waters; nor will they, perhaps, ever be much sought for, the warm baths so general throughout the country, rendering them in a great measure unnecessary. Those which have been discovered are for the most part strongly impregnated with iron, especially the chalybeate springs of Buigova, in the district of Olonetz, and those of Sarepta, near the Volga. In some parts of Taurida, particularly near Perecop, and in the island of Timan, there are springs of Naphta.

Soil.]—The soil of a country so extensive must necessarily be various; and every attempt to describe its varieties from the mossy swamps which border the

* Profess. Pallas's Travels, vol. 3.

Frozen Ocean to the fertile plains of the Don and the Volga, would be vain and useless. It may, however, be remarked, that the northern parts in general present a dreary picture of sterility; the middle provinces have a much better soil, as well as a more genial climate; and the southern parts display the greatest fertility. Between the Don and the Volga, from Voronez to Simbirsk, the soil, consisting of a black mould, strongly impregnated with salt-petre, is extremely fertile, producing the most luxuriant vegetation. Perhaps the frequent burning of the grass still practised by the Tartars, as well as the savages of South America, and, perhaps, by all nations in the first stages of the pastoral life, may have produced this rich black-soil, found not only in Russia, but in several other countries.

Climate.—European Russia extending from the Arctic Ocean to the Euxine, presents all the varieties of climate that can be found between Lapland and Italy. The climate of Petersburg, as well as its situation, is unpleasant. Winter, even here, maintains the chief sway; and the Neva is frozen from October or November till March or April. The cold is very severe in winter, and in summer the heat is excessive. Violent storms are frequent, seldom fewer than twelve, but sometimes more than sixty happening in the space of a year, and when these come from the south-west they cause great inundations by the overflowing of the Neva.* At Moscow the summer heats of June and July are oppressive, and the nights are chill. The winter, which sets in about the middle of November, and often earlier, and lasts till the end of March, is severe, and attended with copious falls of snow; but

* Storch's *Pict. Petersburg*, vol. 5.

the atmosphere is dry, pure, and elastic, and the air extremely salubrious.* In the southern parts, the summer heats continue much longer; but the winters, though short, are somewhat severe. In almost every part of Russia; except on the borders of the Gulph of Fjmland, on the banks of the Volga, towards the shores of the Caspian, and near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the Euxine, the climate is dry and healthful. But throughout the whole empire, the summer and winter verge towards the extremes of heat and cold. From some degrees to the south of Moscow, all northern Russia has only two seasons, the transition from winter to summer, and again from summer to winter, being so sudden that spring and autumn are unknown.†

Vegetable productions.]—In the vast extent of territory, which European Russia comprehends, consisting of so great a variety of soil, and stretching through all the climates from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to the genial latitudes of the southern departments of France, and the northern parts of Italy, we must necessarily expect to meet with all the different productions that distinguish so many different situations.‡ Corn and pasturage are the general features of Russian farming, and of the former all kinds are produced. In the northern parts, rye is chiefly cultivated; in the middle and southern regions, great quantities of wheat are produced. Taurida produces some maize; and the olive prospers in the southern mountains along the shores of the Euxine, although it has not suc-

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 419.

† Ibid, vol. 2. p. 449.

‡ Mr. Coxe remarks the uncommon quantity of mushrooms in the northern parts of Russia between Moscow and Petersburg. Trav. vol. 2, p. 205.

ceeded in the vicinity of Astrachan. The culture of the vine has also been attempted in the south, and with proper management will undoubtedly succeed, especially in Taurida. Barley is a general produce; and hemp and flax constitute an important object of Russian agriculture. Tobacco has lately been cultivated, but potatoes are unaccountably neglected. In the middle and southern parts are large orchards. Apples and pears are found as far north as 49°. Cherries and plumbs extend as far as 55°. The Kiriskoi apple, which is of an agreeable flavour, and will keep a long time, often grows to the weight of three and sometimes of four pounds. Great quantities of fruit, however, are still imported. Russia is capable of producing an immense quantity of all things necessary to man; sufficient, indeed, for three times the number of its present inhabitants, who are, indeed, three times too few for its cultivation. It is, therefore, no wonder that agriculture should be considerably neglected. Want of population and the existence of vassalage are the bane of Russian prosperity.

Zoology.]—The animal as well as the vegetable productions of this vast region are so various that only a slight sketch can here be attempted. Those of the central, and in a great measure also of the southern parts, are common to the rest of Europe. Among those which have met with the greatest attention is the horse; and the breed is, in many parts of the empire, much improved. The Tartarian horses have long been celebrated for their beauty and spirit, and in Taurida they have been much improved by the introduction of Turkish and Arabian stallions. Elegant saddle horses, however, are far from being plentiful in Russia, and great numbers are annually imported at Petersburg.

Petersburg. Near Archangel is a breed of ponies, not unlike those of Scotland.

The sheep in the northern parts are of a middle size, many of them rather small, with coarse wool. Those of the south are much superior, and their wool much finer; but the best is produced in Kazan, and other eastern provinces of European Russia. The islands of Oesel and Dagho have an excellent breed with fine wool; but Taurida is the principal sheep country. It is said that many of the common Tartars of that province keep 1000 sheep; while the opulent proprietors have very numerous flocks. The whole number in the peninsula is computed at 7,000,000: the mutton is excellent; but the wool is coarse. Throughout the whole empire, a great deal of excellent pasture is found; and cattle, in general, are in tolerable plenty. Goats and swine every where abound. Of wild animals the wolf, the lynx, and the elk are found in the northern parts, and among those of a more peculiar kind may be reckoned the sea-bear of Nova Zembla. It is said that the camel is not unknown in some of the southern parts.

Natural curiosities.]—The greatest natural curiosities of Russia are those which indicate the severity of its climate. Such was that singular production of nature and art combined, the palace of ice, built by the Empress Anne on the banks of the Neva in 1740, which when illuminated had a surprising effect. And the mountains which float in the Frozen Ocean may be ranked among the most wonderful works of nature. Some of these are many miles in length and breadth, and of an astonishing height, being formed by the aggregation of vast fields of ice forcing themselves one under another, and thus raising the immense mass
higher.

higher out of the water, where it receives an additional increase from the successive falls of snow. Some of these floating mountains are 400 or 500 yards in height, resembling vast cathedrals, adorned with pinnacles, &c. presenting a thousand fantastic shapes, and reflecting a thousand colours from the rays of the sun, or the aurora borealis.

Among the natural curiosities of Russia may also be numbered the mineralization of roots of trees, and other vegetables, on the mountains which abound in iron mines. In some places even the soil is changed into ferruginous earth.

Antiquities and artificial curiosities.]—Russia does not offer many things that can properly come under the head of artificial curiosities, and her antiquities cannot be supposed to afford any thing peculiarly magnificent or striking. The chief are the catacombs of Kiof, in the Ukraine, which are subterraneous labyrinths of a vast extent, excavated through a mass of hard clay; but whether they be of Christian or Pagan origin, or whether they have been places of royal or popular sepulture, cannot be well ascertained.*

* For an accurate account of the catacombs of Kiof, vide *Dissertation sur les Antiquités de la Russie*, 1795.

 CHAP. II.

Principal Cities and Towns—Edifices—Islands.

Moscow.—IN a view of the Russian cities, Moscow, the ancient metropolis of the empire, challenges the first attention. It is situated on two rivers, the Yausa and the Moskva, neither of which is considerable; but the latter has in the spring a sufficient depth of water to bring up large barks. Over these rivers are twenty-three bridges, which keep up the communication between the different parts of the town. Moscow was anciently divided into five principal districts, the Kreml, Kitaigorod, Bielgorod, Zemlenoigorod, and the Slobodes. The Kreml or Kremlin seems to have been the original and most ancient part of Moscow; the name is Tartarian, and signifies a fortress. It is parted from the Kitaigorod by a semicircular rampart and fossé. The Kreml occupies the centre of this immense city, upon a considerable elevation, on the bank of the Moskva, and commands a prospect that can scarcely be paralleled. The meandering course of the river beneath, carts and carriages of all sorts incessantly passing over its bridges, Gothic monasteries, with their gilded turrets, on charming elevations, decorating both its banks, diversify and embellish the picture, while magnificent palaces, worthy of adorning Florence or Rome, interspersed with

miserable huts, that would disgrace a British village, form a contrast which distinguishes Moscow from all the other great cities of modern Europe. Here stands the ancient palace of the czars, the birth place and long the residence of the immortal Peter. It is spacious and built in the Gothic style, and has nothing majestic or imposing in its appearance. The Kreml also contains two large monasteries, and thirty-two churches, all of which have a number of steeples near them, with gilt or silvered cupulas and crosses. Among these the Belfry, called Ivan Veliki, reckoned the highest turret in Moscow, is the most conspicuous. It was built in the reign of Boris Godunof. In this Belfry lies the largest bell in the world, which was cast by order of the Empress Anne, and weighs 12,000 poods. Its fall was occasioned by a fire which happened in the year 1737, and it has not since been hung. Among the churches of the Kreml, are seven which, by way of eminence, are called sobores, or cathedrals. Of these the Uspenskoï, or Church of the Ascension, where the sovereigns of Russia are crowned, is the richest in the whole empire, in gold and silver decorations, and the sacerdotal vestments here preserved are of astonishing magnificence. Here is also the famous chandelier presented to Boris Godunof by the Venetians. It weighs 2800 pounds, and is a curious piece of workmanship. Among the curiosities of this magnificent temple, are the monuments of the patriarchs, and the portrait of the Holy Virgin, painted as it is said by St. Luke, the Evangelist. Indeed it bears every mark of high antiquity.* Two other superb structures adorn the Kreml; one of these is the senate-

* Tooke's Hist: Russia, vol. 2, p. 574.

house,

house, a grand work of Catherine II. in a magnificent modern style: the other, which is opposite, is the arsenal, a compact and solid edifice.

The imperial palace of the Kreml was originally built of timber, by Prince Daniel Alexandrovitch, A.D. 1300. In 1367, Dmitri Ivanovitch Donski reconstructed it of stone. The present structure is the work of Italian architects, who, in 1488, were employed by Ivan Vassillievitch to enlarge the palace and give it the form in which it now appears.

The next division of Moscow, called Kitaigorod, winds in a semicircular form round the Kreml. The origin of the appellation is uncertain; but its literal signification implies the Chinese City: as the trade with China was formerly very flourishing, probably this was the quarter in which the commodities of that country were chiefly sold. It is surrounded by a wall and a ditch; and has four gates by which it communicates with the other districts. Kitaigorod consists almost entirely of shops and warehouses, amounting in number to 4,021 of brick, and 54 of wood; and the whole has the appearance of a perpetual fair.*

In Kitaigorod are several public buildings; of which the most remarkable is the Zaikonospaskoi monastery, in which is an academy for the Slavonian, Greek, and Latin languages; an institution destined to the education of persons designed for the church. Here is also the palace of Count Sheremetof, and two of those large churches called cathedrals.

Bielgorod, the third division of Moscow, embraces the Kitaigorod in a semicircular form, and was formerly surrounded by a wall, which being now taken down, its place is occupied by a canal; and an alley

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 3, p. 309.

of birch and Linden trees, and affords an agreeable promenade. In this division are a number of monasteries and nunneries, with seventy-two churches, besides a new erected Armenian church. Here is also the university of Moscow, founded by the Empress Elizabeth in 1755, and two large gymnasia, or schools.* This division also contains the house of the nobility club, in which is a magnificent ball, capable of containing 2,000 persons. Here is also the theatre, in the galleries and halls of which, masquerades are frequently given. In this quarter is the bird fair, in which are sold singing-birds, and all sorts of domestic animals. This trade is more considerable than a stranger would conceive; for in no place, perhaps, in the world, are there so many fanciers of this kind as in Moscow. Nightingales, quails, doves, and dogs, are frequently sold at incredible prices. The lowest price of a canary-bird is five roubles, nearly 1*l.* sterling; but when they are well taught, they are frequently sold as high as 50 or 100 roubles, or from 9*l.* or 10*l.* to 18*l.* or 20*l.* sterling. The division of Bielgorod contains 376 shops.

The Zemlenoigorod, and the Slobodes encircle the quarters above mentioned. Here massy and elegant structures are intermixed with wooden houses and wretched hovels. The slobodes, or suburbs, are encompassed by a wall, which also encloses a number of waste and empty spaces, probably left for the future enlargement of the city; and indeed the number of houses augments so rapidly, that several of these unoccupied places have, within no long period of time, been converted into populous streets. The climate of Moscow, in 55°, 12' north latitude, is extremely

* Mr. Tooke speaks highly of the university, vol. 2, p. 396, 397.

salubrious.

salubrious. The situation is elevated, and the soil dry, except in some parts near the Neglinnaiya and the Yausa. The atmosphere is generally clear and bright, the weather regular and wholesome, and in winter remarkably settled. The streets of Moscow are broad, the squares spacious, and, in many parts, are extensive gardens; so that it bears a strong resemblance to the Oriental cities. The houses mostly consist of only one story; and not being contiguous, but separated by interstices, the air and the sun diffuse their benign influence, with nearly as little impediment, as in the open country; and noxious vapours cannot stagnate. This renders the place extremely healthful; and Mr. Tooke remarks the strong and nervous structure of the native inhabitants.

The whole circuit of the imperial city of Moscow is about twenty-six English miles. Its population it is difficult to ascertain, as it varies exceedingly at different seasons of the year. "In winter," says Mr. Tooke, "when the numerous nobility with their hosts of retainers flock to the metropolis, the number of the inhabitants amounts to upwards of 300,000; whereas in summer, when they are allured back to the country, it does not exceed 200,000." It seems, therefore, that another traveller, who, without making this distinction, computes them at 200,000, had not made his estimate on slight information.* In Moscow, as in many other great capitals, winter is the season of animation. Trade and amusements assume new activity, and the streets are crowded with carriages. In this capital of the Russian empire, society, indeed, has an animated appearance. The theatre is one of the largest in Europe, containing four stories of boxes.

* Coxe's Travels, vol. 1, p. 351.

and two spacious galleries; nor is it inferior to any in splendid decorations.

Notwithstanding the general propensity to dissipation, so prevalent at Moscow, it is somewhat astonishing, that its ample extent affords so few places of accommodation. The coffee-houses, tea-gardens, &c. so common in most other cities, are here either totally wanting, or on so contemptible a footing, as to be frequented by none but the populace. For want of these, the citizens of Moscow, of all ranks, have recourse to promenades in the environs, which indeed are extremely delightful, affording, in some places, magnificent views of that immense capital. From an eminence before the Dorgomubof gate, it presents itself in its whole extent to the eye of the spectator. The whole visible hemisphere seems covered with buildings. The Sparrow Mount, an elevated spot on the banks of the Moskva, is also an agreeable place of resort. It commands a fine view of the metropolis; and the surrounding country is extremely beautiful. The grand summer holiday, on the first of May, is a splendid and interesting scene. The gardens of Count Orloff are greatly frequented by people of rank. They are laid out in the English manner, on the sloping bank of the Moskva. The magnificent palace and fine gardens of Pashkoff, on a considerable elevation, on the banks of the Moskva, form a grand place of popular resort on Sundays and holidays. From the Belvidere in the cupola, is seen a most delightful view of the whole city of Moscow. An innumerable concourse of people frequently fills the gardens, the court, and the palace. Free access to every part is permitted, every entrance is perpetually open, and servants attend with the most civil officiousness. The effect produced by the

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the illumination of this palace on the holidays of the imperial family, is indescribable. The citizens of Moscow, on these occasions, vie with each other in the splendor of their illuminations. The Vauxhall in Moscow, as well as the theatre, owes its origin to the enterprising genius of Mr. Maddox; but it is not greatly frequented, as few of the nobility remain in the city during the summer season. Here is also a place for beast-baiting; but this cruel diversion does not meet with so much approbation at Moscow as at Vienna.

The inhabitants of Moscow, however, have an inexhaustible source of agreeable and healthful amusement in their promenades, not only to the places just mentioned, but also the imperial country palaces in the vicinity, and to the villas of the nobility, many of whose gardens are open to the public: among the former, Petrofskoy, about three versts, Tzaritzin twelve, and Ismailova eight versts from this metropolis, are the principal. Among those of the nobility, the chief are Kuskova and Astrankia, both belonging to Count Scheremetof; and Petrofskoy, a charming country seat of Count Rasumofsky, not far from the imperial villa of the same name.

Petersburg.—Petersburg, the imperial residence, and the emporium of the foreign commerce of Russia, ranks, in extent and population, next to Moscow, the ancient metropolis, and merits, on many accounts, an equal, if not a superior degree of attention. The place where it stands, in the provinces of Ingria and Finland, in 59° 56' north latitude, was a dreary extent of barren morass, under a rigid climate, uninviting to luxury, and unlikely to become the residence of one of the most splendid courts of Europe. But Peter the Great

having conquered the province from the Swedes, and being desirous of opening a communication by the Baltic with the rest of Europe, in order to render Russia a commercial and maritime power, resolved to build here a city that might serve as an emporium of trade. In order to facilitate the progress of this great work, and to add to the importance of his new city, by attracting to it the nobility and gentry, he there fixed his abode; and Petersburg shared alternately with Moscow the honours and advantages of the imperial residence. His successors have assiduously followed up his plans, and Petersburg, now greatly extended and embellished, displays a magnificence worthy of the capital of a great empire.

The year 1703, constitutes the æra of the foundation of Petersburg. The part that was first built was on the Vassilic Ostrof, an island between the two principal branches of the Neva. This Peter determined to render, as much as possible, like Amsterdam, by intersecting it with twelve canals, two of which were to be navigable for ships of burden. He also obliged his nobility to build houses on the sides of these canals, and to let them to merchants for their accommodation. The work was carried forward with such vigour, that the emperor saw, in his own lifetime, 109 houses of stone, and 554 of timber, erected on this island. After his death, however, this part of the plan was relinquished, and such of the canals as had been dug were filled up. In the mean while, as the part which now contains the three admiralty quarters, was somewhat less marshy than the island; many people had voluntarily built there, and this gradually became the best and most populous part of the city. In 1711, the Vyborg side of the Neva began to be built

built upon; but this part of the town has never been carried to any great extent. The successive sovereignties of Russia, in the prosecution of Peter's designs, have constantly embellished the new residence; and each reign, of any considerable length, has seen its extent and population increase. But since Catherine II. assumed the reins of government, the completion of Petersburg has been pursued with unremitting ardour; and imperial munificence, displayed for that purpose, has been seconded by that of noble and opulent individuals. Its trade has also constantly increased. About A.D. 1736, the annual arrival of shipping amounted to scarcely 100. In 1746 they were above double that number. Ten years afterwards they had increased to 300, and in the next ten years to 400. About the year 1776 above 700; and at present considerably above 800 vessels annually enter the port. The value of the commodities imported is estimated at more than 12,000,000 of roubles; but that of the produce exported amounts to a much greater sum.*

When a stranger enters Petersburg, his eyes are struck with a scene of novel magnificence. The vast spaces of its streets and areas give it a superiority over every other European capital. In every ancient city, the disparity of the buildings, and the incongruity of its different parts, point out the gradual progress of its prosperity and taste. In Petersburg all is modern, the whole is the result of one grand design. The traveller's attention is first attracted by the prodigious length and breadth of the streets, and the magnitude and magnificence of the houses, which are of brick, stuccoed and stained so as to resemble stone, and built in the Italian style of architecture. They mostly con-

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol 1, p. 456.

sist of four stories including the basement, in the centre of which is generally a carriage gateway : the roof has a very gentle slope, and is composed of sheets of cast-iron or copper, painted red or green.* The immense number of chariots drawn by four horses; the coachmen with their venerable beards, and the servants in large laced cocked-hats and gorgeous liveries, with military boots, heighten the general effect, and altogether compose a scene of singular magnificence. The celebrated street called the Grand Perspective, runs the length of about four miles, in a direct line, from the church of the Admiralty, from which the principal streets of that quarter diverge like radii to the monastery of St. Alexander Newsky; but its breadth is scarcely equal to that of Oxford-street, in the British metropolis.† It is lined with noble houses and elegant churches; but the Linden trees which enclose the broad foot-path in the middle, and which, from the want of soil and moisture, look very sickly, diminish the beauty of the perspective.

It would lead to a tedious prolixity to attempt a particular description of the various embellishments of Petersburg; but the celebrated colossal statue of Peter the Great, cannot be omitted in any sketch that is given of this new capital of Russia. This stupendous monument, raised by the munificence of Catherine II. and the genius of Stephen Falconet, to the memory of the founder of the Russian greatness, exceeds every thing of the kind, which even Roman magnificence could display. The granite rock, which serves as a pedestal, after having the superfluous parts

* Storch's Picture of Petersburg, p. 26.

† Carr's Trav. round the Baltic, p. 236. A note on Storch's Picture of Petersburg says, that the Grand Perspective is half as wide again as Oxford-street.

broken off by explosion, was 88 feet in length, 21 in breadth, and the same in height; and its weight by calculation 3,800,000 pounds, or 1,428 tons, 41 cwt. 48 lb.* This ponderous stone was found in a marshy forest about nine English miles from Petersburg, and was conveyed to the place of its destination partly by land, and partly by water, over hills and bogs, and upon the river Neva, by windlasses and nautical machines, constructed under the inspection of that able engineer, Count Carhuri, who passed under the name of the Chevalier Lascari, and has given an account of this stupendous performance in a folio volume, published in 1777. The substance of the stone is granite, with a small mixture of white and coloured quartz, white and red feldspar, black and white mica, with some iron granites and schoerl crystals. It is in many parts extremely beautiful, and takes a high polish. The colossal figure in bronze of the monarch is eleven feet high; the dress is in the old Russian style, with half-boots, whiskers, and cropped hair; the head is encircled with a crown of laurel, and the right arm extended. The head was modelled by Mademoiselle Collet, and is esteemed a great likeness. The whole attitude is noble and full of expression. The horse, which is seventeen feet high, is executed in high perfection, animated with great fire and exertion, galloping up the rock, and treading with his hind leg on a serpent; the whole being emblematical of the difficulties which Peter had to encounter in civilizing his empire. On the side of the pedestal facing the Admiralty, is this inscription in the Russian language:

* The largest obelisk ever before known, that which Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, transported from Alexandria to Rome, weighed only 907,789 pounds, or 406 tons, 5 cwt. 29lb.

“ *Petru proceru, Ekatarina utoraia;*” and on the side toward the senate, the same in Latin, “ *Petro Primo, Catharina Secunda, 1782.*” To this monument of Catherine’s magnificence and of Falconet’s art, the world does not afford any parallel; and Petersburg would merit the attention of the tourist, if it contained nothing else worthy of notice.

The winter palace, the work of the Empress Elizabeth, begun in 1754, and finished in 1762, the last year of her reign, is a prodigious structure in the form of a long quadrangle. It stands on the right bank of the Neva. Each of its fronts, towards the river and towards the town, are 450 English feet in length, the other two sides 350 feet, and the height 70 feet. On the part which contains the chapel, a cupola rises with a cross, and the parapet is adorned with statues and other ornaments. The whole of this palace is magnificent; but the interior is gloomy. The sumptuous paintings and sacred vestments of the chapel are worthy of observation. The church service here is amazingly grand; and its solemnity is much heightened by the exquisite singers that compose the choir. The cabinet, containing the insignia of the empire, is the richest collection of jewels in Europe. The great crown of gold, faced with red velyet, is almost entirely covered with precious stones of great magnitude and value. The famous diamond, weighing 194 carats, which her late majesty purchased of Safratz, the Greek, for 450,000 rubles and a life annuity of 100,000 rubles, forms the knob of the sceptre.* The old imperial winter palace, the residence of Peter the Great and of Catharine I, is chiefly remarkable for the picture gallery built by the late empress. According to

* Tooke’s *Hist. Russia*, vol. 1, p. 415.

the catalogue taken in 1774, the number of paintings amounted to 2,080; and in consequence of the various purchases since made by that princess, they may now be computed at upwards of 4,000 without risk of exaggeration. The sovereign's private library contains about 2,000 volumes; which, with that of Voltaire and Diderot in other apartments, amount to about 40,000 volumes. Here are also vast collections of copper-plate engravings, coins, medals, &c. with a variety of natural curiosities. In 1786, the empress purchased the choice collection of that celebrated and indefatigable naturalist, Professor Pallas.

The monastery of St. Alexander Newsky, at the end of the street called the Grand Perspective, is moated round, occupies a vast space of ground, and contains a magnificent church. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul is the burial place of the sovereigns of Russia. Here, in an oblong quadrangular sepulchre of stone, covered with velvet, richly embroidered with gold and silver, are deposited the remains of Peter the Great and his successors: and on each side of the church are seen standards and other military trophies, taken in war from the enemies of the empire. The interior of this church has a gloomy appearance, and displays no architectural beauties; but its magnificent spire, 240 feet high, richly covered with gold, is a splendid ornament to the city. The view from the belfry is one of the grandest spectacles that can be conceived. The bridge of Pontoons is also a point from which the grandeur of Petersburg shews itself with great lustre.

In addition to the superb edifices with which Petersburg is already adorned, a late traveller, who visited that city in 1804, informs us that a new church,

the

the largest and most magnificent in Russia, is about to be erected. This vast temple, which is to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, will, according to his account, be little inferior to St. Paul's at London, in magnitude and grandeur. All the sacred utensils are to be set with the richest diamonds, and even the screen will be studded with precious stones. The same writer adds, that the emperor has allotted an enormous sum to the execution of this great work, and that the scaffolding was already prepared.*

The marble palace has been noted by every traveller, and by every one who has undertaken to write a description of Petersburg. This structure, unrivalled in its kind, is an unique in magnificence. Its form is an oblong quadrangle of a vast extent, with two wings, and it rises in three lofty stories. The window-frames are of gilt brass, and the panes of looking-glass. The interior sets all description at defiance. All that a poetical imagination has feigned in the Tales of the Genii, seem here to be realized. This palace was originally built for Gregory Orloff; and at his death it devolved back to the empress. Paul, her successor, assigned it to Stanislaus Poniatowsky, king of Poland, for his residence; and that unfortunate monarch there terminated his troublesome life. The Tauridan Palace, the superb residence of Prince Potemkin, the Bank, and various other public and private edifices, might be mentioned; but a description would require volumes, and a bare enumeration would be tedious. It must, however, be observed, that the balustrade of the summer gardens is a work of magnificence, unrivalled in any of the capitals of Europe. All these prodigious piles of stone, these temples, palaces,

* Carr's Travels round the Baltic, p. 251.

streets, and canals, the work of one century, proclaim the omnipotence of human abilities. Petersburg, indeed, is a colossal monument of human energy, unparalleled in the history of the world.

Petersburg, as it now stands, partly in Ingria and partly in Finland, on the continent, and on several islands in the Neva, is about twenty English miles in compass, but many parts are not yet built on, although from the rapidity with which the houses increase, the whole plan promises a speedy completion, as well in extent as in elegance; for building of timber grows daily into disuse.* The Neva, in its principal branches, is from 300 to 400 yards in width, being nearly as wide as the Thames at London, but not sufficiently deep for the passage of large vessels; and the ships of war, built at the Admiralty, are conveyed down to Cronstadt by a difficult process and Herculean toil. The population of Petersburg was, by the census of 1784, found to amount to 192,000, of which number 27,890 were foreigners. Its present population is not accurately ascertained.

We should proceed with pleasure to the description of the various and laudable institutions established by the different sovereigns of Russia, for the public benefit; the hospitals for suffering humanity, and the schools for the diffusion of knowledge; but to convey any accurate information of subjects so vast and so various, would extend this sketch far beyond the limits which the present plan can admit. Among these, the academy of arts and sciences, the gymnasium, the military and marine schools, the foundling hospitals, and a variety of others, would merit a particular

* Storch's Picture of Petersburg, p. 23, 24.

description.

description.* It must here suffice to say, that the greatest number of these beneficial institutions owe their origin or their improvement to Catherine II, whose name will be immortal in history, and memorable in the minds of philanthropists and philosophers. The number of scholars constantly educated at the expence of government, in the different academies and schools of Petersburg, were 6,800 of both sexes; and the costs of their education amounted to 754,335 rubles per annum.†

The environs of Petersburg, like the city itself, owe every thing to art, and nothing to nature. The circumjacent country is an unpicturesque level, entirely forest and morass, except where human industry has converted it into beautiful scenes, being extremely different from the charming situation of Moscow, where nature seconds and even precedes the efforts of art, in forming the most delightful landscapes. In the vicinity of Petersburg, every object displays a triumph over natural obstacles, at an astonishing expence of human labour. Of this the high roads leading from the capital to the imperial country palaces, especially that of Peterhoff, are striking examples. Peterhoff, about twenty-five versts from Petersburg, is superbly situated on a precipice of twenty-four yards in elevation, and commands a prospect over the gulph to the shores of Carelia to Cronstadt and Petersburg. This palace was built by Peter the Great, and has received various improvements under his successors. Both the exterior and interior are suitable to its destination; and the gardens are still more interesting than the

* For an accurate account of all these public institutions, vide Storch's *Picture of Petersburg*, and Tooke's *View of Russia*.

† Storch's *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 241.—Tooke's *View of Russia*.

building.

building. Eight versts farther is Oranienbaum, in a situation similar to that of Stretna and Peterhoff, but which may claim the pre-eminence in regard to picturesque views and rural scenery. This was the palace of Prince Menzikoff, and the favorite residence of the unfortunate Peter III, a circumstance which gives it a melancholy celebrity. Oranienbaum and Peterhoff, notwithstanding the advantages of their situations, are seldom frequented by the court, and Stretna has been long since deserted.

Cronstadt.]—The island of Cronstadt, the grand rendezvous of the Russian navy, is only seven versts from Oranienbaum. It is about seven versts long and one broad. The docks, the harbour, and the shipping, with the prodigious fortifications of granite, make a grand and striking appearance. The town of Cronstadt, on the eastern extremity of the island, is supposed to contain about 30,000 persons, of whom a considerable number belongs to the fleet.

The Tzarzko Zelo road, resembles that of Peterhoff, and like it has also the versts marked on columns of marble, jasper, and granite. On the sides are 1,100 globular lamps, which are lighted when the court is at Tzarzko Zelo. The first remarkable object that presents itself, is the imperial palace of Yægerhoff, which, although within the precincts of the Moscow quarter, stands in the open plain. At the distance of somewhat more than six versts from Petersburg, rise the turrets of Tschesinë, in a marshy plain abounding with oziers.* This palace is entirely in the Gothic style. The road for the next twenty-two versts, presents no objects remarkably interesting; but the coun-

* Storck's Picture of Petersburg, p. 74.

try begins to assume a more varied aspect. Tzarzko Zelo, the favorite summer residence of Catharine II, is situated in an open pleasant district, diversified with gentle eminences, meadows, and woodlands. This princely residence owes its origin to Catharine I, and its enlargement and embellishment to Elizabeth; but it is chiefly indebted to Catharine II. for its completion in elegance, taste, and magnificence. The exterior of the palace is striking from its magnitude, and dazzling to the eye from its numerous gilded ornaments; and the taste and elegance of its interior can scarcely be paralleled. The gardens are of a vast extent, laid out in the English style, and embellished with every appropriate ornament that creative genius could devise. Obelisks and columns commemorate the victories of Kagul, of Tschesmè, and of the Morea; and a triumphal arch proclaims the courage and patriotic ardour of Count Orloff, who, repairing to Moscow in the year 1771, when that city exhibited a scene calamitous and terrific beyond all description, intrepidly faced, and successfully extinguished the complicated horrors of insurrection and pestilence. Pavlofsk, at the distance of five, and Gatchina at twenty versts from Tzarzko Zelo, are charming retreats, belonging to the imperial family. The road to Schlüsselburg, along the left bank of the Neva, is adorned with a series of elegant houses. Here are also some of the chief manufactories. Alexandrofsk, the country residence of Prince Væscenskoi, is finely situated, and surrounded with romantic scenery. The imperial seat of Pella, at the distance of thirty-five versts from Petersburg, is on a singular plan, consisting of several palaces and pavillions, ranged with
studied

studied irregularity, connected by arcades and corridors, and exhibiting at a distance a striking appearance.

The police of Petersburg is exact and well regulated, and in few great cities do the inhabitants enjoy so perfect a state of security. Robberies and murders seldom occur; but almost every mode of tricking and sharpening is common. Society is here, on the whole, animated and gay; luxury abounds among the great, but the public amusements of the higher classes, are less numerous than the opulence of the inhabitants, and their propensity to pleasure might lead one to suppose. Genteel company in Petersburg, contracts itself chiefly within family circles, to which, without letters of recommendation, a stranger finds it difficult to gain access; and contrary to the practice of London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, respectable persons seldom enter a coffee-house.* For this reason, the taverns, &c. of Petersburg, are far inferior to those of many other capitals, in accommodation and elegance, and even the principal hotels bear no comparison with those of the second order in Paris and London. To remedy in some measure this inconvenience, there is a number of clubs, where the members have a choice table at a moderate expence, and may amuse themselves with reading the Russian, French, German, and English newspapers. Strangers, however, with letters of recommendation, or in the way of transacting important business, experience an unbounded hospitality in the opulent houses at Petersburg.

The other cities of European Russia are not very considerable; Tula is supposed to contain 30,000 in-

* Storch's Picture of Petersburg. p. 421, 422.

habitants, and Riga, a town of considerable trade, about 27,000; 20,000 is the number ascribed to Cherson, and the same is assigned to Caffer in Taurida. Narva is a place of some trade, but of small extent and population.

Kioff and Novogorod.—The ancient cities of Kioff and Novogorod; are greatly declined from their former importance. The latter of these cities had long been one of the great comptoirs of the Hanscatic merchants, and before its reduction by the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch, was a place of great commerce* and opulence. That conqueror is said to have carried from Novogorod to Moscow, 300 cart loads of gold and silver, &c., besides an immense quantity of furs, cloths, and other merchandize.† Previous to that calamity, Novogorod constituted a separate principality, or rather a republic under the nominal sovereignty of its dukes. Since that period its trade gradually declined, although it was still considered as a large city in the latter part of the sixteenth century.‡ But the building of Petersburg totally annihilated its commerce, and its population is now so reduced, that it is not supposed to contain above 7000 or 8000 persons. It has by some been imagined, that Novogorod, when in the flourishing state of its commerce, might contain 400,000 inhabitants, a supposition, however, which can scarcely be considered as resting on probability.

Edifices.—The principal edifices of Russia, have already been mentioned in treating of the cities of Moscow and Petersburg and their environs. Most

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1, p. 494.

† Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 263.

‡ Botero, causes of the magnif. and greatness of cities, lib. 2.

of them, indeed, are situated in or near these two great foci of Russian magnificence, although some at a greater distance, might deserve notice in a work of more detailed description. In most of the other cities and towns, the houses are generally of wood, and the rest of the buildings proportionably mean. In regard to magnificence and lumary, elegance and taste, Petersburg and Moscow may be considered as the whole empire.

CHAP. III.

Historical View—General Progress of Society—of Arts and Sciences—
Literature and Commerce.

THE origin of every nation is involved in impenetrable obscurity; and although some may appear of higher antiquity than others, they may all be traced to a period beyond which we cannot proceed without losing ourselves in idle conjecture. Nothing is more certain than that the modern Russians are an assemblage of various tribes, anciently inhabiting the vast extent of their empire, of which a late author has given a distinct account.* The Slavi, however, are universally allowed to have been the founders of the Russian empire; but their origin sinks into the same obscurity as that of the Nomadic hordes, who previously roamed about in those extensive regions. Equally unsatisfactory are the etymologies of the word Slavi, which have been devised by fanciful authors. Tooke has exhibited some of the most rational, but the plan of this work does not admit of useless and uninteresting disquisitions. They seem, however, to have been one of the primitive races of mankind, and from the incontestible proofs, which, wonderful as it may appear, M. L'Evesque has given of the radical affinity of the Slavonic and Latin languages, it is not to be doubted that in a period beyond the reach of

* Tooke's introd. to Hist. Russia.

historical record, a colony of Slavi had been established in Italy, and were probably the first settlers in that country. Mr. Tooke has furnished some outlines of their mythology, which, from the imperfect documents that history affords, appears in its principal features to have resembled that of the Goths, and other nations of Scythian origin.

In the fifth century a horde of Slavi, or Slavonians, from the banks of the Danube, came and settled on the shores of the Dnieper, the Volkoff, and the Neva. Thus arose two Slavonian states, one in the region watered by the Dnieper, and another in the northern part of Russia, in the neighbourhood of the lake of Ladoga. Of the former, during some centuries Kioff, was the capital, as Novogorod was of the latter; but of their circumstances and transactions history is for a long time totally silent; and the period in which those cities were founded is unknown. It is not till the ninth century, that we find some information concerning them in the Byzantine historians. Novogorod seems, even at that time, to have been a commercial city, and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of its trade with Constantinople. This Slavonian state seems to have long been a republic, but about the period of which we are speaking, a revolution happened, which converted it into a principality. The bordering nations frequently made incursions on their territories, and the Novogorodians, although powerful, were not at all times able to repel their aggressions. On one of these occasions they called to their assistance the Varagians, or pirates of the Baltic, who appear to have been the same people that in England were called Danes, and in France Normans, and under these different names

carried their depredations into most of the maritime parts of Europe. These allies having assisted the Novogorodians in repulsing the enemy, instead of returning home with their stipulated reward, acted in the same manner as the Saxons had formerly done towards the Britons, and began to make dispositions for remaining in the country. This produced a war, in which Novogorod was unsuccessful, and was at last obliged to receive Rurick, the chief of these adventurers, for its sovereign. The year 864 is marked as the epoch of this important revolution.

Rurick thus became the founder of an empire, which continued some centuries in a flourishing, and even an increasing state. After this period the people began to be known by the denomination of Russians, a name which these Varages had probably borne before they came hither over the Baltic, and now communicated to the whole empire. Rurick, after a reign of fifteen years over northern Russia, died in 879, and Igor, his son, being a minor, Oleg, one of his relations, took upon him the government of the country. This ambitious regent no sooner found himself in possession of the sovereign power, than he began to form the most towering projects. He collected a numerous army, took Smolensk and several other cities, and at last made himself master of Kioff, and the whole of that Slavonian state. The great number of towns then existing in Russia, shews that the Russians had already made some progress in civilization. Those towns cannot, indeed, be supposed to have borne any resemblance to the magnificent cities which constitute the ornament of modern Europe; but men living in permanent habitations, and subsisting by the cultivation of their lands, are advanced far above the rank of savages.

Oleg

Oleg having united the two great Slavonian states, and subdued many neighbouring tribes, on whom he imposed tributes to be paid in furs or money, began to extend his ambitious views to Constantinople, in hopes of conquest, or at least of plunder. In order to be nearer the theatre of his future enterprises, he removed the seat of empire from Novogorod to Kioff, and immediately began to prosecute his designs. Embarking 80,000 warriors on board of 2,000 vessels, he proceeded on his expedition, entered the Euxine, and at length appeared before Constantinople, then called by the Russians Tzargorod, or the city of the cæsars.

In order to prevent the entrance of this formidable armament, a mussy chain had been drawn across the harbour. The Russians, however, landed and devastated the country with the most horrible ravages; and Leo the Philosopher, who then reigned over the Eastern empire, was obliged to purchase peace at a stipulated price. The conqueror now returned laden with spoils, and Oleg made his entrance into Kioff, where the people, dazzled with his successes, regarded him as a being of a superior order, and endowed with more than human powers. Another treaty was soon afterwards concluded between Oleg and the Greek emperor, from which, and from the preceding stipulations, it is evident that the Russians, notwithstanding their avidity of plunder, and their inclination to prædatory war, were strongly addicted to commerce, and had right notions of distributive justice. The first treaty contained several articles favorable to the Russian trade with the Greek or Byzantine empire, and the second exhibits various regulations, which shew that the Russians had an exalted idea of the sanctity of oaths; that their laws punishing murder with

with death, were infinitely preferable to those of many other nations, which, inflicting only a pecuniary fine, left the lives of the poor at the mercy of the rich: that theft, which attacks property alone, was punished by the loss of property, and that a due proportion was preserved between the crime and the penalty: that wives had a legal share in the estates of their husbands, and that confiscation of property did not involve the innocent in the punishment of the guilty, and reduce the widow and orphan to beggary. In this treaty is also an article providing for the due execution of testaments made by such Russians as died in the dominions of the Byzantine emperor, a circumstance which proves that they were already acquainted with letters.*

The laws of succession to the sovereignty among the Russians of that age, have not been defined by historians. Oleg, notwithstanding the attainment of his ward to an age of maturity, still swayed the sceptre, and Igor succeeded to the throne, not at the expiration of his minority, but at the death of the regent, which happened in 913, after he had been thirty-three years in possession of the sovereign authority. After the demise of Oleg, several of the nations, tribes which had been subdued by his arms, and held in subjection by the terror of his name and the vigorous measures of his administration, revolted against his successor. Igor, however, soon reduced them to obedience. After these successes, the wealth of the eastern empire again tempted the avidity of the Russian chiefs, and excited their military ardor. Imitating the example of his predecessor, or rather

* Tooke's *Hist. Romæ*, vol. 1, p. 155, on the authority of the chronicle of Nestor, the most ancient of the Russian historians.

intending to surpass his exploits, Igor assembled an army of 400,000 men, whom he embarked in 10,000 vessels, according to Nestor's chronicle, a statement which Mr. Tooke, however, justly suspects of exaggeration.* With this force Igor set sail for the dominions of Constantinople, where he, his chieftains, and his army, flattered themselves with the rich reward of a successful campaign. They ravaged almost without opposition Paphlagonia, Pontus, and Bythia, and massacred the inhabitants, especially the ecclesiastics, with every circumstance of the most savage cruelty. The news of these horrors soon arrived at Constantinople, and roused the Greeks to arms, in order to expel those terrible invaders. Their armies pouring in from all quarters, surrounded the Russians, whose blood liberally atoned for that of their victims. Great numbers of them were slaughtered, and the rest having with difficulty regained their ships, met with new disasters. The patrician Theophanes, commander of the Byzantine fleet, attacked them by surprise, and throwing among them the Grecian fire, most of their vessels were consumed, and the men leaping overboard to escape the flames, perished in the sea. The remainder of this formidable army dispersing itself in Bythia, was again attacked and defeated with great slaughter, by Phocas the patrician. The Russians now regaining such of their barks as had escaped destruction, were again attacked by Theophanes, several of their remaining vessels were destroyed, and by the confession of the Russian chronicles, Igor escaped with scarcely a third part of his army. This unsuccessful expedition was undertaken in the year 941, but notwithstanding its

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 139.

disastrous issue, the Russians, impelled by the hope of plunder, did not lose courage. In 944, Igor levied new forces, and again set sail for the Grecian coasts. But Romanus, who had usurped the imperial throne of Constantinople, unwilling to expose his newly acquired sovereignty to the uncertain events of war, sent ambassadors to Igor, and concluded a peace on condition of paying the same tribute that Oleg had imposed on his predecessors. Soon after this expedition, Igor having imprudently advanced into the country of the Drevlians, for the purpose of levying new contributions on those people, who were already his tributaries, was killed in an ambuscade. Olga, his widow, took a horrible revenge for his death, massacred great numbers of their principal men, ravaged their country in a terrible manner, and instead of allowing them to be governed by their own princes as formerly, incorporated the nation with the Russians. Olga was the first of the Russian sovereigns that embraced Christianity, being baptised at Constantinople, where the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus received her with great honours, and sent her back loaded with valuable presents. On this account she has obtained a place in the calendar, among the saints of the Greek church, although her conversion to the Christian faith seems not to have operated any conspicuous change in her cruel and artful disposition. Few of her subjects followed her example, and even Sviatoslaf, her son, appears to have had an aversion to Christianity, although he did not persecute its professors.

The character of Sviatoslaf was such as constitutes the hero of barbarous ages. Ferocious, restless, and enterprising, he was constantly engaged in hostilities with

with the neighbouring tribes, or with the Byzantine empire. He was at length defeated and slain by the Petchenegans, and it is said that his skull, ornamented with a circle of gold, was used by their prince as a goblet.

Sviatoslaf dismembered the empire, by dividing it between his children, a pernicious system of politics which has proved fatal to many powerful states, and among others to Russia. He gave Kioff to his son Yaropolk, the country of the Drevlians to Oleg, and Novogorod to Vladimir, a natural son born to him by one of his mother's attendants. These princes, soon after the death of their father, commenced against each other the most rancorous hostilities. Oleg was killed in battle against Yaropolk, and the latter fell a victim to the savage ferocity of Vladimir, who, by the destruction of his brothers, became sole monarch of Russia. To relate all his warlike expeditions, would now excite little interest; it suffices to mention, that besides the conquest of some parts of Poland, he reduced several neighbouring tribes, especially those inhabiting the districts which now form the government of Razan on the banks of the Volga, the Yaik, and the Kama. A circumstance, however, is recorded, which at once shews his ferocious cruelty, and the sanguinary superstition of his subjects. Resolving to offer to his gods a sacrifice of his prisoners of war, his courtiers, in their barbarous piety, persuaded him that a victim selected from his own subjects would be a more acceptable offering, as exhibiting a stronger proof of his gratitude to Heaven; the choice or lot, fell on a young Varagian, the son of a Christian, and educated in that faith. The unhappy father refused to deliver up the victim. The people, en-
raged

raged at a refusal, which they considered as an insult to their prince and their religion, tumultuously assailed the house, and cruelly massacred both the young man and his affectionate parent; a horrible proof of the power of superstition in extinguishing the feelings of humanity.

Of all the Russian monarchs Vladimir was the most bigoted to idolatry, and his zeal inflamed that of the nation. He erected at Novogorod a superb statue to the Deity Perune, who was worshipped with barbarous rites and human sacrifices; and his superstition enriched both the temples and the priests of his gods. This idolatrous prince, however, was ordained by Divine Providence to establish the Christian religion in Russia; so far are the designs of God beyond the penetration of man. The greatness of the Russian monarch was now so conspicuous as to attract the attention of the neighbouring princes. All of them courted his friendship or dreaded his arms; and we are told that missionaries from all quarters were sent to endeavour to fix his attachment by the ties of one common religion. Catholics of the Latin church, Mahomedans from Bulgaria, and Greeks from Constantinople, laboured for his conversion; and some say that a deputation of Jews attempted to bias him in favour of the law of Moses. The Greeks, however, proved either the most eloquent or the most fortunate, and influenced him the most powerfully in favour of their religion. Desirous, however, of gaining more perfect information, the Russian prince dispatched ten persons of distinguished reputation for wisdom, into foreign countries, in order to observe and examine the principles and rites of their different religions. Those who were sent among the Bulgarians were not
much

much affected with the Manichæan and the Mahomedan modes of worship: others who travelled into Germany found little that was striking in the ill-built churches and illiterate clergy of that country; and it is probable that they never proceeded to Italy. In that period, indeed, when the western countries of Europe had, during several centuries, been over-run with successive hordes of barbarians, and agitated with the most terrible convulsions, destructive to every exertion of the arts, and subversive of every species of magnificence, religion had not assumed in the Latin churches a very elegant form. But the case was different at Constantinople: there the imposing splendor of religious worship, amidst the magnificent decorations of the proud Basilicum of St. Sophia, struck the Russian sages with reverential awe. Their imagination being heated with the grandeur of the spectacle, they returned to their sovereign with an account of what they had seen, and all concluded that the people whose religion displayed such pomp, must certainly be in possession of the true faith. Unfortunately, however, Vladimir had no priests, and to ask them of the Greek Emperor he considered as a kind of humiliation. He, therefore, conceived a project consistent with his character, and with that of the nation and the times. He resolved on a war with the Christians in order to obtain priests and extort instruction by force.

In pursuance to this design he levied a formidable army and invaded the Chersonese, or modern Crim Tartary, then a province of the Byzantine empire. After a long protracted siege, in which, as Mr. Tooke observes, "thousands of human beings were butchered because a barbarian would not be christened like an ordinary

ordinary person," he rendered himself master of the city of Theodosia by stratagem, and reduced the whole peninsula. He then sent to the Greek emperors, Basil and Constantine, offering to embrace Christianity, and demanding their sister Anna in marriage, threatening immediately to assault the imperial city in case of refusal. On these terms peace was concluded. Vladimir received the rite of baptism, married the Princess Anna, restored the Chersonese to his brothers-in-law, and returned home with what he considered as a rich booty, consisting of priests, sacred vessels and church books, pictures of saints, and consecrated relics.

The Russian prince, on his return to Kioff, immediately exercised his vengeance on the idols, which had so lately been the objects of his bigoted adoration. The Russian monarch then issued a proclamation that all who should continue in idolatry should be regarded as enemies to Christ and the sovereign. But the authority and example of the prince were so powerful that persecution was unnecessary. Having issued a proclamation commanding all the inhabitants of Kioff to repair to the river to be baptised, they obeyed with the utmost alacrity, and removed every scruple, if any occurred, by this plain argument, that if baptism was not a good thing it would not have been adopted by the sovereigns and the nobility.*

This first Christian monarch of Russia, who waded through a brother's blood, to the sovereignty of Kioff, received from his nation the surname of Great, and obtained the rank of a saint. He certainly possessed great natural abilities, although unimproved by culture; and his great soul disdaining hypocrisy, and

* Todd's Hist. of Russia, vol. 1, p. 204.

steady in every pursuit, not only adhered with zeal to the doctrines, but imbibed the morals of the religion which he had embraced. An essential reform was wrought in every part of his conduct. He governed his people with equity, with prudence and lenity; and by his care, in establishing churches and schools, Russia was completely christianized, and received from him not only her religion, but also the seeds of moral and intellectual improvement. In every point of view, the reign of this prince forms an important epoch in the Russian history. The empire had attained to a high degree of power, and stretched over a vast extent of territory, comprising the greatest part of Lithuania and Livonia, and reaching from the Euxine to the Baltic. But although his reign was so prosperous, and his administration, in general, so prudent, he committed the capital error of adopting the same disorganising plan as his father had done, in dividing the empire among his sons. The system which he adopted, was that of dividing the empire into distinct principalities, in subordination to the grand prince of Kioff. This paramount sovereignty he retained for himself, and distributed the other provinces among his children. But it was not long before his son, Yaroslaf, whom he had made prince of Novogorod, refused to acknowledge his dependence on his father. Thus this great monarch, whom fortune had almost constantly favoured, and whose banners victory had generally accompanied, saw his last days embittered by domestic revolt. He had formed the resolution of reducing his rebellious son to obedience by arms, but died in the midst of his preparations for war, A.D. 1015, after a reign of forty-five years over Russia.

No sooner was Vladimir consigned to the grave, than Sviatopolk, one of his sons, resolving, by artifice or violence, to make himself sole monarch of Russia, dispatched by assassination three of his brothers, a horrible circumstance, which gave the others good reason to expect the same fate. Yaroslaf, prince of Novogorod, resolving to frustrate the designs of his ambitious and sanguinary brother, drove him from Kioff, and obliged him to take refuge with Boleslaus, duke of Poland, whose daughter he had married. Boleslaus, in hopes of profiting by the dissensions of the brothers, readily espoused the cause of his son-in-law, retook Kioff, and re-established Sviatopolk in his government. Yaroslaf, in his turn, fled to Novogorod, and levied fresh forces. Boleslaus retired from Russia, having previously plundered Kioff and seized some places on the frontiers. A bloody battle took place between the two brothers, in which Sviatopolk, being totally defeated, betook himself to flight, and died on the road. Yaroslaf, who owed his victory to the firm support of the Novogorodians, distinguished them by marks of his gratitude, giving them laws, and granting them privileges, which greatly contributed to the future prosperity of their city. He also exerted himself for the welfare of the empire and the prosperity of the Christian church, by building several towns and establishing a metropolitan see at Kioff. Yaroslaf was himself an able theologian for that age, and endeavoured to diffuse among his subjects the knowledge of Christianity; of which, notwithstanding their profession, their notions were very obscure. For this purpose he caused religious books to be translated from the Greek, and employed transcribers to copy them for dispersion among the people. This prince, however, notwithstanding the
reiterated

reiterated experience of its fatal consequences, adhered to the pernicious system of dismemberment, instituted by Vladimir, his father, and threw the same bone of contention among his successors. He had resigned Novogorod to his son, Vladimir, who, in an unsuccessful expedition against the Greek empire, instead of acquiring a rich booty, as he had expected, lost about 15,000 men. Isiaslaf succeeded to the grand principality of Kioff, and the other brothers had each his separate portion of the empire. Yaroslaf died A.D. 1054, after having pathetically exhorted his sons to maintain among themselves fraternal concord and political union, as the only means of obtaining respect from foreigners, and of reigning in peace and prosperity. But neither the admonitions of a dying parent, nor the ties of blood, could repress the lust of domination. Isiaslaf was, in the year 1067, obliged to abandon the grand principality of Kioff; but was reinstated the year following by the assistance of the Poles; and in 1075 was a second time expelled. He then applied to Henry IV. emperor of Germany, for succours, which that monarch was not able to furnish; and on this disappointment the Russian prince, as his last resort, had recourse to the Roman pontiff, who claimed the right of disposing of kingdoms and empires. Gregory VIII. who then sat in the papal chair, readily gave away what was not his own, invested Isiaslaf with the sovereignty of Russia, and commissioned the duke of Poland to reinstate him in the grand principality. The view of Gregory in this procedure was to acquire for the see of Rome the supremacy of the Russian church, which was vested in the patriarch of Constantinople. But although the Poles reinstated Isiaslaf, the pope failed in his attempt to

unite the Russian with the Latin church; and the clergy of that empire still continued to reject the supremacy of the Roman, and to acknowledge that of the Byzantine see.

From this period, about A.D. 1077, the history of Russia displays only a chaos of intestine confusion. The empire was now split into a number of principalities, the sovereigns of which scarcely acknowledged even a nominal dependence on the grand prince. Such were the principalities of Tweer, Tschernigoff, Smolensk, Polotzk, Nishncy Novogorod, Novogorod Siverskoy, Vladimir, Moscow, and several others, gradually formed by repeated partitions, which weakened the empire, and converted it into a theatre of perpetual contention. A circumstantial detail of the unceasing hostilities which the Russian princes carried on against one another; their expulsions, reinstatements, conspiracies, and assassinations, and the specification of the thousands who fell in those continual wars, would only weary without instructing the mind. It may therefore suffice to say, that the most horrible scenes of civil contention recorded in the history of any other country, might here find a counterpart. All the political calamities that imagination can conceive, existed in Russia as dreadful realities. In order to put a stop to those desolating wars, a general assembly of the princes met in 1100, in which a treaty of union was concluded, and almost immediately violated. The Russian princes seemed indeed to have lost every idea of the blessings of peace; and whenever a worthy sovereign appeared, he could not singly ameliorate the whole.

During those ceaseless revolutions resulting from such a disorderly state of things, the grand principality

of Kioff, being always the object of aspiring ambition, particularly suffered, and rapidly fell into a state of decline; while the princes of Vladimir grew so powerful, as to assume the paramount authority and title. Novogorod also flourished in power amidst these commotions. That city, formerly a Slavonian republic, had always shewn a strong attachment to liberty. Rurik and the succeeding princes had always endeavoured to keep the republican spirit within bounds; but while the power of the sovereigns of Kioff was declining, the love of independence resuscitated afresh among the Novogorodians. They barely acknowledged a nominal obedience to their princes, whom they imprisoned, deposed, expelled, and changed at pleasure. Within the space of 100 years, Novogorod had no fewer than thirty-four different princes. One of these they accused of keeping a large pack of hounds, with a great number of hawks and falcons, and of appropriating to himself the rivers in which they used to fish. They presented to him a remonstrance, which concluded with these words: "We can no longer endure thy tyranny; get away from us in God's name; we will presently find us another prince." The prince immediately sent deputies to the citizens, and promised to submit to their pleasure; but they would not take his word, and threatened to expel him by force, if he did not voluntarily resign: another of their princes they imprisoned, because, as they said, he only pursued his pleasures of hawking and hunting, and gave himself no concern about the government and the administration of justice. These facts are sufficient to shew that the Novogorodian princes possessed very little power, and that the state was, in reality, a republic, rather than a principality. Not

only their particular princes, but also the grand princes were obliged to content themselves with a nominal sovereignty over that haughty city; which besides being the emporium of the Russian commerce, and the staple town of the Hanseatic merchants, was in possession of Ingria and Karelia, and consequently able not only to raise a formidable army within its own territories, but also sufficiently opulent to procure and to pay numerous bodies of auxiliaries. Thus, in the midst of general confusion, the proud city of Novogorod, supported by commerce and flowing in wealth, displayed all the haughtiness which prosperity so often inspires.

The Russian empire, split into numerous divisions, had been lacerated by intestine wars, during the space of two centuries, when a still more dreadful calamity was about to complete the long catalogue of its misfortunes. The Mongols, a nation of the same pedigree as the Huns, inhabiting an extensive region in Asia, in the vicinity of China, had, about the year 1224, emigrated from their native seats, under the conduct of the famous Zinghis, or Gengis Khan, the most successful conqueror of his time. This barbarian chief subdued the various Tartar hordes, which inhabited the extensive countries, lying between Mongolia and the Caspian Sea, and over-ran Bucharra, Persia, and the greatest part of China. His numerous armies, consisting not only of Mongols, but also of the agglomerated swarms of the Tartar nations, whom he had subdued, acting on the principle of insatiable rapacity and unrelenting cruelty, spread terror and dismay on all sides, and marked their footstep with barbarities and devastation. His son, advancing along the shores of the Caspian Sea, gradually approached towards Eu-

rope, subdued the Circassians and Polovitzes, and proceeded as far as the Dnieper. The Russian princes might plainly foresee that they would be the next objects of attack; and when it was somewhat too late, resolved to support the Polovitzes in the defence of their country, which lay as a rampart between Russia and the invading Tartars. A bloody engagement took place near the river Kalka, in which the combined forces of the Russians and the Polovitzes were totally defeated by the invaders, with a terrible slaughter. The Tartars, however, for some reasons not specified in history, instead of pursuing their conquests, left the Russians thirteen years without further molestation. They had therefore sufficient time for constructing fortifications, and concerting plans of defence against any new attack. But the Russian princes, actuated by an infatuation similar to that of the Britons at the time of the Saxon invasion,* although convinced by experience that the Tartars were formidable enemies, instead of employing this favorable interval, in forming a confederacy to prevent their future incursions, recommenced those domestic quarrels, which had so greatly enfeebled the state. These incessant wars continually depopulating the country, and diminishing the number of fighting men, invited the attacks of the Tartars, and smoothed their way to the conquest of the empire.

Baaty, grandson or nephew of Zinghis Khan, was the first of the Tartar princes who penetrated into the interior of Russia. He had first attacked and subdued the Bulgarians, who had in vain implored the assistance of the Russian princes. He then advanced into Russia, where Riazan was the first principality that

* See Hist. of England, in this work.

felt the desolating fury of the Tartars. These people, indeed, were terrible enemies: wherever they came the whole country was laid waste, the towns and villages plundered and burnt, all the men able to bear arms were put to the sword, the women and children carried into captivity; submission met with no greater lenity than resistance: their mode of making war being on the sole principle of universal destruction. The fall of Riazan was immediately followed by that of Perciaslavi, Susdal, Rostock, and several others. The Tartars now entered the grand principality of Vladimir, which they desolated with fire and sword. The capital was taken and burnt; and the grand princess and her children, with other ladies of distinction, having taken refuge in a church, perished in the flames which consumed the building. The massacre of the inhabitants was general and indiscriminate; no age, sex, or rank, was spared. The grand prince, who by an unaccountable negligence had delayed to take the necessary measures for resistance, was employed at a distance in collecting an army, when he heard of the horrible fate of his capital and family. Impelled by despair, he engaged the Tartars with a small number of chosen warriors; but his courage was exerted too late, and he fell bravely fighting at the head of his troops. The Tartars pushed forward to within sixty miles of Novogorod, when, for reasons totally unknown, they suddenly turned about and retreated: and thus that rich and commercial city escaped the scourge of Tartar devastation.

About two years after this terrible incursion, the Tartars again returned; and southern and western Russia became the ensanguined theatre of those horrors which the eastern parts had so lately experienced.

In many parts of the country the inhabitants, abandoning the towns and the villages, and even the fortified places, fled before this desolating enemy. Kioff was taken after a desperate resistance; and the bloody scenes of Vladimir were renewed in that city. Baaty, the Tartar chief, then turned his arms against Poland; and having overrun that country, forced his way into Silesia, and returned through Moravia and Hungary. After this expedition the Tartars discontinued their incursions, and contented themselves with imposing on the Russian princes considerable tributes. These princes were also obliged to appear in the main camp of the Tartars of Kaptshak in order to receive their investiture from the khan, and do homage to him as their paramount lord. This camp was known by the name of the Golden Horde, having received that appellation from the magnificent tent of the khan. Russia, thus reduced to the most degrading state of humiliation, was obliged to acknowledge the Tartarian sovereignty, and to acquiesce in whatever tribute it should please the khan, their paramount lord, to impose on her princes. At first a contribution was furnished by each prince, who levied it on his subjects; but afterwards the khans required a tribute in proportion to the population of each principality, and appointed Tartar collectors, who imposed on every Russian, without distinction, a tax according to the standard of his circumstances. Only the clergy, and all persons engaged in the functions of religion, were exempted. The singular reverence in which sacerdotal order was held among the pagan Tartars, appears to have caused them to respect it even among enemies and Christians.

The exhausted and enfeebled state of the Russian empire,

empire, resulting from the incursions and ravages of the Tartars, naturally excited the neighbouring nations to take advantage of its distress. Among others, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Livonian knights, had their eye upon Novogorod, and made preparations for its reduction. But Alexander their prince, son of the grand prince, Yaroslaf, to whom his father, at his departure for Vladimir, had resigned the government of the Novogorodian state, gained a complete victory over the Danes on the banks of the Neva, which procured him the surname of *Newski*, so famous in the religion and history of Russia. Whether Alexander had taken some steps to acquire greater influence than the princes of Novogorod had hitherto possessed, or whether the Novogorodians only apprehended such an attempt, they revolted against his authority and compelled him to retire; but being again menaced by enemies, they sent to request his return. Alexander, however, did not comply till he received from them a second embassy with the archbishop at its head. He then came, and not only relieved Novogorod, which was closely besieged, but also repulsed the enemy, and advancing to Livonia, gained, A.D. 1245, a new victory over the Germans, Danes, and Tschudes, on the borders of the Lake of Peipus. The fame of his exploits must have soon reached the ears of the Tartar khan; who, on the death of his father, the grand prince, Yaroslaf, invited him to the horde. The manly figure and graceful deportment of the prince of Novogorod so captivated the khan, that he confessed his merit to be superior to all that fame had reported in his praise. In 1259 Alexander ascended the throne as grand prince, and soon afterwards undertook another expedition against the Swedes, which proving successful,

successful, he ravaged the countries captured from the enemy, conformably to the practice of that barbarous age, and returned with a multitude of prisoners and great quantities of spoil.

Novogorod had happily escaped the ravages of the Tartars, but in common with the rest of the empire, was subject to tribute; and this ignominious circumstance was singularly galling to its high spirited citizens, who peremptorily refused to pay the taxes to the Tartarian collectors. The grand prince, Alexander, foreseeing the dangerous consequences that might arise from their obstinacy against a power, which it was at that time impossible to resist with success, took a journey from Vladimir to Novogorod, and by his influence among the citizens, settled the business, both to their satisfaction and to that of the Tartars. The general displeasure of the Russians began soon after to manifest itself in acts of violence; and in several of the cities the Tartar collectors were massacred. The khan, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, was extremely exasperated, and commanded not only the grand prince, but all the other Russian princes, to appear at the camp, each at the head of his troops. His design being evidently to deprive Russia of its armed defenders, in order to reduce her to a still more rigorous subjection, Alexander, desirous of averting the disasters which threatened his country, conceived the adventurous resolution of repairing alone to the horde in order to make use of his influence with the Tartar chief, to appease his wrath by a prudent submission. He remained a whole year at the horde, before he could succeed in diverting the khan from his purpose; but having at last accomplished the difficult task, he procured his dismissal, and died suddenly on his

his return home, A.D. 1262, with circumstances which excited a suspicion that poison had been administered to him previous to his departure from the camp. Thus died the celebrated Alexander Newski, a consummate politician and an intrepid warrior. He was certainly a hero, and is regarded by the Russian church as a saint. His name is held in so great veneration, throughout the whole empire, that Peter the Great, in order to give his new city of Petersburg greater importance in the eyes of a people remarkably fond of saints and miracles, built a monastery to the honour of St. Alexander Newski, and caused the relics of the grand prince to be brought, attended by several hundreds of priests, with numberless ceremonies, from Vladimir to Petersburg. The emperor with the whole court went to meet the procession, and saw the coffin deposited in the monastery. This consecrated edifice has received various embellishments from the succeeding sovereigns of Russia: Elizabeth, in particular, caused a shrine of beaten silver to be made for the saint. Peter I, likewise instituted an order of knighthood in honour of St. Alexander Newski, which is worn even by kings.*

From this short digression, commemorative of a personage whose name stands so high in the political, religious, and military history of Russia, and who was undoubtedly a great prince and a good patriot, if we return to take a rapid glance at the state of things in that empire after his death, nothing but a chaos of calamities and crimes presents itself to our view. The princes of Russia, even in a state of degrading sub-

* This order was conferred by the Emperor Paul on Lord Camden, on occasion of the victory gained by that great commander over the Dutch fleet, A.D. 1797.

jection,

jection, could not desist from those mutual animosities and jealousies which had first reduced them to that condition. Their whole system of policy was to gain by presents and bribes, the favour of the Tartar khans and of the great men of the horde. Supported by their interest, Yury, prince of Moscow, attempted to wrest the grand principality from Michael of Vladimir. The latter, however, bravely defended his dominions, and defeated the Moscovian prince, whose army was strengthened by Tartar auxiliaries. Yury's consort, who was sister to the khan, was made prisoner, and her death happening soon after was attributed to Michael. The grand prince was summoned to appear at the horde; and obeying the summons contrary to the advice of his sons, was there put to death by the hands of the executioner; and Russia, sunk to the lowest state of degradation, witnessed the humiliating spectacle of her sovereign judicially condemned, and publicly executed by the command of a foreign barbarian. Yury now obtained the grand principality, and about the year 1325, transferred its seat from Vladimir to Moscow. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his intrigues, being shortly after assassinated by one of Michael's sons, in revenge of his father's death. The assassin, in his turn, was put to death by the khan, who raised a second son of the decapitated Michael to the grand principality. This grand prince and his son both lost their lives at the horde; and Ivan, prince of Moscow, was, through his artful intrigues with the khan, elevated to the throne of the grand principality. From this period Moscow became the chief seat of the Russian empire. During a period of thirteen years, from 1340 to 1353, Simeon, son and successor of Ivan, reigned peaceably, in conjunction

junction with his brethren, in the grand principality; exhibiting a phenomenon in the Russian history. The other inferior princes continued their system of contention and strife, and numbers of their subjects joined themselves to those of Moscow, where alone they could enjoy tranquillity. Thus the population of that principality was increased; its strength consolidated, and a foundation was laid for the future grandeur of the Russian empire.

The multiplied divisions of this empire, and the contentions of its princes, which rendered them unable to resist the Tartars, had caused its downfall; and similar circumstances taking place among its enemies, contributed to its restoration. The Tartars separating into several hordes, and becoming the prey of intestine commotions, held with a feeble hand the sovereignty over Russia, whose princes acknowledged only a loose kind of obedience, sometimes to one khan and sometimes to another, according to temporary circumstances, and as it suited their particular purposes. Sometimes even the contending Tartar chiefs solicited the protection of the Russian princes. Thus the Russian power gradually rose, while that of the Tartars declined. The tributes were now less punctually paid, and although the Tartars sometimes made inroads to enforce their payment, or procure an indemnification, they were no longer found the same formidable enemy as before; and the Russians frequently defeated their prædatory bands.

The khan of the Donskoi Tartars resolving at last to maintain, by arms, his sovereignty over Russia, the grand prince, Dmitri, prevailed on the rest of the princes, for once, to form a confederacy in defence of their country. Having by this means collected an
army

army of 200,000 men, he marched from Moscow, and advancing to the Don, gained, though not without great loss, a complete victory over the khaan, whose army was greatly superior in numbers. This battle of the Don taught the Russians that the Tartars were not invincible, and that nothing but union was wanting to enable them to shake off the yoke with which they had so long been oppressed. This, however, was not effected at once. The Tartars made several other incursions, in one of which they took and destroyed Moscow; and the grand prince was obliged to submit to tribute, and to obtain his confirmation from the khan. Russia about this time was threatened with a new, and perhaps still heavier bondage from the appearance of Tamerlane, who having conquered Persia, and the Tartars of the Don and the Volga, about the year 1396, penetrated as far as Moscow; but, fortunately for Russia, India had superior charms in the eyes of this conqueror; a circumstance which saved her empire from further ravages, and perhaps from total subjugation.

The power of the grand princes of Moscow was now so greatly increased, that Vassilly, the son and successor of Dmitri, caused himself to be crowned; a measure which none had ventured to adopt since the establishment of the Tartar sovereignty. But in proportion as Moscow was rising to greatness, Kioff had declined. The Tartar invasion of 1240 had reduced the country around it to a desert; and at last, in 1320, the duke of Lithuania seized on the enfeebled principality, whereby it devolved to Poland; but after a separation of above 300 years, it was re-annexed to Russia. The Hungarians also had seized on Halitsch and Vladimir, which they had been obliged to abandon

don to the Poles, and the Swedes had likewise taken possession of some of the Russian provinces bordering on their dominions.

The reign of Ivan* Vassillievitch I, who ascended the throne of the grand principality of Moscow in 1460, at the age of twenty-three, gave an entirely new aspect to Russia. Ambitious and enterprising in himself, and instigated by his consort, a Grecian princess, he formed the great plan of shaking off the ignominious yoke of the Tartars, and of consolidating the empire by completely establishing the authority and domination of the grand prince. In three campaigns he reduced the Tartars of Kazan, and obliged their khan to acknowledge himself a vassal of Russia. The khan of the Golden Horde, however, made an attempt to assert his sovereignty. He cited Ivan to appear in his camp, and on his refusal marched into Russia. Ivan made an attack on the horde, and carried off a considerable booty, a circumstance which induced the khan to make a precipitate retreat. But another Tartarian tribe having carried off all the women and children, and destroyed the dwellings, fell on the khan himself in his return, routed his army, and entirely put an end to the Golden Horde,† from the ruins of which the Kazanian and Krimean Tartars greatly increased their numbers. Ivan now turned his arms against the Poles and Lithuanians, and being every where successful, recovered many places which had been rent from Russia. In 1486 the subjects of the prince of Tweer having risen in

* Ivan is the Russian name of John.

† The name of the Golden Horde, of which the origin has already been related, was given to the whole territory of the Tartars on the banks of the Volga. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 254.

rebellion,

rebellion, Ivan, at their request, granted them his assistance, and, on that occasion, united the principality of Tver to that of Moscow. Most of the other principalities had already been annexed to that paramount state, so that Ivan united under his dominion, the collective strength of the whole Russian empire. He was able, therefore, to set on foot a great military force, which was the more formidable as he had procured fire arms and artillery, the use of which had been taught to the Russians by Aristotle of Bologna, an Italian.* Destitute of these advantages, the irregular troops of the Tartars, accustomed only to desultory warfare, were unable to keep the field against the armies of Russia.

Novogorod, famous for the wealth and the haughtiness of its citizens, still existed as a separate state, over which the grand prince had little control. A plot being formed among the inhabitants for the purpose of totally dismembering that principality from Russia, and uniting it to Lithuania, Ivan adopted the gentle measure of remonstrating, by his ambassador, on the impropriety of their conduct. The Novogorodians, however, treated his representations with the most insulting arrogance, in consequence of which both sides prepared for war. Ivan commenced hostilities by breaking into their territory on three sides, with three different armies. The Novogorodians, finding themselves unable to resist so formidable an attack, offered to own him for their sovereign, on the same terms as they had acknowledged former princes. But Ivan required from Novogorod the same unconditional obedience that was paid him at Moscow, and forcibly deprived the citizens of those privileges which

* Levesque Histoire de Russie, tom. 2, p. 538.

they would not voluntarily resign. Treating them as a conquered people, he broke up the popular assemblies, sentenced numbers of the inhabitants to death, confiscated their estates, and carried away that immense booty which has already been mentioned.* In 1485, some disposition to revolt having appeared among the citizens, he removed fifty of the principal families into other towns, and in 1487 and 1489 repeated this transplantation, by distributing great numbers of the most considerable Novogorodians into different parts of the empire, and sending a colony of more loyal subjects to Novogorod. He also imprisoned the German merchants residing in that city, whom, indeed, he afterwards liberated; but he confiscated all the property of the Hanseatic league. After this period, Novogorod no more recovered its former splendor.† Towards the end of his reign the Kazanian Tartars made a violent effort to shake off the Russian yoke, and carried their arms to the gates of Moscow. Ivan was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous treaty, but was afterwards so fortunate as to render himself a second time master of Kazan. Severin, the last distinct principality, was in his reign annexed to that of Moscow, so that before his death, all the Russian provinces were reunited, and composed one empire. The title of Czar began to be given him towards the close of his reign; but his grandson, Ivan II, was the first monarch of Russia by whom it was publicly assumed.

Ivan Vassillievitch I, was succeeded by his son

* See account of Novogorod in the preceding chapter.

† "No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur than the town of Novogorod," says Mr. Coxe, Trav. vol. 2, p. 212.

Vassily, who took Smolensko from the Poles, but was unsuccessful against the Kazanians, who, in his reign pillaged the city of Moscow.* This prince was succeeded in 1553 by his son Ivan Vassilievitch II, an infant, who in his riper years acquired the shocking surname of Terrible. The reins of government during his minority were held by his mother, who addicted herself to pleasurable pursuits, and on her death the chiefs of the nobility assumed the sovereign power. Numerous parties arose, and the empire which had been so lately consolidated, was near being again broken into fragments, and falling into its former anarchy. The Tartars also took and burned Moscow. But Ivan having attained his seventeenth year, took upon himself the government, and immediately adopted the most vigorous measures. His two grand political objects were to suppress all the factions, and to incapacitate the Tartars from again infesting the empire. Both these aims he successfully accomplished. The city of Kazan was taken, the khan was compelled to be baptized, the Mahomedan mosques were converted into Christian churches, and the Kazan-tartarian empire was annexed to Russia. This conquest was followed by that of the Tartar kingdom of Astrachan; and in Ivan's successful reign, a new world, an empire of an immense extent, expanded itself to the possession of the Russian czars, in the discovery and conquest of Siberia. On this subject more will be said in its proper place. Confining our views at present to Europe, we shall observe, that Ivan not only extended the limits of his empire by arms and by accident, but also resolved to reform and civilize his people, and to render them more polished,

* Passend. Hist. des Etats formés en Europe, vol. 2, ch. 31.

more skilful and industrious. He began his reforms by enacting a code of laws; but he soon perceived that the temper of his subjects was not to be altered by legislative systems and theories, but by harsh treatment and painful corrections. Even the great men, for the most part, passed their lives in a state of mental inactivity, and in a total ignorance of whatever can improve and elevate the human intellect; but the czar was resolved to force upon them those benefits which they were unwilling to receive. The restless city of Novogorod, felt the most horrible effects of his severity. The archbishop being suspected of having, in concert with a great number of the citizens, framed a plot for delivering up the town to the king of Poland, the czar immediately marched to Novogorod, and there held a bloody tribunal: No fewer than 25,000 persons implicated in the conspiracy, were condemned and executed with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty.* Ivan was not only cruel in his politics, but his temper was naturally irascible, and one of the violent ebullitions of his anger, eventually proved a source of misfortunes to his empire and his family. On some sudden provocation, of which history does not mention the cause, he killed his eldest son with a stroke on the head, a misfortune, of which Ivan soon foresaw the disastrous consequences; for although at his death he left two other sons, the eldest of them was infirm both in body and mind, and the younger was in his infancy. He therefore reproached himself all his life with this calamitous event, which produced a series of convul-

* Tooke's Hist. Russa, vol. 1, p. 277.

sions in the empire, that terminated in the accession of a new family to the Russian throne.*

Ivan Vassillievitch died A.D. 1584, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign, reckoning from the expiration of his minority. Knowing the incapacity of his eldest son Feodor, he instituted a regency, and appointed persons to superintend the education of his younger son Dmitri. The court soon began to split into factions, and the imbecility of Feodor gave rise to a repetition of the same evils, as his father's minority had before occasioned. In this state of affairs, Boris Gudenooff, whose sister was married to Feodor, found means to murder the young Dmitri. The death of Feodor, whether natural or the effect of poison is uncertain, also happening soon after, Boris was, by the management of the patriarch of Moscow, raised to the Russian throne, and was crowned at Moscow A.D. 1598. Thus ended the sovereign race of Rurick, the founder of the Russian monarchy, whose descendants had ever since 864 possessed its throne.

Though Boris did not attain to the sovereignty by the most justifiable means, his subsequent conduct shewed him worthy of the empire. In every respect he was provident for the prosperity and welfare of the people. The extension of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, the introduction of learn-

* In the reign of this prince the English trade with Russia commenced by the accidental arrival of Captain Richard Chancellor at Archangel, A.D. 1553. The Tartars also, in the beginning of this reign, made their last irruption into Russia, and burnt the city of Moscow, then according to some accounts thirty, and according to others fifty miles in compass, and resembling a number of towns, or rather of villages joined together. Ivan caused it to be rebuilt in a better style. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 801.

ing, sciences, and arts, were the grand objects of his attention. He imitated Ivan Vassilievitch in his encouragement of foreigners; and in the time of a grievous famine, which raged three years in Russia, from 1601 to 1604, he shewed himself the true father of his people, by opening his abundant coffers, and distributing vast sums among the distressed inhabitants of Moscow. He also compelled the nobility and clergy to open their plentiful granaries, and to sell him their corn at half its value, which he then distributed gratis to the poor. In a word, his great abilities and the benefits which he conferred on the empire, render it a subject of regret that he had not a just title to the sovereignty. Notwithstanding his benevolence to the people, however, he has been taxed with cruelty. Many of the great men who had been his equals, were hostile to his measures, and could not brook his superiority. Thus was generated a factious spirit among the nobility, which he endeavoured to repress by imprisonments, exiles, and bloody executions.

All the precautions, however, that Boris could take for maintaining his power, proved ineffectual; and his throne was overturned by an attack which no human sagacity could have foreseen or expected. A young monk, who had been repeatedly informed in his convent that his person bore a striking resemblance to that of the prince Dmitri, who had been murdered by Boris, conceived the adventurous project of mounting the throne of the czars by means of this circumstance. He therefore assumed the name and person of Dmitri, affirmed that he had been saved from assassination in a wonderful manner, and like Perkin Warbeck in England, had framed a complete

plete narrative of his singular escape and subsequent adventures. Retiring into Poland, he opened the drama by communicating it to some of the nobles as a secret that he was Dmitri, the son of Ivan Vassillievitch, and consequently legal heir to the throne of Russia. To the graces of a fine person, he added the charms of an irresistible eloquence, which gained him a number of friends and admirers, among whom was the vaivode of Sandomir, who promised him his daughter Mariana in marriage. Even the king of Poland himself espoused his cause, and gave him every encouragement to proceed. Dmitri, to ensure the support of the Poles, learned their language, shewed a great attachment to their religion, and obtained the patronage of the pope, by promising to unite the Russian with the Roman church. The Cossacks of the Don, disgusted with Boris, declared without hesitation for the pretender; and the wonderful news that Prince Dmitri was yet alive, soon spread throughout Russia. Boris resolving, if possible, to put a stop to this enterprise at its commencement, prohibited all intercourse with Poland, and sent out assassins in quest of the pretended Dmitri. The patriarch at the same time excommunicated all who should give credit to his pretensions. The young prince's mother, who was confined in a monastery, was obliged to publish a declaration that her son Dmitri died of a fever; and Boris wrote to the king of Poland, requesting him not to countenance so vile an imposture. The pretended Dmitri, on the other hand, caused to be dispersed in Russia a declaration, in which he affirmed that he was the real Dmitri, son of Ivan, and consequently claimed the throne as his indefeasible right. The courtiers, who were envious

on account of the elevation of Boris, were delighted to see this attack on his power; while those who knew that Boris had caused Dmitri to be murdered, regarded this event as a judgment from Heaven. But a great part of the nation believed this to be the true prince, and since he had been preserved by miracle, considered it as a duty to concur with the hand of Providence in placing him on the throne.

While the public mind was thus agitated, the pretended Dmitri appearing on the frontiers with an army of Poles and Cossacks, defeated the forces of the czar, which were greatly superior in number. The impostor possessed uncommon intrepidity, and displayed a great appearance of piety. Previous to an engagement, he used to pray aloud with great pathos and eloquence, recommending to Heaven his righteous cause; and his victory over the superior army of the czar, augmented the number of those who believed that he was favoured by Providence. At this time a natural event also happened, which proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Boris. Strong corruscations of the *aurora borealis* waving in the air, and a comet also appearing in the Heavens, the Russians, extremely superstitious and totally ignorant of natural causes, regarded those phœnomena as manifest demonstrations of the Divine wrath menacing their country, the awful effects of which could be averted only by supporting the cause of Dmitri, whom Providence had so miraculously preserved and brought to light. The defection now became general, and Boris concluding it impossible to make an effectual resistance, terminated his life by poison.* The impostor shortly after made a magni-

* The accounts of his death have been differently related. Coxe, vol. 8, p. 84, where also see his character delineated

ificent entry into Moscow, attended by a great number of his Polish troops.

Dmitri having now succeeded in his grand project of placing himself on the throne of Russia, appears to have been so much elated with his singular good fortune, as to flatter himself that he could have no further difficulties to encounter. But his imprudence in this respect, furnished his enemies with the means of accomplishing his overthrow. His predilection for the Poles, of whom he had brought several thousands to Moscow, and conferred on many of them high offices and dignities, his connivance at the excesses of which they were guilty, his partiality for the Catholic religion, his indifference towards the Greek church, and his want of reverence to the clergy, his marriage with a Polish lady, his inclination for the manners and customs of Poland, and his inordinate voluptuousness, were all notoriously manifest, and gave an extreme disgust to the Russians. The tide of popular favour was now turned against him, and his enemies artfully excited doubts of his legitimacy. He had, indeed, sent for the mother of the murdered Dmitri from the convent in which she was confined, went to meet her with a splendid retinue, and behaved to her in every respect as a son. She also, without hesitation, acknowledged him as such, and acted perfectly well the part of a mother. It did not, however, require any great degree of penetration to perceive, that her acknowledgment was no proof of his legitimacy. She had no alternative between the part that she acted, and immediate death. Setting even that danger aside, as she could not recall to life her murdered child, it must have given her pleasure to see the downfall of his murderer; and the liberty
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and splendor of a court, with the respect paid to her as mother of the reigning czar, could not fail of being preferable to the gloom of a convent. It is, therefore, no wonder that her testimony was readily obtained, and not generally credited. His predilection for foreign manners, was represented as a proof that he could not be sprung from the blood of the Russian czars.* The most ridiculous stories were invented to exasperate the nation against him, and among others a report was industriously spread that he intended, by means of his Polish troops, to massacre the inhabitants of Moscow. The hatred of the people was now wrought up to fury, and their sentiments were unequivocally expressed. Schulskoy, a nobleman of Moscow, taking advantage of the general ferment, put himself at the head of the enraged populace. The clergy also encouraged the revolt, vehemently declaiming against the czar as a heretic. Schulskoy immediately led a numerous multitude to storm the czarism palace. A dreadful slaughter of the Poles ensued, not only at the palace, but in all parts of Moscow, and such as escaped with their lives were made prisoners. Dmitri escaped out of the tumult, but was killed in his flight.

From this epoch Russia may date the commencement of one of the most calamitous periods of her existence, of shorter duration indeed, but not less disastrous than that of her subjection to the Tartars. During several years the most flagrant enormities proceeded in full career. Schulskoy pretending to have no other object in view than the benefit of his country, having, with the cross in one hand and a

* Great doubts have been entertained whether Dmitri was or was not an impostor. See the curious investigation in Coze's Trav. vol. 2, ch. 7.

sword in the ether, made his way to the palace, was hailed by the clergy and populace as the defender of the faith, and protector of the throne against a heretic and impostor. This throne, however, was the object at which he aimed, and which by his dextrous management he found means to ascend. But the numerous competitors for the crown, discontented at his elevation, immediately caused a report to be spread that Dmitri, who was supposed to have been slain in the late insurrection, was still alive. They also asserted, that in spite of all that had been alledged, he was the true Dmitri. The czaritza was now examined, and confessed that the late czar was not her son Dmitri, but that she had been obliged to acknowledge him for such, as the only means of saving her life. Indeed she was still in the same predicament when she made this confession, and therefore its validity was equally exceptionable. The Poles, however, enraged at the fate of their countrymen at Moscow, produced a new pretender, who is said to have been a schoolmaster in Poland, and whom they asserted to be the true Dmitri. Marina, consort of the late czar, having been liberated from confinement, impelled by her desire of avenging the death of her husband, and by an ambitious hope of reascending the throne, embraced this second Dmitri as her spouse, who had happily escaped during the insurrection at Moscow. This new impostor, as well as the former, soon gained a multitude of adherents, but was killed in an engagement with the Tartars. Fresh impostors, however, continually appeared, and there seemed to be no end of their succession. The czar, Skulskoy, soon discovered all the difficulties of his situation, and found the throne from which he had banished his predecessor, to be a seat
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of uneasiness. After being for a long time harrassed by incessant and increasing troubles, he was at length obliged to resign the crown and adopt the cowl. He was afterwards delivered up to the Poles, and died in a dungeon.

These intestine commotions laid Russia open to the intrigues and attacks of foreigners. In 1609, the king of Poland marched an army into the country, and was joined by the Polish troops who had followed the two Dmitris. These bold and licentious bands, now formed an independent and powerful body, and it was only after a long negotiation, and on condition of great rewards, that they consented to join the standard of their former sovereign. The Russians, harrassed with unceasing commotions, were at length brought by force and intrigue to submit to the ascendancy of the Poles, and came to the resolution of placing Vladislaf, son of the king of Poland, on the throne of the czars. Accordingly, in the year 1610, they did homage to him at Moscow by proxy, in his absence, and surrendered the city to the Polish troops. But his conformity to the Greek religion being made one of the conditions of his elevation, gave rise to some difficulties in the conclusion of the treaty; and the ultimate view of the Polish monarch being to unite Russia and Poland under one sceptre, he delayed from time to time to send the prince to Moscow. In the mean while the Polish troops in Russia, especially those stationed in the capital, were guilty of the most flagrant enormities. The inhabitants at last took arms against those licentious oppressors, and open hostilities commenced. The Poles set fire to the cities, massacred about 100,000 of the inhabitants, and having made a general pillage, retreated into the citadel with

with a vast quantity of treasure. Russia again experienced all the horrors of intestine war. After a long and bloody contest, however, the Poles were driven out of Moscow, and obliged to evacuate the whole empire.

During the long series of convulsions, which since the death of the impostor Dmitri had agitated Russia, the Swedes had conquered the provinces adjoining to their territories and captured Novogorod. The inhabitants of that city had sent a deputation to Sweden, requesting to have one of the sons of Charles IX. for their sovereign; but Charles dying before any thing was concluded, Gustavus Adolphus, his successor, formed views of a similar kind to those of Sigismund of Poland, and thought it preferable to unite Russia to Sweden. But the Swedes in Novogorod, by their misconduct, soon incurred the aversion of the Russians, as the Poles had done in Moscow. In this distracted state of the empire, it is no wonder that it was the general wish to have a sovereign by whom tranquillity might be restored. The choice unanimously fell on Mikhaïla Feodorovitch, a youth of sixteen, a native Russian of the family of Romanof, whose father, the Metropolitan of Rostock, was held in general estimation. In this election the clergy were particularly active, being desirous that a Russian, educated in the Greek communion, should be raised to the throne, as the only effectual means of preventing the introduction of Protestant or Catholic heresy into the church of Russia, by a Swedish or Polish prince.

The election of Mikhaïla, which took place A.D. 1613, frustrated the expectations which the kings of Poland and Sweden had formed in respect of the
Russian

Russian throne; but it was no easy task to expel those formidable enemies, who held several parts of the empire that were contiguous to their own territories. The first care of the new czar was to allay the internal ferments of the empire, excited by the partizans of Dmitri, that so the united national force might with better success be directed against a foreign enemy. By the prudent counsels of Philaretes, the czar's father, who was made patriarch of Moscow, the government was conducted on a wise and judicious plan. But the empire was too much exhausted to contend at once with two such powerful enemies as the Swedes and the Poles. A treaty of peace was, therefore, concluded with Sweden, by which Russia ceded Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria, and Karelia, to that crown; and two years afterwards a pacification was also effected with Poland for fourteen years and a half. Russia purchased this truce with the surrenders of Smolensk, and several other of the frontier towns to the Poles. In the present circumstances of the empire, these sacrifices, however humiliating, were necessary.

. During this interval of tranquillity, the czar endeavoured to form connections with the other European states, to most of which he sent ambassadors; and Russia, which had till then been regarded as an Asiatic, rather than an European power, now became daily more known to the rest of Europe. The truce with Poland being expired, Mikhaila judiciously prepared for the recommencement of hostilities, by erecting fortresses on the frontiers, and augmenting his army. This war, however, was not of long continuance. The czar failed in his attempt to draw the Swedes into an alliance against Poland; and he plainly perceived

perceived that the Russian troops were not a match for the Poles. A peace, therefore, was concluded, on the condition of things remaining as before the war. Mikhaila indeed had, during his reign, sufficient employment to remedy the internal disorders, to bring again into play the disorganized machine of the state, to restore vigour to the government, efficiency to the laws, and activity to commerce. These objects he pursued with great assiduity and vigour, although he proceeded with great prudence and moderation, and made as great progress as could be expected, in a reign begun under circumstances so extremely unfavorable. It was reserved to his son Alexis, who succeeded him in 1645, to give greater stability and consequence to the empire.

The minority of Alexis, who ascended the throne at fifteen years of age, was productive of various disorders through the ambition, injustice, and oppression of Morosof, to whom Mikhaila had committed the education of the czar, and who had gained an entire ascendancy over the mind of his pupil. Disturbances arose at Moscow, Novogorod, and other places, which, however, were not followed by any serious consequences.

The internal troubles of the empire, however, were no sooner composed, than a war broke out with Poland, and soon after also with Sweden. At the conclusion of peace with the former power, Russia regained possession of Smolensk, Severin, Tchernigof, and Kioff, the primitive seat of the czars. The king of Poland also renounced the supremacy over the Cossacks, on whose account chiefly the war had been commenced, and that nation became an appendage to Russia. But the war with Sweden terminated less favourably.

favourably. After horrible scenes of pillage and massacre, after the sacrifice of thousands of human beings, a peace, as it is often the case, was concluded on the condition that things should remain on the former footing.

The throne of Alexis was now endangered by a revolt of his new subjects the Cossacks. The Russian commander in their district, had caused one of their officers to be hanged, which the nation considered as a grievous infringement of their liberties; and Radain, a brother of the deceased, found no difficulty in exciting a general insurrection. This rebellion was not confined to the Cossacks alone, as the system of warfare adopted by this rebel was general devastation and plunder; multitudes of vagabonds from different provinces crowded to his standard, and he saw himself at the head of 200,000 men. But his troops, although so numerous, being totally undisciplined and ignorant of war, were not formidable to a regular military force. Their chief himself was so weak as to suffer himself to be persuaded by an idle report, that the czar had pardoned him and desired to see him at Moscow. Flattered by this idea, he set out with his brother for that capital, without entering into any negotiation, or soliciting a safe conduct. At a small distance from the city he met a gallows in a cart, the dreadful harbinger of his fate. His execution had the desired effect on his followers, who immediately began to disperse. Astrachan, their principal retreat, was assaulted and taken by the czar's troops, and 12,000 of those ruffians were gibbeted on the high roads leading to that city. Thus ended a revolt, which, under a skilful leader, might have been productive of dangerous consequences to the empire.

Russia

Russia, formerly weakened by divisions, which had reduced her to a state of insignificancy in the political scale, being now united, began to appear formidable; and her acquisition of the sovereignty over the Cossacks excited the jealousy of the Ottoman Porte. The Turkish emperor, however, thought it adviseable first to make an attack on Poland, already weakened by the war with Alexia, and afterwards to humble Russia. The Turks, therefore, in 1671, invaded the Polish dominions; and Alexis having concluded with Poland a treaty of alliance against this dangerous neighbour, took an active part in the war. He also sent ambassadors to several Christian princes whom he exhorted to form a coalition against the implacable enemy of their faith; but their mutual jealousies, animosities, and perpetual quarrels, prevented them from listening to the proposal. The idea of a general combination of Christendom against the Ottoman empire, how brilliant soever in theory, could never be brought into existence in the system of practical politics. For some years successively the Turks were victorious, till a stop was put to their conquests by that celebrated general, John Sobieski, who by his victories over the enemies of his country, obtained the crown of Poland. Alexis did not live to see the termination of this war, as he died in 1676; in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, which was in general prosperous, and ultimately beneficial to his country.

This monarch not only aggrandised, but also improved his empire. These were the two grand objects of his attention and pursuits. The mildness of his government, and his liberal encouragement of merit, allured into his dominions a great number of Ita-

Itans, Germans, Dutch and other foreigners.* He had already formed several of the designs which his son, Peter the Great, afterwards carried into execution; particularly that of making his subjects acquainted with naval architecture and maritime commerce. And although various circumstances had concurred to prevent the execution of many of his projects, it may, with strict justice be affirmed, that, during his reign, Russia made some progress in civilization.

Alexis having been twice married, left by his first marriage two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and six daughters, of whom one was the famous Sophia: Peter and Natalia were the offspring of the second. The practice of the czars, contrary to that of the other sovereigns of Europe, had long been to choose their consorts among their own subjects.† By this custom the influence of foreigners on the national interest was, in some measure, prevented; and what seems to have been, before the time of Peter the Great, a considerable object of Russian politics, the empire had as little connection as possible with other countries. But this selection of the czaritza from the daughters of natives, by giving that undue influence to particular families, often excited the spirit of faction; and if a czar married twice, it was a fertile source of disasters to the empire. Several families became related to the sovereign, one endeavouring to circumvent the other, and the new relatives using every means for subverting the power of the former alliance. This was the case with Alexis-

* About 3,000 Scotchmen went into Russia during his reign. Tooke's *Hist. Russia*, vol. 2, p. 29.

† From this custom, however, some deviations occur in the Russian history. Vladimir and Ivan II. married Grecian princesses. Tooke's *Hist. Russia*, vol. 1, p. 202—270.

By his first consort the family of Miloslafskoi acquired great influence, which declined on his second marriage with a Nariskin. The czaritza naturally favoured her own relations; and the family of the Nariskins gained the ascendancy. Feodor and Ivan, children of the former marriage, were only of a feeble constitution of body, and gave no great indications of intellectual abilities: in the latter respect, indeed, the opinion in regard to Feodor proved to be ill founded; but Ivan, in addition to his corporeal infirmities, laboured under great imbecility of mind. In this case it was natural that the Nariskins should think of raising the younger son, Peter, to the throne. By the accession of Feodor, in consequence of the czar's nomination, this project failed; but the young czar's infirm state of health encouraged a hope of its future success. Notwithstanding, however, the weakness of his corporeal frame, Feodor, during his short reign of six years, displayed great talents for government, and a sincere wish for the good of his people. The war with the Turks, in which Alexis had left him engaged, was terminated without any disadvantage to Russia and her sovereignty over the Cossacks was acknowledged by the Porte. In the internal affairs of the empire, Feodor's administration shone with still greater lustre, and was attended with greater advantages to the empire. He rectified many abuses, and made a variety of good regulations. "He lived the joy and delight of his people, and died amidst their sighs and their tears."* Nothing but the succession of Peter the Great could have compensated the loss which the empire sustained by his death.

Knowing that Ivan's abilities were not adequate to

* Samarkof, the Russian historian, apud Tooke, vol. 1, p. 40.

the task of governing an empire, Feodor had nominated Peter, then only ten years old for his successor. Peter, even, at that early period of life, displayed extraordinary abilities, and Ivan acknowledging his own incapacity, was willing to relinquish the throne; but to this, Sophia, his sister, would not consent. Under the pretext of a sisterly affection for Ivan, her real aim was to ascend the throne; and her views were favoured by the minister Galitzin, a man of great talents and sagacity. Sophia was a princess of exquisite beauty and of the most splendid accomplishments, in the full bloom of youth, of boundless ambition, and of the most daring courage. The exclusion of Ivan, although with his own consent, afforded her a favorable opportunity of forming a powerful party as the patroness of the claims of her elder brother. In order to promote her designs, her first step was to secure, by money and promises, the concurrence of the strelitzes, a body of soldiers, which consisting of upwards of 14,000 men, was able to give a powerful support to any party. This military corps, first instituted by Ivan Vassillievitch II, was at Moscow, what the praetorian guards once were at Rome, and what the janisseries are at Constantinople. These strelitzes being dexterously gained, after having committed, during three days, all manner of excesses, and sacrificed to their fury several of the chief officers of state, who were enemies to Sophia, forced their way to the palace, demanded the heads of the Nariskins, and by acclamations declared Prince Ivan to be czar. He, however, desiring that Peter should be colleague with him in the government, his request was granted; but Sophia was also declared co-sovereign with the two czars; a regulation which, in consequence of Peter's youth

youth and Ivan's imbecility, threw the power of the government wholly into her hands. In the year 1687, Sophia added her name to that of the czars, and caused her image to be stamped on the coin.

A dangerous insurrection of the strelitzes, who had so greatly contributed to the elevation of Sophia, now threatened her downfall. Prince Kovanskoi, their commander, having become her adversary,* had so much influence over his licentious band as to arm the whole body of the strelitzes against the government. Sophia, the two czars, and the whole court, were reduced to the necessity of retiring precipitately from Moscow, and of taking sanctuary in the strong monastery of the Holy Trinity, about thirty-six miles from that capital. Here they collected a great body of troops, many of whom were foreigners, and were prepared for a vigorous defence before the strelitzes advanced.† The result of this affair was, that the strelitzes being defeated and disarmed, Kovanskoi, their commander, was beheaded, and the whole corps was decimated for execution. The majority of them were then draughted into other regiments on the frontiers. After this commotion, tranquillity was for a while restored; but a war with the Turks, unsuccessfully conducted by Galitzin, who, although a prudent minister, was not a skilful commander, raised a general complaint against both him and Sophia. Peter in the meanwhile had, under the colour of an amusement, attached to his interests a number of zealous adherents. He had formed a regiment consisting, for the

* She had refused to give one of her sisters in marriage to his son. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 46.

† For a description of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, see Cox's Trav. vol. 2, p. 73.

most part, of youths of his own age. They were called the czar's play-mates, and many of them were sons of the principal nobility. In this company the czar served first as a drummer, and was progressively promoted through the several ranks. The probability that Peter might one day be sole sovereign of Russia constantly brought to this small military society an accession of young men, who became zealously attached to his person. Sophia and her party, at first paid little attention to this affair, which was only considered as a frivolous amusement. But Peter, having now attained his seventeenth year, began all at once to display such a spirit of enterprise, with such energy and perseverance in whatever he undertook, as excited the admiration and hopes of his friends, and greatly alarmed his enemies.

In 1689 Peter and Sophia came to an open rupture, which could not fail of ending in the downfall of one or the other. Peter, with his court and his friends, attended by most of the foreigners among the troops, repaired to the fortified monastery of the Holy Trinity. Sophia, on the other hand, threw herself again into the arms of the strelitzes, who had been re-established, and whose leader engaged to remove Peter out of the way, but the project miscarried. A great number of defenders now resorted to Peter, the public voice of the nation being in his favour; and he was placed on the throne without a partner; for although Ivan lived about seven years longer, he was a mere nonentity; Sophia was confined to a monastery; Galitzin was exiled to Siberia; the commander of the strelitzes was beheaded, and the rest of the conspirators were punished.*

* A curious investigation of Sophia's conduct and character may be seen in Coxe's Trav. vol. 2, ch. 8.

From this period must be dated the commencement of Peter's active reign. Being now sole sovereign, he gave the most unequivocal proofs of his penetration and enterprising genius; and shewed himself thoroughly acquainted with the defects of his empire. Except a few regiments on the frontiers, the atrelitzes of Moscow were the only standing forces of Russia; and these were more distinguished by their licentiousness than by their military skill or their valour. The rest of the Russian troops consisted of feudal levies, without discipline, without any military uniform, and with various kinds of arms. Peter resolved to form a large standing army, and appointed the famous Le Fort, a Genevan, and Gordon, a Scotchman, to raise regiments after the European model. In these a multitude of foreigners enlisted. In Gordon's were a great number of Scotchmen, and the greater part of Le Fort's regiment of 12,000 men consisted of foreigners, many of them French.

This active and enterprising monarch having also conceived a design of creating a marine as well as a military force, took a journey to Archangel in order to inspect the ships in the harbour. During his stay there he caused a large vessel to be built, and attentively observed the work in every stage of its progress. He employed himself also in making models of ships, put his hand occasionally to labour, and learned the business of a steersman. The extension of the commerce of his empire, and the establishment of a marine, were his two great plans; but the want of ports was, in the present state of the empire, an insurmountable obstacle to their execution. During the troubles of the former reigns, the Swedes had seized on all the Russian provinces bordering on the Baltic, and the

Turks occupied the shores of the Euxine. Archangel, the only port of the empire, was in too rigorous a climate, and too far distant from all trading countries ever to become an emporium of commerce, or a station for fleets. Russia thus shut up in the north-eastern interior of Europe, was almost entirely excluded from all maritime intercourse with the rest of the world. The czar therefore formed the design of procuring ports on the Euxine and the Baltic; and both these aims were at last accomplished.

The war with the Turks, which had been unsuccessful under Galitzin, was not yet brought to a termination; and Peter, placing no small confidence in the new regulations introduced into the army, resolved to render a vigorous effort to make himself master of Asoph at the mouth of the Don, as the possession of that place would open to Russia a communication with the Euxine. In this war the czar gave an excellent lesson to his nobility, in declining the chief command of the army and serving as a simple volunteer. His design in this was to shew that military talents are not innate, but must be acquired. The first campaign, however, although not attended with any considerable success, served in the course of its operations to display a variety of defects and mistakes, which Peter learned to rectify. But the next year he was more successful. He had constructed a fleet of small vessels, which, co-operating with the army, enabled him to terminate the campaign by the capture of Asoph; and in order to bestow a public and honourable reward on his soldiers, as well as to inspire his subjects with a martial spirit, he appointed for his army a triumphal entry into Moscow, in imitation of the triumphs of the ancient Romans. His next step was

to construct a fleet in the Euxine; but his revenues being insufficient for that purpose, he issued a proclamation requiring the clergy, nobility, &c. to manifest their patriotism by a pecuniary contribution. As the construction of this fleet could only be effected by foreign workmen, Peter sent out several young Russians to Venice, Leghorn, and Holland, to learn the art of ship-building, and others to Germany to study the science of war in all its different branches.

The czar, however, thus putting his subjects in the way of acquiring knowledge, could not be satisfied to remain in ignorance himself, and therefore resolved on a tour into foreign countries, in order to view their different advantages, and to take the most effectual measures for introducing their arts, sciences, and learning, into his empire. But Peter was not exempted from the common lot of reformers, even in more enlightened countries; and considering the state of the Russians at that period, it cannot excite any surprise that his conduct did not meet with general approbation. A conspiracy was formed among the strelitzes, of which the plan was to assassinate Peter, to massacre the foreigners, and to place Sophia on the throne; but this malignant design was happily defeated. The czar now set out on his journey, exhibiting the uncommon phenomenon of a great monarch descending from his throne, and leaving for a time his dominions, to travel in foreign countries in order to acquire knowledge, and propagate it among his subjects.

The absence of Peter was considered by Sophia and her adherents as affording her a fit opportunity of seizing on the throne. The strelitzes undertook to effect this revolution, in which they were encouraged by

by many of the ecclesiastics. Gordon at the head of the troops stationed in the city and vicinity of Moscow, attacked and defeated the rebels. The prisoners were kept in custody till Peter's return, when dreadful punishments were inflicted on the ringleaders. The famous military corps of the strelitzes was totally broken up, and those refractory soldiers were dispersed among different regiments. Eudokia, the czar's consort was banished to a cloister on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy; and Peter's affection for his son Alexis, from this period was observed to decline.

It would be inconsistent with the present design to follow Peter in his peregrinations. He visited Holland, England, Paris, Dresden, and Vienna, where he diligently observed and examined every thing that was curious and interesting; every operation of genius, and every production of art, from which he could gain instruction, or his people might derive improvement. The dock-yards and shipping particularly attracted his attention; and the world has often heard of his working with the carpenter's axe at Deptford and Saardam. In his return homewards he had an interview with Augustus, king of Poland, in which they projected a war against Sweden. This war, which soon after broke out, gave to the Russian empire a different form, and a more intimate connection with the rest of Europe. At the commencement of hostilities Charles XII. entered Poland, and was constantly victorious. Peter having concluded an armistice for thirty years with the Turks, began to take an active part in the war; and in 1700, penetrating into Ingria, laid siege to Narva. The Russian army, according to some accounts, amounted to 80,000 men; but this
statement

statement is perhaps exaggerated. The disciplined troops, however, did not amount to more than about 12,000; and great dissensions subsisted among the commanders, whom Peter's presence alone could keep under any kind of restraint. But on his departure for the purpose of raising fresh levies in the territories of Pseove and Novogorod, all union among them was dissolved; and on the 30th of November, 1700, the Swedish monarch, with only 8,000 men, mostly cavalry, attacked and defeated the Russian army, so vastly superior to his own. Charles had so great a contempt for the Russian soldiers, that he dismissed all the privates who were taken, not thinking them worth detaining as prisoners.

Had the king of Sweden followed up this decisive blow, he might perhaps have dictated the terms of peace to Peter in Moscow; but despising both the Russians and their prince as enemies whom he could at any time conquer, he directed all his efforts against Poland. The czar, not dispirited by the late defeat, immediately set about repairing his loss, by recruiting his armies and procuring artillery, 150 pieces of cannon having fallen into the hands of the Swedes at the battle of Narva. He caused the superfluous bells of the churches and monasteries to be melted and cast into cannon, a method which the French, in our days, have adopted, but which the Russians considered as a sacrilegious profanation. Peter, however, easily refuted this notion. As the Russians believed that the Swedes dealt in witchcraft, and gained battles by magic, he declared that this holy metal was the only kind that could be of service against those magicians.*

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 1, p. 75, 76.

In order also to recruit his army, he proclaimed freedom to all vassals who should enlist.

By these means he soon procured a numerous army and a formidable artillery. Charles, in the meanwhile advancing through Courland and Lithuania into Poland, dethroned King Augustus, and caused Stanislaus Leschinski waiwode of Posen to be placed on the throne. But while he was occupied in this expedition, Peter was continually improving his troops in military discipline. Many engagements took place on the frontiers, in which the Swedes were generally victorious; but the Russians gained experience in the art of war, and by repeated defeats at last learned to conquer. Charles, not considering that instead of an undisciplined multitude they were now becoming veteran soldiers, erroneously supposed that they would be every where as easily beaten as at Narva; and Peter deriving the most important advantages from the contempt in which he was held by his enemy, at length made himself master of most of the provinces bordering on the Gulph of Finland, and gained possession of the mouth of the Neva. On this occasion another triumphal entry into Moscow rewarded the bravery of his troops. Charles, however, in the mean time, was preparing to enter Russia, and to march straight to the capital. But instead of advancing from Lithuania by the way of Smolensk, he was induced by Mazepa Hetman of the Cossacks, to take the circuitous route of the Ukraine. Mazepa had promised to join him with the whole collective force of his nation, which would have been a formidable accession of strength to the Swedes, besides affording them an ample supply of provisions. The scheme, however,

was totally frustrated: the Cossacks remaining firm in their allegiance to Russia, rejected the proposal of their prince, who, with only a small number of followers, joined the Swedish army rather as a fugitive than as an ally. Charles also experienced another misfortune, not less distressing. General Lavenhaupt's division, consisting of about 15,000 men, having under convoy a great quantity of ammunition and provisions for the grand army, was totally defeated by the Russians. In this engagement the Swedes lost about 9,000 men killed and made prisoners; and all the stores fell into the hands of the enemy. The situation of Charles became now exceedingly critical; his army rapidly wasted away through the rigour of the season and the scarcity of provisions. As soon, however, as the inclemency of the weather had subsided, he opened the campaign with the siege of Pultowa, where the Russians had vast magazines. Peter, who having now acquired experience in the science of war, commanded in person, acted, in every respect, the part of a consummate general, and displayed great prudence as well as intrepidity. He had diligently watched the motions of the enemy, put the frontiers of his empire and the road to Moscow in a good state of defence; and arriving at Pultowa, obtained over Charles one of the most complete victories recorded in military history. This battle, fought the 8th of July, 1709, in which the whole Swedish army were killed or made prisoners, except a very small number that escaped with the king into Turkey, was one of the most decisive that Europe had witnessed during some centuries. On its issue depended the fate of Peter, Charles, and Augustus, and the future greatness of Russia. Another triumph, in the highest style of magnificence,

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honoured

honoured the entrance of the victors into Moscow, and on no former occasion had Russia so great cause to rejoice.* Peter's new acquisitions on the Baltic were now secured, and although the building of Petersburg had commenced in 1703, it was only at the battle of Pultowa that, according to the czar's own expression, the foundation stone was completely laid. This victory also replaced Augustus on the throne of Poland, and expelled Stanislaus from that elevated station.

But the fortune of war is precarious, and success is often followed by misfortune. The king of Sweden, now a fugitive in Turkey, succeeded in forming a party in the Divan; and the Porte, still discontented at the surrender of Asoph, after some hesitation resolved on a rupture with the czar. Hostilities accordingly commenced, but in advancing against the Turks, Peter fell into the same errors that had caused the disaster of Charles at Pultowa. Despising the Turks as Charles had despised the Russians, and allured by the promises of Cantemir, hospodar of Moldavia, as he had been by those of Mazeppa, Peter marched too far into the enemy's country. Here he soon experienced the want of provisions, and on the banks of the Pruth, not far from Yassy in Moldavia, saw himself completely surrounded by the Turkish and Tartar army of 200,000 men. The Russians amounting to little more than 20,000, thus closely besieged, without a possibility of obtaining supplies, had only three objects of choice, either to surrender or perish with hunger, or else to cut their passage through an army so vastly superior in strength. Peter in a state of desperation sat in his tent, revolving in his mind

* *Voltaire Russia*, ch. 19. *Tucker's Hist. Russia*, vol. 2, p. 89.

the disastrous consequences of his situation, and representing to himself all his labours destroyed and his hopes defeated. At this dangerous crisis, Catherine, his consort, who was with him in the camp, suggested the propriety of opening a negotiation with the Vizir, and of accompanying a flag of truce with considerable presents, in order to procure a favorable reception. This expedient succeeded so well, that the czar obtained a peace, in which the conditions were, that he should surrender Asoph, demolish his newly erected fort of Tagaurok, and evacuate Poland. Charles, who arrived in the Turkish camp soon after the treaty was signed, stormed and raved like a madman, but all his endeavours could not excite a new rupture.* By an article in this treaty, however, Peter engaged to grant Charles a safe passage home to his dominions. The war with Sweden still continued, in which the Russians were almost invariably successful: and in 1721 a peace was concluded, which confirmed to Peter all his conquests on the eastern shores of the Baltic, and the Gulph of Finland.† On this occasion great festivities were appointed throughout Russia, and Peter received from the Senate the title of emperor and autocrator of all the Russias, and the still more glorious appellation of father of his country. Four years previous to this peace, the unfortunate Alexis, only son of the czar, had been condemned to death for a conspiracy against his father, of which, however, no clear proofs ever appeared to the world.

* Voltaire Hist. Charles XII, liv. 5. On the authority of Poniatowski who was present.

† Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingrida, with part of Karelia, and part of Finland. Voltaire Hist. of Russ. Emp. liv. 2. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2.

The great progress which Peter made in the civilization of his empire, has more than his conquests immortalized his name to posterity. It would here be in vain to attempt to follow him in his various plans of reform, which have so often been the subject of more detailed accounts. In a summary view it suffices to observe, that in the introduction of arts, sciences, and learning, the advancement of navigation and commerce, the improvement of the army, and the whole organization of the empire, he did all that in the existing circumstances could possibly be performed. The complete civilization of a vast empire, is too complicated a work to be completed in one reign, or by one man. He succeeded, however, in eradicating a variety of illiberal prejudices, the offspring of ignorance, particularly the aversion of the Russians against the persons, the manners, and religion of foreigners, and the universal toleration which he established, has produced in Russia a liberality of sentiment not to be met with in several highly polished countries. Objections have been made against his choice of Petersburg for the imperial residence, but these are refuted by a view of its advantages.* From its rigorous climate, its sterile environs, and the frequent inundations caused by the swelling of the Neva, it is certainly a less agreeable residence than Moscow. But Peter's great design of civilizing his empire, and extending its commerce, could be carried into effect only by a closer connection with Europe, which was by this circumstance effected.

Peter, with all his laudable qualities, was not without great defects. He sometimes drank to excess, and was at all times prone to violent paroxysms of

* Storch's Picture of Petersburg, vol. 2.

anger.

anger. His government was extremely despotic, and his disposition was certainly cruel and unfeeling, of which his reign affords a multitude of examples. Many of these defects ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to education, to the circumstances of his reign, and the difficulties which he found in the execution of his projects. But his genius was vast, and his views were extensive. The distinguishing features of his character, were the dauntless intrepidity and persevering energy with which he prosecuted all his designs, in spite of every obstacle that opposed their execution. Impartial history must declare, that to Peter the Great, Russia is indebted for the rank that she holds in the political, moral, and intellectual scale.

In casting a glance on the progress of society in Russia, during the long period which had elapsed before the reign of Peter the Great, the events of her history plainly indicate the causes of her barbarism. The division of the empire into numerous principalities, produced the same disorders which circumstances nearly similar excited in France under the latter kings of the Carolingian race, and to which the feudal system, with some variations, gave rise in the middle ages in most parts of Europe. While the other European nations were gradually emerging from the depths of Gothic ignorance, Russia was bending under the yoke of the unenlightened Tartars; and it is no wonder that such a state of depression, with all its concomitant disorders, should extinguish the mental energy of the people. Even after the revival of letters, about the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the full blaze of knowledge began to burst upon the nations of western Europe, this empire was rent with intestine commotions, as dreadful as any on historical

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record, and its people could have little inclination or leisure for the peaceful pursuits of literature. The manners and customs of the ancient Slavonians, as far as can be gathered from the writings of Procopius, Du Cange, and other historians, with the exception of a few local variations, bore a near resemblance to those of the ancient Germans, so well described by Cæsar and Tacitus. The history, indeed, of one barbarous nation, would, with a few circumstantial differences, serve for a history of all others in a similar state. The light introduced among the Russians by the establishment of Christianity, was only a feeble gleam, and the Tartar invasion contributed to obscure its faint lustre. The two Ivans made noble efforts towards the introduction of civilization and the arts, especially architecture, which was in a state of almost primeval rudeness; but the subsequent troubles occasioned by the Dmitris, nearly annihilated the effects of their exertions. Mikhaila Romanzof, and his son Alexis, father of Peter the Great, made very considerable efforts for the civilization of their subjects; but to Peter himself it was reserved to lay a broad and solid basis, for a vast superstructure of future improvement. It must, however, be observed, that a commercial spirit has been natural to the Russians amidst all the political vicissitudes of their empire. Of this, the early and flourishing trade of Novogorod exhibits an incontestible proof. The Russians carried on a considerable trade with the Greek empire; and the vicinity of Constantinople gave them an advantage in acquiring the knowledge of arts and sciences, which, had not its influence been counteracted by the causes already mentioned, might in these respects have given them the lead among the nations of Europe. But at
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the time of the subversion of that empire, such was the barbarism of Russia, not yet emancipated from the Tartar yoke, that notwithstanding the conformity of religion, few of the learned Greeks who contributed so greatly to the revival of letters in the west, took refuge in that country. Most of them preferred Italy as an asylum. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the Russians remained almost quite unconnected with any civilized people, a circumstance which attached them still more to their ancient customs and prejudices, and rendered them averse to every kind of innovation. The history of this empire, in fine, displays a succession of events which leaves us no room to wonder that, at the accession of Peter the Great, the Russians were several centuries behind the other Europeans in civilization.

Peter the Great dying in 1725, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign, which was one of the most important recorded in history, was succeeded by Catharine his second spouse, the first female who since Olga, in the tenth century, had sat on the throne of Russia. A woman of obscure descent, taken captive in war, and by singular vicissitudes raised to the exalted station of an unlimited sovereign, is one of those phenomena in history, which shew the absolute control of Providence over the destiny of nations and individuals. Various and contradictory accounts have been given of her origin, a certain proof of its obscurity. The most authentic is, that she was born in Livonia of poor parents, whom she lost when very young, and being brought up as some say by a Lutheran minister, or as others say by the provost Gluck at Marienburg. It appears, however, that she was taken into the family of the

latter, where she served as housemaid and nurse to the children, and as it is said married a Swedish soldier. The most current particulars of her history are, that after the capture of Marienburg, she fell into the hands of the Russians, and became the property of General Scheremetof; that Prince Menzikof having had a sight of her, appropriated the fair prize to himself, and was in his turn obliged to resign her to Peter. She was then baptised into the Russo-Greek church, and made it so much her business to study the character of the czar, that she became entirely the mistress of his affections. In 1721 he caused her coronation to be celebrated with the most pompous solemnity, and placed with his own hands the crown upon her head. As Peter died without a will, Catharine was, by the dextrous management of Prince Menzikof, raised to the throne of the czars, and reigned sole empress and autocratrix of all the Russias. During her reign, which was short, as she died in 1727, the empire enjoyed the blessings of peace: but neither the army nor the navy was neglected, the former being augmented to 150,000 men, while the latter consisted of 26 ships of the line, besides frigates, gallies, &c. Catharine, although she could neither write nor read, possessed a good natural understanding, sound judgment, and great prudence, as well as an amiable and merciful disposition; and her numerous good qualities completely compensated the obscurity of her origin.

Peter II, son of the unfortunate Czarowitz Alexis, was, by Catharine's will, declared her successor. The daughter of Menzikof was betrothed to the young monarch, and that favorite of fortune, who from crying pyes about the streets of Moscow, had
been

been advanced to the second station of the empire, had successfully outstood the boisterous temper of Peter, and been all powerful under Catharine, now enjoyed the prospect of seeing his greatness established beyond the control of events.* But all his flattering hopes were frustrated in a moment. The family of Dolgoruky supplanted him in the favor of his sovereign. Catharine Dolgoruky was raised to the honor of consort to the czar. Prince Menzikof, with all his family, not excepting his daughter, who had imagined herself ready to ascend the czarian throne, was banished to Siberia; and his immense riches, consisting of 9,000,000 of rubles in bank notes, &c. 1,000,000 in cash, 105 lb. of gold, and 420 lb. of silver plate, with jewels to the amount of 1,000,000, besides his vast estates, were all confiscated. Thus was all his grandeur at once annihilated, and his immense treasures returned to the imperial coffers from whence they had originally flowed.† He died in his exile at Biresof in 1729.

Peter II. was beloved by the nation, and discovered a capacity far above the ordinary level. Under his short reign of little more than two years, Russia was happy and prosperous. No war wasted her men or her money. But amidst the enjoyment of public tranquillity abroad and at home, the empire saw its fairest expectations defeated, by being deprived of this promising prince, who died of the small pox at Moscow, in the month of January 1730, universally regretted by the nation. Moscow, in particular, had

* If Menzikof was not a pye boy, as historians generally assert, it is certain that he was at first one of the lowest menial servants about the czarian court. Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 187.

† Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 196.

formed great expectations from this prince, who being delighted with its situation, shewed a decided predilection for that capital, and a perfect indifference for Petersburg. This circumstance might, perhaps, if his reign had been long, have proved detrimental to the commercial and maritime importance of Russia, and have operated as a check to the rising greatness of that empire.

After much cabal and intrigue, which it would here be of little importance to examine or develope, Anne, duchess of Courland, daughter of Czar Ivan, half brother of Peter the Great, was elected empress, but under such restrictions, that the sovereign of Russia was reduced to a simple executor of the resolves of the high council; and the empire was converted into an oligarchy. This oligarchical constitution, however, being highly displeasing to those great families who had no relation to the council, Anne soon received a petition from several hundreds of the nobles, requesting her to take upon her the government, on the same terms as the former sovereigns of Russia. Anne gladly acquiesced with this petition, which so exactly coincided with her own wish to free herself from the control of the council. She read the capitulation in presence of the nobles, making a pause at the end of each article, and asking if such were the wish of the nation. Being answered in the negative by all who were not members of the council, she tore in pieces the obnoxious instrument, in presence of the whole assembly. Thus the Empress Anne rendered her throne as despotic as that of any of her predecessors.

One of the principal events of her reign, was the war which she undertook, in conjunction with Austria,
against

against the Turks, with a view to the recovery of Asoph. But although the Russian arms, under the celebrated Count Munich, were every where victorious, the Austrians performed little, and were at length obliged to conclude a separate peace. The war between the Porte and Russia terminated with the demolition of Asoph; and although the conditions of peace allowed the latter power to construct a fortress on the Don, she could not obtain the privilege of keeping a fleet in the Euxine. It was also stipulated, that the Russian merchants should carry on their commerce in that sea, only in Turkish bottoms. The reign of Anne, however, upon the whole, was prosperous, and under her the Russian empire increased in strength, and extended its commerce. She carried into execution several of the plans formed by Peter the Great, and particularly that of making discoveries in the eastern Archipelago, adjacent to the coast of Kamtschatka. But her subjects would have been much happier, and her memory more honored, had she not reposed too much confidence in her favorite, John Ernest Biron, who exercised so horrible a tyranny that 20,000 persons are said to have been exiled to Siberia during her reign.* This remarkable personage was the son of a gamekeeper in Courland, and having studied at Konigsberg and returned to Mittau, was presented to the Duchess Anne, who made him her secretary, and shortly after her chamberlain. After her accession to the throne of Russia, he still continued to be the all powerful minion. The duke of Courland dying in 1737, without a male heir, Biron took his measures so well as to induce the nobility to elect him to that dignity. Notwithstanding,

* Tooke's Hist. Russ. marginal note, vol. 2, p. 138.

However, his election to the duchy of Courland, he constantly resided at Petersburg, where he displayed a haughtiness and despotism, that would appear incredible; were it not so notorious.

The Empress Anne had, in her testament, declared Ivan, the son of her niece the Duchess of Mecklenburg, to be her successor. The young prince being only two years old, Biron was appointed administrator of the empire during his minority. This arrangement, however, was highly disagreeable, not only to the young emperor's parents, but also to the Russian nobility. A party was therefore formed, in order to overthrow his power, which he had so grossly abused during the preceding reign. In the night of the 19th November, the regent Biron, with his consort, his family, and his firmest partizans, were suddenly arrested. He was afterwards condemned to exile in Siberia, whither he had before sent such a number of victims to his tyranny.

Under the administration of the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg, and Duke Ellrick of Brunswick, her consort, Count Munich was all powerful. But in 1742 a revolution took place, which subverted the system of the court, and the order of succession to the Russian throne. A party was formed in favor of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great and Catharine I. his consort, which suddenly raised her to the sovereignty. The young emperor and his parents, together with Osterman and Munich, the two chief promoters of Ivan's succession, were all carried off in one night, without noise and without opposition. Osterman and Munich were exiled to Siberia. The duke and duchess of Mecklenburg, with their son the infant emperor, were confined in the citadel

citadel of Riga. In 1743 they were removed to Dunamond, and from this fortress to Kelmogory, an island at the mouth of the Dwina, fifty miles from Archangel, where the Duchess Anne died in child bed, a prey to grief and melancholy. The duke survived till 1775, when he also terminated in prison his calamitous career.

The infant emperor, the innocent and unconscious victim of court politics, was taken from his parents, and shut up in a monastery at Oranienburg, where he was kept in such a state of seclusion, as left his mind totally unemployed. A monk of the convent having formed the project of carrying off this unfortunate prince, the attempt proved fatal to himself, and added new horrors to the doleful situation of Ivan. Being taken at Smolensk, the unfortunate prince dearly expiated an offence, in which he had been entirely passive. A dungeon in the castle of Schlüsselburg was assigned for his dreary abode, where being almost literally buried alive, he seldom knew whether it was day or night, and was wholly secluded from conversation with mankind, all discourse with him being forbidden to the officers and soldiers on guard at the fortress. In this state of total inaction, with no other light than that of a gloomy lamp, and seldom allowed to breath the free air in the inclosed court of his prison, his mind gradually lost all its active powers, and the Empress Catharine, who paid him a visit with the benevolent intention of alleviating his condition, found him in a state of deplorable idiocy, incapable of any other enjoyments than those of mere animal appetite. The empress, however, gave orders for supplying him with all the comforts and conveniencies of which his condition was susceptible.

ceptible. Shortly after, however, the unhappy prince was, in conformity to the orders given to his keepers how to act in such an extremity, assassinated in a tumult excited by a rash attempt to carry him off, and thus terminated a life which had been a continued scene of calamity for about the space of twenty-three years, without any mixture of satisfaction or comfort. How happy would it have been for this unfortunate prince, how happy for his parents, had he never been called to a throne.*

Notwithstanding the severity of the empress Elizabeth against the deposed monarch, with the duke and duchess his parents, and the chiefs of the late administration, she exercised her lenity in recalling many thousands, whom the former regency had sent to pine out their days in the dreary regions of Siberia. She brought to a successful termination the war with Sweden, which had been undertaken by the late regency. Every one knows the part that she took against Prussia in the famous seven years war, when in conjunction with Austria she reduced Frederick the Great to the last degree of distress. Many bloody battles were fought, and fertile countries desolated; but wars, which operate no important change in the condition of nations, ought to occupy only a small space in history. It will be more consistent with our plan to cast a glance at Elizabeth's internal government, and at the progress of the Russian empire under her administration. She herself, indeed, meddled but little with the affairs of government. Her regulations were planned, and her decrees mostly dictated by her ministers. Her character was mild, and unctured

* For a detailed account of the misfortunes and death of this prince, see Tooke's *Hist. Russia*, Coxe's *Travels in Russia*, &c.

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with a kind of delicate sensibility. It is said that she used to shed tears when she received intelligence of the victories gained by her generals at the expence of so much human blood. From the same kind of weak sensibility, she adopted the culpable measure of entirely abolishing capital punishments, and immediately on her accession to the throne, she made a vow never to affix her signature to any sentence of death. This resolution, to which she inviolably adhered, was greatly to the detriment of the empire, as the number of malefactors daily increased; and the clergy, although in vain, requested her to retract her vow. At the best, this was only a semblance of lenity; for the tearing out of the tongue by the roots, the tearing away of the nostrils with red-hot pincers, the dislocation of the arms, with imprisonment or slavery added to those shocking mutilations, were punishments worse than death, without being equally effectual to the prevention of crimes.

During the reign of Elizabeth, however, it must be confessed, that Russia continued to make a progressive improvement in manufactures and commerce, in arts and literature. She augmented the sum appointed by Peter the Great to the academy of sciences; and in 1758 she instituted that of painting and sculpture at Petersburg. She was a great admirer and patroness of architecture, and adorned the residence with many elegant structures. The drama was not less indebted to her munificent patronage, and she first laid the foundation of a Russian theatre in Petersburg, where none but French and Italian pieces had hitherto been performed. The splendor of the court had considerably increased during the reign of the Empress Anne; and under that of Elizabeth it was not diminished; but this,

this, with the Prussian war, considerably exhausted the treasury. In regard to the army, it was augmented, but not greatly improved. The greatest blemish of Elizabeth's reign, was the institution of a political inquisition, under the name of a secret state chancery. This court being impowered to examine all such charges as related to the expression of any kind of disapprobation of the measures of government, opened a wide field of exertion to spies and informers, and might be considered as one of the most formidable engines of despotism. This princess is universally reported to have indulged, towards the end of her reign, in the most unbounded sensuality and intemperance.*

Elizabeth died the 25th of December, 1761; and Peter III, her declared successor, peaceably ascended the throne. This prince was grandson of Peter the Great, and Catharine I, by the Princess Anne, their eldest daughter, married to Charles Frederick, duke of Holstein. Elizabeth had called him into Russia, and acknowledged him as her successor.

Peter no sooner ascended the Russian throne, than a peace was concluded between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, by which all the Russian conquests in Prussia were restored; and an alliance between Peter and Frederick immediately took place. These changes, particularly the restitutions that were made, were far from conciliating the affections of the Russians to their new sovereign: the abolition of the secret state chancery, and the recall of those victims to the passions of rulers, or to the intrigues of ministers, who had been exiled to Siberia under the former

* Tschel's Hist. Russie, vol. 2, p. 399.

administrations, were measures far better calculated to procure him some degree of popularity.*

Peter enacted several new laws, and established a number of salutary regulations, but being a German, he could not conceal his predilection for his countrymen, and his contempt of the Russians. He had conformed to the Greek church, but manifestly shewed his attachment to Protestantism; and as he expressed a desire of making some alterations in the Russian worship, it is no wonder that he converted the sacred order into a formidable host of enemies. His introduction of the Prussian exercise and uniform, gave scarcely less offence to the military, while his disbanding of the Preobragenskoï guards, and the substitution of Holstein soldiers in their place, completed their dissatisfaction. The disagreement in sentiment, character, and manners between him and his consort, also contributed, in no small degree, to his ruin. This disunion, from whatever cause it originated, had at last proceeded almost to an open rupture; and Peter ceased to shew any indulgence to his spouse, or to treat her with common decorum. He even talked openly of repudiating her, and disinheriting her son. His enemies represented all this to the empress, and no doubt with the most odious colouring, in order to prepare her mind for those vigorous measures which she afterwards adopted.

The emperor being now surrounded with enemies, and almost without a friend, was dethroned without opposition. A conspiracy was formed for that purpose by the two brothers, Counts Orloffs, Count Razumofskoy, Count Panin, and the Princess Dashkof;

* Among others, Biron, Munnich, and Lestocq, were liberated. Tooke's *Hist. Russia*, vol. 2, p. 646.

and it afterwards was supposed that the empress was privy to the design.* Peter was repeatedly warned of his danger, by the Prussian and English ambassadors, as well as by letters from Frederick the Great; but, by an unaccountable negligence, he slighted every caution, and seemed perfectly confident that no danger existed. Those also who surrounded him and pretended to be his friends, endeavoured to encourage his careless security; and by this means prevented him from adopting any precautionary measures.

On the 9th of July, 1762, the conspirators confidently and successfully carried their design into execution: Peter was at his favorite seat, the country palace of Oranienbaum, and his consort was at Peterhoff. From this place Catharine, attended by Count Gregory Orloff, commander of the Ismailofski guards, repaired early in the morning to Petersburg. Not only this regiment, which had already been gained over, but the other troops also acknowledged her as empress; and this acknowledgment of the soldiery was immediately followed by that of the greater part of the nobility of Petersburg, and of the public in general. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, Catharine took the oath of accession in the church of the Holy Virgin of Kazan, binding herself to defend the liberties and religion of the empire. The nobility, the soldiery, and the people, then did homage, and swore fealty to Catharine, as empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, and *Te Deum* was sung by the archbishop of Novogorod, to give a greater appearance of sanctity to the transaction. In one morning, in the space of a few hours, this important revolution, like several others of a similar nature at Petersburg, was effected.

* Tooke's Hist. Russia, vol. 2, p. 355.

Peter soon received, at *Orienbaum*, intelligence of what was passing in the capital; but he still remained incredulous, and instead of thanking the faithful officer who first brought the important information, put him under arrest. He was not long, however, before he received a dreadful confirmation of the truth. He then dispatched messengers to bring him an accurate account of all that had happened; but none of them returned. The unfortunate emperor at last began to open his eyes to his situation. His *Holstein* troops were zealously attached to his person, and offered to support him to the last man; and he had with him *Marshal Munich*, from whom much might have been expected. But the irresolution of Peter prevented any thing from being done. Having rejected the proposal of his faithful Germans, an escape to *Sweden* or *Prussia* was suggested, and might have been easily effected; but Peter, irresolute, and wavering amidst a multiplicity of plans and projects, determined on nothing. *Catharine*, in the meanwhile, with her partizans and guards, was marching against him, in order to put a finishing hand to the revolution. Peter then, instead of thinking either of resistance or escape, adopted the measure, which, to a dethroned sovereign is, of all others, the most dangerous. He began a negotiation, with a formal offer of abdicating the throne. But the conductors of the revolution not considering his abdication as affording them sufficient security against the uncertainty of events, required him to come immediately to *Petersburg*. With this fatal requisition the unfortunate monarch complied, and met the fate which he might have expected. He could not obtain an audience of his wife, whom he never saw any more; and was immediately seized by *Count Panin* as a prisoner.

soner. A paper was delivered him containing the orders of the empress; and Peter subscribed the act of renunciation. He was then conducted to Ropscha; and about eight days after, his death was announced. In order to stifle the various conjectures and reports, to which his sudden decease in such circumstances would naturally give rise, a manifesto was published, stating the cause of his death to have been an hemorrhoidal colic, to which he had sometimes been subject. The body was deposited, without funeral pomp, in the monastery of St. Alexander Newski. Peter III. was endowed with great activity and ardour of mind; he was not deficient in genius, though his consort far excelled him in intellectual powers. But his whole conduct shews that he wanted prudence. He was too much of the foreigner and too little of the Russian to conciliate the affections of his subjects, unless he had been sufficiently master of the art of dissimulation, to have concealed his sentiments and predilections.

Catharine, as well Peter, was a German, and had received a German education; but, by her condescending behaviour, she gained the hearts of the Russians as easily as Peter, by his negligence and contemptuous indifference, had lost them.* No sovereign of Russia since Peter the Great, was so attentive to the improvement of the empire, and so successful in carrying on that great design; but while she laboured to reform, she never affected to despise the national prejudices; and thus many innovations became easy to her, which her consort had found impracticable.

* The original name of Catharine II. was Augusta Sophia Friederica, a princess of Anhalt Zerbst. She came into Russia in 1744, at the age of about sixteen; and on being baptised into the Greek church, received the name of Ekaterina Alexiewna. She was married to Peter, September 1, 1745.

The foreign politics of Catharine related chiefly to Poland and Turkey; and the chief political and military events of her reign originated in her transactions with those countries. The throne of Poland being vacant, and the flames of civil war raging in the country, Catharine sent thither a body of troops, and by her influence Count Stanislaus Poniatowski was elected king. Poland thus became dependent on Russia. She also interposed, in order to secure to the Greek and Protestant Poles, the rights which had been given them by the treaty of Oliva. But the umbrage which the residence of the Russian armies in Poland gave to the Catholic party, exacerbated the rage of civil war, and produced confederacies and commotions that deluged the country with blood, and rendered it a scene of anarchy. The confederates at length invoked the protection of the Turks; and the conduct of the empress, in regard to Poland, gave so much offence to the Ottoman Porte, that the grand Seignor declared war against Russia. In 1769 hostilities commenced between the two empires. The khan of the Tartars, at the head of a great body of his people, supported by 10,000 Spahis, penetrated into the Russian territories, where he burned many towns and villages, and carried about 4,000 families into captivity. This disaster, however, was soon after revenged by the Russian army under Prince Galitzin. This commander having under him General Stoffien and Prince Dolgoruki, forced the Turkish intrenchment near Choczim; and shortly after defeated them again in that neighbourhood, after an obstinate engagement. The Russians then invested Choczim, but were obliged at last to retreat, after the siege of that place, and the battles fought in its vicinity, had cost them upwards

of 20,000 men. General Romanzof also defeated a Turkish detachment, and committed dreadful devastations on the borders of Bender and in the environs of Ockzakow. On the 9th of September, Prince Galitzin gained, near the banks of the Neister, a complete victory, in which the Turks had about 7,000 men killed, besides wounded and prisoners, and great numbers that were drowned in their retreat. This victory was followed by a second on the banks of the same river, after a desperate engagement, in which the slaughter of the Turks was almost incredible. Not only the field of battle, but also the river, was for several miles covered with dead bodies. The Russians took sixty-four pieces of cannon; and the Turks abandoning the strong fortress of Choczim, with its magazines and numerous artillery, retreated tumultuously towards the Danube. The Turks were exasperated at the ill conduct of their commander, the Vizier Moldwani Ali Pacha, a man of courage, but deficient in prudence and unskilful in war. A fatal spirit of licentiousness and insubordination now broke out in their armies. They had, within little more than a fortnight, lost almost 50,000 of their best troops, and nearly 50,000 more deserted in their tumultuous retreat. About this time Prince Galitzin resigned the command of the army to General Count Romanzof, and returned to Petersburg crowned with laurels. Romanzof carried on the war with successes equal to those of his predecessor; and on the 18th of July and the 2d of August, 1770, gained two important victories. In the latter, the Turks are said to have left above 7,000 killed on the field of battle. Some thousands of carriages loaded with provisions, a vast quantity of ammunition, and 143 pieces of brass cannon fell into the

hands of the Russians. General Elmo also took possession of Yassi and of the whole province of Moldavia. The inhabitants of that province and of Wallachia, who were mostly Greeks, and had privately favoured the Russians, now openly declared themselves, and acknowledged the empress for their sovereign.

Europe has seldom seen a war carried on with greater vigour and success than this of Russia against the Ottoman Empire. A considerable fleet sailed from Cronstadt by the Straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean; and proceeding to the coasts of Greece, and into the Archipelago, harrassed the Turks on every side. The Greeks every where joined the Russians. The whole Morea, and several other parts of Greece, were quickly in motion; and the revolted Greeks invested Nopoli di Romania, Corinth, and the castle of Patras. But an army of 30,000 men, chiefly Albanians and Epirotes, commanded by the pacha of Bosnia, entering the Morea, recovered the northern part of the peninsula; and all the Greeks that were found in arms, or absent from their villages, were instantly put to the sword. The Russians were now obliged to fly for safety to their ships. Their fleet, which had been separated, several of their vessels having put into the ports of Italy, was now collected, and reinforced by a small squadron under old Elphinstone, an English commander. The Turkish fleet now appeared, consisting of sixteen ships of the line of from sixty to ninety guns, besides a number of xebecs and gallies; while Count Orloff had only ten sail of the line and five frigates. An obstinate engagement took place in the channel which separates the island of Scio from Asia Minor. Spiritof, a Russian admiral,

admiral, engaging the capitan-pacha, in the *Sultana* of ninety guns, the two ships ran so close, that they fastened themselves together with grappling-irons. In this situation the Russians, throwing their hand-grenades from the tops, set the *Sultana* on fire; and as the two ships could not be disentangled, both were immediately in flames. Thus dreadfully circumstanced, without a possibility of receiving any succour, their fate was inevitable. The commanders and most of the principal officers, on both sides, were saved; but the crews, for the most part, perished with the ships, which blew up both together with a tremendous explosion. The engagement continued without any material advantage on either side, until night, when the Turkish ships cut their cables and ran into the Bay of *Tschesmé*, on the coast of Asia Minor. Here they were immediately blockaded by the Russians; and in the night, Lieutenant *Dugdale*, an Englishman in the Russian service, with great difficulty and danger, ran some fire-ships into the harbour. In this hazardous attempt *Dugdale* displayed an uncommon intrepidity, directing the operation of the fire-ships himself when abandoned by his crew; and so effectually succeeded, that in five hours the whole Turkish fleet, except one ship of the line and a few galleys, which were towed off by the Russians, was totally destroyed. The Russians then entering the bay, commenced a heavy cannonade and bombardment against the town and the castle, which were both totally destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine. At nine o'clock in the morning scarcely a vestige remained of the fleet, the castle, or the town: the whole was buried in one tremendous scene of destruction.

After this decisive action, the war was carried on
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with almost uninterrupted success, on the side of the Russians. The Turks were reduced to the greatest extremity: when one of those singular events, by which Providence using the meanest instruments, often throws unexpected obstacles in the way of human designs, contributed to prevent the downfall of their tottering empire. A Cossack appeared in Kazan, assuming the name and character of the late emperor Peter the Third, and pretending to have escaped from assassination by an extraordinary dispensation of the Divine Providence. He declared that the report of his death was only a fiction invented by the court, and gave special reasons for his long concealment. This impostor, whose name was Pugatsheff, is said to have borne a striking resemblance to the late emperor, a circumstance which had undoubtedly prompted him to engage in this romantic and desperate enterprize. His courage and address procured him a great number of followers; and having by the seizure of several fortresses and magazines provided himself with arms, ammunition, and artillery, he stood several engagements against large bodies of the empress's troops, commanded by able generals. This rebel was for some time so successful, and became at last so formidable, that he at one time marched directly to Moscow, which was then ripe for insurrection; the consequences might have been extremely dangerous to the existing government. These circumstances turned the attention of Russia towards a pacification with the Porte. In July 1774, a treaty was concluded, by which the Russians obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and an unlimited trade with all the ports of the Ottoman empire. The termination of the Turkish war left Catharine at liberty to direct all her

efforts against the impostor, who was threatening to hurl her from the throne of the Czars. After the conclusion of the peace with Turkey, his career was soon terminated. Being defeated and taken prisoner, he was brought in a cage to Moscow, and executed on the 21st of January, 1775. Catharine here signalized her humanity, in not permitting any tortures to be inflicted on this audacious rebel, who had endangered her throne, and suffered him to expiate his crimes by decapitation.*

In 1779, a new war was near breaking out between Russia and Turkey, although the peace concluded five years before was then indispensably necessary to the immediate preservation of the Ottoman empire. The independence of the Crimea, affording to the Russians an opening into the Turkish dominions, and so many opportunities of interference, was a source of perpetual discord. The divan, from a sense of the disability of the empire to support a second contest, acceded to the claims of Russia, in regard to the establishment of consuls in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. Disputes, however, constantly arising, and Russia continually extending her pretensions, both sides began in 1785 to prepare for war. But in the midst of their hostile preparations, a treaty was concluded the following year, in which the full sovereignty of the Crimea, with the isle of Taman, and part of Cuban, was ceded to Russia.

The journey of the empress to Cherson, in 1787, displayed to the eyes of the world an extraordinary spectacle, and gave a great, but, according to an eminent writer, a groundless alarm to the principal

* L'Evesque erroneously asserts that this rebel died on the 21st. L'Evesque, vol. v. p. 143.

powers of Europe.* The splendor of the czarina's progress surpassed all that the most luxuriant imagination is able to conceive. She was escorted by an army, and preceded by pioneers, who levelled the roads, which were illuminated for the space of five hundred leagues. At the end of each day's journey, she found a temporary palace erected for her reception, and furnished with all the accommodations and luxuries that Petersburg or Moscow could afford. A new creation every where rose up before her; and the fictions of oriental romance seemed to be realized. Curiosity attracted numerous crowds of spectators, and gave the countries, through which she passed, an air of great population. All the towns, by balls and illuminations, exhibited marks of happiness and joy: and her progress was a continuation of pleasures and festivity. In the train of her followers, were the English, French, and Austrian ambassadors. At Kiof, the splendor of her court was heightened by the concourse of foreigners, who arrived there from all parts of Europe to witness her magnificence, and to adorn her triumph. From that place she descended the Borysthenes, with a fleet, as superb as that in which Cleopatra paraded down the Cydnus. On her way she was met by the king of Poland, who had caused the right bank of the river to be illuminated; and afterwards by the emperor Joseph, who, arriving some days before at Cherson, proceeded up the river to honor her arrival.† This journey of the czarina, and her interview with the emperor, gave considerable alarm not only to the Ottoman Porte, but also to England, Prussia, France, and Spain. The Turks,

* Segur's Hist. of Fred Will. III, vol. i p. 50.

† Ibid.

instigated by the suggestions of Prussia, resolved to put Oczakow in a state of defence, and to assemble an army of 150,000 men on the banks of the Danube. So great were the apprehensions of the Divan, that every preparation was made as for an unavoidable rupture, and the dread of a war proved the cause of that calamity.

Whatever was the case in those intricate affairs, it is well known that the return of the empress from Cherson was immediately followed by a declaration of war on the part of the Ottoman Porte. The emperor Joseph declared himself for Russia, and hostilities immediately commenced. The combined Austrian and Russian forces, under the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, laid siege to Choczim, which surrendered after a long and obstinate resistance. But the principal operations of the Russians were directed against Oczakow, which, after a protracted siege and desperate defence, was taken by assault on the 17th of December, 1788. During the progress of these hostilities with the Turks, Catharine found herself suddenly involved in an unexpected war with Sweden. Gustavus III. thinking this a favorable opportunity of checking the exorbitant power of Russia, and lessening her influence over his kingdom, marched into Finland, and commenced hostilities immediately on his arrival. But the principal action of this war, was the naval engagement off Hoogland, in the Gulph of Finland, in which the victory was claimed by both sides, a proof that neither could boast of any decisive advantages. The Russian fleet was commanded by Admiral Greig, and that of Sweden, by the king's brother, the duke of Sudermania. The forces were nearly equal. The engagement was during five hours obstinate and bloody. Both the
Russians

Russians and Swedes displayed considerable skill and consummate bravery; and the two commanders distinguished themselves by their conduct and courage. After some other actions of no great importance, and attended with various success, a pacification took place on the 14th of August, between those two northern powers.

The peace with Sweden again left Russia at liberty to carry on with vigour the war against the Porte, in which her operations were an almost uninterrupted series of successes. Before the close of the year 1790, Catharine had the satisfaction to see her conquests extended beyond the Danube, while Constantinople trembled at the advances of the enemy. The capture of Ismail by storm, was the last important event of this war, and will for ever tarnish its annals. After eight successive assaults, in which the Russians were repulsed with great slaughter, it was carried at the ninth, on the 22d of December, 1790. The siege and assault were computed to have cost the Russians not less than 10,000 men. Marshal Suwarrof, who commanded at this siege, led on his troops in person at the last assault, and climbing up the wall, planted the Russian standard on the rampart, displaying a dauntless courage that would have gained him immortal renown, had not his subsequent cruelty consigned his name to the abhorrence of civilized warriors. The garrison, whose bravery a generous enemy would have treated with respect, was put to the sword by the merciless troops of the savage conqueror, and an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants added to the horrors of the scene. No age, sex, or condition, was spared, and Suwarrof's soldiers behaving like a horde
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of cannibals rather than the troops of a civilized nation, tarnished for ever the glory of their victories,

The uninterrupted successes of Russia, and the extension of her conquests, which now began to threaten the total subversion of the Ottoman empire, roused at last the attention of Europe. England and Prussia began to arm in order to prevent a revolution, of which it was difficult to calculate the consequences. Spain and Denmark also interfered, although in a less decided manner. At last, however, a peace was concluded the 11th of August, 1791, and the empress obtained all her demands. Oczakow, and all the country between the Bog and the Niester, were ceded to Russia, and the latter river was made the boundary between the Russian and Ottoman empires.

Catharine II. during the long period of her reign, had never for a moment withdrawn her attention from Poland. Her first interference in the affairs of that kingdom, and the elevation of Poniatowski to its throne, have already been mentioned. The course of events obliging us, for the sake of a more luminous arrangement, to follow the connected series of the transactions between Russia and Turkey, it will here be necessary to return to that æra. It may likewise not be amiss to cast a retrospective glance on the ancient state of that kingdom, which, although divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia,* and thus expunged from the list of nations, was once respectable and powerful, and at different times swayed the destinies of the three partitioning powers, to whom its intestine divisions have caused it to become a prey.

‡ By the peace of Tilsit, Prussia is divested of her Polish territories, which are ceded to the kingdom of Saxony.

Russia, no longer since than the beginning of the sixteenth century, saw her capital and her throne in the possession of the Poles, and her soldiers unable to face their armed battalions. Austria, so late as 1684, was indebted to Poland, and its king, the famous John Sobieski, for her preservation, when Vienna was besieged by the most powerful army ever sent by the Ottoman Porte against Christendom, and Prussia was, during several ages, no more than a vassal to Poland. Such is the fluctuating state of kingdoms and empires.

The Polish nation is originally Slavonian; and it is generally supposed that colonies of these people settled in Poland at the same time as in Russia. It would now be an useless labour to attempt a development of its ancient history, which is equally obscure and uninteresting, presenting, as far as it is known, only the same aspect as the other European countries, during the darkness of the middle ages, and amidst the confusion of the feudal system. It was, in ancient as well as in later times, divided into a number of petty principalities, owing only a nominal allegiance to the paramount prince, like Russia after the death of Vladimir, and France at the accession of the Capetine dynasty. Cracus, one of its dukes, is said to have founded the city of Cracow. In the year 830, a peasant, named Piastas, was elected to the ducal dignity, and after a long and prosperous reign, died at the age of 120 years. The sovereign had only the title of duke till 999, when Boleslaus I. assumed that of king. He conquered Prussia, Moravia, and Bohemia; and Bolislaus II. in the eleventh century,

. * *Annal. de l'Empire, tom. ii.* Vide *Hist. Russ. and France* in this work.

extended his dominions from the Oder to the Borys-thenes. The monarchy, exceedingly limited, and always considered as elective, was preserved in the family of the Piastes, and afterwards] of the Jagellons, until they became successively extinct. During this period, Poland having its whole political strength concentrated under a regular, though limited government, held a place in the first rank of European powers. The country was populous, the towns rich, and the nation formidable. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, Poland was eminent in letters, in science, and in arms: Kremen, in history; Sorbieurski, Kochanowski and Zimorowicz, in poetry; Gorniki, in politics; and several other writers of eminence, in different departments of literature, have acquired a merited celebrity. Copernicus has conferred honour on his country. Sobieski, and in our days Kosciusko, heroes worthy of Greece and Rome, in their most brilliant periods, have rendered their names, and that of their nation, immortal.

After the death of Sigismund Augustus, the last male of the house of Jagellon, A. D. 1572, it became necessary to elect a king from another family. The nobles seized this opportunity of assuming new powers and prerogatives, which in time converted Poland into a complete aristocracy, and reduced the king to a mere president of the senate, composed of a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries, the palatines, or governors of provinces, and the castellans, their lieutenants. The government by degrees degenerated to anarchy; the nobles extorted additional privileges at every election: Every king sought to conciliate their favour, in order to transmit the crown to his son. A system of aristocratical tyranny pervaded the kingdom,

dom, the towns were oppressed, and the great mass of the people reduced to the most abject slavery. The *liberum veto*, an absurd institution, which by giving to a single voice the power of annulling every act, paralyzed all the assemblies, was at last introduced and completed the anarchy. The foreign affairs, as well as the internal state of the nation, during a long space of time, exhibit a scene of confusion and turbulence. Wars against Turkey and Russia, sometimes successful, but often disastrous, constitute its history. In the reign of Michael Wiesznowski, Poland was rendered tributary to the Sultan. But John Sobieski, the crown general, retrieved the glory of the Polish arms, and gave the Turks several signal defeats. He was elected king in 1673, and about three years afterwards was so successful as to free his country from the Turkish tribute. In 1683 he came to the relief of Vienna, then invested by a Turkish army of almost 300,000 men, commanded by the Grand Vizir, whom he compelled to raise the siege, and to evacuate Austria and Hungary. The army of the Polish monarch was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, and he gained immortal glory in this expedition. Sobieski died in 1696, after a victorious reign; but after his death the former anarchy returned, and the election of a new sovereign was often attended with violent commotions.

From this æra, to the period at which the influence of Russia had placed the late King Stanislaus Ponia-towski on the throne, the history of Poland affords little that can be interesting to the reader, although the elections of its sovereigns frequently filled the kingdom with dissensions, and all Europe with intrigues. At the epoch now under consideration, the

intervention of the Russians gave great disgust to all parties. The Catholic clergy were extremely active in opposing the demands of the dissidents,* whose petition had been favorably received at the diet. The whole nation was divided into hostile confederacies, and this unfortunate country became the ensanguined theatre of civil, religious, and foreign war. This complicated scene of confusion and devastation, continued during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771. The whole country was nearly laid waste, and many of the principal families retired into foreign states with their effects. In addition to these calamities, the plague spreading from the frontiers of Turkey, into the southern provinces of Poland, swept off, according to the common accounts, 200,000 people. In 1771, on the 3d of September, the desperate enterprize of carrying off the king of Poland was attempted, and partly executed. Being attacked and wounded, he was conveyed into a wood, where he was left under the care of Korinski, one of the assassins, who being prevailed on by the king to favor his escape, received a pension and retired into Italy. The same year the king of Prussia's troops entered Poland, and carried off about 12,000 families, in order to increase the population of his own dominions. They also levied immense contributions, and treated the Poles in every respect as a conquered people. The next year Russia, Prussia, and Austria, announced their intention of dismembering the kingdom. These three allied powers acting in concert, formally exhibited their claims, and declared the legality of their rights to those districts which they had allotted to each other. They

* The dissidents were a numerous body, chiefly composed of Protestants and Greeks.

forced

forced the Poles to call a diet, menacing the whole kingdom with military execution, in case of a refusal to sign a treaty for the cession of the territories to which they laid claim. The Polish nobility remonstrated, but were forced to yield. By this partition, almost all the south-east parts of Poland, bordering on Hungary, were allotted to Austria; a large tract of country, on the banks of the Dnieper, was ceded to Russia; and his Prussian majesty obtained Polish Prussia, and some districts the nearest to Brandenburg. Several courts remonstrated against these transactions, but proceeded no farther; and the European nations at last stood tranquil spectators of the dismemberment of an ancient and once powerful kingdom.

At the partition a new constitution was framed for the rest of the kingdom; under the guarantee and dictation of Russia. But the object of this power being only to increase the weakness and dependence of Poland, the alterations extended merely to forms, without any radical change. All the grand defects of the old constitution were retained; the crown remained elective, and the anarchy of the diets, and the tyranny of the nobles, still subsisted. The long series of misfortunes under which the country had laboured, at last convinced every enlightened person in the kingdom of the defects of this anarchical government, and of the necessity of reforming abuses which, notwithstanding the great natural resources of Poland, and the valour of the people, rendered the nation a slave to its neighbours. The year 1788, seemed to present to the Poles a favorable opportunity of freeing themselves from foreign influence, the two imperial courts being engaged in a war with the Porte.

The

The Polish diet assembled at Grodno, and the constitution of the 3d of May, 1791, was the result of its deliberations. The throne was made hereditary in the family of the elector of Saxony, on the decease of the reigning monarch. The nobles made laudable sacrifices in subjecting themselves to taxation, from which they had always been exempted, and in opening to the middle classes an avenue to all employments; and all ranks contributed towards supporting an army, and providing artillery. The empress of Russia resolving to overturn this constitution, was not long in finding a plausible pretext. Some nobles, dissatisfied at seeing themselves deprived of the chance of succession, by reason of the crown being rendered hereditary, and perceiving their authority in every respect diminished, assembled at Targovitz, where they formed a league against the new constitution, and implored her assistance.

The king of Prussia, willing to add to the embarrassments of Austria and Russia, had at first encouraged the Poles in their proceedings, and seemed to favor their new constitution. But the alarms of the French revolution, and the dread of a war with Russia while his arms were employed against France, had induced him to change his system. Catharine having concluded a peace with the Ottoman Porte, and no longer fearing any opposition from Prussia, entered in May, 1792, on the execution of her plans, by marching an army into Poland. King Stanislaus, instead of seconding the heroic ardour of his subjects, lost time in fruitless negotiations. Hoping to bring matters to an amicable conclusion, he arrested the impetuosity of the nation, and by retarding the march of the troops, paralyzed the efforts of the brave Kosciusko,

usko, who was forced to retreat before the enemy. The Russians, with the Polish mal-contents, advanced towards Warsaw, and Stanislaus Augustus, allured by promises and terrified by menaces, patriotic in his principles, but wavering and irresolute in his measures, received as allies the enemies of his country and his crown. The empress, resolving to annex to Russia another portion of the Polish territory, prevented the opposition of Prussia by the proposal of a second partition.* On the 25th of March, 1793, the Prussian monarch published a manifesto, to justify the entrance of his troops into Poland, and soon after took possession of Thorn, Dantzick, and the province called Great Poland. On the remonstrance of the confederates of Targovitz, the Russian ambassador declared his ignorance of the designs of Prussia; and the empress, unwilling as yet to develop the plan, advised the Poles to adopt defensive measures. The confederates, who had betrayed their country by calling in the Russians, but who had not foreseen the fatal project of dismemberment, lavished panegyrics on Catharine, and dispersed circular letters inviting the Polish nation to rise in arms, and expel the Prussian invaders.

Catharine and Frederick now thought it no longer of use to temporize, and announced their intention of making a second partition. They published a declaration, in which they complained of the anarchy which prevailed in the kingdom, and asserted the impossibility of extinguishing so dangerous a volcano, by any other means than by confining† Poland within

* Segur's Fred. William, vol. 3, p. 135.

† Declaration of the Russian and Prussian ministers to the confederation of Poland, bearing date 9th April, 1793.

narrower limits, and by taking possession of the provinces contiguous to their own dominions. A diet was convoked at Grodno, in order to sign the cession of the provinces required; and the castle, where the members assembled, was surrounded by two battalions of grenadiers, with some pieces of cannon, for securing the tranquillity of their debates. The king at the same time published a declaration, expressing, that "compelled by circumstances, having in vain solicited the support of foreign powers, and not enjoying the free exercise of his will, he submitted to the dismemberment of his country." The people, exasperated at the repeated acts of violence committed by the Russian troops, were now ready for a general insurrection, and the patriotic leaders sending a committee to Warsaw, formed a confederacy, which soon spread its ramifications throughout Poland. A chief for this grand enterprize was all that was wanted. The king had lost the public confidence. The troops unanimously chose the brave Kosciusko for their commander, and refused to march unless he were placed at their head. This general was of a noble family, and united in his character all the qualities that dignify human nature. Intrepid, indefatigable, and incorruptible, cool in the midst of danger, humane, just, and generous, resolute in his projects, and rapid in his operations; he was the idol of the soldiery and the nation, of which he directed the energy to his sole object, the emancipation of Poland. After some time spent in organizing an army, in May, 1794, General Madalinski erected the standard of revolt, and penetrated into the palatinate of Cracovia; and Kosciusko arriving at the same time, all the citizens of Craeow assembled and signed the act of insurrection.

tion. Kosciusko was elected their chief, declared generalissima of the national forces, and vested with dictatorial powers; implicit confidence in his virtue prevented the imposition of any restraint on his authority, and this confidence he never abused. By this act the Poles declared war against the usurpers of their rights and the invaders of their country, sacrificed ancient prejudices, abolished the feudal slavery,* and bestowed on all the inhabitants an equal enjoyment of civil liberty. Had such measures been adopted at an earlier period, Poland might, at this day, have ranked among the most potent and flourishing kingdoms of Europe; but it was now too late to hope for success. The kingdom had already lost a considerable portion of its resources by its dismemberment, and suffered a great depopulation from the civil and foreign wars, with which it had been so long convulsed. Poland could not, at this time, collect above the half of its former strength.

Soon after the proclamation of the insurrectional act, Kosciusko having learned that a body of 12,000 Russians were advancing against Cracow, he marched

* Some enlightened Polish nobles had already adopted the judicious measure of emancipating their peasants. Zemoiski, formerly great chancellor, was the first who made the experiment. In 1760, he enfranchised the peasants of six villages, and afterwards those on all his estates. The event had shown the plan to have been no less judicious than humane, equally conducive to the interest of the nobles, and to the happiness of the peasants; for in those districts where this new arrangement has been introduced, not only the population of the villages was much increased, but the value of the estates had been augmented in a three-fold proportion. Prince Stanislaus, nephew to the late king, had imitated the example of Zemoiski, and derived from it the same advantage; and, indeed, many other noblemen, in countries where the feudal system yet subsists, begin to discover that their true interest consists in the emancipation of their vassals.

from that city with only 4,000 men, of whom the greater part were armed only with scythes and pikes, and without artillery. With these he attacked and defeated the Russians, who on this occasion lost 3,000 men and 12 pieces of cannon. Such was the enthusiasm of the Poles, that a corps of peasants, armed with scythes, took possession of a battery of cannon, and their desperate ardour proved an over match for the numbers and tactics of their enemies.*

The insurrection now became general, and Baron d'Inglestrom, the Russian commander at Warsaw, dreading the fermentation which manifested itself in that city, demanded possession of the arsenal. This occasioned a general revolt. This Russian military ambassador had long governed Warsaw in the name of the king and the permanent council; but Stanislaus, by his irresolution and submission to foreign influence, had totally lost the public confidence, and no regard was any longer paid to his nominal authority. The Russians had about 15,000 men quartered in the city and its environs; but despair now took place of terror, and the inhabitants having procured arms from the arsenal, attacked the enemy in every quarter. The contest in the streets of Warsaw continued near forty-eight hours. The Poles were at last victorious, and the Russians having lost 6000 killed, and 3000 prisoners, with 150 pieces of cannon, were completely driven out of the capital. The next measure of the citizens was to repair the fortifications, and history affords no example of any undertaking pursued with greater ardour. Men and women, old and young, nobles and plebeians, put their hands to the work. Kosciusko arriving at Warsaw immedi-

* Segur's *Fred. William*, vol. 3, p. 150.

ately after this grand movement, convened the councils, and having adopted the most judicious and resolute measures for the preservation of civil order, amidst these great military commotions, marched to intercept the progress of the king of Prussia, who, on receiving intelligence of the insurrection, was advancing towards Warsaw at the head of 40,000 men. To this formidable force, Kosciusko could only oppose a body of 12,000, and these not completely armed. A battle was fought, in which superiority of numbers decided the victory in favor of the Prussians, and the Polish general retreated to the entrenched camp which covered Warsaw. The Prussian monarch, availing himself of this advantage, marched to Cracow, and took possession of that place. The people of Warsaw, in the mean while, transported with fury at the news of these disasters, and excited by agitators, spread horror and confusion throughout the city. On the 28th of June, gibbets were erected in the streets, the prisons forced open, and the prisoners accused of connivance with the enemies of the state, immediately executed.

The empress of Russia now ordered an army of 40,000 men from the Ukraine, and another of 16,000 from Livonia, to advance into Poland. Austria could not behold with indifference the aggrandizement of her already formidable neighbours, Russia and Prussia; and Kosciusko had not only sedulously avoided all cause of dispute with the emperor, but had sometimes flattered himself that the court of Vienna would not suffer Poland to fall a prey to the two invading powers. Circumstances, however, soon proved, that a second division of the kingdom was determined, in which Austria fully coincided and expected to partake. About the end of June, the Austrian troops began to

enter Poland, and a manifesto was published by the emperor on the occasion. Every invasion, indeed, of this unfortunate country, was preceded, accompanied, or followed, by manifestos and declarations, indicating the rectitude of design, and benevolent motives by which the invaders were actuated.

The king of Prussia having now joined the Russians, their combined army laid siege to Warsaw. Kosciuszko had previously thrown himself into the city, and every preparation was made for a vigorous defence. On the 31st of June, the Prussians began the attack by a heavy cannonade and bombardment. From the city a dreadful fire was kept up night and day on the besiegers. The king and the prince royal of Prussia, displayed great bravery, and were often in imminent danger. His Prussian majesty at last attempted to make himself master of the city by negotiation, and addressing himself both to King Stanislaus, to the citizens, and to the soldiery, after having employed all the means of force for its reduction, used all the arts of policy, in order to acquire possession. To the inhabitants he promised protection, on condition of surrender, and menaced them with total destruction in case of resistance. To the Polish officers he promised, that they should retain in his army, the same rank which they held in that of the insurgents. The citizens replied, that they would share the fate of the army, and the military men declared that they would conquer or die with their general. As to the king, although he was treated with respect, permitted to retain his guards, and to enjoy the honours appropriated to his rank, he possessed no authority. After the expulsion of the Russians from Warsaw, he was desirous of joining the insurgents; but they had too often

often experienced the weakness and indecision of his character, to entrust him with the management of such important affairs. The king of Prussia, now baffled at every point, received intelligence of a dreadful insurrection in his newly acquired possessions; and apprehending that his retreat might be intercepted, he raised the siege of Warsaw on the 5th of September with precipitation, leaving behind him his sick and wounded, with an immense quantity of warlike stores. In this fruitless siege, of nearly two months, the combined Russian and Prussian army was greatly weakened by disease and desertion, as well as by repeated assaults.*

Notwithstanding the general ardour which animated the Poles, the necessity of leaving many hands for the carrying on of agriculture, circumscribed the extent of their military levies; and the small number of their forces shews how much the national resources had been diminished by their long continued civil wars, and the dismemberments of the kingdom. The different armies of the insurgents did not amount collectively to much more than 46,000 men, beside a number of peasants badly armed, while those of the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, constantly accumulating, were at last augmented to 107,000. What might have been the result of this contest between forces so disproportionate in numbers, and whether the enthusiasm of the Poles would not have triumphed over a coalition, which opposition of interests might have soon dissolved, or the jealousies and dissensions of commanders have rendered ineffectual, is beyond the reach of tactical calculation. But treachery, or gross mistake, prevented this point from being brought

* Segur's *Fred. William*, vol. 3, p. 155.

to a fair decision, and baffled all the efforts of Polish valour.

Several bloody engagements took place with various success. In one of these Poland suffered an irreparable misfortune, in the loss of the gallant Kosciusko.* That general made a rapid march to prevent the junction of Fersen's army with that of Suwarrof; and Poninski having been sent to dispute the passage of the river, after having delivered up his post to the Russians, neglected to obey the orders which he had received, to rejoin the army with his detachment. The generalissimo thus deserted by one division of his army, was attacked by General Fersen. The Poles, although not equal in number to one-third of the Russian army, maintained, during almost a whole day, an obstinate and bloody contest, in which Kosciusko, displaying all the talents of a general, and all the courage of a soldier, flying from rank to rank, and exposing his person to every danger, signalized himself by prodigies of valour. The hero of Poland at last fell, covered with wounds; and his troops being dispersed, he was left in the power of the Russians. In this situation, preferring death to captivity, he implored his enemies to put a period to his existence. But even the barbarous Cossacks, into whose hands he fell, testified their admiration of his courage, and their pity for his misfortune; and the Russian commanders treated him with all the respect due to so illustrious a character. The best medical assistance was afforded him, and every attention was paid to his recovery. As soon as he was able to travel, he was sent to Petersburg, where the empress would probably have aspired to the glory of granting him his liberty; but while

* Segar's *Fred. William*, vol. 3, p. 156.

Poland was not yet completely subdued, political reasons prevented her from exercising such an act of generosity towards an enemy so distinguished by his talents, his courage, and his patriotism, and so much idolised by the Polish nation. Policy, therefore, compelled the empress to keep Kosciusko a close prisoner.*

The Poles learned, with the deepest regret, the loss of their commander, and manifested the most enthusiastic admiration of his abilities and virtues. Misfortune, however, did not abate their courage. The national council appointed Wawrzecky generalissimo, and adopted the most vigorous measures for continuing the war. But although their courage continued the same, the genius of Kosciusko no longer directed their operations; and his downfall seems to have determined the fate of his country. A corps of the Polish army was defeated at Chelm, and Suwarrof, the conqueror of Ismail, having gained, after an obstinate contest, a complete victory over another division at Bresesk, advanced towards Warsaw. The shattered remains of the Polish forces retreated into the suburbs of that capital, in order to make their last stand within their fortifications. After the junction of the different Russian corps, under the Generals Dernisof, Dernefeldt, Fersen, and Suwarrof, the city was summoned to surrender. On its refusal, the Russians resolved on

* Kosciusko had, from his youth, distinguished himself by his assiduity in acquiring military knowledge. Becoming enamoured of a young lady, whose friends opposed their passion, his mortification at seeing her married to Prince Lubomyrski, carried him far from his country; and he endeavoured to console himself for the disappointments of love by the acquisition of military glory. He served in America under the command of Gates and Washington, who bestowed just praise on his courage and talents. Segur's *Fred. William*, vol. 3, p. 147.

assaulting the suburb of Praga, separated from Warsaw by the Vistula, and defended by more than 100 pieces of artillery. But the Polish forces, the miserable remnant of the insurrectional army, not amounting to above 10,000 effective men, were unable to withstand a regular and vigorous attack from 50,000 of the veteran troops of Russia. After a murderous assault of more than eight hours, Suwarof at last became master of the suburb. About 9,000 Poles fell in this action, which was contested with an obstinacy equal to any example recorded in history. But the carnage that followed was still more shocking. The sanguinary Suwarof renewed at Praga all the horrors of the capture of Ismail, and 30,000 of the inhabitants are said to have fallen victims to the ferocity of his soldiers. This suburb being reduced, and its gallant defenders slain, the citizens of Warsaw attempted in vain to capitulate: their proposal was rejected, and the city was obliged to yield itself up to the mercy of the empress. The remainder of the Polish troops, who had survived the assault of the suburb, refusing to submit, attempted to effect a retreat from the place; but being attacked on every side by the enemy, some were killed, others dispersed, and some were compelled to surrender. General Madalinski, with a determined band, fled into Galicia. On the 9th of November, 1794, the Russian general made his triumphal entry into Warsaw. To complete the scene, he appointed the 1st of December as a day of solemn thanksgiving; and *Te Deum* was sung for a triumph, of which the glory was tarnished by the most horrible and unnecessary slaughter. King Stanislaus soon after received an order to repair to Grodno, from whence he was removed to Petersburg, where he had a pension and a palace assigned

assigned him, and died A.D. 1798. He was a prince of elegant accomplishments, of a mild and benevolent disposition, a sincere but moderate patriot: he was anxious for the happiness of his country, and desirous of sparing the blood of his subjects. While a private nobleman, he had resided some time in London, and was a fellow of the Royal Society. He lost the affections of the Poles by his deference for Russia, and his tame acquiescence with her requisitions; but his object was to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the tranquillity of his kingdom.

The courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, had now nothing further to do, than to divide the conquered kingdom. Warsaw fell under the dominion of Prussia. The Vistula was made the boundary between Prussia and Austria. The Bog marked the limits of the Austrian and Russian dominions. The Niemen determined those of Russia and Prussia. One half of the city of Grodno was allotted to the king of Prussia, and the other to the empress. Bresesk was made the central point of the frontiers of the three co-partitioning states. Thus the once powerful kingdom of Poland, not inferior to France in extent and fertility, and naturally capable of maintaining, under a judicious political system, as great a number of people, was at last struck out of the catalogue of nations, and entirely divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. By this extraordinary transaction a grand breach was made in the European system.

The subjugation of Poland was the last important effect of the foreign politics of Catharine II. The French revolution appeared to excite her attention as well as that of the other European powers; and she was considered as a member of the grand coalition.

But

But she never seemed willing to take any active part in the war against France. She amused the world with manifestos, but beheld with unconcern the greatest powers of Europe exhausting their strength and their treasure, while perfectly secure from their interference, she was making substantial acquisitions in Poland. This empress also annexed to Russia the fertile and populous country of Courland; but its duke, who was not in a condition to refuse his acquiescence, received considerable presents in compensation for his loss. Incessantly anxious to extend her dominions, she turned her arms against Persia, under the pretext of supporting Ali Khan, one of the descendants of the Sophis. Her general, Zoubof, at the head of a formidable army, penetrated into the province of Daghestan, and took the city of Derbent. He afterwards attacked Aga Mahommed, who was advancing to the relief of that place, when he heard of its capture. But victory, on this occasion, declared for the Persians; and Zoubof was obliged to retreat into Derbent; in consequence of which a strong body of Russians was ordered to reinforce his army. While Catharine was thus forming plans of aggrandizement, and making preparations for carrying them into execution, the hand of death arrested her progress. She expired of an apoplexy on the 9th of November, 1796, in the sixty-eighth year of her age and the thirty-fifth of her reign, which was one of the most distinguished in modern history.*

* In the morning she had appeared very cheerful, and had taken her coffee as usual, but afterwards retiring to her closet, and continuing there longer than ordinary, her attendants began to be alarmed, and opened the door. She was found on the floor in a state of insensibility. Her first physician was called; but medical assistance was in vain: she expired about ten in the evening.

The name of Catharine II. will ever stand conspicuous in the chronicles of Europe. Historians will fill many of their pages with the transactions of her court and the operations of her armies; but to the eye of the philosophical observer, her conquests will appear less resplendent than her peaceful labours for the improvement of her people. Peter the Great had laid the foundation of Russian improvement and grandeur: successive monarchs had employed themselves in raising the superstructure; but Catharine II. contributed more towards the accomplishment of his designs than all her predecessors since his time. Amidst the intrigues and the splendor of her court, the solitudes of war and the acclamations of conquest, she did not overlook the more placid occupations of peace. She was the munificent patroness of literature and the arts; and from the commencement to the termination of her reign, she laboured with as great assiduity and success to extend the commerce of her empire, as to increase its power and political consequence. As a legislator, when the circumstances of her country are considered, she stands almost unrivalled. Her new code of laws, framed under her inspection, and in a great measure by her instructions, discovers a just judgment of an enlightened understanding, and will greatly contribute to mitigate the rigour of despotism.* Her abolition of the torture does honour to her feelings, and confers a blessing on humanity. The many and important regulations which she effected, in the interior police, and the various reforms which she introduced into the courts of justice, shewed her not

* The manuscript copy, written mostly in French with her own hand, is kept in the library of the academy of sciences at Petersburg. Storch's *Pictures of Petersburg*, p. 316.

less attentive to the happiness than to the greatness of her empire. Our limits do not permit us to trace the history of Russian civilization through the reign of Catharine II, nor even to give the most concise description of her numerous and beneficial institutions for its promotion.* Several of the magnificent structures with which she adorned Petersburg and its environs, have been already concisely described; and whoever views the academies for the promotion of arts, sciences, and letters, and the hospitals for the comfort of suffering humanity, which owe to her their origin or their enlargement, will not refuse her the just tribute of merited applause. Guided by her steady and fostering hand, the mass of useful knowledge was not confined to Petersburg alone, but distributed in thousands of channels into every part of the country. The number of pupils educated at the expence of government, in the public academies and schools of Petersburg, have already been mentioned; but here it is necessary to observe, that no fewer than 3,800 of these, including both sexes, were the children of the common people, instructed in the normal schools, a noble and useful foundation of the immortal Catharine, who, in the vast and beneficent plan, which she formed for the regeneration of her empire, applied a maternal and appropriate care to the great business of popular education, which too many princes and states have overlooked as an object of trifling importance.† These popular schools were not confined to the residence alone, but were established in all the provinces of the empire.

* These may be seen at large in Tooke's *View of the Russian Empire under Catharine II.*; and also in Storch's *Picture of Petersburg*, chap. 7 and 8; as also in many other authors.

† Storch's *Picture of Petersburg*, p. 239.

In reflecting on the expensive wars in which Catharine, during a considerable part of her reign, was engaged, the magnificent edifices which she erected, the extraordinary splendor of her court,* the munificence with which she rewarded her generals, and the multiplicity of her institutions, the political calculator is astonished, and naturally excited to enquire how she became possessed of the means of accomplishing projects so vast and so various. But it is here to be observed, that the low price of provisions and labour, at Petersburg and Moscow, renders great undertakings practicable at an expence far below any computations which an inhabitant of London, or of several other capitals, can accustom himself to make. This circumstance, with the unlimited will of a Russian sovereign, give possibility to the boldest and most extraordinary projects.

The means by which she ascended the throne, and her extinction of Polish independency, are not commemorated to her honour. The first can admit of no apology, except the extreme difficulty of the situation in which she was placed; but in regard to the latter, it is evident that the Poles themselves were the original cause of their own destruction: the subsequent conduct of Catharine and her allies, was only that which is common among politicians. After all, it is difficult to determine, whether the partition of Poland was a real injury to liberty, and a real misfortune to humanity: to the partitioning powers it was certainly a vast acquisition. Her private life is a subject which it is not our province to scrutinize: it has been treated by a great number of writers. She is here viewed

* Mr. Goxe remarks with astonishment the magnificence of the court of Catharine II. *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 289.

only as a sovereign and a legislator. In both these characters, she will ever stand in the first rank of honorable distinction.

Catharine II. was succeeded by her son, Paul I, whose measures, in several respects, were in opposition to those of his imperial parent and predecessor. Immediately on his accession, he caused hostilities to cease between Russia and Persia, and a peace was soon after concluded. During the first years of his reign, he seemed to interest himself very little in the coalition against France: but he was afterwards induced to take a more active part; and the events produced by the co-operation of the Russian army under General Suwarrof, with that of the Austrians, have already been noticed. A misunderstanding, however, arising between the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, occasioned a dissolution of their alliance, and the emperor soon after adopted the impolitic measure of resolving on a war with England, which seems to have been prevented only by his death.* In his youth, Paul had given indubitable marks of genius and of an elegant turn of mind. His enemies allow, that although the hastiness of his temper sometimes carried him to extremes, he was not destitute of virtues; and even those who had experienced the effects of his severity, admit that he possessed genuine goodness of heart.† He distinguished his reign by several acts of generosity, which future ages will bear in honorable remembrance. He gave liberty to the celebrated Kosciusko, generalissimo of the Polish patriots, with permission either to reside in his dominions, or

* The exit of Paul is related according to the current reports in Carr's Travels round the Baltic.

† Kotzebue.

to retire to America.* He restored to their estates a great number of Polish emigrants, and fugitives, and behaved with an honorable liberality to the deposed king Stanislaus. The death of this emperor happened A. D. 1801, in the fifth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Alexander, who is universally represented as a prince of the most amiable disposition, of the most pleasing accomplishments, and a pattern of almost every virtue. Thus the flower planted by Catharine soon withered, only to shoot forth a stem of peculiar brilliancy.

The reign of the emperor Alexander has already been sufficiently eventful to afford copious materials for military history. But as the wars which he has sustained against France are related in treating of the affairs of that country, a repetition is unnecessary. In consequence of the peace concluded with France at Tilsit, a total change took place in the politics of Russia; and on the 31st of October his imperial majesty published a manifesto, declaring all communication to be broken off between that empire and Great Britain. The war between Russia and England, has, however, hitherto been little more than a suspension of political and commercial intercourse.

* Kosciusko retired to America, and visited London in his way, where he was treated with the respect due to his well-known merit. He has since left America, and taken up his residence in France.

CHAP. IV.

Religion—Government—Law—Army—Navy—Revenues—Commerce—Manufactures—Population—Political Importance—Language—Literature—Police Arts—Education—Manners and Customs—National Character.

Religion.—THE national religion of Russia is that of the Greek church, of which, since the fall of Constantinople under the Mahometan power, this empire may be considered as the focus. The public worship of the Greek church is exceedingly splendid and pompous. They have a great veneration for the pictures of saints, with which their churches are amply furnished, while they reject images with abhorrence, a truly singular distinction, which, however consecrated by theology, would certainly puzzle a philosopher.

Hierarchy.—The hierarchy of the Greek is nearly the same as that of the Roman church; and the patriarchs of Moscow had at one period assumed an authority almost equal to that of the pope; but Peter the Great abolished their exorbitant powers. The clergy enjoy considerable privileges, particularly an exemption from taxes. Their number, secular and regular, has been estimated at about 67,000. There are about thirty episcopal sees, and 18,350 churches, including the cathedrals. The monasteries are computed at 480; the nunneries at 74. The number of monks is supposed to be about 7300, and that of the nuns about 3000. The Greek church permits the

the marriage of the secular clergy.* In Russia, the most liberal and enlightened toleration prevails; and no one is, on account of his religion, excluded from any office or dignity.

Government.]—The government of Russia appears to have been in all ages despotic. During the periods of anarchy, which the history of this empire exhibits, the power of the monarch was reduced to an empty name; but we do not find that any legislative authority, distinct from that of the sovereign, ever existed. In times of confusion, when every thing was carried by superior force, instances have frequently occurred of the monarchical power being supported or opposed by factions of the nobles, or by the tumultuous violence of the people; but no vestige appears in Russian history, of any legitimate national council, parliament, or state of the empire. Here we see a striking mark of distinction between the Slavonian Russians and the ancient Gothic nations, that overturned the Roman empire. The whole extent of European and Asiatic Russia is divided into forty vice-royalties, or governments, of which thirty-four may be assigned to Europe. The whole frame of the government of this vast empire may be considered as military.

Laws.]—From the difference already observed between the Gothic and Slavonic systems, the latter were many centuries behind the former in legislature. The Goths, from the earliest periods of which we have any accounts, transacted all public affairs in their national assemblies.† The Slavonians, on the contrary, except those of Novogorod, seem

* Coxe says, that the secular clergy are obliged to be married, vol. 3. p. 164.

† Tacitus de mor. Germ. cap. 18.—Cæsar Comm. de Bel. Gal. lib. 6.—Ammian Marcell. lib. 31.

to have been entirely dependent on the will of their chiefs. The Gothic tribes, immediately after their settlement in the Roman provinces, began sedulously to collect and promulgate their peculiar codes of laws. But no regular Slavonic code appears till the sixteenth century. Among the Poles, a Slavonic nation more early civilized than the Russians, the first appearance of legislation is discovered in a few edicts of Casimir the Great, in the fifteenth century; but before the middle of the sixteenth, nothing like a regular code existed. The history of Russia also presents scattered edicts of particular czars; but the first regular Russian code, compiled from ancient statutes, appears in the reign of Ivan Vassillievitch II. about A. D. 1542.

The legislative code of Catharine II. a lasting monument of her talents for government, and of her attention to the happiness of her people, has already been mentioned. It must here be observed, as a natural consequence of the radical difference between the Gothic and Slavonic systems, that the Goths enacted their laws in their national councils; while among the Slavonians, except those of Novogorod, all legislation emanated from the will of the sovereign. This is the case at this day in Russia. The senate is the supreme court of judicature.

Army.—The military strength of Russia is a subject that merits peculiar attention, as on its direction the destinies of Europe and Asia in a great measure depend. In the present circumstances of Europe, this subject becomes more peculiarly interesting, as Russia appears to be the only power that is capable, if so disposed, of maintaining on the continent the balance against France. A late intelligent writer gives, from a

list of indisputable authenticity, published by a high imperial college, a very accurate statement of the Russian armies. From this account, it appears that the whole number of troops upon the lists amounts to about 600,000; of these, about 500,000 may be deemed effective. Not less than 150,000 are supposed to be necessary in the numerous garrisons of this extensive empire. From these calculations it appears, that the whole disposable force of Russia may be estimated at 350,000 men, in which number about 30,000 cossacks are included.* The soldiers are implicitly obedient to their commanders, and capable of supporting incredible hardships. But the Russians are more distinguished by their valour in open combat, than by their dexterity in the grand manœuvres of war. Their armies, however, have performed great achievements.

Navy.—The navy of Russia is an object of much less importance than her armies. It consists of several detached fleets in the seas on which the empire touches at its different extremities. The principal fleet is that of the Baltic, consisting of about thirty-six ships of the line. That of the Euxine, in the harbours of Cherson and Sebastopol, was lately about twelve ships of the line, but not of a high rate, as that sea affords no great depth of water; but there is a great

* For a distinct statement, vide Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. 2. p. 241 to 251. The pay of a Russian soldier does not amount to more than six or seven rubles per annum, not sixpence sterling per week, and his allowance of flour or grits. Out of this, besides all other provisions, he must buy many articles of clothing. He has every year two shirts of cheap linen, with a pair of shoes, and forty-five copecks, about one shilling and sixpence sterling, allowed him for a pair of boots; he must purchase what he wants besides, and pay for every button, &c. that he happens to lose from his uniform.—Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. 2. p. 252.

number of frigates, gallees, xebèques, and gun-boats. In 1789, the fleet of gallees in the Baltic was computed at about 110. From the small extent of its sea-coasts, the paucity of its ports, and the little inclination which the Russians seem to have for a sea-faring life, there is scarcely any prospect of this empire ever attaining to a high rank among maritime powers.

Revenue.—The revenues of the Russian empire are extremely disproportionate to its extent, amounting only to about 46,000,000 or 48,000,000 of rubles, a sum which, reckoning the ruble at par, amounts to 9,750,000*l.* sterling.* The national debt does not exceed 6,600,000 rubles, or 1,320,000*l.* sterling. It will not here be amiss to make some observations, to which the reader will find it necessary to refer, in all estimates of national revenue and expenditure.† These must not be calculated by the positive sums, from which alone no just inference can be made, but by their effective value in different countries; and, consequently, the price of the necessaries of life, and the customary wages of labour, must be taken into the account. If the state of these things in Russia be considered; if the small pay of the soldiers and seamen, with the various and great savings arising from the nature of the government, and the habits of the people, as well as the trifling interest of the national debt, be taken into the calculation, a striking difference will be found between the public expenditure of this empire, and that of other European states. On this basis of calculation, it is evident that the revenues of Russia, though not amounting to a great no-

* Tooke's View of the Russ. Emp. vol. 2. p. 326.

† *Idem.* vol. 2. p. 332, on the authority of the manifesto of the emperor, 20th of June, 1736.

minimal sum, far exceed those of most other countries in Europe.*

Commerce.—The commerce of Russia is important and ancient. It has already been observed, that the genius of the Russians, even in their first stages of civilization, was commercial.† Of this their trade with the Byzantine empire, and the connections of the Hanse Towns with Novogorod, during the barbarism of the middle ages, afford irrefragable proofs; and the name of Kataigorod, or Chinese city, given to one of the quarters of Moscow, and probably coeval with that capital, shews that a trade had been carried on overland to China at an early period. But the Russian commerce was never so various, so extensive, and so important, as it has become since the accession of Catharine II. who made its prosperity one of the grand objects of her attention. The wide extent of the empire now enables it to carry on a very remote trade. The Caspian Sea facilitates its intercourse with Persia and China, while the Euxine and the Baltic afford an opening to its commerce with all Europe, and indeed with all parts of the globe. Before Peter the Great became master of the banks of the Neva, and founded the city of Petersburg, Archangel was the only port that could traffic with Europe. Since that æra, it has become of much less importance, but still has some trade.‡ The imports of Petersburg in 1797, were computed at about 20,000,000 of rubles, or, reckoning the exchange at par, 4,000,000 sterling. In general, the exports of Russia by the

* Touke's View of Russ. Emp. vol. 2. p. 327, 328.

† See preceding chapter.

‡ Touke's View of Russ. Emp. vol. 3. p. 1528.

Baltic, exceed the imports by one third; but a great part of this trade is carried on in foreign bottoms.

The commerce of the Euxine, or Black Sea, once enriched Taurida, and the adjacent provinces,* and no one who is acquainted with history can be ignorant of its flourishing state during the prosperous ages of the Eastern empire. After a long extinction, the conquests of Catharine II. have occasioned its revival; but it is yet in its infancy, and of far less importance than that of the Baltic. The principal exports are furs, salt beef, butter, cordage, corn, iron, hemp, &c.; the most considerable imports are wines, coffee, rice, silks, and various other kinds of Turkish merchandises. The commerce of the Caspian, is also of an ancient date, and in the fourteenth century was carried on to advantage by the Venetians and the Genoese, but especially the latter, who, by the permission of the Constantinopolitan emperors, had formed a settlement in Taurida. Astrachan was then, as it is now, the principal mart of the Caspian trade. From that port, the Indian, Persian, and Arabian commodities were carried up the Volga, then overland to the Don, and afterwards down that river to Asoph. The northern parts of Europe were furnished with the same Asiatic commodities, carried from Astrachan up the Volga, and then overland through the interior of Russia, a trade, which during the anarchical state of that country, must have been very precarious, and have met with many interruptions. The devastations occasioned by Timur, or Tamerlane, towards the close of the fourteenth century, caused the transfer of this trade from Astrachan, to Aleppo and Smyrna. These ports retained the Arabian trade, for which they were

* Hist. Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, ch. 44

more conveniently situated, but a great part of that of Persia returned to its former channel.* The trade of Astrachan with Persia, extends through that medium to Kandahar and India, from whence the Hindoo merchants sometimes bring gold and precious stones to that Russian market. The trade of the Caspian is estimated at 1,000,000 of rubles, or 200,000*l.* sterling per annum. From Astrachan are exported great quantities of European manufactures; the imports consist chiefly of raw silk, dried fruits, rice, and spices. In the trade with China, the exports and imports are nearly on a par, each country transmitting to the other to the value of about 2,000,000 of rubles. In this branch of her commerce, Russia exchanges her Siberian furs for tea, silk, and nankeen.†

The internal commerce of Russia has, from early times, been very considerable. The commerce of Novogorod, once the great emporium of Russia, and the centre of the trade of the northern nations with Constantinople and Astrachan, was carried on through the interior of this extensive empire. An important internal commerce is also now carried on, not only between the southern and northern provinces, but also with the neighbouring countries. The circulating cash of Russia is estimated by Mr. Tooke at 130,000,000 of rubles, or at par 26,000,000*l.* sterling, and as he asserts that the quantity is constantly increasing at the rate of about 5,000,000 of rubles every year, we may, according to this calculation, reckoning from the middle of the year 1799, compute the increase at 40,000,000 of rubles, or 8,000,000*l.* sterling, which

* Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. 3, p. 442.

† Ibid. vol. 3, p. 460. For a curious and detailed account of the Russian trade with China, vide Coxe, vol. 1, p. 181.

will give an amount of 34,000,000*l.* sterling for the lowest estimate of the present circulating specie of this empire. The same author supposes a currency of about 20,000,000*l.* sterling in paper money.*

Manufactures.—Russia possesses a variety of manufactures. Those of oil and soap at Petersburg are very considerable, and contribute in no small degree to its exports. There are also in various parts, manufactures of paper and also of tobacco, which the southern provinces produce in abundance. Iron founderies every where abound. The art of casting cannon was introduced into Russia by Aristotle of Bologna, an Italian, in the reign of Ivan Vassillievitch I.† Artillery was first used by the Russians against the town of Felling in Livonia, A.D. 1482, thirteen years before it was employed by the Swedes.‡ There is a very large foundery of cannon at Petersburg, under the direction of the artillery corps. At Tula there is a vast manufactory of fire and side arms, in which, so early as the reign of Peter the Great, 20,000 musquets and 10,000 pair of pistols were annually fabricated. In 1782, new works were erected by Catharine II, at an expence of 77,600*l.* sterling. This imperial manufactory now delivers every year arms for 15,000 men, and employs upwards of 4,000 workmen.§ There are also vast manufactories of arms at Sestrabek, at Orel, and at Petrozvodsk, in the government of Olonetz. Linen is manufactured in abundance, especially in the government of Arch-

* Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. 3, p. 476.

† See preceding chapter.

‡ Levesque Hist. de Russie, tom. 2, p. 538.

§ Tooke's View of Russ. Emp. vol. 3, p. 423, who quotes Boyer's Travels, tom. 2, for the number of workmen.

angel. Leather has long been a staple commodity. Russia produces vast quantities of bees wax, which, however, is exported unbleached. There are also several manufactories of porcelaine, and of different kinds of earthen ware. Those of isinglass and kaviar, the first a preparation of the sound or air bladder of the sturgeon, and the other of the salted roes of large fish, flourish on the banks of the Volga.* Several of the Russian manufactures are carried on with considerable spirit. The manufacturing system, however, is of much less advantage to a country like Russia, where the number of hands is so inadequate to the demands of agriculture, than to England, France, &c., which are crowded with a numerous population. But her manufactures attract into the country great numbers of foreigners, who here find employment, and by whom the natives are gradually instructed. This circumstance greatly contributes to the civilization of the empire, and creates a constant addition to the number of its inhabitants. And whenever the period shall arrive, in which the population of this immense empire shall, by its numbers and industry be adequate to the culture of the vast extent of its surface, Russia will derive incalculable benefits from the progress which she is now making in her manufacturing system.

Population.—Of the population of Russia we have had only vague estimates, until Mr. Tooke elucidated the subject, on the most rational grounds of calculation, supported by original documents of the highest authenticity. According to his account, which he says was drawn up with the greatest accuracy, and after the nicest examination of each particular, the

* See the description of Astrachan.

population of this empire amounted in 1799 to 36,000,000,* of which number Mr. Tooke assigns only 3,500,000 to the Asiatic part. Of this prodigious mass of population, Russia has acquired nearly 7,000,000 during the reign of Catharine II, by her conquests from Turkey, and the dismemberment of Poland. The different partitions of the latter country, brought an accession of above 6,500,000 of new subjects to her empire.

Political importance and relations]—The political importance and relations of Russia, constitute a subject that merits every degree of attention. With so vast a population, so formidable a military force, and so ample a revenue, with immense resources of every kind, it is no wonder that her influence should be predominant in Europe and Asia. Sweden and Denmark must be considered as within the vortex of her power, and under her control. She alone, among the continental powers, has nothing to fear from the exorbitant aggrandizement of France. But the attention of Russia, during the reign of Catharine II, was turned towards Constantinople rather than Paris; and the Ottoman Porte, together with Poland, felt the tremendous effects of her arms, which were but feebly directed against France. The exertions of the last and the present emperors have been distinguished by greater vigour, although not by the desired success.

But the numerous population of Russia, diffused over so vast an extent of country, and comprehending a number of barbarous tribes, is a less effective support of military enterprise than a concentrated mass of people, not superior in number, but crowded within a narrower territory, forming its levies with greater

* Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. I, p. 517—521.

rapidity,

rapidity, and directing more expeditiously its force towards any requisite point. Such are the comparative circumstances of Russia and France. The European part of the empire, indeed, contains the principal mass of Russian population, not less than 32,500,000, or perhaps 33,000,000, if we include Perm, which, although reckoned one of the Siberian governments, is on the European side of the Uralian mountains. After all, it must be acknowledged, that Russia has much more to expect in the east, than in the west of Europe, and the Ottoman Porte has every thing to apprehend from her continually increasing power. The Christians of Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria, are secretly attached to Russia, and certain combinations of political circumstances may produce in that quarter great and sudden revolutions. If we extend our views into futurity, and imagine a period when Russia shall attain to that complete population which she is endeavouring by a multiplicity of means to acquire, and to which, according to the most authentic documents, and the evidence of visible circumstances, she is continually approximating in an ascending ratio, this immense empire presents a distant and dazzling prospect, which opens a wide field both for political and moral speculation. Such a period, whenever it shall arrive, whether we suppose the continued union or the division of the empire, cannot but be productive of extraordinary revolutions both in Europe and Asia. Russia in an united state, with a complete population, must sway the destinies of these two quarters of the globe. What the consequences may be in regard to India, is a question too remote for present examination.

Language.]—The beauty, the copiousness, and energy

energy of the Russian language, are acknowledged by eminent philologists, who are competent judges of the subject. It has been much cultivated of late; a variety of grammars and dictionaries have been compiled, numerous translations into it are continually appearing, and the Russian academy is indefatigable in reducing it to a standard of purity. The pronunciation is extremely difficult to foreigners. The Russian grammarians themselves are not agreed concerning the number of letters in their alphabet. Some admit forty-one, some limit them to thirty-one, while others, with greater propriety, fix their number at thirty-eight. The sounds of some of them are seldom properly learned by foreigners; and the numerous irregularities of the declensions, the peculiarities and the variations of the accent, are still more perplexing. But the conjugations are superlatively difficult, almost every verb having many peculiarities that render it irregular.* These difficulties are all increased by the want of a grammar, calculated for the use of foreigners. There is none compiled for their use by natives, and those made by foreigners are very imperfect.

Literature.—The literature of Russia is yet in its infancy. Those countries which had once been under the dominion of the Romans, had imbibed the learning and arts of that people: and amidst the darkness of the Gothic ages, some remnants were preserved among the monastic orders. But Russia had been destitute of this advantage. At the time of Vladimir's conversion, the empire had not emerged from barbarism. Literature, as in other countries, immediately succeeded the introduction of Christianity, but its transient light was soon extinguished amidst the scenes of internal division and of Tartarian oppres-

* Tooke's View. Russ. Emp. vol. 3, p. 572—575.

sion, which afterwards followed. The circumstances which retarded the progress of the Russians in learning and arts, have already been investigated.* As present it suffices to say, that the modern literature of Russia must be considered as the work of the last century, and especially of the reign of the late empress. Like other nations, indeed, Russia has long had her fabricators of legends, her compilers of martyrologies, and some writers of annals. Among these, Nestor, a monk of Kioff, who flourished about the close of the eleventh century, is the most ancient of all their historians, and is distinguished by a simplicity of style still not wholly destitute of eloquence. But Russian literature is a barren subject, till the auspicious reign of Catharine, who by her example and patronage greatly encouraged its cultivation. But even during that period most of the principal writers, as Pallas, Muller, &c. being foreigners, have used the German language, so that the sphere of Russian literature is yet very contracted, although all possible means have lately been employed to promote its extension. Russian authors, however, have appeared, whose works have acquired a deserved celebrity, and exhibit sufficient proofs of the national genius. Among these, Lomonof, Sumarokof, Kheraskof, and the Cheyalier Derschavin, in the elegant walks of poetry, have displayed a sublimity of sentiment, and a splendor of diction, that would do honor to the most enlightened age and nation.† Illustrious names might be added in various departments of literary composition, which, like every thing in Russia,

* Vide preceding chapter.

† Storch's *Pict. of Petersburg*, ch. 10. *Focke's Hist. Russiæ*, vol. 2, p. 419.

is in a state of progressive advancement. Periodical publications, however, have hitherto met with little success. It may here be observed, that foreign learning is more cultivated at Petersburg than in any other part of the empire. But Moscow is the principal seat of Russian literature, and produces the best works in the national language.*

The polite arts, as well as science and letters, are yet in their infant state. Most of the eminent artists are foreigners; but Russia can boast of some native names. The various institutions for the advancement of arts, sciences, and literature, both in the residence and in the ancient capital, have already been mentioned in general terms; but, for a more distinct view of this subject, the reader must be referred to Storch's *Picture of Petersburg*, Coxe's *Travels*, and Mr. Tooke's descriptions of Petersburg and Moscow, in the first and second volumes of his *History of Russia*. The general sketch here presented suffices to shew, that no nation, of the ancient or modern world, has surpassed Russia in the greatness of its recent efforts for improvement.

Education.—Of the state of education in Russia, vague and erroneous opinions have been entertained by foreigners. Besides the numerous institutions for the education of the higher ranks, the normal schools, already mentioned, exhibit a proof that few governments ever paid greater attention to popular instruction, and that no monarch ever expended more money for the diffusion of knowledge among all classes of people than Catharine II. The liberal scale on which private tuition is carried on, shews that the subjects, as well as the sovereign, were convinced of the vast

* Storch's *Pict. of Petersburg*, ch. 10, p. 295.

importance of intellectual culture. "In Moscow as well as throughout all Russia," says Mr. Tooke, "education is treated with all the importance that it deserves. Persons of opulence and distinction are not sparing of expence, in order to give their children a good education; not only paying the domestic tutor a salary of 1,000 rubles and upwards, but likewise having the best masters for music, dancing, drawing, &c." This writer, however, considers the fashionable plan of this domestic education as very defective, being confined almost solely to the knowledge of languages, and to exterior accomplishments.

Manners and customs.—Every description of the manners and customs of a vast empire, composed of a variety of nations, totally distinct in religion, language, and habits of life, must be extremely defective, even although volumes should be written on the subject. Russia exhibits every condition of society, and every shade of the human character, from the extreme of barbarism to the highest degree of polished life; from the almost savage state of the Laplanders, the Samoiedes, and the Nomadic tribes, to the civilization of Petersburg and Moscow. The chief national distinctions in the European part, to which the present sketch is restricted, are the Laplanders and the Fins, in the north; the Cossacks, with the Tartars of Taurida and the adjacent parts, in the south; and the great Slavonic mass in the middle: These tribes are distinguished by physical, as well as moral, peculiarities. The Laplanders are a diminutive race, generally from four to five feet high, strong built, active, and healthful; with flat faces, a thin beard, and a sallow complexion; their persons are far removed from the standard of beauty, and their mode of living from that of physical purity;

but the inoffensive simplicity of their manners is very remarkable. The northern Fins are also of a low stature, although taller than the Laplanders, whom they somewhat resemble; but the southern Fins are of a more graceful appearance. The Tartars are well known to differ in stature, complexion, and feature from the Europeans. A stature somewhat below what we call the middle size; a strong frame of body, a flat face, high cheek-bones, hollow eyes, mostly black and lively, and tolerably fair complexion, are, in a greater or less degree, the general characteristics of all the Tartar nations. All these tribes are but little removed from the savage state; and their manners are such as are generally observed in the first stage of civilization.

The Slavonic Russians, of which the great mass of the population consists, are a moderately sized, vigorous, and durable race. Mr. Tooke considers them as inferior to the English or the Spaniards in bodily strength; but says, that in the endurance of hardships, such as hunger, thirst, and want of repose, they are superior to every other nation; that the lower class are remarkable for a healthy old age and longevity, which would still be more common if such numbers did not shorten their days with brandy. The same author considers the Russian as distinguishable, by his exterior form, from other Europeans; but acknowledges that the distinctions are not very striking: a small mouth, thin lips, white teeth, little eyes, a low forehead, and the nose, although of different forms, most frequently small and turned upwards, are what he esteems the most characteristical features.* A fair skin and ruddy cheeks are, among the ladies, the first requisites of beauty; but they destroy their naturally

* Tooke's View of Russ. Emp. vol. 2, p. 5 and 6.

fine complexions with paint, which even the lowest classes lay on with profusion. In this country, female charms bloom at an early period, and soon decay; a circumstance which Mr. Tooke ascribes to the frequent use of the hot-bath. The manners of the higher classes have been briefly mentioned in speaking of Petersburg and Moscow. They are in general distinguished by magnificence, sociability, and hospitality. A strong propensity for keeping numerous retinues and brilliant equipages is every where prevalent; and splendid entertainments, with gaming, are very much in fashion. It seems to be the general wish of all descriptions of citizens in Moscow and Petersburg, to avoid all visible marks of poverty, and to keep up, as much as possible, an imposing exterior shew. In many respects the opulent Russians form a curious junction of European and Asiatic manners. The common people, in the different parts of this extensive empire, have various peculiarities in their customs, their amusements, and their dress; but every one knows that the beard is the grand bodily ornament, which neither laws, taxes, nor the examples of their superiors, could ever make them lay aside. The native Russian dress, when composed of good materials, has a graceful appearance. The poor wrap themselves up with a sheepskin in winter. The lower classes have no beds, but sleep on the floor, or on a platform of boards; and in summer very often in the open air. They are punctilious in their devotions. They are also liberal in their entertainments, according to the extent of their abilities: copious potations are common; and intoxication is not disgraceful, even among ladies of tolerable condition. Marriages are, in general, mere pecuniary

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contracts.

contracts.* The behaviour of husbands, if estimated by the standard of European manners, will appear somewhat harsh, as they oblige their wives to labour hard often to support them in their intemperance; but to this the women are so accustomed, that they seldom murmur under their tyrannical treatment. In the large towns, however, the ladies are in a quite different predicament, and meet with great indulgence. Holidays are kept in idleness and wanton merriment.

It is impossible, in a work of this general nature, to describe, or even to enumerate their national amusements, which are extremely diversified. No nation is so fond of vocal music as the Russians. "On the whole globe," says Mr. Tooke, "we shall scarcely meet with a country where the song is more jovial and universal than in Russia. They all sing, from the child to the hoary head of age, and on all occasions. The country roads re-echo with the songs of the drivers; the village streets with the merry voices of the girls, and the drinking-houses are never without a concert."† The most complete vocal music is that which is heard in the churches on Sundays and holidays, and which gives great satisfaction, even to persons of taste. But the Russo-Greek church does not allow any instrumental music to be used in Divine worship.‡ The singers, who are mostly natives of the Ukraine, are carefully instructed for the purpose of performing in the principal churches. Among the common people various musical instruments, of a rude

* Tooke's *View of Russ. Emp.* vol. 2, p. 57.

† *Ibid.* p. 58. The same observation is made by Mr. Coxe in his *Travels*; by Storch, in his *Picture of Petersburg*; and by all others who have travelled in Russia.—Coxe's *Trav.* vol. 2, p. 209.

‡ Coxe, vol. 3, ch. 8, p. 455.

construction,

construction, are in use; as also the harpsichord, &c. among the higher classes. But next to singing, dancing is the most general amusement. Even the common people, who are not grown stiff with labour, dance with admirable agility, and, for the most part, to vocal music. The ringing of bells is also an amusement in which they take great delight. The Russians, of all ranks, are much attached to gymnastic diversions. In severe winter nights the ladies make sledge parties on the ice, which are always accompanied with loud and almost incessant singing. The populace is not a little addicted to superstition; but this offspring of ignorance is common among the lower classes in all countries. They have a number of superstitious observances for the purpose of knowing their future destinies: they believe the existence of witches, and the reality of witchcraft; and have their demovois as the Welsh and Irish have their faries.

Of all the Russian customs, none merits greater attention than the universal use of the hot vapour-bath. This oriental custom, first introduced for the sake of cleanliness, but afterwards converted to the purposes of luxury, gave rise among the ancients to some of the most magnificent works of architecture. Imperial Rome could once boast of above 800 baths; many of which, in point of magnificence and taste, might be considered as master-pieces of art. The stupendous ruins of the Roman baths have excited the admiration of posterity, as the magnificence of those of the Persians astonished their Grecian conquerors. But in Russia their simple construction is conformable to their primitive destination: the Russians generally use them at least once a week, and oftener on several particular occasions, such as returning from a journey, &c,

A detail of the whole procedure of bathing will not here be expected: it is enough to observe, that after remaining several hours in the bath, sweating at every pore, they frequently plunge themselves into cold water without experiencing the least injury; a practice which inures them to sudden transitions from heat to cold, and seasons them against the effects of those extremes.* They consider these baths as a remedy or a preventive against almost every disease; and most writers ascribe to the frequent use of the bath, the uninterrupted health which the Russians generally enjoy. This custom, which, from time immemorial, has universally prevailed in Russia, and which makes an essential part of the system of living, from the earliest infancy to the latest period of life, among all ranks and conditions of people, on all occasions, and in all circumstances, must, indeed, create an important physical distinction between the Russians and every other nation of Europe.†

The general state of society, in regard to civil right, exhibits, among the Russians, a picture not very pleasing to the eye of an Englishman accustomed to the blessings of freedom. The feudal system prevails throughout the whole empire. There are, however, numerous classes of free men; and the various means of acquiring freedom afforded by the laws, greatly mitigate the rigours of slavery. For the sake of avoiding repetition, the reader must be referred to what is said

* See Tooke on this subject; *View of Russ. Emp.* vol. 2, p. 10, 11, as well as a multitude of other travellers.

† The use of the hot bath is still continued among the Hungarians, but is not general as in Russia; *Townsend's Trav.* In Russia the use of the hot bath begins to be less general among persons of an elevated rank since the prevalence of foreign manners. *Tooke's View of Russ. Emp.* vol. 2, p. 2.

of the feudal system in different parts of this work. But in order to be fully acquainted with its modifications in the Russian empire, and with the rights and privileges of the different classes of the inhabitants, which are too various and numerous to be here particularized, it is necessary to consult the accurate and well informed Mr. Tooke, who has exhibited a distinct view of the subject. He says, that "the miserable situation of the Russian boors has been greatly exaggerated; that on some estates they live happily, and grow rich; but he allows, at the same time, that their condition depends on the humour or caprice of their lord; and that although they acquire wealth, they consider the possession of it as so insecure, that they often bury it in the ground.* Such a state of insecurity and oppression, certainly affords no favorable idea of the happiness of the Russian peasantry. Catharine II, in the ninety-second section of her instructions for a code of laws, expressed her dissatisfaction at the oppressive treatment experienced by this inferior class of her subjects, and unequivocally declares it to be her wish, that the feudal system should be entirely abolished; or, if the measure should be found impracticable, that the condition of vassallage should be ameliorated, and its oppressive abuses removed. The free æconomical society of Petersburg proposed the important question, whether it would be expedient to abolish vassallage in Russia, with a prize for the most satisfactory answer. It was, however, finally decided in the negative. But by the unwearied attention of the empress to the welfare of the peasantry, the feudal system was not only divested of much of its rigour, but a founda-

* Tooke's View Russ. Emp. vol. 2, p. 21—142.—Coxe's Trav. vol. 3, p. 183.

tion was laid for its gradual extinction. Perhaps its immediate abolition might be dangerous and detrimental, in a country where the great mass of the people have as yet no idea of liberty abstracted from licentiousness. Rational liberty must be the gradual production of a more generally diffused civilization, which, in Russia, must yet be a work of time, notwithstanding all the means which her enlightened sovereigns employ for promoting that beneficial design. Before the feudal system can be safely abolished by royal or imperial edicts, as in Hungary and Bohemia, previous circumstances must have prepared a way for the change. In England its extinction was the progressive work of several centuries.

From the remarks already made, it is easy to conclude, that little can be said relative to the national character; a term at all times sufficiently vague, but peculiarly so in regard to the Russians, a people so numerous, composed of different tribes, and spread over a vast extent of country, situated under different climates. They are resolute, bold, and enterprising, in the same degree as most of the other European nations, and inferior, perhaps, to none in quickness of comprehension and promptitude of execution. They have a strong propensity to commerce, and are much addicted to sensuality. But the most distinguishing national characteristic of the Russians is, that excessive cheerfulness and gaiety of disposition, in which the lower classes surpass every other people of Europe, without excepting even the French.

END OF VOL. III.