

PRINCE ALBERT,
AND
THE HOUSE OF SAXONY;
WITH A
PARTICULAR MEMOIR
OF
THE REIGNING FAMILY
OF
SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA.

BY
FREDERIC SHOBERL, ESQ.

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TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

QUEEN VICTORIA,

THIS HUMBLE ATTEMPT

TO EXHIBIT THE ORIGIN, HISTORY,

AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS

HOUSE OF SAXONY

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

AT the time of the marriage of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld with the loved and lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales, presumptive heiress to the British throne, the absurd reports circulated not merely from mouth to mouth, but even by some of the conductors of the public press, relative to the connexions and circumstances of the Prince, suggested the publication of an "Historical Account of the House of Saxony," tracing the descent of the present royal and ducal branches, and containing a particular memoir of his Highness and of the Princes of his family. Of that volume, dedicated by permission to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, his Majesty Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, was pleased to express his approval, in the presentation, through his ambassador in

London, Baron Just, of the gold medal of civil merit to the author.

The approaching auspicious alliance of her Majesty Queen Victoria with her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, has given rise to as many falsehoods, blunders, and misrepresentations, concerning him and his kindred, as were propagated respecting his uncle.* With a view

* The ignorance of some of those who assume the office of enlightening the public is really lamentable. Thus we were lately told by a respectable London paper that the domain of Coburg was so small a principality, that the net revenue did not exceed £700 per annum; and that, on account of the smallness of means, none of the family could venture to appear at court at Vienna, excepting the duke, and he rarely. The editor, had he been referring to the extent of the ducal territories even before the congress of Vienna, should have known that a principality of 360 English square miles must produce a larger revenue than that which he has specified; that the treaty of Congress gave the duke districts, which his Highness has ceded to Prussia in consideration of an annuity of 80,000 rix-dollars; that the present extent of his states falls little short of 800 English square miles, yielding a revenue of 1,100,000 guilders; and that his Highness, as a sovereign prince, owes no more suit and service to the emperor of Austria than the emperor owes to him, which sufficiently accounts for his rare appearance at the court of Vienna.

to furnish the public with authentic information relative to the origin, history, connexions, and resources of that family to which her Majesty as well as her future consort may be said to belong, I have, in the present Volume, combined all the information given in the work before mentioned, with an account of such changes as have since occurred in the various branches of the House of Saxony down to the present time.

It is not unlikely that the subject which I have chosen may be thought to deserve graver consideration than it has received at my hands. The native country of the ancestors of the English nation; the land from which we derive many of those institutions on which we still justly pride ourselves; the cradle of that Reformation, which, like the sun, bursting from amidst the gloom of worse than Egyptian darkness, dispelled the clouds of superstition that had for ages enveloped the human mind, diffused correct notions of liberty, civil as well as religious, and paved the way to those prodigious improvements in arts, sciences, and the state of society in general, which have marked the pro-

gress of the last three centuries ; is certainly a theme worthy of the pen of the professed historian : and happy shall I be, if my unassuming performance shall stimulate one possessing more leisure and superior talents to undertake the task. The field is ample, and would, I am persuaded, richly reward the assiduous cultivator.

In such of these pages as relate to our own times, the intelligent observer will easily perceive that I have not drawn upon the frivolous gossip of idle rumour. Indeed the names of those with whose communications I have been honoured in this portion of the work, were I permitted to mention them, could not fail to stamp upon it a value that would be duly appreciated by the future historian and biographer.

F. S.

Thistle Grove, Old Brompton,
February 1840.

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PRINCE ALBERT,
AND
THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY OF THE SAXONS TILL THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

VARIOUS have been the opinions respecting the origin of the name of *Saxons*, but its most probable derivation seems to be from the term *Sassen* or *Satten*, which in the Lower Saxon dialect is equivalent to our *settlers*.* In very ancient histories we find mention of the *Holsatten*, or *Holzassen* (whence *Holsatia* or *Holstein*), and likewise of the *Elsassen* (whence *Alsace*), or the *settlers in the woods*, and *those about the river Ill*. Hence it is not improbable

* In the dialect of the north of England, the word *settle* is at this day pronounced *sattle*.

that the Germans denominated these people *West-sassen*, *Ost-sassen*,* from their situation, or merely *Sassen* or *Sachsen*, from their *permanent settlements*.

Be this as it may, so much is certain, that Ptolemy is the first writer, who, in the second century of the Christian era, makes mention of the Saxons as inhabiting the Cimbrian peninsula, and he is followed by Eutropius and Orosius in the third. From that peninsula (the modern kingdom of Denmark) they extended themselves over Westphalia to the Rhine and the Netherlands; so that, according to the testimony of Adam of Bremen, they had for their immediate neighbours, on the south the Franks and Thuringians, on the north the Normans, on the east the Obotrittes, and on the west the Frisians. They were divided into Westphalians, Angrivarians, and Eastphalians; the first residing in the modern Westphalia; the second in the duchy of Engern, the present Lüneburg; and the last beyond the Elbe, in the present margraviate of Brandenburg, part of Meissen

* Similar distinctions were assigned by our Saxon forefathers to some of the kingdoms of the heptarchy, and are still retained in the names of *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*, or the *East*, *South*, and *Middle Saxons*.

and Mecklenburg, till they were driven farther by the invading Vandals. Each of these three nations had its distinct ruler, to whom different writers give the various appellations of prince, duke, king, tetrarch, satrap, and others equally indefinite.

In the fourth century the Saxons, in common with the Franks and Allemans, made incursions into Gaul, and displayed great valour in their contests with the Romans. They acquired still greater fame by their expedition to Britain. This island was so completely drained by the Roman emperors of the flower of its male population, that about the middle of the fifth century the remaining inhabitants were incapable of repressing the inroads of their northern neighbours, the Picts and the Scots. In this situation they applied for succour to the Roman general in Gaul; but the whole force of the empire was too much engaged in defending the continent against the invading hordes of Scythians, Goths, and other barbarians, to bestow any attention upon a distant island. The Britons in their distress then had recourse to the Saxons and Angrians,* bordering upon the

* It is a remarkable fact, though I believe not hitherto noticed by historians, that the same province of Ger-

sea, and by their solicitations at length prevailed upon the two princes Hengst and Horst to lend their assistance. These soon drove the Picts and Scots within their proper bounds; and, having once gained a footing, they sent home for reinforcements, and gradually made themselves masters of the whole of South Britain, to which they gave the name of *Engernland* or *England*. Here they of course introduced their native language and manners, and founded seven distinct kingdoms, which at the commencement of the ninth century were united under one head.

Soon after this memorable expedition to Britain, the Saxons were involved in war with the Franks, whose power was so superior to theirs that in 480 they were conquered by King Childeric, and, as it would appear, made tributary by him, or by some other Frankish monarch. The Franks, however, could not so completely subdue them, but that, as soon as the conquerors had turned their backs, they again flew to arms; till at last Charlemagne, after a long

many, whence issued in the fifth century the Saxon ancestors of the English nation, should, more than 1200 years afterwards, have given sovereigns to that nation in the illustrious line which now sways the British sceptre.

and obstinate contest with Wittekind, reduced them entirely under his dominion.

Wittekind was of a distinguished Saxon family ; his usual residence was his patrimonial domain of Engern, an ancient castle in Westphalia, no traces of which are now extant. His superior understanding and extraordinary talents for war gained him such consideration among his countrymen, the Angrivarians, that they intrusted him when at home with the government, and selected him for their general in the sanguinary wars in which they were engaged with the Danes and Charlemagne.

Various were the causes of the war between the emperor and Wittekind, which lasted thirty-three years. Charles was acquainted with the spirit, valour, and strength of the Saxons. He was piqued that the Franks had never been able entirely to subdue them, and felt that, till their complete subjugation, his imperial authority rested on an insecure foundation. The Saxons had moreover refused payment of the stipulated tribute, and had attacked his allies, the Thuringians. Added to all this, they were yet addicted to the pagan idolatry, to the extermination of which he was instigated by the pope. The Saxons, however, were not so blind as not to perceive Charles's real motive. As they had

imbibed with their mothers' milk an ardent love of liberty and of their ancient superstitions—as the Catholic priests were more solicitous for the baptism than for the real conversion of proselytes, and led a life of such debauchery as rendered the Christian religion odious to the heathen—the Saxons soon discovered that the Franks were more desirous to gain possession of their country than to teach them a purer faith. During the war which ensued, Wittekind afforded an example that an enemy is not always subdued by the loss of one battle, or so far reduced as to be unable to retrieve his affairs. Both nations were tolerably equal, if not in force at least in valour; and though Charles finally overran the country of his enemies, there were no fortresses by means of which he could hold it in subjection. On the first opportunity, they renounced the promised obedience, and if they were favoured by the season, or no army happened to be at hand, they recruited their strength to such a degree that it required a new war to enforce their submission. This being the case, it is not matter of surprise that the hostilities between the two nations should have continued, with short intervals of repose, for thirty-three years. At length the Saxons, disheartened by the loss of several battles and of all

the tenable positions on the Weser and near the mouth of the Elbe, submitted to the conqueror ; and it was agreed, as Eginhard relates, that they should form one people with the Franks, but yet retain their peculiar laws and constitution. As a pledge of their future allegiance, Charles carried with him many Saxons of distinction, and left in Saxony a considerable number of Franks in their stead. With a view to civilize the rude minds of his new subjects he founded bishoprics and divided the country into various districts, which he intrusted to the government of counts. By this policy he broke that power which, if united under one man, might have proved dangerous to his hardly acquired authority.

On this occasion Wittekind, who had during the war displayed proofs of consummate military skill and valour, consulted his private interest and embraced the Christian religion. At his baptism he exchanged the black horse, which he had previously borne as his arms, for a white one, which till the death of his majesty William IV. was used by the kings of Great Britain as sovereigns of Brunswick Lüneburg and descendants of Henry the *Lion* ; with whose continental dominions, constituting the present kingdom of Hanover, the greatest part of the

patrimonial possessions of the celebrated Saxon chief have long been incorporated.

Some writers have attempted to prove that Wittekind was the progenitor of the present reigning house of Saxony and its collateral branches: but the most candid are ready to admit that we possess no historical records which afford absolute proof of such an assumption. All, however, agree to consider Dedo, or Dietrich, count of Wettin, as the ancestor of that house; and, as Ditmar, bishop of Merseburg, informs us that Wittekind's descendants possessed the castles of Zörbig and Wettin, with others built as defences against the Vandals, from which they took the title of counts, it seems not improbable that the present princes of Saxony may justly derive their origin from Wittekind, who has been surnamed *the Great*.

As Meissen, Thuringia, and the duchy of Saxony, originally belonged to three different families, though in process of time they became united under one head, it will be necessary to consider each of them separately.

MARGRAVES OF MEISSEN.

FROM THE YEAR 1048 TO 1247.

THOUGH Meissen is known to have been governed by margraves before the time of Dietrich, it will be sufficient for our purpose to commence with that prince as the undoubted ancestor of the house of Saxony.

DIETRICH, count of Wettin, invested with the dignity of margrave of Meissen in 1048, died in 1075.

After his death, the emperor Henry IV. gave Meissen to Vratislaus II., duke, and afterwards king of Bohemia, by whom it was transferred to his son-in-law Wiprecht, count of Groitsch. On his decease in 1124, it reverted to the house of Wettin in the person of

HENRY, count of Eulenburg, nephew to Dietrich. He was succeeded by his cousin

CONRAD the *Great*, who was invested in 1127

with the dignity of margrave of Meissen by the emperor Lothair, who also conferred on him the margraviate of Lower Lusatia in 1136. In his disputes with his predecessor Henry of Eulenburg, he was taken prisoner by the latter, and, on his release after the death of his enemy, joined the crusade to Palestine, agreeably to a vow made during his confinement. Wearied at length of the world, he determined to leave it, and, having given his arms and knightly insignia to the church of Meissen, he assumed the religious habit in the convent of Lautenberg, having previously divided his territories among his five sons. He died two months afterwards, in 1157. This prince first granted to the city of Leipzig the privilege of holding two annual fairs at Easter and Michaelmas, which have since conferred on it such great commercial importance.

Otho, the eldest son of Conrad, was sur-named *the Rich*, on account of the silver mine discovered about the year 1170 at Freyberg. A carrier of salt from Goslar passing by the place, picked up a lump of the ore, which he took home, and found it to contain a large proportion of silver and lead. A superintendent and a party of miners were, in consequence, sent thither to open the works. These proved so productive that, about 1174, Otho began to build the town of Freyberg, which increased

with such rapidity, that, at the time of Henry, duke of Saxony, it contained 32,760 inhabitants of twelve years and upwards.

Dietrich, Otho's eldest brother, to whom his father gave the margraviate of Lusatia, was a prince of an heroic mind and independent character. He was one of the retinue of the emperor Frederick I., when that monarch, on the 24th of July, 1177, effected his reconciliation with pope Alexander III., before the church of St. Mark at Venice. When the haughty pontiff had not only left the emperor prostrate for some time upon the ground, but as some papists assert, had even set his foot upon his neck, repeating the words of Scripture—*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*—"Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk;" margrave Dietrich called out and asked the emperor 'why he subjected the imperial dignity to such degradation?' The pope, who did not understand German, hereupon inquired what Dietrich had said. On learning the import of his question, to avoid any further tumult, he went to the emperor, raised him from the ground, and embraced him in the usual manner. Many papists, says Glafey in his *History of Saxony*, are ashamed to admit the truth of this fact, because it attests the excessive arrogance of the pope in offering such an indignity to the emperor; but Baronius acknowledges that, according to

the chronicle of cardinal Bessarion, preserved in the Venetian library, the circumstance actually happened, and Cellarius, in his work on the *Origin and Succession of the Counts of Wettin*, observes, that it was commemorated by the monks in a painting on the sides of the altar in the church of St. Mary at Halle. This picture represented an emperor crowned lying upon the earth, and a pope treading upon his neck. Over the head of the pope was the name of *Alexander*, which the monks, ashamed of the action, had covered with another colour, substituting the words *Sanctus Josua*; but still the old characters were so plain, that the name of *Alexander* was distinctly legible.

Conrad, the only legitimate son of Dietrich, was killed about 1175 or 1180, in a tournament at Vienna, on which account his corpse was refused christian burial by his cousin Wichmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, who had shortly before excommunicated all such persons as took part in that kind of sports. The prelate at length permitted his interment at the entrance of the greater church of Lauterberg; but only on condition that the princes, his friends, would swear "from that time forward never to attend any tournaments, nor to suffer any such amusements in their dominions, nor to allow any of their people or servants to be present at the same."

Henry, Otho's third brother, married Sophia, daughter of Leopold IV. of Austria, whose brother, duke Henry, surprised them on the wedding-day in their chamber, when they were in bed together, and with threats compelled them to promise that they would not demand of him either bridal paraphernalia or dowry.

ALBERT the *Proud* succeeded his father Otho in 1189, and was poisoned in 1195 by one of his attendants.

DIETRICH, the only brother of Albert, was in Palestine at the time of the decease of the latter. As the emperor, Henry VI., coveted the Misnian territories on account of the productive mines which they contained, and had sent officers to take possession of them, Dietrich hastened home, and, to escape the dangers prepared for him, was carried on board ship in a skin or barrel. With the assistance of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Thuringia, he recovered his patrimonial dominions. On some misunderstanding with the people of Leipzig, who threatened to renounce their allegiance to him, and to give up their city to the emperor, they bribed his physician with one hundred marks of silver to poison him, in 1222.

HENRY, surnamed the *Illustrious*, the youngest son of Dietrich, was one of the most powerful princes of his time, and, in right of his mother, added the landgraviate of Thuringia to the possessions of the house of Saxony.

LANDGRAVES OF THURINGIA.

FROM 1039 TO 1247.

THURINGIA is related to have been governed by kings in the early ages of the Christian era, at which period it comprehended a much more extensive tract of country than is now included in the appellation. The most celebrated of these ancient monarchs was Hermanfried, who so harassed his neighbours, the Franks, that they united with the Saxons; and these allies, having conquered their enemy in 531, divided his kingdom between them. Thuringia was afterwards governed, like the other provinces of the Frankish monarchy, by dukes and counts. After the time of Charlemagne it continued in subjection to his German successors, who appointed margraves, landgraves, and counts-palatine, to protect the country against the incursions of the Huns.

In 1039, the emperor Conrad II. conferred

various lordships in Thuringia on his relative, **LEWIS** *the Bearded*, son of Charles duke of Lorraine, and grandson of Lewis IV. of France, who considerably enlarged his possessions by subsequent purchases.

LEWIS, son of the preceding, surnamed by modern historians, *the Leaper*. This appellation is attributed to the following circumstance. Lewis, being charged with the murder of Frederick III., count-palatine of Saxony, was secured by the command of the emperor Henry IV., and confined in the castle of Giebichenstein, near Halle. Here he is said to have remained a prisoner two years ; at the expiration of which time he regained his liberty by leaping from the castle into the river Saale. In this leap, he is reported to have been materially assisted by a loose gown, the mention of which must not be omitted ; otherwise the story would appear absolutely incredible to all who are acquainted with the situation of the castle. It seems probable that Lewis, being taken prisoner by Henry, and confined in the above-mentioned castle, found means to bribe his guards ; and that the story of the adventurous leap was merely a fiction invented by them to remove any suspicion of their infidelity.

LEWIS III. was, in 1130, created landgrave of Thuringia, with peculiar privileges, by the emperor Lothair.

LEWIS IV., surnamed the *Iron*. This prince

seems in his early years to have paid but little attention to the important duties of his station. His whole time was spent in seeking and conferring pleasure. He therefore lived with his nobility upon the footing of a familiar friend, without exacting that respect which was due to his superior rank. The nobles, unprincipled enough to abuse the weakness and condescension of the young and thoughtless prince, assumed more extensive rights than belonged to them; had recourse to unlawful means of enriching themselves; and, in particular, were guilty of the most intolerable oppression towards their vassals. All these circumstances, however, were unknown to the landgrave, till accident made him acquainted with them. One day, when enjoying the diversion of the chase, he was parted from his attendants and lost his way. The approach of night compelled him to seek refuge in the cottage of an honest blacksmith, to whom he represented himself as a servant of the landgrave's. The smith continued his work, and at every blow that he struck upon the glowing iron, he emphatically ejaculated, "Landgrave become severe!" This circumstance excited his curiosity and led to an explanation, which first apprized him of the grievances of his subjects. His indignation was roused against his vassals; he resolved to punish the guilty, and to correct the abuses which had every where crept in. As

the nobles, however, would not quietly submit to humiliation, an open war ensued between them and the landgrave, who at length proved victorious, and secured the persons of the principal insurgents. These he harnessed by fours to a plough, compelled them to plough a whole field, hence denominated the *Adel-acker*—"the Field of the Nobles," and during the operation flogged them severely with his own hands. By this and other severities the landgrave struck terror into all, but exposed himself to so many attempts upon his life, that he found it necessary habitually to wear armour, and hence he received the surname of *the Iron*.

A recent writer states, that the circumstance which more especially induced the landgrave to inflict the above-mentioned punishment on his nobles was that, during an extraordinary dearth, many people in Thuringia had been forced to sell themselves as slaves to the great for bread, and had received from them the like inhuman treatment. It is farther related of this prince that, shortly before his death, he gave orders that his refractory nobles should carry him in his coffin, upon their shoulders, from Neuenburg, where he resided, to Reinhardsbrunn, the family burial-place, a distance of forty English miles, which was accordingly done.

In the landgrave's apartment in the Wartburg, says Mr. Thon, in his history of that castle

published in 1814, still hangs the portrait of this prince as large as life, with small pictures on each side. On the right is represented the scene in the smith's cottage; on the left, a plough, to which are harnessed four men having nothing on but their shirts; and a man on horseback whipping them. At some distance are seen a number of other persons likewise in their shirts and their hands bound. In the back-ground appear several castles in ruins. This picture, if not contemporary with the landgrave, is at least very ancient.

LEWIS V., eldest son of the preceding, was distinguished for the excellence of his character, his prudence, generosity, and personal beauty, and received the surname of *the Mild*, or *the Pious*. His first wife, a countess of Cleves, he divorced upon the pretext of too near relationship. He then married the widow of Waldemar I. king of Denmark, whom, however, he sent home in the following year (1187) to her no small mortification. His third wife was an Austrian princess.

Though Lewis had a sovereign contempt for the intrigues of the priests, who, according to some antient chronicles, strove by means of a frightful phantasmagoric exhibition of the tortures of his father's soul, to obtain from him a grant of considerable estates; he nevertheless founded several religious houses, and in 1188

joined a crusade to the Holy Land, where he highly distinguished himself in the siege of Acre, but died at Cyprus in 1190.

HERRMANN I., who succeeded his brother Lewis, was involved in a few years in war with Albert the Proud, margrave of Meissen. Deitrich, count of Weissenfels, brother of Albert, was so closely pressed by the latter, that he applied to Herrmann for assistance. The only condition upon which Herrmann would listen to this solicitation was, that Deitrich should marry his daughter Jutta. This stipulation was by no means agreeable, as the lady was extremely ugly. Urged, however, by necessity, Deitrich complied, and to this union the house of Meissen was indebted for the possession of Thuringia.

Tired of the wars which at the commencement of the thirteenth century distracted Germany, Herrmann directed his attention to the arts of peace, and was a zealous patron of some of the most eminent minstrels of that age. The principal of these was Henry von Veldeck, a man of noble birth and high in office at the court of the landgrave. His chief poetical performance was a translation of Virgil's *Eneid*, with which he interwove the achievements of the emperor Frederick I. The others were named Walter von der Vogelweide, Reinhard von Zwetzen, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Peter Olp, and Henry von Ofterdingen. These men fre-

quently displayed their talents in competitions before the princes whom war or amusement brought to the residence of the landgrave. On one of these occasions they chose Hermann himself, and his brother-in-law, Leopold, duke of Austria, for their heroes. Ofterdingen, who had resided some time at the court of the duke, characterized him in such glowing and enthusiastic strains, that Walter von der Vogelweide, who was his most formidable rival, was obliged to acknowledge his superiority. The vanquished poet, deeply chagrined, urged a fresh trial. Veldeck and Olp seconded his proposal. Zwetzen and Eschenbach were appointed umpires; and to such a pitch was the poetic fury carried on this occasion, that nothing less than death by the hand of the public executioner of Eisenach was destined for the conquered party. Walter's friends, sensible that he was not a match for Ofterdingen, succeeded by a variety of artifices in prevailing upon the others to leave the decision to dice. His opponents played false, and he lost. To escape hanging, the apparatus for which was already prepared by the executioner, in front of the castle of Wartburg, where this singular competition took place, Ofterdingen loudly insisted on another trial of poetical skill. His demand was complied with, but his adversaries had recourse to all possible means to disturb the current of his ideas, and

with such success that he admitted himself to be overcome. He was accordingly adjudged, without mercy, to suffer the fate agreed upon. In this dilemma he claimed the protection of the landgravine Sophia, intreating that Klingsor, the most celebrated minstrel of that age, might be appointed umpire. Not only the landgravine and her consort, but the other minstrels consented that Klingsor should decide the dispute within a year. Ofterdingen himself proceeded to Hungary, and before the expiration of the time appointed, brought back his umpire with him to Eisenach. According to various accounts, Klingsor had studied at Rome, Paris, and Cracow, and had attained such proficiency in medicine and other sciences, particularly astronomy, as to excite the astonishment of his contemporaries. He had visited the East, where he profited by the society of the learned Arabs of Bagdad, of whom he was supposed to have learned the mysteries of the black art, which in those days had numerous votaries. The truth is that Klingsor was one of the greatest scholars of his time, and such were his poetical abilities, that he found it an easy task to bear away the palm from many minstrels. The latter, satisfied that their failure could not be the result of natural means, without farther ceremony ascribed his superiority to the assistance of the devil. On the arrival of this celebrated man, a

solemn meeting was summoned at the Wartburg, in which this important dispute was to be decided. Klingsor and Wolfram von Eschenbach tried their skill, and proposed riddles to one another. The victory was upon the whole doubtful; on which Klingsor is related to have been thrown into such embarrassment that he called a demon to his aid. In the Jena collection of the works of the minstrels, there are actually several poetical fragments, in which the supposed spirit, Nasian, is represented as telling the severest truths, especially to the clergy on the infamous system of indulgences, the greediness of the priests, and other similar subjects. In those days such sallies were certainly dangerous, and Klingsor seems to have had the good sense to put them on purpose into the mouth of an evil spirit to avoid any unpleasant consequences to himself. He ultimately succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the hostile bards. The landgrave was desirous of retaining him at his court, but could not prevail upon him to stay, as he received from Andrew II., king of Hungary, a yearly salary of three thousand marks of silver, chiefly on account of his extraordinary skill in matters relating to the mines. Herrmann, therefore, dismissed him with some very valuable presents.

It is not improbable, that Klingsor's visit to the court of the landgrave may have been the

immediate occasion of the embassy sent soon afterwards by the latter to the king of Hungary, to solicit his daughter as a wife for his son Lewis, then eleven years of age. The ambassadors were most graciously received, and the king delivered the princess Elisabeth, who was but four years old, into their hands, with many formalities and earnest exhortations. The little bride was furnished, among other things, with a silver cradle and bathing-vessel ; and one thousand marks of silver formed part of her dowry. The ambassadors took their leave, and arrived in safety at Herrmann's court at the Wartburg, where, to ensure their union, the young couple were betrothed with the ceremonies prescribed by the church.

LEWIS VI., or *the Holy*, had scarcely attained his 16th year, at the death of his father, in 1216. He had received an excellent education in the society of his beloved Elisabeth. This princess, even in her infancy, manifested a strong propensity to works of piety, which often degenerated into mental imbecility and fanaticism. Many persons about the court of the landgrave conceived such a dislike of her for this conduct, as to exert all their efforts to have her sent home again, or placed in a convent. Lewis, however, was too warmly attached to his bride to listen to such counsel. When he went from home,

he was sure on his return to bring her some present, and to give her other proofs of his tenderness. Once, when he had omitted to do so, Elisabeth, whose heart was endued with extraordinary sensibility, was deeply affected. Some of the courtiers, observing her disappointment, took a malicious pleasure in throwing out the insinuation that the young landgrave had ceased to love her. This increased her distress to the highest degree, and she disclosed her grief to Walter von Vargel, one of her attendants. This honest servant comforted her in the best manner he could, and soon afterwards found an opportunity to communicate her unhappiness to his master. "Look you," replied the good prince, pointing to the Inselsberg, "that hill, if it were entirely of pure gold, could not induce me to be inconstant to my beloved Elisabeth. Tell her so, and as a proof carry to her this jewel." With these words, he took out of a velvet bag which he wore by his side a double mirror set in ivory, on the back of which was a crucifix. With this significant present Walter hastened to Elisabeth, and banished all uneasiness from her bosom.

In 1121, Lewis consummated his nuptials with this princess, who was then but fourteen years of age. The pleasures of matrimony, however, seem to have had but few charms for

the gentle enthusiast. She would rise from bed* every night, even after her marriage, to repeat her prayers, which often lasted so long that sleep overpowered her before she had finished. Her husband would then take her by the hand, and intreat her to lie down again. But neither solicitations nor tender reproaches were of any avail; and she declared to him that though she could not be always praying, yet she could mortify her flesh, which she effected by scourging it most unmercifully.

Their mutual attachment nevertheless continued unalterable, and, according to various anecdotes related by ancient chronicles, nothing could induce the landgrave to be untrue to his Elisabeth.

When Lewis was called from home either by military operations or other affairs of state, his consort was indefatigable in the exercise of benevolence, for which the great famine and the contagious diseases then ravaging Thuringia afforded abundant opportunities. At the foot of the Wartburg she erected an hospital, in

* The wooden bedstead upon which Elisabeth slept was afterwards cut up to make toothpicks, which were believed to possess the miraculous virtue of curing the most violent toothache. Many a bedstead has, in consequence of this notion, been since carried piecemeal from the Wartburg, where good care was always taken to supply their places.

which she maintained twenty-eight indigent sick persons, whom she herself assisted to nurse and attend. She founded also, besides other charitable institutions, the hospital of St. Anne, situated just without the gate of Eisenach, as an asylum for aged persons bereft of fortune and friends, and endowed it with considerable revenues. During the dearth above alluded to, she moreover caused relief to be daily distributed in her presence to nine hundred indigent individuals. This active beneficence several officious persons took pains to represent to the landgrave as wanton profusion. Lewis, whose sentiments were worthy of his rank, replied, that "he would never obstruct Elisabeth in the indulgence of her charitable disposition; and he should be perfectly satisfied, if she gave away every thing but the Wartburg, Eisenach, and Neuenburg."

Among other extraordinary stories, which are in direct opposition to this reply, and to the general sentiments of the landgrave, we find the following:—the landgravine was once descending from the Wartburg with a basket full of provisions, for her indigent pensioners. Her husband met her by the way, and peremptorily inquired what she had in the basket. "Flowers," answered the terrified Elisabeth; and when the basket was uncovered, the most beautiful metamorphosis confirmed the reply.

This transformation, however, is one of the minor miracles ascribed by various historical writers to this princess. According to these fabulous accounts, she, one day during her residence at Wartburg, gave to some poor persons various articles of her apparel, which were immediately replaced by angels. On another occasion, as she was going to church, she dispatched a beggar with a valuable glove, which was quickly purchased by a knight, who, in every conflict in which he was engaged, fastened this precious relic to his helmet, and was thus rendered invincible. When she was distributing provisions, and the number of the poor was greater than she had expected, the victuals increased in her hands till they were all satisfied. She several times procured fish out of Elisabeth's well, which was constructed at her expense; and once in particular, when a sick man desired to have a dish of fish, and it was impossible to procure any in haste, she ordered a maid-servant to dip a bucket into this well. The girl brought up several fish, of which the patient ate heartily, and recovered. She restored to health a paralytic person who was deaf and dumb. She prayed with a blind man, who forthwith recovered his sight. She frequently went abroad in the rain to perform her orisons, but her clothes were never wetted. Angels appeared to her, and she even conversed with our

Saviour, and God the Father himself, who, when the emperor paid a visit to the Wartburg, sent her by an angel a golden crown and a most magnificent dress for the occasion.

All these miracles may be easily accounted for, if we take but a superficial view of those times; if we consider the character of Conrad of Marburg, the confessor of the tender Elisabeth, who is represented by various writers as a consummate hypocrite, an atrocious villain, and an inhuman bigot; and if we reflect how easy it must have been to deceive this gentle enthusiastic princess. Innocent and wholly absorbed in devotion, she was herself most deluded, and found in circumstances of this kind miracles upon which she certainly valued herself not a little.

The reader will not be surprised to learn that some portion of this wonder-working power was communicated to her husband, the landgrave. He is said to have displayed a remarkable instance of it at the Wartburg, when a lion, presented to him either by his father-in-law, the king of Hungary, or his brother-in-law, Henry of Austria, rushed furiously upon him as he was entering the court-yard. A loud exclamation and a motion of the hand were sufficient to cause the formidable animal to throw himself at his feet, and as it were to implore his pardon.

But, setting aside these fabulous stories, history has recorded many curious facts respecting the landgrave and his consort. During the absence of this prince in Italy, the lord of Salza conceived the idea of erecting a castle on the Altenberg, situated in the domain of the convent of Reinhardsbrunn, which enabled him to do great injury to that house. The abbot entreated him, but in vain, to desist from his design. Lewis on his return from Italy visited Reinhardsbrunn, where the abbot complained bitterly of the conduct of Salza. The landgrave said nothing, but privately sent orders to his bailiff of Eisenach to post himself the following morning near Salza's castle, with all the citizens capable of bearing arms. He himself passed the night at Reinhardsbrunn. Next day, which was Sunday, he departed, directing the abbot not to hold the procession or read high mass before his return. He joined the men of Eisenach, who were assembled according to his orders, scaled the castle, and took Salza prisoner. He then proceeded with his train to the convent, the captive, bound and fettered, heading the procession, and being placed in an elevated situation in the church for public view. Some of his servants were executed, and Salza himself engaged by an oath never more to set foot upon the lands belonging to the convent. The castle was demolished, and the materials

given to the monks. On this occasion the landgrave, contrary to his usual custom, brought no provisions with him. His table was therefore supplied by the abbot. The prince ordered his treasurer to demand a bill and pay the amount. The monks, grateful for the service rendered to them, positively refused to accept any remuneration, and the treasurer urged the matter no farther. The landgrave, highly incensed at this complaisance, obliged the treasurer to pay out of his own pocket the whole expense of his entertainment.

Soon afterwards, the monks of the same convent complained to the landgrave of some Franconian noblemen, who had taken from them a butt of wine and six horses. Lewis demanded the restitution of the property, which was refused. The landgrave, in consequence, summoned together his vassals and citizens, and ravaged the possessions of the plunderers. They were at length compelled to implore pardon, and that in the most humiliating attitude: covered with their shirts alone, with halters about their necks, and naked swords held to their throats, they begged for mercy. Lewis forgave them, on condition that they should send a quantity of good wine and a certain number of fine horses to the convent.

The landgrave once attended the fair of Eisenach, where a dealer in small wares attracted his

notice. "Canst thou gain a subsistence by the sale of such trifling commodities?" asked the landgrave. "Ah, Sir!" replied the pedlar, "I am ashamed to beg, and am not strong enough for a day-labourer. I could, however, earn a livelihood by the profession which I follow, though my whole stock is not worth more than five-pence, if I had but a safe-conduct from one town to another." Lewis ordered a sum of money to be paid him; directed a letter of safe-conduct to be made out for him, and promised to be responsible for all losses, on condition of sharing the profits of his trade. The pedlar joyfully pursued his peregrinations to distant parts, and returned every new-year's day to exhibit his stock to the landgrave. The latter selected from it such articles as he pleased, and clothed the dealer in the dress worn by the attendants of his court. The pedlar's business soon increased to such a degree, that he found it necessary to purchase an ass. At length he ventured to travel to Venice, then the emporium of the commerce of Europe. From that city he returned with many foreign curiosities, which he exhibited by the way at the fair of Würzburg. The sight of these attractive trinkets excited in some of the Franconians a violent desire to possess them, as they would be such charming presents for their wives and mistresses. As, however, they had not money sufficient to buy

them, they adopted an expedient common enough in those days ; and when the pedlar was about to continue his journey, they seized his goods and his ass into the bargain. The poor man hastened to the Wartburg, and complained to the landgrave of his mishap ; Lewis laughed, desired him to be of good cheer, convoked his counts, lords, knights, and vassals, for an expedition, and, accompanied by the pedlar, proceeded to Würzburg in quest of the ass, laying waste all before him. The bishop of Würzburg at length dispatched a messenger to inquire the reason of such conduct. " I am seeking my ass," replied the landgrave, " which some of the bishop's people have taken away." The goods and the ass were immediately restored.

All these facts serve to attest the excellent character of Lewis VI. It is certain that he had the strongest sense of religion and virtue. He punished profane swearing at his court as immoral. With all his personal recommendations, he never suffered himself to be allured by those pleasures which captivate the senses. With the most steadfast adherence to principles, he was a just and wise sovereign, a tender husband, and a faithful friend. It is the more to be regretted that his life should have been abridged by his participation in the crusades. He died at Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples, on his way to Palestine, in 1227.

Elisabeth was deeply affected by the news of this event, though she was far from anticipating the cruel fate that awaited her. Henry, her husband's brother, turned her and her innocent children out of the Wartburg, and even caused it to be intimated to the inhabitants of Eisenach that her reception there would be displeasing to him. With her infants in her arms, or clinging about her, did this daughter of a king, and widow of one of the most powerful princes of Germany, quit the castle. At Eisenach she was cruelly treated by the lower classes of the inhabitants, who had received so many benefits at her hands, and one ungrateful wretch of her own sex even pushed her maliciously into the stream called the Löbersbach. She resolved at length to seek a retreat in the hospital which she herself had founded. Hence she was taken by her aunt, the abbess of Kitzingen, and her uncle the bishop of Bamberg gave her the castle of Bottenstein for her residence. She had not been there long before the remains of her husband were brought to Bamberg, and she accompanied them, with an extraordinary concourse of people, from that town to Reinhardsbrunn. Here Rudolph von Vargel had the courage to remonstrate in the strongest manner with the landgrave Henry on the cruelty of his behaviour to his sister-in-law. Henry was so deeply affected by the representation of his faithful servant, that he became

reconciled to Elisabeth, and took her back with him to the Wartburg, where she enjoyed all the comforts that she could desire. Such, however, was her wish to pass the remainder of her days in religious seclusion, that, at the expiration of a year, she entreated him to assign her a place where she might live in retirement. He accordingly gave to her the town of Marburg, with the dependent villages, revenues, and rights; and thither she immediately repaired. Her father, having meanwhile heard of her distressed situation, sent an embassy to fetch her home. The ambassador followed her to Marburg, where he found the daughter of his sovereign at the spinning-wheel, but could not prevail upon her to return with him. In that town she ended her life in 1231, and in 1235 was solemnly canonized by pope Gregory IX. Anterior to the Reformation, her tomb was visited by great numbers of pilgrims from Hungary and other countries.

HERRMANN II. succeeded his father Louis VI. at the age of four years, under the guardianship of his uncle Henry Raspe, who is charged with having caused him to be poisoned in 1240, at the early age of seventeen.

HENRY RASPE died without issue in 1247, on which Thuringia devolved to his sister's son, Henry the Illustrious, margrave of Meissen.

THURINGIA AND MEISSEN UNITED.

FROM 1247 TO 1322.

HENRY *the Illustrious* added Thuringia to the possessions of the house of Meissen. In 1263 he divided his dominions with his three sons, and died in 1288.

ALBERT, who for his vices received the surname of *the Degenerate*, the eldest son of Henry the Illustrious, obtained, on the partition of his father's territories, the province of Thuringia. In his early years he was a prince of great hopes, and particularly distinguished himself in the campaign against the Pagans, in Prussia, in 1265. He married Margaret, daughter of the emperor Frederick II., by whom he had three sons and a daughter. She was a princess of excellent character, but had the misfortune to lose the affections of her husband, who was fascinated by the attractions of one of her ladies, named Cunigund von Eisenberg. This woman,

who possessed in a high degree the art of pleasing, not content with having deprived her mistress of her husband's love, formed the cruel resolution of putting her completely out of the way, that she might step into her place. Albert was base enough to countenance her design. After some attempts to poison her had failed, they chose (in 1270) an expedient worthy of their age. They prevailed, by the promise of a great reward, upon a man of the lowest class, an ass-driver, who daily brought water, wood, and other necessities to the castle of Wartburg, to introduce himself, disguised as a ghost, into the bedchamber of the landgravine, and to strangle her while asleep, upon which her death might be ascribed to the supernatural agency of an evil spirit. The man came at the time appointed, and entered the chamber of the princess. Here he was seized with a sudden terror, for he was not a hardened villain. His soul revolted at the crime which he had engaged to commit, and, in his confusion, he made a noise that awoke the princess, whose pardon he implored upon his knees. The landgravine, in extreme astonishment, inquired the cause of his appearance in such a place, and he confessed all that he knew. In the utmost consternation, she sent for Vargel, the steward of her household, and consulted with him what was to be done. He advised her to seek safety in immediate flight. While her

attendants were collecting a few necessities, the unfortunate landgravine went to her beloved children, who were in an adjoining chamber, and took leave of them with a flood of tears. Such was the violence of her emotion, that, in taking a parting embrace of her favourite, Frederick, who was twelve years old, she bit his check so severely, that he afterwards retained the mark of this token of maternal affection, and received in history the surname of *The Bitten*. As there was no time to be lost, her attendants tore the weeping mother from her children, and let her down from a window of the castle to a walk on the outside of the walls. In this manner did Margaret, the daughter of an emperor, escape the danger of death, in order to expose herself to fresh hardships. With three faithful followers, she descended the steep mountain after midnight, with considerable difficulty, and proceeded on foot to the castle of Craynberg, where she was received with astonishment by the steward of the abbot of Hirschfeld. Hence she was conducted to Fulda, and from that place to Frankfort, by direction of the abbot, for which he was a few months afterwards assassinated before the altar, at the instigation, as it is said, of the landgrave Albert. Margaret was every where treated with all the respect due to her birth and rank ; but her unmerited misfortunes preyed so deeply upon her spirits, as in two months to terminate both her

sorrows and her life. Her unprincipled husband, to conceal his own base behaviour and to account for her flight, propagated the scandalous report that she had been caught in an intrigue with one of his nobles, with whom she had secretly eloped. No sooner was he apprised of her death, than he married Cunigund, who, during the nuptial ceremony, held under her robe her son Apitz, whom she had by the landgrave, a practice common at that time in Germany, where it was supposed to procure for natural children the privileges of legitimacy. This union was attended with baneful consequences to Thuringia and Meissen. Albert, being more and more estranged from his children by his first wife, disinherited them, and declared Apitz heir to his dominions. This injustice was resisted by some of his nobles, as well as by the princes themselves, whom their uncle Dietrich received under his protection, and led to a long succession of civil broils and hostilities. At length, in 1286, a convention was concluded, by which the landgrave agreed to give up the palatinate of Saxony to Frederick, the elder of his surviving sons, and the country of Meissen to Dietrich, the younger.

Albert had previously lost his beloved Cunigund, who was the cause of the discord between him and his sons, and not long afterwards he married a lady of the house of Reuss, who had

by her first husband, Otho von Arnshaug, a beautiful daughter named Elisabeth. In 1293, Albert sold Thuringia to count Adolph of Nassau, who had been elected king of the Romans, for twelve thousand marks of silver, reserving to himself nothing but the castle of Wartburg, and the annexed demesne, for life. His sons opposed this sale of their inheritance, and resolutely withstood Adolph, who came with an army to take possession of the country. These strangers, consisting of soldiers collected in Swabia and in the provinces bordering on the Rhine, were guilty of every species of cruelty and atrocity. In retaliation for their disgraceful treatment of the female sex, the two brothers caused such of the enemy as fell into their hands in the battle of Mittelhausen to be deprived of the power to repeat the offence, and then sent back to the camp of Adolph. Spangenberg, in his Mansfeld Chronicle, has preserved a sarcastic song, sung by the Thuringians on this occasion. In 1298, death terminated at once the life and claims of Adolph, and left the brothers in peaceable possession of the country.

About this time margrave Frederick, who had so valiantly and successfully opposed the invaders of Thuringia, was himself overcome by the power of love. His heart conceived a violent passion for the beautiful Elisabeth, his step-mother's daughter, whom he had seen at the

castle of Arnshaug, and whom he determined to carry off. For this purpose he concealed himself on the day of some religious festival in a small wood, and surprised her as she was going from the castle to the church. He conveyed her with her maids to Gotha, whence he wrote an account of the whole transaction to her mother, imploring her in the most pathetic manner to consent to their union, which was shortly after solemnized.

Albert at length suffered the punishment due to a cruel husband and unnatural father. Death had deprived him of his illegitimate favourite, Apitz, when, in 1306, margrave Frederick dispossessed him of his castle of Wartburg, on which he retired to Erfurt, and there lingered out the remainder of his days in unpitied poverty, till he expired in 1314, in the 64th year of his age.

The Wartburg had not been long in the hands of Frederick before he was besieged there by the troops of Albert, king of the Romans, who, as successor to Adolph in that dignity, preferred a claim to the rights which he had purchased over Thuringia. During the siege, Frederick's consort gave birth to a daughter. As there was no priest in the castle, the rite of baptism could not be there administered. In this dilemma, heightened by the want of provisions, Frederick resolved upon an attempt which would sufficiently bespeak the intrepidity of his mind, were

there no other instance of his courage upon record. Placing the nurse with the infant on a horse, he, with ten chosen followers, well mounted, sallied at night from the Wartburg. The enemy perceived and lost no time in pursuing them. By the way, the violent crying of the child signified its want of that sustenance which Nature has provided for tender infancy. "Stop!" cried the affectionate father to the nurse and her escort, "the girl must have refreshment, should all Thuringia be the price of it." During this repast, which is certainly unparalleled in history, the enemy approached. The presence of the brave parent, however, deterred them from making any formidable attack, and he hastened with his charge to Tenneberg, to the abbot of Reinhardsbrunn, by whom the infant was baptized, and named Elisabeth. Having left her at Tenneberg, and obtained assistance from his brother Dietrich, and his brother-in-law the duke of Brunswick, he hastened home, and put an end to the siege.

In the following year, 1307, the king of the Romans again entered the country with a numerous army, chiefly composed of Swabians, and encamped at Lucka, apparently intending to besiege Leipzig. Frederick and his brother, who were then in that city, collecting their knights and dependents, together with the citizens capable of bearing arms, and reinforced by

three hundred Brunswick horse, determined to march forth to meet the foe. Before they set out on this bold expedition, all the individuals of their little army engaged to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood. A day of solemn prayer was then held ; each person confessed, received the holy sacrament, made vows to the saints, and promised part of the spoils that should be taken to the churches. All the churches and chapels were thronged with women and children, who recommended their husbands, brothers, and fathers, to the protection of the Almighty and of the saints, and fervently prayed God to grant a victory and a safe return to their princes, and to the brave citizens and soldiers. After this, Frederick ordered all his people to assemble under arms in the market-place, and addressed them in the following spirited harangue :—

“ Dearly beloved and loyal citizens and valiant soldiers, it is manifest to every one how things now stand with us. We are put up, as it were, to public sale, by him from whom such a proceeding was least to be expected, and bought by those who ought to know their duty better, and who should consider that parents and children, who quarrel under certain circumstances, may under others be reconciled again. But the first unjust purchaser (Adolph) has not gone unpunished ; he has been slain in battle by

him (Albert), who, though he at first shewed a disposition to leave us at peace, yet soon afterwards, contrary to our hopes, began to tread in the steps of his vanquished predecessor. He has now sent his banditti and armed plunderers into our country, to carry us off like the most abject slaves into ignominious bondage. Whether he be more proud and haughty than cruel and inhuman, it is difficult to determine. When he had reduced the Eastland to submission, he desisted not on that account from hostilities, but ravaged it with fire, rapine, murder, rape, and other horrible atrocities : he spared nothing either temporal or ecclesiastical, for which he will assuredly not escape the just wrath of the Almighty judge and avenger of guilt and crimes. In the name of this supreme and celestial Avenger I promise you certain victory, if ye but shew that courage which was displayed fifty years ago by your forefathers, who, though in small number, totally destroyed a great hostile force, which was committing similar devastations in these provinces. Bear in mind their memorable example, and let it incite you to emulate their valour. Remember the virtue of your fathers and grandfathers ! Remember that ye are to fight for house and home, for the temples of God and the saints, for the country in which ye were born and bred, for your wives and children, nay, for life and liberty. I will not detain and

fatigue you with farther observations, lest I should seem to doubt the virtue and valour of my loyal citizens and soldiers, and lest it should be suspected that I advance more in this place than I shall prove in the field of battle. Myself and my brother here (pointing to margrave Dietrich) will march at your head. We will be the first to attack the enemy. Wherever the battle rages most furiously, there will we be found in the midst of it. Follow only, with the assistance of God, the directions and example of us, your leaders, and be assured that we will share your fortunes, whatever the issue of this conflict shall make them."

To this address, a suitable answer was returned, and the next day, which was the 31st of May, the margrave, having mustered his little force, and once more commended his just cause to God, rode out of the town by St. Peter's gate. The inhabitants with uplifted hands petitioned Heaven to grant him success. His followers took a mournful leave of their friends and families, and the priests imparted their benediction to them, as to men who were hastening to inevitable destruction. Those who were left behind, having secured the gates, returned to the churches and resumed their prayers. Universal silence pervaded the city, and every one awaited the issue of the conflict with the most anxious impatience. Margrave Frederick ar-

ranged his people in such a manner, that the Thuringian and Eastland infantry formed the van, the Misnian the rear, the Misnian and Eastland cavalry the right and left wing, and the Brunswick horse the reserve. The Swabians received timely notice of their approach, but tauntingly denominated them a raw rabble, and were therefore in no haste to form in order of battle. The two gallant brothers, however, charged them with such fury, that they were thrown into confusion, and, after five hours' fighting, obliged to quit the field. The troops of the margraves refused at first to give quarter, and cut down all before them without mercy. Hence three thousand six hundred Swabians were slain in this engagement, and the survivors were seized with such a panic that many of them killed their horses, and, having ripped them open, crept into their bellies to escape the fury of their pursuers. Others in their flight sought safety in ovens, in one of which retreats five of them were dispatched by an old woman, with a spit or a pitch-fork. So complete was the rout, that it gave rise to the proverbial expression applied to persons who are involving themselves in ruin: "They will fare like the Swabians at Lucka." Frederick immediately sent intelligence of this victory to the good people of Leipzig. They went out with joy

to meet their deliverers, who made rich presents to the churches, and returned sincere thanks to God, the giver of victory.

Frederick had not long afterwards the affliction to lose his gallant brother, margrave Dietrich, who, while kneeling at prayer in the choir of St. Thomas's church at Leipzig, on Christmas Eve, was stabbed by an assassin. This wretch, though tortured in the most dreadful manner, scourged with rods, and lacerated with red-hot pincers, though his arms and legs were broken, and he was laid alive upon the wheel, yet refused to discover the instigator of the deed. The count of Nassau, king Albert's general, was however considered as his employer, for which reason the margrave Frederick singled him out in the battle which took place at Frohburg, and slew him with his own hand. Dietrich, who died without issue, was interred with due pomp in the Pauline church at Leipzig, and his epitaph in Latin hexameters was written by the celebrated Italian poet Dante, who, being obliged on some account or other to flee from his own country, resided at that time in Saxony. His possessions devolved to his brother.

Frederick survived many years, successfully engaged in improving the condition of his subjects and repairing the ravages of war. The disease which proved fatal to him is attributed

to a singular cause. A play, the subject of which was borrowed from the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, was once performed at Eisenach, in the presence of the court. In spite of the intercession of the Virgin Mary with the saints in behalf of the latter, they were cast by the monks without mercy into hell, which was visibly represented. The benevolent mind of the margrave, who had then attained the age of sixty-four years, weakened by incessant fatigue and extraordinary exertions, was deeply affected ; and he was unable to reconcile the melancholy fate of the foolish virgins with the intercession of the mother of our Saviour, which was in those days deemed all-efficacious. These reflections plunged him into such a depression of spirits as produced bodily disease, and rendered him incapable of attending to the affairs of government till his death in 1324.

FREDERICK II., *the Severe*, who was only fifteen years old at the death of his father, had been betrothed by the latter to the daughter of John, the blind king of Bohemia, who was taken prisoner by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy. By the persuasion of the emperor Lewis VI., Frederick sent home this lady, and in 1329 married Mechtild, the daughter of the emperor ; on which the Bohemian monarch gave his daughter in marriage to John, king of France. In the memorable expedition of Ed-

ward III. against the latter, he was assisted by Frederick who joined him with a considerable force. He died in 1349.

FREDERICK III., by his marriage with Catherine, daughter of count Henry of Henneberg, added the district and town of Coburg to the family possessions. It was this lady of whom the elector, Frederick III., said to Lucas Cranach, a celebrated artist of the 16th century, employed by him to execute the portraits of his ancestors, that "he must paint this hen in his best style, because she had laid a valuable egg for the house of Saxony." He died in 1381.

FREDERICK IV., *the Warlike*, reigned jointly with his brothers, and with them purchased the town and castle of Saalfeld of the counts of Schwarzburg. In 1322 the Ascanian line of the electors of Saxony became extinct with Albert III., on which the duchy of Upper Saxony, and the dignity of elector and arch-marshal of the Roman empire attached to it, devolved to Frederick.

DUKES AND ELECTORS OF SAXONY,

FROM THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE YEAR 1422.

ON the division of the empire of Charlemagne among his sons, Saxony, together with the rest of Germany, fell to the share of Lewis the German. In the time of this prince we find the first mention of a duke of Saxony in the person of LUDOLPH.

OTHO, son and successor of Ludolph.

HENRY *the Fowler*, became emperor of Germany on the death of Conrad I.

OTHO *the Great*, succeeded his father Henry, both in the imperial dignity and in his hereditary dominions. On occasion of the first expedition of this prince to Italy, he appointed HERRMANN BILLINGEN, who was descended from a distinguished Saxon family, governor of Saxony. He afterwards granted to him a portion of the country, most probably the modern Lüneburg, together with a district on the other side of the Elbe, and the title of *duke of Saxony*.

BRUNO, succeeded his father Herrmann, 973.

BERNARD, 1011.

ORDULPH, 1062.

MAGNUS, 1074. At his death in 1106, he left two daughters, the one married to Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria, and the other to Otho the Rich, count of Ascania, or Anhalt.

After the death of Magnus, in 1106, the emperor, Henry V., gave the duchy of Saxony to LOTHAIR, count of Supplinburg and Querfurth. On the elevation of Lothair to the imperial dignity in 1137, he conferred the duchy of Saxony on his son-in-law, Henry the Magnanimous, son of Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria.

HENRY *the Magnanimous*, d. 1139.

HENRY *the Lion*. This prince, the progenitor of the illustrious house of Brunswick, was left a minor under the guardianship of his uncle, duke Welf. The possessions which he inherited from his father were very extensive, embracing not only the duchy of Saxony proper, but also Bavaria, and a considerable portion of the circles of Austria, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia. Thus Henry was one of the most powerful princes of Germany ; but an impolitic misunderstanding with the emperor, Frederick I., occasioned the loss of nearly the whole of his dominions. He accompanied that monarch in his fifth expedition to Italy, but quitted him with his troops at the very moment when the

emperor had most need of his services, and returned to Germany. Through this defection the object of the expedition was completely frustrated, and Frederick found it advisable to compromise his differences with his mortal enemy, pope Alexander III. He determined, however, to wreak signal vengeance upon the author of this disappointment, and, urged by the bishops who were all enemies to the brave Henry, he put the latter to the ban of the empire. Unable to withstand the power and influence of Frederick, the Saxon prince was, in 1180, stripped of all his dominions excepting his allodial possessions, out of which in the sequel arose the duchy of Brunswick. The duchy of Saxony and the dignity of arch-marshal of the empire were conferred on Bernard, count of Ascania.

BERNARD, d. 1212.

ALBERT I., d. 1260.

ALBERT II. This prince, who assisted at the election of the emperor Rudolph of Habsburg to the imperial dignity, married his daughter Agnes, and was invested by him with the palatinate of Saxony. He perished in 1298, at Ailla-Chapelle, in the crowd drawn together by the coronation of Albert I. as king of the Romans.

RUDOLPH I., d. 1356.

RUDOLPH II., d. 1376.

WENCESLAUS, d. 1388.

RUDOLPH III. It is remarked of this prince

that he was the first who assumed the title of *elector of Saxony*, though the right had been long exercised by his predecessors. He died in 1419.

ALBERT III., brother of the preceding. By his death, in 1422, the Ascanian line of the electors of Saxony became extinct; on which the emperor Sigismund conferred the duchy of Upper Saxony, together with the electoral dignity and the office of arch-marshal, the burgraviate of Magdeburg, and other possessions, upon Frederick the Warlike, margrave of Meissen.

ELECTORS OF SAXONY,

AFTER THE UNION OF THE

DUCHY OF SAXONY WITH MEISSEN AND
THURINGIA.

FROM 1422 TO 1547.

FREDERICK *the Warlike*. Among other grants of the emperor Sigismund to this prince was the important privilege of *sealing with red wax*. He died in 1428.

FREDERICK II. *the Gentle*. On the death of Frederick the Simple, landgrave of Thuringia, without issue, in 1440, his possessions devolved to this prince and his brother William. For several years they governed these as well as their patrimonial dominions conjointly, but agreed to divide them in 1445. This partition led to long and ruinous quarrels between the brothers, in which Frederick displayed many traits of generosity and benevolence that acquired him the surname by which he was distinguished. On one

occasion, when their troops were ready to engage, a soldier, who was an excellent marksman, promised to shoot duke William. "Shoot whom you will," rejoined the elector, "but don't harm my brother." William, when informed of this proof of fraternal affection, could not help bursting into tears.—At another time, the elector having made himself master of Freyberg, commanded the senate to assemble in the market-place, for the purpose of swearing allegiance to him, and then taking the field with his army against his brother. On the repetition of this summons, the senators, bareheaded, and each carrying a winding-sheet upon his arm, went in procession, two and two, from the town-house to the market-place. The burgomaster, Nicholas Weller von Molssdorff, a venerable old man, addressed the elector in the name of them all, assuring the prince that they would cheerfully expose their lives in his behalf, but were determined rather to die than to violate the oath they had sworn to their sovereign, duke William, adding that he was ready to offer himself as the first victim, and to submit his old grey head to the sword of the executioner. The elector, moved by such fidelity, rode up to Weller and clapped him on the shoulder, exclaiming, "No head off, old man ! no head off !"

William, on the contrary, who generally resided at Weimar, is described as a prince of a

very irascible temper and vindictive disposition. Hence the popular saying, that "when duke William put on his spurs and crossed the courtyard of Weimar in them, he might be heard over all Thuringia; and that he who gave him cause to put them on, had need to look very sharply about him." He married a daughter of the emperor Albert's, but soon repudiated her on account of a fair mistress, named Brandenstein, whom he made his wife. To expiate this offence, he performed a pilgrimage to Palestine; and, dying without male issue in 1483, his brother's sons, Ernest and Albert, inherited his states:

ERNEST and ALBERT, whose father died in 1464, are remarkable for an adventure which befel them in 1454, at the respective ages of fourteen and twelve years, and of which a narrative was given by their father, in a letter or manifesto addressed to the different princes of the empire. Kunz von Kauffungen, who had been grand-marshal to the elector, to revenge himself for some alleged wrongs, formed a plan for carrying off the prince's two sons from the castle of Altenburg, where they resided. This scheme he executed in the night of the 8th of July, with the assistance of nine accomplices. By means of ladders he ascended to the chamber where the young princes slept, and bore them in triumph. Kauffungen himself took the road to

Bohemia with Albert, while some of his colleagues proceeded by a different way, with Ernest, for the same country. The servants of the elector pursued the robbers, and were so fortunate as to secure Kunz himself, and to recover his prize. The other party, finding themselves so closely followed, sought refuge for some days in a stone-quarry with Ernest, but, hearing of the apprehension of Kauffungen, they, on the promise of pardon, restored their charge. Kauffungen was beheaded, and his accomplices, after suffering severe tortures, were quartered.

These princes, after governing their country conjointly, according to their father's will, upwards of twenty years, at length agreed to a partition of their dominions, by which Ernest obtained the greatest part of Thuringia with the electoral dignity, and Albert became master of Meissen, together with a considerable sum of money. In this partition originated the distinctions of the *Ernestine* and *Albertine* line, which still subsist in the house of Saxony. Ernest died in 1486.

Albert, surnamed *the Courageous*, brother to Ernest, was one of the most celebrated warriors of his time. It was reported to his enemy, Matthias, king of Bohemia, that Albert had spoken of him in very disrespectful terms, which was highly resented by that irascible prince. No sooner was Albert informed of the circum-

stance than he posted away to the king's quarters; and he protested his innocence with this declaration, "that he was not accustomed to fight like women with his tongue, but like a brave soldier with his sword." Matthias was so pleased with his spirit that he received him very graciously, and ordered him to be escorted back with the utmost respect. It was this same Matthias, who, on account of the valour displayed by Albert, declared that "no other person was fit to command against him, and that but for this prince he would soon pitch his camp in the heart of Germany."

Albert left two sons, *George* and *Henry*. The former attained early to the government of the paternal dominions, in consequence of the absence of his father, who was appointed viceroy of the Netherlands by the emperor Charles IV. George was a determined enemy of the Reformation, and died in 1539.

Of his brother *Henry*, surnamed the *Pious*, a curious memoir was written by his secretary, Bernard Freydiger, who sets out with stating that he had been able to collect but little respecting the duke's journey to the Holy Land in 1498. He then proceeds as follows:

"The duke seldom spoke of this expedition, which was almost forgotten when I came to Freyberg, unless particular occasion were given for it, as for instance, when mention was made

of the gipsies, against whom he was extremely bitter, calling them traitors and spies, because they had discovered and made known who he was in Syria, and thus involved him in great trouble and danger. For this reason he would never suffer them in his states, so that, the whole time I was in his service, I never saw any gipsies in his country, though they were to be found in the neighbouring provinces.

“The dean of Freyberg, who was an aulic councillor, used to give an evening collation to the prince every year on the festival of Epiphany. When the repast was over, and we had all drunk deeply, they began to sing the response, *Illuminare Jerusalem*, which afforded the prince particular pleasure, and he joined more heartily in the singing than any of the rest. From this he generally took occasion to speak of Jerusalem, and to relate how he, with others, had ridden into the city upon an ass, and sung the response. Whoever had paid more attention to him than to his glass might have learned from him many particulars; but who cared for such things amidst their cups?

“Concerning the pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella, I have not heard his highness speak more than once, when he related that he deposited one hundred gold florins on the altar before the image of the saint, saying, ‘he had journeyed thither to gain his favour, and there-

fore presented him with this money ; if he (the saint) suffered the fellows (meaning the monks and priests) to take it from him, he (the duke) could not help it.'

" The father, duke Albert, had in 1499, with the approbation of the whole country, made an arrangement, by which, after his decease, his son Henry was to possess Friesland, of which he appointed him governor, and George was to have Meissen, Thuringia, and Saxony. The Frieslanders, however, were refractory, and besieged duke Henry in Franeker. Albert hastened with an army to the relief of his son, and died before Gröningen. The people of Friesland caused a chain to be made, with which they threatened to hang him ; it resembled a waggon chain, having six or eight strong links and a large ring. The duke was very fond of such chains ; he constantly kept some of them in his bedchamber, and numbered them among his jewels ; and when he was visited by princes or noblemen, he would show them, and relate the whole history of these articles.

" Duke Henry, finding himself unable to retain Friesland, quitted the country, and duke George, agreeably to his father's dispositions, gave up to him the towns and districts of Freyberg, Wolckenstein, Geyer, Ehrenfriedersdorff, and Thum (all of them small places) excepting the mines, besides thirteen thousand florins, and

twelve pipes of wine ; upon which he repaired to Freyberg, and there resided some years before he married.

“ Of his proceedings and those of his attendants at Freyberg I have heard a great deal. A free table was kept for all comers, as is said to have been the case at the court of king Arthur, and I have often heard the prince relate curious stories concerning the love affairs which there happened. It was expected that he would never marry, but in 1512 he took a wife. I saw her pass through Weissensee. The wedding dress was very extraordinary, being composed of some thousands of pieces. The principal colours were red and yellow, in stripes half an ell in length, and a quarter broad, joined together ; then other stripes, two fingers broad, sewed across chequer-wise or horizontally, of these four colours, rose colour, yellow, ash-colour, and white, which colours he invariably introduced into the court-dress. Such a dress was a complete piece of patch-work.

“ When he was at Dresden, he associated more with John, his brother’s eldest son, than with duke George, because the latter was accustomed to talk to him concerning matters of government. John, on the other hand, was a good-natured prince, whose chief delight was in the kitchen and cellar. It was Henry’s practice also at Freyberg to have three or four sub-

stantial meals a day ; so that the kitchen was almost his ordinary dwelling-room, though it smelt disagreeably of vinegar and other culinary articles, and was otherwise unpleasant. He likewise took great pleasure in seeing others eat and drink heartily ; and was much diverted when citizens, peasants, or people of any condition, quitted his own cellar so intoxicated that they could scarcely find their way out at the door : at such times he would laugh and exclaim — ‘ By our lady they are rightly served ! ’

“ Though duke George retained the property of all the mines, yet duke Henry was a great favourite with the miners, who were much rejoiced when he came among them. He invited the principal of them to his table, and had a dress and cap like theirs made for himself. In this state, when God had given him children, and his establishment increased, his income proved insufficient. Till the death of his brother George he had but his annuity of thirteen thousand florins and twelve pipes of wine, which sum was paid by quarterly instalments. As this was inadequate to his expenses, it often became necessary to borrow money, as I have myself been obliged to do, before the quarter came round. It was always repaid from quarter to quarter ; and therefore a regulation was made, fixing the quarterly allowance of the prince, the duchess, and each of the servants. Out of the sum of

five hundred florins, allotted quarterly to the prince, he never pocketed a single penny : indeed I never saw him touch money, and when it was told out, he went away, leaving his porter to receive it, and never afterwards inquiring what became of it, or how it was spent. The greatest part of it he laid out in cross-bows, fire-arms, and, lastly, large cannon ; laying up none of it, even though the court might be reduced to the greatest distress. The cannon could never be cast large enough for him ; and he gave them singular names, and caused horribly ugly figures to be made upon them, from drawings by Lucas Cranach, painter, of Wittenberg. In his old age, there was nothing in which he took so much delight as these cannon ; for he would generally go twice or thrice a day to the arsenal, and not suffer a speck of dust to be seen upon the barrels of the guns, but wipe it off with his own cap or cloak, as I have often witnessed—so clean and bright would he have them kept.

“ When letters were presented to him for his signature, which was only done in regard to matters where it was indispensable, he would exclaim angrily, ‘ I had rather do any thing than write.’ For my own part, I can say with truth, that I never knew a prince who disliked writing so much, and I have not seen any letter from his own hand, except one which he wrote in his younger days—unlike his brother George,

who wrote a great deal, both in Latin and in German. Hence it was necessary to watch a long time for a favourable opportunity for obtaining his signature.

“ Though duke Henry became a wealthy prince on the death of his brother George, yet he would rather have remained at Freyberg with his guns and cannon. In my opinion too he would have lived longer, had he continued in his former situation: for it put him quite out of his way to be troubled daily with affairs of government. At Freyberg no one durst speak to him on such subjects. On the contrary, he was extremely fond of hearing from foreign countries, about the wars or such like news which did not concern him—but especially about battles and the storming of towns. On this account he entertained a high respect for the emperor Charles, considering him alone as his master; and it gave him great pleasure to be told that the emperor knew about him and his artillery. In regard to religion, he merely followed what was prescribed by the elector, and regulated his conduct by that of the other Protestant states. Such, however, was his antipathy to the Anabaptists, that he caused one poor man to be burned at Dresden, in spite of all the intercessions that were made for him.

“ Before he died, he manifested no particular fear of death, but continued to use many oppro-

brious epithets, and related many extraordinary stories of his youthful adventures, all of which are not fit to be repeated. The princess, his consort, was very diligent, and performed all kinds of services for him when his attendants were not at hand, so that he even reproved her for it, and would not suffer her to render some such services, as I often witnessed. Two days before he died, she brought him, in a little yellow linen bag, three globules of pure virgin gold, that had never been in the fire, which the emperor Charles, who had received them from the new-discovered islands, sent as a present to duke George, each about the size of a nut, the like to which I had never seen in all my life; and they looked so delicious, that one might almost have been tempted to bite them. He took one of them, and put it to his mouth, as if he would have bitten it, certainly not out of covetousness, as is alleged of many dying persons; for I stood by and remarked that he was in some degree refreshed by it. He then made her a present of this gold.

“As to his manners and habits, he loved to be merry, and was fond of music, both instrumental and vocal. When I was with him at Freyberg, he often sent for priests and others who could sing, and made them sing out of books sent to him from the Low Countries. It was his practice when he went abroad to be up

very early, and he would often sit half an hour in his carriage before the horses were harnessed, because he did not keep the time appointed. But in rainy weather or thunder-storms he was extremely impatient and cursed the planets; and he was never so eloquent, nor ever spoke so well or to such good purpose, as when he was angry. He was fond of cold dishes, such as roast meat or fish, and always had provisions of this kind with him in a cupboard in his own carriage, for he could not travel more than two German miles without stopping to take refreshment.

“ There was no pride in him; he loved to converse with poor people, and was particularly affable to artisans, whom he often visited in their workshops. In such excursions, his porter, a black boy, and an English dog, often constituted his whole retinue.

“ Of dress he was wholly regardless: a wolf's skin was his usual habit. He disliked new clothes, but when he had once put them on, he seldom left them off again till they were quite worn out. He commonly went armed with heavy weapons on each side, such as a sword and dagger, which, though they fatigued him when he grew old, he would not lay aside. The sword which he used in his wars in Friesland he would not suffer to be removed from his bedside: an elk-skin was his cuirass, and he never appeared without such weapons and armour.

In other respects he lived upon his small revenue in a princely style, as was then the custom, and took care that nothing should be wanting to do honour to the guests by whom he was visited. As he was a prince of a mild disposition, and kind to soldiers, miners, and common handicraftsmen, he was in return beloved and esteemed by all. Besides this, he was upright, without deceit or falsehood; what he promised he never failed to perform, frequently even to his own prejudice, which is no mean virtue in a prince, and yet is not met with in many."

FREDERICK *the Wise* succeeded his father Ernest in 1486. In 1493, he resolved, according to the practice of that age, to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whither he was accompanied, among others, by the celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach. In 1502, he founded the university of Wittenberg, the *Alma Mater* of the immortal Luther.* On the death of the emperor Maximilian, in 1519, his grandson Charles, king of Spain, and Francis I. of France, offered themselves as candidates for the imperial dignity. The electors, however, objecting to

* Dr. Fleck, in the sermon which he delivered at the installation of this university on the 18th of October 1502, prophetically observed, in allusion to the name of the place, which signifies a white hill or mountain, that "from this white hill, rivers and streams of wisdom and of life should flow through the whole world."

both as foreigners, would unanimously have placed the crown on the head of Frederick the Wise, who declined this distinguished honour, on account of his advanced age. He therefore gave his vote and influence to the young king of Spain, who was ultimately elected. Sensible of the obligations which he owed to Frederick, Charles requested his acceptance of one hundred thousand ducats, which the elector not only refused for his own part, but forbade his ministers and servants to receive the smallest gratuity from the emperor.

But what will most endear the memory of this prince to the lovers of truth and religious liberty, even in the remotest ages, was that paternal protection which he afforded to Martin Luther, when he commenced the dangerous task of exposing the errors and abuses of Romish superstition. Of some of these, an old writer gives the following curious particulars:—

Before the Reformation, there was at Leipzig, besides the four regular colleges, a fifth, in which resided a company of prostitutes, situated near the Halle gate. They lived under a kind of superintendent, who gave them proper rules for carrying on their trade to the best advantage. They were always very finely dressed, and enticed passengers by all kinds of allurements. This sisterhood annually held a solemn procession on the first day of Lent, headed by one of

their number, carrying a hideous figure of a man made of straw on the top of a long pole. The others followed, two and two, singing various hymns on death, which this figure was probably designed to represent, and finally proceeding to the river Baar, into which they threw it. By this ceremony they pretended to purify the city, and to preserve it throughout the year from pestilence and contagious diseases. A procession equally absurd was that of the Romish clergy, with what they termed the *Palm-Ass*. In the sacristy at Leipzig, was kept a wooden figure representing an ass, and a man sitting upon it as large as life. This figure they placed in a cart with a canopy over it, and drew it on Maundy-'Thursday from St. Thomas's church to the market-place. Hither thronged both old and young, and the priests received the ass and its rider with green willow-boughs, doubtless in allusion to the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, when the multitude strewed his way with olive and palm branches. With this ceremony was connected another, to which the prophetic words, "I will smite the shepherd and scatter the flock," afforded occasion. The chief of the priests struck the others with a reed, upon which they ran away, and retired from the view of the spectators behind a curtain prepared for the purpose. The whole troop of ecclesiastics then returned to the church. For two or three days

nothing was to be seen but plays and comedies, in which the sufferings of our Saviour, how he was betrayed, taken, bound, led before the judgment-seat, scorned, spit upon, crowned with thorns, scourged, crucified, and buried—were represented in detail upon the stage to the people. All the bells were muffled, and psalms and funeral hymns sung with a doleful voice both night and day, beside the grave constructed in the church. Very early the next morning, young boys ran through the streets and churches with bells, and sung, with hideous cries, a piece in which the traitor Judas was very severely handled. The rest of the day was spent in noise and tumult. Towards the evening of the last fast-day, the citizens began to provide all sorts of meat, cakes, and pastry, but durst not taste any of these viands till they had been consecrated, without committing a deadly sin. Two priests, therefore, went round with holy water to all the houses, and, after repeating a prayer, blessed the provisions, but would not go away again till they had received a portion of them, or money, for their trouble. Still the people were not permitted to eat till they had attended mass at night in the church. When mass was over, a disguised priest, personating Jesus Christ, suddenly came forth and knocked violently with a cross which he held in his hand against the

church-doors, commanding those who were within to be well secured. The most frightful shrieking and howling ensued, and the people within, representing the evil spirits, complained most piteously that they were deprived of their power over the souls of the dead. After this had lasted some time, the doors were at length burst open by the repeated strokes, and Christ, entering as conqueror, drove some away, took others captive, and bound them with iron chains and fetters, with which they made an incessant clanking in the dark, while the souls delivered from the jaws of hell and Satan, followed the triumphant Redeemer in white garments.

It is recorded that various extraordinary prognostics betokened the impending revolution in the established religion of Europe. One of these, as connected with Frederick the Wise, claims a place here. In the night before the feast of All Saints, in 1517, being at the castle of Schweinitz, some miles from Wittenberg, this prince had the following remarkable dream:—A monk of goodly appearance, accompanied by many of the saints from heaven, came to him and solicited permission to write something upon the door of the church of Wittenberg. The elector returned for answer by his chancellor, that he was at liberty to write, whatever God had commanded. The monk hereupon went

away, and wrote upon the door of the church,* in such large and conspicuous letters that the elector could read this writing at Schweinitz. The pen which he used was so long, that the end reached to Rome, pierced through both ears of a lion there, and extended to the triple crown of the pope, which it shook in such a manner that it began to totter, and the cardinals and electors were obliged to run up to prevent it from tumbling. The prince was then informed that the monk had taken this pen from the wing of a Bohemian goose, and awoke with the fright. He soon fell asleep again, and again dreamt that he saw the same monk continue writing. The extremity of his pen went through the lion's ears, and pricked him so severely that the lion began to roar; on which all the states of the Roman empire ran to see what was the matter. The elector once more awoke, and, having repeated the Lord's Prayer, again went to sleep. In a third dream he beheld most of the states of the Roman empire assembled at Rome, for the purpose of destroying the monk's formidable pen. All their efforts, however,

* The first step taken by Luther towards the great work of the Reformation was his publication of his theses against the sale of indulgences, by posting them upon the church-door at Wittenberg, as will be seen hereafter.

proved unavailing; the more they strove to break the pen, the stronger it grew, and made such a crackling that his ears rung again, till, disappointed and weary, they were obliged to desist. They therefore went away, convinced that the monk was a necromancer sent to bring upon them some great misfortune. The elector then inquired of the monk whence he had obtained this pen, and why it was so strong. He replied that it came out of a Bohemian goose, a hundred years old,* and had been given to him by his schoolmaster, who charged him on account of its excellence to take care of it, which he had promised to do. Its strength was owing to the circumstance that the soul, or the marrow of the pen, could not be taken out of it. After this a rumour arose that other smaller pens had sprung out of the large one at Wittenberg, though they did not write in the same manner; upon which every scholar was anxious to obtain one of them. When the elector would have continued his conversation on this subject with the monk, he awoke, and thus ended his dream. It is farther recorded, that he immediately related these particulars to his ministers and atten-

* John Huss had just one hundred years before fallen a martyr in that cause in which Luther's efforts were crowned by Providence with such signal success. *Huss*, in the Bohemian language, signifies a goose.

dants, and committed them to writing with his own hand, though then far from suspecting the great events to which they alluded.

Martin Luther, who was destined by Providence for their fulfilment, was born at Eisleben, on the 11th of November, 1483. Concerning this extraordinary man the most absurd stories were circulated by the papists. In reference to one of these relative to his birth, Brietius the Jesuit observes: "He was not begotten by a demon, as some pretend, rather from hatred than because they believe it to be true." Maimbourg, in his History of Lutheranism, also says: "He was born, not of a demon as some, to increase the hatred of him, have written without any foundation, but in the same way as other men; nor was this ever disputed, though he became an arch-heretic. In order to his being such, however, there is no need to substitute the devil for his father, Hans Luder, or to stain the honour of his mother, Margaret Lindemann, by the infamy of such a birth." His father, though a poor miner, was an intelligent man, and brought up his son in a strict and religious manner. He was educated at the schools of Mansfeld, Magdeburg, and Eisenach, where, like many of his schoolfellows, he gained a scanty subsistence by going about and singing from door to door; till at length the widow of a baker, pleased with his talents, took him into

her house and treated him as her own son. In 1501, he removed to the university of Erfurt, and, in 1505, obtained the degree of Master of Arts.

His father was desirous that he should study the law, but a particular circumstance diverted him from this pursuit. He had paid a visit to his family at Mansfeld, in company with one of his friends named Alexius. On their return, they were overtaken by a violent thunder-storm; the lightning killed his friend by his side, and Luther himself was struck senseless to the ground. Deeply shocked at this catastrophe, he made a vow to embrace a monastic life, which was regarded in those days as the most acceptable to God. He accordingly obtained admission into the Augustine convent at Erfurt, where he was at first obliged to submit to the lowest drudgery, and among other things to go with a sack through the town and collect for the convent. The university, of which he was a member, however, interfered in his behalf, and he was exempted from these degrading offices. Luther now applied himself with extraordinary industry to study, and especially to the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, which had previously engaged his particular attention. Soon after his arrival at Erfurt, he had seen, for the first time, a Latin Bible, in the university library, and was not a little surprised to find so much more

in it than he expected ; for he imagined that it contained nothing but the gospels and epistles which were read on Sundays in the churches. A desire to make himself thoroughly acquainted with this precious volume induced him to study the Hebrew and Greek languages, in which it was originally written. His exemplary conduct and industry won him the esteem of Staupitz, the vicar-general of his order, who encouraged him to proceed, by the assurance that “ God had chosen him for some great purpose.” Thus too when, on the recommendation of Staupitz, he was appointed, in 1508, Professor of Philosophy in the university of Wittenberg, the rector, Dr. Martin Polichius, after he had heard some of his lectures with astonishment, broke out into this prophetic exclamation : “ Ye will find that this monk will be the Reformer of the Romish church, and the greatest of all our doctors and teachers ; as he grounds himself on the writings of the prophets and apostles, and the words of our only Saviour Jesus Christ, which no philosophy, sophistry, and wisdom, can resist, without the loss of eternal salvation.”

In 1510 he was sent upon the business of his order to Rome, where Julius II. was then seated in the papal chair. This commission was not only honourable, but also highly useful, to Luther. He expected to find in the capital of

the Christian world extraordinary sanctity and piety. He was undeceived, and learned at Rome to view the papal court in a very different light from that in which he had considered it at a distance. His veneration for the holy pontiff was greatly diminished when he witnessed with his own eyes the voluptuous manners of the court, the debauchery of the clergy, and the little respect paid to religion—when, instead of the abode of virtue and piety, he found himself in the seat of every abomination, and of the most detestable vices. He often declared, after his return, that “he would not for a thousand guilders have missed seeing Rome.” In 1512 he was reluctantly prevailed upon to accept the degree of Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, or of Divinity, at the university of Wittenberg.

In 1517, John Tezel, a Dominican monk, notorious for his traffic with indulgences, came to Jüterbock near Wittenberg, where he carried on his infamous trade with great success.* Many of the inhabitants of the latter town became his customers, and afterwards, in confession to Luther, as their pastor, acknowledged themselves guilty of very gross sins without ex-

* This man's life had been saved some years before, by the intercession of the elector of Saxony, when the people of Innsdrück were going to drown him for debauching one of their wives.

pressing the least contrition for them. Luther denied them absolution, and when they pleaded their indulgences, declared that he considered them as of no effect, and could only pay regard to demonstrations of sincere repentance and amendment. The same sentiments he publicly expressed in a sermon delivered on this subject. No sooner was Tezel informed of these circumstances than he vented his rage in the most virulent abuse and menaces against Luther, who, in consequence, posted upon the church-door at Wittenberg ninety-five theses in defence of his own doctrines, and in condemnation of those taught by his opponent. This proceeding is justly considered as the first step towards the Reformation. The Dominicans, taking up the cause of their colleague, found means to incense pope Leo X. against Luther, who was cited to appear at Rome to answer for the doctrines which he had promulgated. On the interference of the elector of Saxony, who was fearful of losing so valuable a subject, it was agreed that he should repair to Augsburg, and be there heard by cardinal Cajetan, the papal nuncio to the diet. Cajetan peremptorily demanded a recantation of all that he had preached, written, and taught, on the subject of indulgences. Luther remained firm, and appealed first to the pope, and from him to a general council. This appeal was followed by

a bull condemning his works as heretical, prohibiting the reading of them, and ordering them to be burned. Encouraged by the support of his sovereign, who declared that nothing should be published against Luther unheard, the Reformer committed the papal bull to the flames before the gates of Wittenberg, amidst a great concourse of students and other inhabitants, with these words of Joshua: "Because thou hast troubled the holy ones of the Lord, be thou troubled and consumed with everlasting fire."

He still continued to demand a general council that he might be fully heard, and enjoy an opportunity of defending his opinions. Instead of this, however, he received a summons, together with a safe-conduct, from the emperor Charles V. to appear before the diet assembled, in 1521, at Worms. The friends of the Reformer would have dissuaded him from attending, and emphatically reminded him of the catastrophe of Huss. "No," replied the undaunted Luther, "as I am summoned and called, I have made up my mind to go in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, even though there were as many devils at Worms as tiles upon the house-tops." He accordingly went, and appeared twice before the assembled princes of Germany, to whom he declared his opinions with the boldness and sincerity of a Christain and a man. When he was about to be ushered

the first time into the presence of this illustrious assembly, George von Freundsberg, a brave knight, and celebrated general of Charles V., tapped him on the shoulder and said : “ Monk ! thou art now going to encounter more than I and many a colonel have ever done in our severest engagements. If thou art assured that thy opinions are right and thy cause just, proceed in the name of God, and be of good cheer ; God will not forsake thee ! ” Such was the ability with which he defended himself that the elector of Saxony, filled with admiration, afterwards exclaimed to Spalatinus—“ Oh ! how eloquently did Father Martin speak in Latin and German before the emperor and the states ! He was, if any thing, too animated.” During and after this hearing, Luther was assailed with persuasions and threats to induce him to recant, but to no purpose ; for to the latter he roundly replied : “ If my cause be not of God, it will not prosper longer than two or three years ; if it be of God, man will not be able to crush it.” He was dismissed with a safe-conduct. Some violent papists endeavoured to persuade the emperor to withhold this security by the argument which the bigots of the Catholic church have frequently advanced, that a promise made to a heretic is not binding. Charles returned this princely answer : “ A promise must be held sacred. Should all the rest of the world

break faith, an emperor must keep his word." Soon afterwards appeared the edict of Worms, by which he was declared a heretic and put to the ban of the empire, together with all his friends and adherents.

His sovereign had provided against this contingency ; for, on his way back to Wittenberg, the elector caused him to be carried off and privately conveyed to the castle of Wartburg, where he might remain in security till the storm raised against him should have in some degree subsided. It was only out of respect to the elector, that Luther consented to the execution of this plan. In a letter written some days before to the celebrated painter Lucas Cranach, he thus expresses himself: "Dear godfather Lucas, I bless you and commend you to God. I am going to suffer myself to be shut up and concealed, but know not where, though I would rather suffer death ; but I must not slight the advice of good people." At the Wartburg, he was kept as a state prisoner nearly a whole year by the name of Master George. In this Patmos, as he termed it, he was engaged among other things in translating the Bible into the German language. It was while thus employed, that the Reformer is said to have been disturbed in his pious occupation by Satan in the shape of a large buzzing fly ; till at length, losing all patience, he hurled his inkstand at the troublesome

intruder. The room which he usually inhabited, and where this circumstance happened, still exists, and contains a portrait of him painted upon wood. The stain of ink made upon the wall is also still to be seen, thanks to the care of the keepers of the castle.* According to the notions of those times it was natural enough to suppose that the devil would neglect no opportunity of persecuting a man whom he could not but consider as his most inveterate enemy: though the fly, in the shape of which he is reported to have teased the contemplative writer, was no more actuated by the evil spirit than that which caused our James I. to exclaim, "Canst thou find no other place than just my nose in all my three kingdoms?"† In this same apartment,

* It is a curious fact that, in a wholly Protestant country, Luther's apartment was shewn for twenty-two years by a good Catholic.

† Hassencamp, a German writer, offers the following plausible hypothesis on the subject of this story:— "*Belzebul*, as Luther well knew, signifies in the oriental languages, *lord*, or *god*, of *flies*. How easily might our Reformer, who, notwithstanding his acute and penetrating mind, was strongly tainted by the prejudices imbibed in his youth, have taken a large fly that might have buzzed a long time about his head, while he was at work, till it had made him angry, and afterwards settled provokingly upon the wall just opposite to him, for the devil incarnate, and thus have been urged by pious zeal to attack him with the inkstand!"

Luther is related to have been disturbed by a goblin of some kind, which would come uninvited to partake of his nuts. These annoyances ought probably to be ascribed to cats, rats, and mice. After some time he was allowed to ride abroad in disguise with a trusty attendant, whose fidelity and intelligence he often commended, particularly because he warned him against laying down his sword in the inns, and running to any books which might lie about, lest he should be taken for a scholar. In a letter to Spalatinus, he writes: "I have been out two days sporting, desirous of tasting the sweetly bitter pleasures of the great. We have taken two hares and a brace of poor partridges—an employment fit enough for idle people!—At my request one poor hare was preserved alive. I fastened it up in the sleeve of my coat, and went away to a little distance. The dogs however found out the unfortunate animal, broke its right hind leg through the coat and strangled it, so that we found it quite dead."

The fanatical proceedings of the Anabaptists at Wittenberg, at the head of whom were men who had been the particular friends of Luther and his doctrines, drew the Reformer from his tranquil retreat, in spite of the representations of the elector Frederick the Wise, who intimated his apprehensions lest the emperor and the pope should demand the delivery of his person. Such

arguments had but little influence on the resolute spirit of Luther, and, in compliance with the solicitations of Melancthon and others of his friends, who deemed his presence necessary to the service of his cause, he quitted the Wartburg with a long beard and in the habit of a gentleman, and returned to Wittenberg. Two years afterwards, he laid aside the monastic habit, and assumed the dress of a priest, for which the elector Frederick presented him with the cloth. In 1525, he afforded a practical illustration of his sentiments respecting the celibacy of the clergy, enjoined by the Romish church, in his marriage with Catherine von Bora.

Frederick the Wise was now dead, and was succeeded by his brother, John. Frederick, though a personal friend to Luther, and not indisposed to the Reformation, yet adhered externally to the Romish religion, and was averse to any violent innovations. John, upon the other hand, though inferior to his brother in talents, understanding, and influence, was a prince of an excellent heart, who warmly interested himself in the success of the Reformation, for which reason his grateful contemporaries gave him the surname of the *Constant*. Under his auspices, the doctrines of Luther acquired consistence and stability. A protest delivered by his friends against an ordinance of the diet of Spire, in

1529, procured for them the distinctive appellation of *Protestants*; and the following year they submitted to the diet of Augsburg their confession of faith, drawn up by Luther and Melancthon. The latter was present at the delivery of this important instrument, but Luther remained meanwhile at the neighbouring castle of Coburg, where he superintended the proceedings. As this confession was not deemed sufficiently precise, Luther was a few years afterwards commissioned to compose a new one, and hence arose the articles finally adopted by the Protestants, and called from the place where they were accepted and signed, in 1537, the *Articles of Schmalkalden*.

The last important undertaking of this great man was an improved edition of his Bible, which appeared in folio in 1541.* Besides this, which

* The most common editions of this version are those printed in what is called the Canstein Bible-office, in the Orphan house at Halle, founded in 1712 by a Baron Canstein, who died in 1719. These Bibles are printed with standing types, that the books may be afforded at a lower price. This institution has produced upwards of two millions of Bibles, and more than a million New Testaments, in editions of five thousand copies each. In the 34th edition of the Bible, which was confiscated, and is now very rare, occurred the same omission which distinguished an English edition of the sacred volume, and made one of the commandments read thus—*Thou shalt commit adultery*. The copy of this edition in the library of Wölffenbüttel cost fifty dollars.

was his principal work, and which would of itself have been sufficient to entitle him to the gratitude of his countrymen in every succeeding age, he wrote and published an incredible number of sermons, essays, and other pieces, religious, moral, and polemical, which, collected in the Halle edition, form twenty-four quarto volumes. The incessant application bestowed on the various important concerns in which he was engaged and on his literary pursuits at length undermined his health, so that, in 1543, he wrote to a friend: "I, poor, worn-out, and almost one-eyed man, hoped to find a little rest, but, alas! in vain." He died in 1546, at his birth-place, Eisleben, whither he had been invited by the counts of Mansfeld, to adjust some differences between them and their subjects; and his remains were conveyed to Wittenberg for interment.

Some years before Luther's death, the elector had dispensed with the performance of his public functions, and assigned him a pension of 300 guilders. With this slender income, he displayed a disinterestedness that has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. He gave all his works gratuitously to the booksellers; and when one of their number offered him the annual sum of 400 dollars for whatever he might write, he rejected the proposal, saying, that, "he had not received his gifts from the Creator for sale." Thus too, when the elector of Saxony would

have remunerated him with a share in the mines for his translation of the Bible, he replied, that "he looked not for his reward here but hereafter."* When one of his friends observed that it might be prudent to lay by something for the benefit of his family, he answered: "That I will never do; for then they would not trust to God and their own hands, but to their money." In this spirit too it was that he amused himself in his leisure hours in turnery work, at which he was very expert, and for which he had all the necessary implements made by the best artists of Nürnberg. "With this occupation," says he, in a letter to a friend, "when the ungrateful world will give me nothing more, will I support myself, after the example of St. Paul, and be troublesome to nobody." His fondness for music, contracted in his boyhood, accom-

* On the subject of this important work he thus expresses himself: "I can testify with a good conscience that I exerted my utmost skill and industry upon it, but not from any improper motive. I never asked or received for it one single farthing. Neither did I seek mine own honour in it, as God my Lord well knows, but have done it out of love to Christ, and in honour of Him who sitteth above, and who is constantly bestowing so much grace upon me, that, had I translated a thousand times as much, still I should not have deserved to live a single hour. I expect not to be rewarded for my labour by the world. I have never applied to my sovereign of Saxony for a penny, since I have been here."

panied him through life. He even composed chorusses, to which the celebrated Handel, who studied them, acknowledged himself much indebted. His sentiments on the subject of music remind us strongly of the lines written by our own Shakspeare,* upwards of half a century later. "There is no doubt," says he, "that the seeds of many eminent virtues are to be found in such minds as are susceptible for music; but those who have no relish for it I consider as little better than clods and stones. I declare without reserve, and am not ashamed to assert, that, excepting theology, there is no science comparable to music; because that alone, next to religion, can impart what otherwise religion alone can do—tranquillity and a cheerful mind."

Luther had several narrow escapes from the malice of the papists. We are told, that an Italian assassin, hired to dispatch this extraordinary man, obtained admittance to him, but was so deeply affected by his conversation, that he spontaneously confessed the nature of his errand, and earnestly warned him to be upon his guard against similar attempts. A Jewish physician is said to have received two thousand ducats for the same purpose. An attempt of this kind is related to have been made during his attendance on the diet of Worms. The

* Merchant of Venice, Act V. Scene I.

elector of Treves had there invited him to dinner, and just at the moment when Luther was raising the glass filled with wine to his lips, the glass broke and the wine was spilt. This accident surprised the company, and many of them conceived suspicions that the liquor was poisoned. Luther very coolly set down the broken glass, saying: "The wine was not destined for me: the fracture was probably owing to the abrupt transition from heat to cold." During his lifetime, a print was published in Italy, shewing his miserable death, and how the devil had fetched away his body. This print having fallen into his hands in 1545, he caused to be re-engraved, and certified the truth of the story with his own signature.

About a year after his death, when the emperor Charles V. had made himself master of Wittenberg, his favourite, the bishop of Arras and the notorious duke of Alva, solicited permission to dig up the body of Luther, as an arch-heretic, and to consign it to the flames. The emperor, whose conduct on various occasions displayed a liberality of sentiment to which his base minions were strangers, forbade such a proceeding on pain of death, adding with emphasis: "Let him rest; he has his judge." "This fact," says a quaint German writer, "I state for this reason, because the incensed Romish clergy endeavoured to persuade the people that

Luther's body had, at his interment, been carried away by the devil, in the form of a flock of ravens, and that consequently nothing but an empty coffin had been deposited in the ground. This story they have propagated by means of a great number of engravings which are publicly sold. To refute it nothing more is necessary than the above-mentioned fact, which is known to the whole world, because it occurred the very year after Luther's death ; and the bishop of Arras, the duke of Alva, and the whole Spanish army, would have proved themselves egregious fools, had they wished to burn the body of Luther, when they must have known that the devil had flown away with it long before, at his funeral, and thus spared them the trouble."

It is not at all surprising that Roman Catholic writers should revile the memory of this great man. One or two examples of their malignity may, perhaps, serve to amuse the reader :—

The Spanish satirist Quevedo, in his *Vision of the Last Judgment*, introduces Luther accompanied by Judas and Mahomet. "As they were about to present themselves before the tribunal," says he, "one of the officers of the court inquired which of the three was Judas. I am, answered Luther ; and I am, also cried Mahomet. Upon this the real Judas exclaimed in a vehement passion, ' Lord, I am Judas ; thou knowest me well, and knowest too that I

am not such a base sinner as these scoundrels. For I sold thee but once, and am in some measure the cause of the redemption of the world, whereas these, by selling thee and themselves over and over, have plunged the whole world into misery." In his sixth Vision of Hell, he says: "Next to Calvin was the Saxon Luther, the renegade of St. Augustine, with a devil on either side, each having a pair of bellows, from which, instead of wind, issued flames that penetrated into his ears and burned his brain, but without consuming it, because he confessed in one of his books that the devil inspired him with the arguments which he employed against the mass. Next to him stood his disciple Melancthon, who was tormented by a devil in such a manner, that I could not forbear laughing: for he did nothing else but turn him first on the one side and then on the other, just as a cook does a beefsteak. I asked the devil why he did this, on which he replied, 'Because Melancthon, when living, professed all religions without distinction, for which reason he was called in his time the German weathercock.' "

It is well known to the English reader, that our Henry VIII. was at one time as bitter an enemy to Luther as he afterwards proved to the pope, and that he spared no pains to stifle the Reformation in its birth. In this spirit he wrote to the elector Frederick the Wise, and to the other princes of his house, "intreating them by all that

was dear to them, and even by the ties of blood between England and Saxony, not to suffer this arch-heretic to translate the New Testament into the German language." The same monarch, for his book against Luther in defence of the seven sacraments, received from the pope the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which has been ever since retained by his successors.

In the collection of Epigrams by the Jesuit Andreas Frusius, printed at Cologne, and now extremely rare, is the following, in which the initial of every word contributes to form an acrostic of Luther's name:—

Elogium MARTINI LUTHERI, ex Ipsius Nominis et Cognomine.

Depinget dignis te nemo coloribus unquam;
Nomen ego ut potero, sic celebrabo tuum.

Magnicrepus	Mendax	Morosus	Morio	Monstrum
Ambitiosus	Atrox	Astutus	Apostata	Agaso
Ridiculus	Rhetor	Rabiosus	Rabula	Raptor
Tabificus	Tumidus	Tenebrosus	Transfuga	Turpis
Impius	Inconstans	Impostor	Iniquus	Ineptus
Nycticorax	Nebulo	Nugator	Noxa	Nefandus
Ventosus	Vanus	Vilis	Vulpecula	Vecors
Schismaticus	Stolidus	Seductor	Simia	Scurra
Lascivus	Leno	Larvatus	Latro	Lanista
Ventripotens	Vultur	Vinosus	Vappa	Voluptas
Tartareus	Torris	Tempesta	Turbo	Tyrannus
Hæresiarcha	Horrendus	Hypocrita	Hydra	Hermaphroditus
Erro	Execrandus	Effrons	Effrenis	Erinnis
Retrogradus	Reprobis	Resupinus	Rana	Rebellis
Vesanus	Varius	Veterator	Vipera	Virus
Sacrilegus	Satanas	Sentina	Sophista	Scelestus

JOHN the Constant succeeded his brother, Frederick the Wise, in 1525. His wife was the daughter of Magnus, duke of Mecklenburg. He celebrated his nuptials with this princess in 1500, at Torgau, with such pomp, that during the festivities eleven thousand persons and seven thousand horses were daily entertained by the court. This prince is described as having been of a peaceable and pious disposition. In the early part of his life he seems to have been as strongly attached to the Roman Catholic religion as he afterwards was to the Protestant faith; at least, if we may judge from the will which he drew up in 1516, in the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, and also of the following saints:—the blessed Virgin Mary; the apostle, St. James the Great; the three Kings; St. Christopher, St. George, St. Jerome, St. Francis, St. John Baptist, St. John the apostle, St. Anthony, St. Sebastian, St. Florian, St. Sigismund, St. Boniface, St. Eustace, St. Egidius, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Hubert, St. Anna, St. Blaise, St. Barbara, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Dorothy, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Apollonia, St. Alexis, St. Roche, St. Job, St. Valten, St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Elisabeth, St. Stephen, St. Wolfgang, and all the saints.

At the time of his accession to the electoral

dignity, the peasants of Thuringia were in open insurrection against the government. Conversing with Luther on this subject, he once expressed himself in the following terms: "It is true that God has made me a powerful prince, so that I have several thousand horsemen at my command. But if He thinks fit that I should not remain such, I will not deem it a hardship and be angry with Him, but cheerfully submit to His decrees, even if He should be pleased to leave me no more than eight, or even only four, horses."

John was at the head of those princes, who in 1530 caused the Protestant confession to be delivered to the diet at Augsburg, for which reason the emperor refused him the investiture of his dominions. The elector therefore quitted Augsburg before the diet was over, and commissioned the margrave of Brandenburg to assure the emperor that, "rather than secede from the pure evangelical doctrine, he would suffer his grey head to be laid at his (the emperor's) feet." To this spirited declaration, Charles in his Low German dialect replied, "No head off, prince! no head off!"

JOHN FREDERICK *the Magnanimous*, eldest son of John the Constant, succeeded his father in 1532. It is related that this prince at his birth brought with him into the world a mark, yellow as gold, in the form of a cross, upon his

back ; and that the priest who baptized him, an aged, upright, and pious man, when this mark was shewn to him, heaved a deep sigh and said : “ Gracious God ! this infant during his mortal life will certainly have to bear a great and heavy cross ! ”—a prediction which, says an old writer, subsequent events certainly confirmed.

This elector was a most zealous friend to the doctrines of the Reformation, and the chief of the Protestant princes who entered into the treaty of Schmalkald, in defence of those doctrines. On this account he was put to the ban of the empire by Charles V. In the war which ensued, he was defeated on the 24th of April, 1547, in the battle of Mühlberg, where, after a most obstinate resistance, he was wounded and taken, but refused to surrender to any except a German. On the 10th of May, the emperor in his camp before Wittenberg adjudged his unfortunate prisoner to be beheaded as an outlaw, and directed this sentence to be executed on a scaffold erected for the purpose in the field. The elector was engaged in a game at chess with his fellow-captive, duke Ernest, of Lüneburg, when the imperial commissioner reached his tent to read to him this severe sentence. He heard it without betraying any agitation, and replied, that “ he hoped the emperor would treat him rather more mercifully ; but if he was in earnest, he begged to be told so, that he might

make some dispositions respecting his wife and children " He then turned to his companion, saying, " Let us finish our 'game !'" This coolness excited the admiration of the conqueror, who, at the intercession of the elector of Brandenburg, granted him his life, but upon eight conditions, the principal of which was, that " he should accede to the decisions of the emperor and the council of Trent in regard to religion." To this requisition he firmly replied, that " he was determined to adhere stedfastly to the confession delivered at Augsburg by his father, himself, and other princes, and rather to lose his dignity, his territories, nay even his life, than suffer himself to be separated from the word of God." The emperor, admiring his fortitude, erased the obnoxious article with his own hand, and gave orders that his prisoner should not be again importuned on the subject. By a capitulation concluded in the same camp on the 19th of May, John Frederick was deprived of the electoral dignity and all his dominions, which the emperor conferred on his cousin, duke Maurice, of Meissen, who agreed to give up Weimar, with some other towns and districts, and to pay a yearly sum of fifty thousand guilders to the children of his predecessor.

The captive prince was conducted as it were in triumph to Augsburg, where, from his apart-

ment, he could view all the ceremonies attending the investiture of Maurice with the dignities and possessions of which he had been deprived. Nothing, however, could shake his fortitude, and on the latter occasion he is said to have thus expressed himself: "How Maurice's people rejoice at my being deprived of the electorate! The Almighty grant that they may henceforth enjoy it so peaceably as to have no need of me or mine!"

The place appointed for the confinement of this magnanimous prince was Innspruck. Here he formed the plan of that celebrated seminary, the university of Jena, which was afterwards completed by his sons. After a detention of five years, his release being demanded by his successor Maurice, and some other German princes who had formed an alliance against the emperor, the latter was induced to put an end to his captivity, in 1552. John Frederick, having first attended Charles V. to Augsburg, hastened to Weimar, where he was received by his subjects with every possible demonstration of joy. The schoolboys and girls, with flowing hair and crowned with garlands of rue, went out of the town to receive him, singing the *Te Deum*. His consort proceeded as far as Coburg to meet him, and swooned with joy at the first interview.

The elector had a half-brother, named *John Ernest*, to whom, on attaining his majority in

1542, he had ceded the principality of Coburg with an annuity of fourteen thousand florins. This prince, who married a daughter of Philip I., duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, built the castle of Ehrenfels, the usual residence of the princes of Coburg, and died without issue in 1553, when his country reverted to the deposed elector.

On the 21st of February, 1553, death deprived John Frederick of his affectionate consort Sibylla, who was interred before the high altar in the church of Weimar. In giving directions for the funeral of this princess, the elector said to his secretary: "Tell the masons to leave a place for me by my wife, for I shall soon follow and be laid beside her." This prediction was speedily accomplished, for he expired on the 3d of March, in the 51st year of his age.

The elector was a man as extraordinary for stature and strength of body as for vigour of mind. The lank Spanish soldiers of Charles V. looked upon him as a giant, and asserted that each of his boots would hold a man. This was certainly an exaggeration, yet those who have had an opportunity of examining these relics, which are still preserved in the collections of curiosities at Gotha and München, assure us that they are capacious enough to contain a child five years old.

At this period, and indeed till the 18th cen-

tury, it was customary for every prince and princess to have a peculiar motto. That chosen by John Frederick was *Verbum Domini manet in Aeternum*. The initials of this sentence, V.D.M.I.AE. were worn by himself, as well as by all his servants upon their sleeves. During the life-time of his father, while he was attending a diet as his representative, an archbishop observed to him, "These letters upon your clothes and those of your servants signify, I suppose, 'Verbum Dei manet *im Aermel*'" (The word of God abideth *in the sleeve*), alluding to the lawn sleeves of his own order. "No," rejoined the prince sharply, "they mean, 'Verbum *diaboli* manet in *archi-episcopis*'"—The word of the devil abideth in archbishops.

Lucas Cranach, not more distinguished for his talents as a painter, than for his virtues, his integrity, and in particular for his attachment to the unfortunate elector, survived his master only a few months. This artist was a native of Cranach, a small town in the bishopric of Bamberg. His proper name was *Müller*, or as some say *Sunder*, but according to the general custom of the painters of that age, he always styled himself from his birth-place *Lucas Cranach*. He was instructed in the rudiments of drawing by his father, but it is not known who was his master. As he resided for some time in the Netherlands, where in 1508 he painted a portrait

of the emperor Charles V., then a boy of eight years, at Mechlin, where so many eminent masters, such as Lucas van Leyden, Gerhard van Harlem, and others, had lived or were then living, it seems probable that he studied his art in this school. About the end of the 15th century he removed to Saxony, on the invitation of that patron of the arts, the elector, Frederick the Wise. He settled at Wittenberg, where he married, and, after holding inferior municipal offices, was invested by his fellow-citizens with the dignity of burgomaster, in 1547. On the death of Frederick the Wise, whom, as it has been already observed, he accompanied in his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Cranach enjoyed in an equal degree the favour of his successor, John the Constant, and lived in the closest familiarity with his son, John Frederick the Magnanimous. With the latter he was so great a favourite, that he kept him constantly about his person, and such was the affection of the artist for the elector, that, resigning his office of burgomaster, he cheerfully shared with him his five years' captivity at Innspruck. It has even been surmised that he may have contributed in some degree to the liberation of his master, for, when the emperor, who was fond of seeing him at work, recollecting the portrait which Cranach had painted of him when a child, asked how old he was then, and was answered by the artist,

“Eight years,” Charles graciously desired that he would ask some favour of him. Cranach threw himself at his feet, and, with a generous disregard of his private interest, solicited the release of his sovereign ; on which the emperor, turning with admiration to his attendants, exclaimed, “ I know not a happier prince than the Saxon—he possesses at least one true friend.” Cranach had the satisfaction to see the speedy accomplishment of his wish, and to find that it had gained him the esteem of the emperor. He repaired to Weimar with his patron, with whom he determined to pass the remainder of his days, and died in that city, October 16th, 1553, aged eighty-one years. Cranach was an intimate friend of Luther’s, and felt a deep interest in all his domestic circumstances : that great reformer was attached with equal warmth to this generous artist, took great delight in watching him at his work, and passed many happy hours in his society. Cranach’s paintings, among which are portraits of many of his most distinguished contemporaries, are very numerous. He also carved a great deal in wood, and his performances in this line are much sought after and esteemed by amateurs.

ALBERTINE LINE.
OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

FROM 1547 TO 1840.

MAURICE, in whose person the electoral dignity and dominions were transferred from the Ernestine to the Albertine line of the house of Saxony, was the son of duke Henry of Meissen, of whom a circumstantial account has been given in the preceding pages. He was originally a warm adherent of Charles V., whom he greatly assisted in the war which terminated in the deposition of his unfortunate predecessor. He had not, however, been long seated in his place before the ambitious projects of the emperor converted Maurice into an avowed enemy. One cause of his hostility was the detention of his father-in-law, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who had surrendered himself to the emperor upon receiving a promise that he should "not be sub-

jected to any imprisonment," but in which the word *einiger* (any) was written in such a manner that it might pass for *ewiger* (everlasting), as it was contended to be by his adversaries. It must be confessed that this miserable quibble is quite inconsistent with the many noble traits that distinguish the character of Charles V. The haughtiness of the Spaniards about the emperor is moreover stated to have reached at this time to such a height, that his son, Don Philip, and even the duke of Alva would scarcely condescend to move their hats to return the salutes of the German princes.

Maurice was a brave and able general, and, on commencing hostilities in 1552, such was the rapidity of his movements, that he had nearly surprised the emperor at Innsbruck. It is, indeed, intimated in various memoirs, that he might have taken him prisoner if he had pleased, and that, on being asked why he did not, he replied, that "he had no cage fit for so magnificent a bird."

The elector afterwards signalized himself against the Turks in Hungary, and, in 1553, received a mortal wound in battle with Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, near the village of Sivershausen, in the duchy of Lüneburg. The ball which inflicted the wound was of silver; it penetrated through his armour from behind, and it is supposed to have been fired, either through

treachery or carelessness, by one of his own people. Three princes of the house of Brunswick, who fought under Maurice's banner, also fell on this occasion, together with a great number of counts and noblemen. Camerarius, in his funeral sermon over the elector, who expired in the arms of victory, mentions various tokens which preceded this sanguinary engagement; for instance, during a violent hurricane at Berlin, the force of the wind broke off the head from Maurice's statue, at the palace of that city, while the effigies of the emperor and the other electors sustained no injury—the leaves of the trees in many places were found sprinkled with blood—the dogs howled, and bit and tore one another—the noise of men and horses, and strange sounds in the air, were often heard at midnight—and, during the campaign, a tempest overturned the elector's tent, and that used for his kitchen, but spared all the rest.

AUGUSTUS succeeded his brother Maurice. His first wife was Anna, daughter of Christian, king of Denmark. This princess, before her marriage, was not ashamed to say grace aloud with folded hands at her father's table, together with her other sisters. She died in October, 1585, of a contagious disease then prevalent at Dresden; and, during her illness, when public prayers were to be offered up for her in the churches, she expressly desired that they might

be solicited in these terms, and no other : "The prayers of this Christian congregation are requested for a poor sinner, whose last hour is near at hand." About three months after her decease, the elector, then in his 60th year, married a daughter of prince Joachim Ernest of Anhalt, who had not quite completed her 13th year ; but, in less than five weeks after this union, he was carried off by apoplexy.

In the last years of his reign, alchemy was the favourite pursuit of this prince. He carried it on with the aid of the most skilful professors ; and some have not even hesitated to ascribe the flourishing state of the country during his reign to his success in the practice of the art. Palaces and magazines were erected, and so many useful institutions arose that, as it is contended, the expense of them could not have been defrayed by the regular revenues of the state. At the present day, no rational person will doubt that the sums employed for these purposes, as well as the seventeen millions of dollars left by Augustus at his death in his coffers, were rather the fruits of strict economy during a long and peaceful reign, than of his skill in the transmutation of metals. His first wife, Anna, seconded her husband with all her power in his chemical pursuits. She made successful experiments herself, and constructed, at the castle of Annaburg, a magnificent laboratory, which had not its

equal in Europe. The four chemical furnaces were in the figure of a horse, a lion, an ape, and an eagle, of the size of life. The latter was decorated with golden wings, and contained within it what was denominated a chapel. This edifice, which had so many lofty chimneys as to resemble a church with a great number of spires, was destroyed in the Thirty Years' War.

Augustus is said to have applied himself in his 47th year to recover his lost Latin, and to have frequently declared, when he blundered in the genders, that "he would give a ton of gold that all nouns in *a* were of the feminine gender." —He was accustomed to say that "persons ought to be provided for offices, and not offices for persons." He was a great friend to agriculture, and always carried with him a bag full of the stones and pips of the best kinds of fruits, which he caused to be planted wherever he went, and thus conferred an essential benefit on posterity.

CHRISTIAN I. succeeded his father in 1586, and died in 1591, in the 31st year of his age.

CHRISTIAN II. was distinguished for piety and clemency. He therefore tempered justice with mercy, well knowing that the greatest justice is frequently the height of injustice, and said that he was admonished to do so by the electoral arms, which are two red swords in a black and white field. His motto, which he

very frequently repeated, was, "I fear God, honour the emperor, and love justice." He generally stood during the time of divine service, and often exhorted his chaplains to deal more severely with him in their sermons. He was himself extremely strict in regard to every thing connected with genuine religion, and, in the first year of his government, issued a severe edict against adultery and fornication. • Once, when he was absorbed in profound thought, one of his attendants inquired the reason. He replied, that "he was considering with sorrow how he had misapplied the years of his youth, so that he was now obliged to hear with the ears, to see with the eyes, and also to speak with the lips of others, which gave him the deepest concern." His liberality and kindness were such that he could scarcely refuse any request that was preferred to him, and it was his daily wish "that he had it in his power to make every body happy." He died in 1611, at the early age of twenty-seven years.

JOHN GEORGE I., brother of Christian II. At an early age this prince made a tour through Germany and Italy, during which he had some narrow escapes with his life. At Milan he was seized with a dangerous illness, but, being unprovided with a certificate of confession, no medical man would prescribe for him, till at length physicians were fetched from Augsburg

and Lindau. Soon after his return home, in 1602, he was sailing with his brother, the elector, upon the Elbe, when the vessel in which they were, caught fire, and he leaped overboard, but safely reached the shore.

During his reign, Saxony, in common with the greater part of Germany, was cruelly ravaged by contending armies in the Thirty Years' War. It was in this contest that the brave Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lützen, in the arms of victory, in 1632. Such was the devastation occasioned by the military operations in the dominions of the elector that, in the little town of Schmiedberg, which previously contained four hundred inhabitants, only one single married couple survived the calamities of war, famine, and pestilence.

JOHN GEORGE II. succeeded his father in 1656, and died in 1680.

This prince had three brothers, Augustus, Christian, and Maurice, who were the founders of the houses of Saxe-Weissenfels, Saxe-Merseburg, and Saxe-Weitz. The first became extinct in 1746; the second in 1731, and the third in 1718, when their dominions reverted to the electoral family.

JOHN GEORGE III. This prince particularly distinguished himself in 1683, by the share which he took in the operations that compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, and died

in 1691, while commander-in-chief of the army of the empire employed against the French.

JOHN GEORGE IV. was at his birth declared heir-apparent to the throne of Denmark, in right of his mother, who was the daughter of king Frederick III. In 1693, the English Order of the Garter was transferred to him by the hands of a special envoy. He died in 1694.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS I., who succeeded his brother John George, was remarkable for his extraordinary personal strength. "If we were to relate," says Glafey, in his History of Saxony, "how often this German Samson broke iron bars, and squeezed and rolled up silver, copper, tin, and other vessels like pieces of paper, posterity would look upon it as fable and romance, though thousands of all classes still living were eye-witnesses of these facts." Ludewig, the historian, also makes mention of "his gigantic strength, by which he was enabled to crush and roll together dishes, plates, and goblets of silver, tin, copper, or any other metal however strong, with as much ease as a piece of paper or a handkerchief."*

* Among other curious anecdotes related concerning this subject, is the following:—In one of his rides his horse lost a shoe, and the elector entered a blacksmith's shop to procure another. The blacksmith brought one and was preparing to put it on, when the king took up the shoe and broke it in pieces with the greatest ease.

In 1697, this prince was elected king of Poland, having previously, in order to qualify himself for that dignity, exchanged the protestant for the catholic faith, to which his successors have ever since adhered. The dress in which he received the embassy sent to announce his elevation to the throne was so profusely enriched with diamonds as to have been valued at no less a sum than a million of dollars.

The military renown which Frederick Augustus had obtained in his campaigns against the Turks was eclipsed by the vicissitudes experienced by him in his wars with Charles XII. of Sweden, which are well known to every reader from the life of that monarch by Voltaire. He died in 1733.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS II. married a daughter of the emperor Joseph I., and was, like his father, raised to the throne of Poland. He died in 1763.

He then desired the man to bring a better, which, as well as several others, he broke in the same manner. At length, declaring that they were all equally bad, he suffered the poor fellow to fit on a shoe without subjecting it to this ordeal. In payment for this service he gave a piece of money which required a rix-dollar to be returned in the change. Taking the dollar between his fingers, he snapped it in two with the same ease as he had done the horse-shoes. The blacksmith, confounded with this fresh proof of his strength, vehemently protested that "he must be either the devil or the elector."

FREDERICK CHRISTIAN married Maria Antonia the daughter of Charles VII., emperor of Germany and elector of Bavaria. His eldest sister was the wife of Charles III., king of Spain, consequently mother to Charles IV., and grandmother to Ferdinand VII. His next sister was married to the elector of Bavaria, who died in 1777, and a third to Louis, dauphin of France, by whom she was the mother of the unfortunate Louis XVI. His brother Albert, duke of Saxe-Teschen, was governor and captain-general of the Austrian Netherlands, and married Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I., emperor of Germany, who died in 1798. The monument erected by him to the memory of this princess at Vienna is considered as one of the finest performances of the celebrated Canova. Another brother, Clemens Wenzel, became in 1768 elector of Triers. Frederick Christian survived his father but two months.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS III., born Dec. 3, 1750, succeeded his father Dec. 17, 1763, under the guardianship of his uncle prince Xavier. He married in 1769, *Maria Amelia Augusta*, daughter of the duke of Deux-Ponts, and sister to the late king of Bavaria, who died on the 15th of November, 1828, and by whom he had one daughter, *Maria Augusta*, born in 1782.

The whole administration of this prince was a practical illustration of his firm resolve to con-

fer on his people all the benefits that lay in his power, and to which he adhered at all times, and under all circumstances. During his long reign not a single arbitrary decree was issued, neither was a single encroachment made on the rights of others. The beneficence of his government, his steady encouragement of manufactures, industry, and commerce, his judicious patronage of the fine arts and the sciences, which enlighten mankind, raised Saxony to such a pitch of prosperity above her neighbour states, that she was regarded in Germany with the same jealous eye as Britain is beheld amidst her tributary ocean by the rest of the world. Into every branch of the administration important improvements were introduced ; torture was abolished, and capital punishment rendered less frequent and less cruel.

Fond as Frederick Augustus was of peace, he was more than once compelled to take part in the wars of other powers. On account of the claims of his mother to the allodial inheritance of her brother, the elector of Bavaria, he joined Prussia, in 1778, in the war of the Bavarian succession against Austria, and by the peace of Teschen he obtained an indemnification of six millions of guilders. The alliance with Prussia was still more closely cemented, when, in 1785, the elector of Saxony joined the confederation formed by the great Frederick, by which the

projected exchange of Bavaria for the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands was frustrated. The same solicitude for the welfare of his country, which led to this close connexion with Prussia, induced him, in 1791, to refuse the succession to the throne of Poland, which prince Adam Czartoryski was sent to Dresden to offer for himself and his heirs : because, from the position of Russia towards Poland, it was not to be expected that the empress Catherine would recognize the new constitution adopted by the Poles and their king Stanislaus Augustus.

When, in consequence of the conference which took place, in August 1791, at Pillnitz, a residence of the elector's near Dresden, between the emperor Leopold and Frederick-William II. of Prussia, the treaty of Berlin was concluded in February, 1792, against revolutionary France, he was not a party to it, but, after the declaration of war by the empire, he merely sent the contingent which he was bound to furnish as one of its states. In 1796, the circle of Upper Saxony having concluded an armistice and a treaty of neutrality with the French, Frederick Augustus acceded to it, and recalled his contingent to cover the line of demarcation on the southern frontiers of his dominions.

In the new war which took place between France and Austria, in 1805, Frederick Augustus took no part ; but, owing to his alliance

with Prussia, he granted a passage through his territories to the army of that power. But when, in 1806, the German empire was dissolved, in August 1806, he found himself necessitated to send twenty-two thousand men to join the Prussians against France. The disastrous battle of Jena, on the 14th of October 1806, placed Saxony at the mercy of the French emperor, and the country would certainly have experienced a very different fate had not the public and private virtues of the sovereign inspired his enemy with respect. Besides various requisitions, Napoleon imposed upon Saxony a military contribution of a million sterling, and appointed a provisional administration for the public revenues, but in other respects allowed the country to be neutral. Frederick Augustus relieved his subjects under the pressure of these untoward circumstances by pecuniary advances, by the sacrifice of the revenues of his domains, but most efficiently by the conclusion of peace with Napoleon at Posen, on the 11th of December 1806. He thereupon assumed the title of king, joined as such the confederation of the Rhine, and furnished a contingent of twenty thousand men. At the same time, the circle of Cöthlen, in Lower Lusatia, was ceded to him, in exchange for certain districts which he gave up to the newly erected kingdom of Westphalia.

By the peace of Tilsit, in 1807, the king of

Saxony obtained the duchy of Warsaw, in Poland. This acquisition imposed on him a double obligation to take part in the wars of France; but he would not send any troops to Spain. In the war with Austria in 1809, he merely furnished his contingent, but as partisan corps several times made incursions into Saxony, he deemed it prudent to retire to Frankfort on the Main. That war added West Galicia and Cracow to the duchy of Warsaw; but Saxony itself gained by it only some small Bohemian districts inclosed in Lusatia, which, however, were not formally taken possession of, but remained till within these few years in some measure without a master.

In the war with Russia in 1812, an auxiliary force was again required to join the grand invading army; but, when the burning of Moscow had dissolved the spell of Napoleon's universal dominion, the Saxons, who had suffered severely at Kobryn, at Slonim, and again on the 15th of February 1813 at Kalisch, separated by command of their sovereign from the French and returned home. Prussia now determined to make common cause with Russia against France, and on the 23d of February the king of Saxony quitted his capital, and repaired first to Plauen, afterwards to Ratisbon, and lastly to Prague, intending to regulate his conduct in the future operations of the war by that of Austria. An

agreement between the Saxon ambassador at Vienna and the Austrian government was signed, by which the king engaged to co-operate with all the force at his command in such measures as the court of Austria should adopt for the restoration of peace; and in this case he bound himself beforehand to the cession of the duchy of Warsaw. At the same time negotiations were opened with the king by Russia and Prussia, but the issue of them depended of course on the result of those which were then in progress at Vienna. Orders were sent to general Thielemann not to admit any foreign troops, without distinction or exception, into the fortress of Torgau, without an express command from the king himself.

After the victory gained by Napoleon over the allies at Lützen on the 2nd of May 1813, the whole country as far as the Elbe was gradually occupied by the French; and the king received a letter from the duke of Weimar, in which that prince communicated, at the express desire of Napoleon, the positive declaration of the latter in regard to Saxony: "*Je veux que le roi se déclare, je saurai alors ce que j'ai à faire; mais s'il est contre moi, il perdra tout ce qu'il a.*" On the 9th of May the French colonel de Montesquiou arrived at Prague with despatches for the king from the emperor himself, in which the latter demanded an explicit declaration whether

the king would return to his capital, place Torgau and all the Saxon troops there at the disposal of the emperor, and fulfil his obligations as a member of the confederation of the Rhine; if not, he should treat Saxony as a conquered country. His majesty thereupon returned to Dresden, ordered the French to be admitted into Torgau, and his troops took part in the succeeding operations of the campaign.

During the armistice Austria had completed her preparations; the negotiations for peace were broken off, and, after the advantage gained by Napoleon at Dresden, victory forsook his arms. The king afterwards accompanied Napoleon to Leipzig, where his own fate and that of Saxony were decided by the splendid victory which gave the allies possession of that city. The emperor Alexander sent an intimation to the king that he considered him as his prisoner; and to no purpose did his majesty propose to the emperors of Russia and Austria to make common cause with them. He was obliged to quit his dominions on the 23d of October, and lived first at Berlin, but was afterwards permitted to repair to Presburg, where he took part in the negotiations of the congress of Vienna. For a period of twenty months he was separated from his country, the administration of which was meanwhile assumed by Russia and Prussia. During this interval, a considerable Saxon force had accompanied the

allied army across the Rhine, and taken an active part in the operations of the campaign in France till they were terminated by the abdication of Napoleon.

One of the most important questions that engaged the attention of the congress of Vienna was the fate of Saxony. While this question continued undecided, and the total annihilation of Saxony as an independent state was threatened, no means that self-interest and malice could suggest for the purpose of blackening the character of king Frederick Augustus, and rendering him odious to the world, were left untried. He was branded as an infatuated admirer of Napoleon's and a zealous adherent to that system which the ambitious ruler of France would fain have established on the Continent. He was stigmatized as a bigoted Catholic, and consequently disqualified to govern a nation of Protestants. These accusations were re-echoed even in this country in terms which betrayed the grossest ignorance. One or two facts will suffice to prove that the king of Saxony was not so obsequious an instrument of Napoleon's designs as he was represented. It is well known that this monarch indignantly refused the sacrifice of his daughter to the conqueror; and when the emperor had decreed the subjugation of Spain, and, as protector of the Rhenish confederation, demanded of the sovereigns belonging to it the contingents

stipulated in case of war, Frederick Augustus not only refused to furnish a single man, but expressed the strongest abhorrence of the unhallowed enterprize. Napoleon, so far from resenting this firmness, was impressed by it with such respect that he would occasionally ask and follow the advice of the king of Saxony, though his pride would not suffer him to accept, much less to solicit, counsel from any other potentate.

If this prince was one of the last who joined the cause of injured Europe against her oppressor, the reason is to be sought, not in the unwillingness of his majesty to consult the general welfare, but in the peculiar circumstances in which himself and his unfortunate kingdom had been placed for several years. He had shared with Prussia, his ally, in the calamities consequent on the disastrous battle of Jena, and had since been compelled to follow the fortunes of the conqueror, which was no more than Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Prussia herself had done. Of the memorable campaign of 1813 his dominions were the theatre; an army of 200,000 French had complete possession of the country, upon whose vitals it was preying; and here Napoleon awaited the attack of his pursuers. Resistance to such a force was wholly out of the question; and his majesty, waving every consideration of personal safety, generously resolved to remain among his faithful subjects, and to share their

fate, whatever it might be; hoping also by his presence at least to mitigate some of the hardships, oppressions, and exactions to which they were exposed, as well on the part of friends as of foes. It is well known that, during the obstinately contested battle of Leipzig, when for three days the fortune of Europe hung in awful suspense, the conduct of the Saxon troops in joining the banners of the allies contributed to turn the scale in their favour. The king again refuted the charge of devotion to the will and attachment to the person of the French emperor, by rejecting his proposals to accompany him to France, or at least to Weissenfels, and there to negotiate with the allies. Conscious of the rectitude of his intentions, and that, in the course which he had taken, he had but obeyed the dictates of inexorable necessity, his majesty remained at Leipzig when the conquerors entered the city, in the full confidence that the combined sovereigns would appreciate his situation and sentiments, and admit him their alliance, now that the departure of the into enemy had left him at liberty to act without control. In this confidence he was deceived. His majesty was conveyed a prisoner to Prussia, and, while his troops assisted in the destruction of the common foe, his kingdom was seized by those under whose banners they were fighting.

A thousand pens were now set in motion to

vilify the exiled monarch, and to convince the world of the sound policy, the general advantage, nay, even the justice, of transferring Saxony to another sceptre. It was contended that such a change could not fail to produce the most beneficial consequences to the country itself, and that the inhabitants must derive innumerable blessings from the substitution of an enlightened Protestant sovereign for a superstitious Catholic. Whoever might be convinced by these arguments, it was evident that the persons most deeply interested, the Saxons themselves, were ungrateful enough not to appreciate the value of the intended kindness. Never were the will and the wishes of a whole nation more unequivocally expressed; never was the aversion to foreign authority more strongly manifested; never was attachment to a sovereign more clearly displayed, than by the Saxons of all classes to their adored king during his compulsory exile. What wonder, indeed, if his subjects should cherish a glowing affection for their native country, pride themselves on the envied distinction which she had attained, and cling with filial attachment to the sovereign to whom she mainly owed this pre-eminence! It is true that even in England, where, above all the countries of the globe, such an argument would be least expected, there were not wanting persons, who, to serve a particular pur-

pose, have characterized as a silly prejudice that fond attachment which binds men to the soil that gave them birth, and to a sovereign endeared by the remembrance of past glory and by the feeling of present benefits. Admitting, for a moment, that patriotism were a prejudice, still I would maintain it to be a prejudice which is the parent of the sublimest virtues—a prejudice which no ridicule will ever be able to eradicate from the heart of man—a prejudice, the extinction of which, were it possible, would go a great way towards reducing him to the level of the brutes, to whom every country is indifferent provided it affords the sensual gratifications of which alone they are susceptible.

That the King of Saxony was a Catholic could not be denied; but he was as far removed from bigotry and superstition as a good Christian of any other religious denomination. It was universally acknowledged that, notwithstanding the adoption of the Romish faith by his great-grandfather, which produced the political anomaly of a family of that persuasion reigning over an entire nation of Protestants, in the very country too which gave birth to the doctrines of the Reformation, this circumstance never had the effect of impairing in the slightest degree that mutual confidence which ought to subsist between the subjects and the sovereign. It is equally notorious that no state in Europe

enjoys the blessings of a religious toleration in a higher degree than Saxony; and nothing can better demonstrate the feelings of her Protestant people themselves on this subject than the unfeigned love and veneration which they have shown for a century past to their rulers, and in particular to King Frederick Augustus. Their remonstrances and their petitions, however, were alike disregarded on this occasion; the right of the stronger prevailed. The fact was that, on the formation of the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Poland, it behoved the allied sovereigns to find certain indemnities for Prussia, and none lay so conveniently for the purpose as the dominions of the king of Saxony. The original design was to unite the whole of them with Prussia. The king was offered in exchange a territory in Westphalia with 300,000 inhabitants, but he resolutely refused to accede to any alienation of his patrimonial states.

It was during the discussion of this question that the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha addressed to Lord Castlereagh, the representative of his Britannic majesty, a document which reflects the highest honour on the writer.

When this prince had, in 1806, followed the fortunes of the king of Prussia, and after the death of his father. (who, like the other dukes of Saxony, had made his peace with Napoleon, and acceded to the confederation of the Rhine), did

not immediately return to his dominions, the emperor sent his intendant Dumolard from Dresden to Coburg to take upon him the administration of these states. In this dangerous situation, the duke's mother had recourse to the king of Saxony, and repaired to Dresden, that she might personally solicit his interference. His majesty, without hesitation, undertook to advocate the cause of his kinsman, and through his mediation the territories of Coburg were relieved from the pressure of French administration. The duke himself, when he visited Dresden, after the peace of Tilsit in 1807, was there received with the most cordial friendship. A change of circumstances afforded his highness an opportunity of proving his gratitude for the kindness of the king of Saxony, and he availed himself of it in such a manner as does equal credit to his head and heart. In 1814, while the fate of Saxony was yet undecided, and the king was detained a captive in Prussia, the duke delivered to Lord Castlereagh the following note, which in the sequel was seconded by many distinguished German houses; and by which the Duke of Coburg acquired the merit of having been the first to express his sentiments in a bold and dignified tone, at a time when fear and self-interest imposed silence upon so many.

*“ To his Excellency LORD CASTLEREAGH,
First Secretary of State of his Britannic
Majesty in the Department of Foreign Af-
fairs. Vienna, the 14th of October 1814.
ERNEST, Duke of SAXE-COBURG.*

“ His Excellency has permitted me to state to him, in writing, what I think of the fate of Saxony ; I shall be brief, for statesmen have no time to lose.

“ The sentence of political death with which Saxony is threatened, ought to be justified by right, and decided by the general interest of Europe. If either of these foundations be wanting, those who pronounce that sentence will be disavowed by all Europe.

“ I. Question of Right.

“ In order that the proposed measure relative to Saxony may be capable of being supported on the ground of right, it is absolutely necessary, either that sovereignty should be lost or acquired by the sole right of conquest ; or that there should exist a power competent to try the king of Saxony.

“ England, in retaking possession of the electorate of Hanover, has not acknowledged the principle of conquest ; Napoleon himself protested against it when you ceded Guadaloupe to

Sweden ; consequently force alone has not been admitted either by you or your enemy as a legal title, authorizing the definitive disposal of a country.

“ In order to try the king of Saxony, it would first be necessary to find a tribunal possessing a right to sit in judgment upon him ; and then to hear him before that tribunal.

“ We do not acknowledge the right of those who in the present case would presume to form such a tribunal, and these pretended judges refuse even to hear him whom they accuse. *The sovereign of Saxony has no other judges than the king of England*—GOD AND HIS NATION ; and so long as the European family shall not be amenable to any supreme and common tribunal, so long there will be no other arbiters of kings ; now that arbiter of these two, whose sentiments we are permitted to know and to interpret, has decidedly pronounced in favour of this prince, for his whole nation demands him back at your hands.

“ Your Excellency yourself has observed to me that a sense of justice is implanted in the heart of every man. Collect in any form you please a number of persons, of any country, and of any class ; submit the question to them, and I will abide by their decision.

“ II. *Question of General Interest.*

“ Let us now examine whether the prosperity of Prussia, the interests of Germany, or the general situation of Europe, so imperatively demand the suppression of Saxony.

“ You are anxious, my lord, that Prussia should be strong ; but you would only weaken her by giving to her a population, which for a century to come will not forget its feelings for the ancient dynasty, and which will perpetually cherish in its bosom the seeds of discontent and disturbance. The statesman should bear in mind that Saxony is not composed of a motley assemblage of minor states—the unjust acquisitions of past times ; Saxony is what it has been for ages ; its national origin is firmly founded, and this state is so much the less calculated to become a quiet and submissive *province*.

“ You are desirous of uniting Austria and Prussia. The transfer of Saxony to the latter would of itself suffice to divide them. The frontiers of Austria will be compromised, her military movements cramped and menaced, and the two states, brought into contact with one another, will, sooner or later, be in a situation of permanent hostility, dangerous to themselves and to the rest of Europe.

“ Is it your wish to divide Prussia and Russia ? You will not accomplish this object. The two sovereigns are bound by personal ties, which

it is not in the power of any person to break. But, setting aside their personal friendship, you unite their interests when you think to separate them ; for Prussia will be supported by Russia in her projects of aggrandizement in Germany ; she will soon find means to pass the limits which you now pretend to set her, and she will support in return the designs of Russia upon the Ottoman empire. Germany will be destroyed, the Ottoman empire overthrown, and the peace of Europe disturbed, and all this in consequence of your plan.

“ If you would ascertain, my lord, what is the interest of Germany, consult its wishes ; for you certainly cannot suppose that the states, both great and small, are completely ignorant of what can save or ruin them ; now all of them, *one alone excepted*, consider Germany as ruined if Saxony be annihilated. The kind of balance of power which your plan tends to establish is therefore the total derangement of all balance of power ; its first consequence would be a civil war in Germany, and in Europe a state of general convulsion, the effects of which England could scarcely avoid feeling,

“ The eyes of Germany are fixed upon England ; she will submit her cause to the tribunal of a just and enlightened nation, which, averse to every act of violence, cannot sanction the suppression of a people attached to the English

nation by the ties of religion, arts, and commerce.

“The observations which I have taken the liberty to submit to your Excellency, are dictated by solicitude for the general welfare; for you are aware, my lord, that private interest would induce me to hold a very different language: but I love my country and honour, and that very friendship which binds me to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, is but an additional motive with me to oppose projects dangerous for them, and ruinous to us.”

At length, after five months' negotiations in the Congress of Vienna, upon the results of which the strong manifestation of public opinion in the British Parliament had no small influence, the partition of Saxony was irrevocably decreed in February 1815; and the king, who had returned from Presburg to Berlin, received intimation that “those portions of Saxony which were to be added to Prussia must be immediately separated from those which the king was to retain; that Prussia would take possession for ever of those provinces which had been assigned to her; and that the portion which the king of Saxony was to keep were to remain under the provisional administration of the king of Prussia.”

Napoleon had meanwhile appeared again in France; it was necessary to bring the negotiations of the Congress to a close; the king, there-

fore, signed, on the 18th of May 1815, the treaty of peace with Prussia, in which he gave up the larger half of his dominions in point of extent, the smaller in regard to population. He acceded at the same time to the act of the German confederation, furnished his contingent against France, and returned to Dresden on the 7th of June 1815, and instituted the Order of Civil Merit, expressly for the purpose of rewarding the attachment manifested by his faithful servants and subjects during their painful separation.

The attention of Frederick Augustus, during the remainder of his life, was devoted to those modifications which the altered state of his country required, and to the improvement of its civil institutions; and, after a reign exceeded in length by that of only one prince of the house of Wettin, Henry the Illustrious, margrave of Meissen, he expired at Dresden, on the 5th of May 1827.

He was succeeded by his brother, ANTONY CLEMENT THEODORE, fourth son of the elector Frederick Christian, born on the 26th of December, 1755. He was originally destined for the church, but, as there was long no prospect of issue to his predecessor, he married, on the 24th of October 1781, Mary, daughter of the king of Sardinia, who died on the 28th of December, in the following year. His second consort, Maria

Theresa, daughter of the emperor Leopold, to whom he was united on the 18th of October 1787, bore him four children, but all of them died in their infancy. He lived for many years in close retirement, devoting his attention to music, occasionally in the character of composer, to genealogy, which was his favourite pursuit, and to the rigid performance of religious exercises. He shared with the rest of the royal family the various vicissitudes to which it was subjected by the events of the war, and in 1819 resided for some months in Italy. His life was simple and unostentatious; and he was almost taken by surprise when the death of his elder brother removed him from what might be called a private station to the throne.

Though a prince of excellent disposition, Antony was reputed to be too implicitly devoted to the Romish church and its ministers, who were mostly foreigners. The old Protestant Saxons beheld with a jealous eye all favours conferred on the Catholics, who were far from numerous, by the court since the crown of Poland allured it to change its religion; while the friends of the New Protestant principles regarded the efforts of the minister, Count von Einsiedel, to reinstate evangelical orthodoxy in its former rights, as mere Jesuitism and secret Catholicism. The municipal institutions of Saxony, unchanged for ages, were inadequate

to the wants of the time and needed reform. The representation of the states was monopolized by the heads of a few noble families; and the administration of the towns was in the hands of irremovable magistrates, who exercised a sort of sovereignty over the civic communities, and resisted all attempts to render them responsible and accountable, as infringements of their justly acquired rights. A comparison with the municipal regulations introduced into the contiguous Prussian states caused these defects to appear the more glaring. But king Antony, though with the best disposition for promoting the welfare of his people, thought at his advanced age of no radical change in the existing institutions, by means of which Saxony had so long prospered and passed, as it were, for a model for other states.

From these causes arose a feeling of discontent; and when, on the 25th of June 1830, the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg confession, which was kept with great solemnity throughout all Protestant Germany, especially in the Prussian dominions, was rather obstructed than promoted by the city authorities of Leipzig and Dresden, out of tenderness for the Catholic court, that feeling produced an excitement which, heightened by the events at Paris and Brussels, produced an explosion at Leipzig on the 2d of September,

and at Dresden on the 9th. In the latter city a mob collected, stormed the town-hall and the police-office, drove away with showers of stones the weak detachments of the garrison which attempted to quell the rioters, and nothing less than the general plunder of the city was apprehended, till, on the morning of the 10th, the citizens assembled, put a stop to the disorders, and restored the public tranquillity. The king appointed a Committee of Safety under the presidency of his nephew, prince Frederick Augustus. Upon the principle that confidence begets confidence, the military were wholly withdrawn from the city, and the duty of preserving order was entrusted to the newly instituted communal guard, the command of which was afterwards assumed by prince John, the younger nephew of the king. The ringleaders and assistants in the riot were apprehended and sent to the fortress of Königstein. Meanwhile the citizens expressed their wish for the abolition of the arbitrary power arrogated by the municipal authorities, and other oppressive abuses, and for such reforms as were required by the spirit of the times, so forcibly that the Committee of Safety immediately imposed on the town-councils the obligation of accounting to the citizens, and at the same time declared that the king, convinced of the necessity of the modification of the municipal constitution, had directed a new one to

be framed. On the morning of the 13th of September, Einsiedel, the minister, resigned, and on the same day, prince Frederick was declared co-regent and successor to his uncle; his father, prince Maximilian, who was already advanced in years, and rightly judged that extraordinary circumstances required extraordinary energies, having renounced the succession for his own person. These concessions appeased the movement which the news of the events in the two principal cities excited all over the country, and especially at Chemnitz, where the warehouse of a wealthy Catholic tradesman was plundered. On the 25th of September 1830, the king convoked the states for the month of March in the following year, in order to consider the plan of a new constitution, which should then be submitted to them.

During this interval fresh disturbances, probably influenced by the insurrection in Poland, broke out in Saxony. A number of citizens of Dresden, dissatisfied with the slow progress made in framing the new constitution, and excited by rumours that the promises given by the government were not likely to be fulfilled, formed an association which put itself forward as the representative of the popular will. A printed constitution was circulated, according to which the sovereignty of the people was to be proclaimed, nobility abolished, and the standing army disbanded.

On the 16th of April 1831, two of the members of the association, accused of circulating this constitution, were apprehended. A mob assembled in consequence, and on the evening of the 18th the troops of the line were obliged to fire upon the rioters in order to disperse them. Several towns expressed by addresses their indignation at these scenes; the citizens of Leipzig sent an invitation to the royal family, soliciting it to take up its residence within their walls. But, a few months afterwards, on the 30th of August, still more serious disturbances broke out in that city. Part of the communal guard refused to occupy the guard-house assigned to it, and, when force was resorted to, made so obstinate a resistance that several lives were sacrificed. About the same time the diet was closed in Dresden, and the new constitution, adapting the component parts and forms of the old one to the views, wishes, and wants of the times, was made public. The authors and participators in the disturbances were brought to trial, and expiated their offences by confinement in houses of correction.

The new constitution embraces a more extended system of elective representation, with two chambers, and six responsible ministers. In 1832, a new municipal regulation was introduced in most of the towns, and feudal services were abolished. These and other internal reforms

have quashed the spirit of discontent, and restored the country to its former tranquillity. In 1834, Saxony joined the German Customs Union, an association which has not only exercised a beneficial influence on the manufacturing industry of the countries belonging to it, but has tended to obliterate national antipathies between its component parts, and to form, as it were, one people out of all the Germans, without distinction.

The Saxons, grateful for the benefits conferred during the reign of their aged king, celebrated his eighty-first birth-day, in December 1835, with touching zeal. It was his last : he expired on the 6th of June 1836.

FREDERICK Augustus II., son of Maximilian Maria Joseph, younger brother of Frederick Augustus I. (who died in Dresden, January 3d, 1838), born May 18, 1797, was, on the renunciation of the throne by his father, declared co-regent, September 13th, 1830, by his uncle Antony, whom he succeeded on the 6th of June 1836. He married first, on the 7th of October 1819, Caroline, daughter of the emperor Francis I. of Austria, who was born in 1801 and died in 1832; and secondly, on the 24th of April 1833, Leopoldine, daughter of Maximilian late king of Bavaria, twin-sister of the consort of the archduke Francis of Austria, brother of the present emperor, born January 27th, 1805.

His majesty's brothers and sisters are:

Maria Amelia, born August 10th, 1794, known as a dramatic writer.

Mary, born the 27th of April 1796, married May 6th, 1821, to Ferdinand III. grand-duke of Tuscany, by whom she was left a widow, June 18th, 1824. By this union she became stepmother to her younger sister Marie Anne, who was married in 1817 to the heir-apparent, the present grand-duke Leopold II., and died March 24th, 1832.

John, born December 12th, 1801, president of the council of state, and advantageously known for an excellent translation of Dante and his extensive erudition. He married, November 21st, 1822, Amelia Augusta, daughter of the late king Maximilian of Bavaria, and twin-sister of the consort of the crown-prince of Prussia, born November 13th, 1801. Their children are:

Maria Augusta, born January 22d, 1827.

Albert, born April 23d, 1828, the first prince born royal of the house of Saxony.

Marie Elisabeth, born February 4th, 1830.

Ernest, born April 5th, 1831.

George, born August 8th, 1832.

Marie Sidonia, born August 16th, 1834.

Anne Marie, born January 4th, 1836.

The kingdom of Saxony, since its partition, comprehends 272 geographical square miles, equal to about 5,850 English square miles, and 1,652,000 inhabitants. The king's civil list is fixed at 500,000 rix-dollars: the total annual revenue and expenditure exceeds five million dollars; and the contingent of the kingdom to the army of the German confederation is 12,000 men.

ERNESTINE LINE

OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

HAVING, in the preceding pages, traced the descent of the *Albertine*, or younger branch of the House of Saxony, from the period when it supplanted the elder or *Ernestine* line, let us now return to the latter.

It will be recollected that, on the deposition of John Frederick the Magnanimous from the electoral dignity in 1547, certain towns and districts in Thuringia, and among the rest Weimar, Jena, and Eisenach, were allotted to his family. It has also been stated that the principality of Coburg devolved to him on the death of his half-brother, John Ernest, in 1553. To these possessions were added, in the following year, by the convention of Naumburg, the districts of Altenburg, Sachsenberg, Herbisleben, and Eisenberg.

ANCIENT HOUSE OF SAXE-GOTHA.

1553 to 1634.

JOHN FREDERICK II., eldest son of John Frederick I., was the founder of the ancient House of Gotha. This prince had the misfortune to unite the ambition of recovering the dominions and dignities of which his father had been dispossessed with extreme credulity—qualities which rendered him an easy dupe to designing persons, and finally occasioned the loss of his states and his liberty. Thus we find that he was selected, in 1558, by a female adventurer, who pretended to be his aunt, Anne of Cleves, the divorced wife of Henry VIII. of England, as a fit subject for her impositions. She pretended that the report of the death of the princess whom she personated was false; and that she had escaped to the Continent with prodigious wealth in money and jewels, among which were the crown jewels of England, a

great part of which treasures she promised to the duke and his brothers. After she had thus amused him for a year and a half, the accounts which reached him from various quarters excited suspicion ; the pretended queen underwent various examinations, in each of which she told a different story respecting her origin and circumstances. At length she was led to the scaffold, as if for execution, and there solemnly declared that she was an illegitimate daughter of the duke of Cleves. The family of the latter, however, denied all knowledge of the fact, and one John von Froemont, in a letter to the senate of Nürenberg, whom she had solicited to take charge of part of her treasures, says that, after great trouble, she was at length brought to confess that she was the daughter of a count, and had been waiting-woman to queen Anne, whose seal and other valuables she had contrived to secure after her death : that, moreover, she had been mistress to Henry VIII. and the principal cause of his separation from the queen. She was doomed to solitary imprisonment ; but whether death released her from it, or she was set at liberty after the deposition of John Frederick, is not known.

With equal facility did this unfortunate prince grant his protection to William von Grumbach, a Franconian nobleman, who had instigated the margrave of Brandenburg to attack his liege-

lord, the bishop of Würzburg. The bishop had in consequence sequestrated his estates, upon which Grumbach caused him to be assassinated. Being accused of this crime by the successor of that prelate, he collected a band of adventurers, surprised Würzburg in the night, plundered the city, and compelled the chapter to sign an engagement to restore his estates and to pay him a considerable sum of money within a stipulated time. For these proceedings he was put to the ban of the empire, as a robber and disturber of the public peace. In this situation, Grumbach and his companions sought the protection of the duke of Gotha. They filled his mind with the most absurd notions, and set before him the flattering prospect of recovering, through their means, the honours and possessions enjoyed by his father; assuring him that his pretensions would infallibly be seconded by the Protestants of England and France. In spite of the commands of the emperor, and the admonitions of princes related to him by blood, to withdraw his countenance from these obnoxious characters, the duke persisted in harbouring them, upon which he was himself put to the ban. The execution of this sentence was entrusted to Augustus elector of Saxony, who, at the latter end of the year 1566, entered the country with an army, and laid siege to Gotha. The city was obliged to capi-

tulate on the 13th of April 1567, on which day, exactly twenty years before, the duke's father lost his liberty in the battle of Mühlberg. Among the prisoners exempted from pardon was a visionary, named Hänsel Tausendschön, otherwise Hans Müller, a native of Sundhausen near Gotha. This man asserted that he had seen and conversed with angels, who informed him that in a neighbour's garden in his village was concealed a prodigious treasure in pure gold, which had been deposited there by an emperor, and was destined for none but the duke and himself. These angels were four in number, who paid him frequent visits; but only one of them spoke to him, and this one had often said that the duke should recover his father's electorate, and that the above-mentioned treasure should be dug up before the ensuing Whitsuntide. This fanatic stedfastly maintained the truth of his story even when put to the torture; adding that the angels came out of a hole in the cellar and retired into it again; that he once accompanied them by their desire, and there saw his grandfather and great-grandfather. The angels, he said, were about the size of boys three years old, wore ash-coloured garments, had black hats on their heads, white staves in their hands, and shrill voices just like those of young children.

On the 18th of April, Grumbach and some

of his associates were executed in the market-place of Gotha. Being unable to walk, owing to the gout, he was carried in a chair to the block, where he was greeted on his arrival by eight trumpeters. He sat about a quarter of an hour upon the block, conversing with the ecclesiastics, who, as he declared that he wished to die like a good Christian, administered to him the consolations of religion. He was then stripped, extended upon the block, nailed down, and quartered alive. The executioner first cut out his heart and smote him with it in the face, saying, "Behold thy false heart, Grumbach!" Brück, who had been chancellor to the duke of Gotha, was the next that suffered. He was led forth in a long black cloak, with crape round his hat, saluted with the sound of trumpets, and quartered like Grumbach. David Baumgärtner, a Swabian baron, who had fled from his own country on account of debt and joined Grumbach's troop, was beheaded. On the surrender of the city, this man might easily have escaped, had he not thought fit, at that unseasonable moment, to parade the streets on a spirited horse, and wearing a hat adorned with feathers. His appearance induced the elector to inquire who he was, and, having learned his name, he ordered him to be detained and secured. Another of the prisoners was beheaded,

and a fifth hanged. Colonel Brandenstein, who had been commandant of the fortress of Grimmenstein, was conducted to the scaffold with the same ceremonies as the others, but reprieved. On the 26th, however, he was beheaded, and the same day Tausendschön, the visionary, was hanged. The scaffold erected on this occasion, after being taken down, was sold to a peasant, who made a dwelling-room out of it. "This man," says Müller, in his *Annals*, "could not have been either very squeamish or very timid."

The duke John Frederick was delivered up to the imperial commissioners, conveyed to Austria, and doomed to perpetual imprisonment at Neustadt. Here his noble consort, when her two sons had attained such an age as no longer to need her care, rejoined her unfortunate husband, and afforded to posterity a rare example of conjugal affection, by sharing with him the hardships of captivity till her death. He soon followed her to the grave in 1595, after a confinement of twenty-eight years.

Though the possessions of this unfortunate prince were originally promised to his brother, John William, yet, at the diet of Spire, in 1570, they were restored to the sons of the deposed duke, John Casimir and John Ernest, who afterwards agreed to divide them with

their uncle. By this partition the latter obtained Weimar, and the young princes Coburg.

JOHN CASIMIR and his brother were, during their minority, under the guardianship of their uncle, John William, and Augustus, elector of Saxony. At the court of Augustus, at Dresden, John Casimir distinguished himself by his dexterity and address in tilting, hunting, and shooting at a mark. Here he conceived a passion for Anna, the youngest daughter of the elector. The princess and her father favoured his suit, and in 1586 the nuptials were consummated with extraordinary festivities. Soon afterwards he removed with his bride to his own capital, Coburg.

The duke spent much of his time abroad with his neighbours, in hunting, shooting, and convivial parties, in which he took great delight, regardless of the solitary condition of his youthful wife. She felt it however the more severely, and in the very first year of their union complained in her letters to her husband of his long and frequent absences, but with the strongest assurances of her tenderest affection. From some of these letters, which are still extant, it may be perceived that the princess, as was very natural at the age of nineteen, felt some disappointment in the privation of the society of the duke, and her love for him gradually abated.

Jeronimo Scotto, a wily Italian, who called himself a count, and whom his contemporaries styled a conjuror, had quitted his native country to try his fortune in Germany. He was an adept in many arts and in sleight of hand: could tell people their thoughts, give entertainments without any preparation, and, as it were, by the agency of obsequious spirits, cast nativities, and was conversant in astronomy and alchemy—qualifications which in those times conferred great reputation and consequence. Thus accomplished, he appeared, in 1579, at Cologne, where he was well received by the elector Gebhard. He entertained him with his tricks, made a parade of his knowledge and pretensions, and artfully turned the conversation to the beautiful females whom the negotiations for peace had then assembled at Cologne. The elector, who was pleased with the subject, asked Scotto if he could procure him a sight of the most beautiful of these ladies. The conjuror joyfully replied in the affirmative, and showed him in a mirror the charming Agnes of Mansfeld, with whom the elector formed an acquaintance by means of his cunning agent. She at length prevailed upon him, notwithstanding his ecclesiastical profession, to marry her, plunged him into quarrels and wars, and ultimately occasioned his deposition and ruin.

Scotto, after a variety of adventures, became

known to John Casimir, and in 1592 was settled at Coburg. The duke was a great lover of secret arts and sciences, and expended considerable sums in the acquisition of them. Many Italians, like Scotto, were at this time spread over the continent, and distinguished themselves by their success in all sorts of tricks, in gambling, and with the fair sex. They dug for treasures, summoned spirits, and contrived to dupe both high and low, and to fleece them of their money. John Casimir was acquainted with several of these empirics, and at last fate, in evil hour for himself and his consort, introduced to him Jeronimo Scotto.

This adventurer soon discovered the weak side of his hosts, and contrived to insinuate himself so completely into the confidence of the duke and duchess, that the infatuated pair resigned themselves implicitly to his directions. While he promised to initiate the former into the most mysterious arcana of science, he deceived the latter with his tricks, and with the assurance that he would remove the impediments to her becoming a mother. This had ever been the object of her fondest wishes, which hope pictured as the most effectual means of fixing the heart of her husband. The universal superstition of her age inspired her with confidence towards Scotto, who abused her weakness, and, fearing a discovery, found means to produce a tender intimacy

between her and a young and amiable man, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, a gentleman of the duke's court. He then left Coburg, carrying with him part of her jewels, which she had placed in his hands to sell for her, but with a promise to return and share with her the brilliant fortunes that awaited him.

The mutual passion of the duchess and Lichtenstein was too strong to admit of disguise; they betrayed it themselves. The suspicions of the duke were awakened; he discovered the secret, and resolved to launch upon the lovers the utmost weight of a husband's indignation. He caused them to be apprehended, and appointed a particular commission to inquire into the affair. The duchess, in letters to her husband and some of her relations, acknowledged her guilt. The former she implored not to doom her, a poor forlorn orphan, and young as she was, to a prison. She represented that she had no wish to retain the state and honours which she had hitherto enjoyed, and intreated him to consider her as his menial servant, but not to put her quite away from him. She further begged him to spare the life of Lichtenstein, "otherwise his blood would be upon her head."

A relation of the duke's advised him to pardon his wife, but her own family refused to receive her. At her examination, she voluntarily made the following confession:—"that she had

had many conversations with Scotto, who, among other things had promised to put her in the way to become a mother. She had accordingly gone to his apartment, where he took her hand and laid it upon a cross cut out of pasteboard, marked with various characters and covered with wire. He then pronounced some words, all of which were untelligible to her, except the blessed Trinity. Upon this the wire twisted itself round her fingers. In this helpless situation, he took advantage of her weakness, and prevailed upon her to violate her duty, and to continue to allow him those privileges which were the exclusive right of her lord. He likewise obliged her to swear that on his return she would accompany him to Italy. Scotto then told her that she would die before her husband, and have to encounter great hardships; but if she would wish her husband to die first, all should go well with her. To this, however, she would not consent. He afterwards introduced to her Ulrich von Lichtenstein, to whom she had completely surrendered her person." All these circumstances she confessed with tears, intreating that her husband would attribute every thing to her inexperience, and forgive her on account of her youth; as it was the villain Scotto who had deluded and plunged her into ruin.

The tribunal at Jena adjudged both delinquents to be beheaded, which sentence the duke

mitigated to perpetual imprisonment. The duchess was confined first at Eisenach, afterwards in the convent of Sonnenfeld, and lastly in the castle of Coburg, where she died in 1613.

Lichtenstein, whose prison was a tower in the church-yard at Coburg, survived till 1633.

The duchess had languished six years in confinement, when John Casimir took for his second wife Margaret, a princess of Brunswick. The following fact will serve to illustrate the sentiments of this prince. In derision of his repudiated wife, he caused a medal to be struck, upon which, on the obverse, he is represented kissing his new bride, with an inscription to this effect : *How lovingly these two kiss !* On the reverse is seen the unhappy Anna, in the monastic habit, with these words : *Who will kiss me, miserable nun ?* These inscriptions form in the original language the following distich :

Wie küssen sich die zwey so fein !

Wer küsst mich, armes Nünnelein ?

—This medal, and a print of a similar kind, with the same inscription, were the messengers employed with unmanly triumph by the duke to announce his second marriage to the wretched prisoner, and to revenge her infidelity. In general, he was fond of equivoques upon his coins, as well as upon the marks which he used to fire at, a whole collection of which are still preserved in the ducal library at Gotha.

John Casimir, to whom Coburg is indebted for the foundation of its academy, called the *Gymnasium*, died without issue in 1633.

The following circumstances will serve to demonstrate the spirit of infernal barbarity in which the military operations of the Thirty Years' War in Germany were conducted :—In 1622 the quota of troops furnished by Coburg was employed under the command of a Swedish officer in the siege of Cronach. In a sally made by the townsmen, two of the latter, having been taken prisoners after a very obstinate resistance, were stripped naked, and their skin cut piecemeal from their bodies. In this state they are said to have been sent back to the town, carrying their skin in their hands. The people of Cronach, however, retaliated on the Coburgers by flaying four of their prisoners alive, from the neck to the soles of the feet.

JOHN ERNEST, to whom Eisenach had been previously allotted, succeeded his brother, whom he survived but a year, and, dying likewise without issue in 1634, his possessions reverted to the line of Weimar.

In the last-mentioned year, Colonel Zehm was commandant of the fortress of Coburg. This officer, we are told, was tormented by the devil in the figure of his wife, though the lady was still living, to such a degree, that when he sat

down to table, the spirit would enter the room in his wife's form, so that the poor man was completely puzzled to distinguish which of the two was his real helpmate.

HOUSE OF SAXE-WEIMAR.

1553 to 1840.

JOHN WILLIAM, who founded this line, was the second son of the unfortunate elector, John Frederick the Magnanimous, and brother to the still more unfortunate John Frederick II. This prince, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne, presented himself as a suitor for her hand, and, on being refused by her, married a daughter of the elector-palatine. After the deposition of his brother, in 1567, he at first governed his states alone, but in 1572, ceded a considerable portion of them to his nephews. He died in 1573. His son Frederick William was founder of the line of Altenburg, and John continued the line of Weimar. The former became extinct in 1672, on which the possessions of that house ought, according to the strict rules of lineal descent, to have devolved in

equal portions to the two principal branches of the Ernestine line, those of Weimar and Gotha ; but the latter obtained the chief part, and the former only a small portion.

JOHN, the immediate ancestor of all the reigning houses of Saxony of the Ernestine line, died in 1605, in his thirty-sixth year. By his consort, Dorothea Maria, daughter of prince Joachim Ernest, of Anhalt, he had eleven sons, eight of whom survived him.

Dorothea Maria was a warm patroness of the arts and sciences. She herself and her sister learned Latin and Hebrew, a few years before she died, of Wolfgang Ratichius, an eminent linguist, who had then recently invented a new method of instruction. By her will, she bequeathed twenty thousand florins for the purpose of making a better provision for the professors of the university of Jena. The death of this princess was accelerated by an accident. Riding with some attendants near the river Ilm, she thought that she perceived a poor man or woman sitting on the bank. She therefore felt for her purse, but at this moment her horse began to plunge, and at last leaped with her into the river. The duchess was carried fifty paces down the stream before any of her attendants could come up to her assistance ; but she had presence of mind and strength sufficient to keep herself above water till one of her retinue swam to her

and brought her safely out of the water. She had sustained no bodily injury, but a cold and the fright consequent on the accident terminated her life twelve days afterwards, in 1617. All the contemporary accounts relate that the cause of this catastrophe was not a human being, but a spectre, which frightened the horse; and this assertion was repeated in a Latin inscription upon a monument erected on the spot to commemorate the event.

JOHN ERNEST the younger died in Hungary in 1628.

WILLIAM succeeded his brother. During the reign of this prince, in consequence of the ravages of the thirty years' war, Jena was afflicted, in the spring of 1630, with such a famine, that many persons, unable to procure even oat-bread, were obliged to subsist upon wild roots. Numbers died of famine in their houses and upon the high-roads. In May the dearth was so great that the people had recourse to grass and leaves to appease their hunger, and wherever the carcass of any animal was thrown away, the poor fell upon and devoured it.

In 1639, the possessions of Eisenach and Coburg devolved to the houses of Weimar and Altenburg, and, in the following year, William divided these as well as the patrimonial dominions, with his two surviving brothers, Albert and Ernest. Weimar fell to his own share;

Albert obtained Eisenach with other districts, and Ernest, Gotha. Albert, however, died in 1644 without issue, on which his portion was divided between the other two. Eisenach fell to the share of the duke of Weimar.

Bernard, the youngest brother of these princes, was one of the most distinguished military commanders of his age, and from his achievements was surnamed the *Great*. In thirty-four engagements victory crowned his efforts, and proved inconstant to him on one occasion only.

In the famous battle of Lützen, in which the Protestant religion lost its greatest champion, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Bernard, who commanded the left wing, on learning the death of the king, put himself at the head of the army, and cheered the troops in these words : “ Swedes, Fins, and Germans ! your and our champion of liberty has fallen ! To me life is not life unless I revenge his death. Charge the enemy bravely, and prove that ye loved the king. Follow me, and fight like honourable and gallant soldiers. God with us ! ” The personal valour of Bernard, who was wounded, and his brother, duke Ernest, materially contributed to the success of that glorious day.

In 1633, during the operations on the Danube, where the enemy had destroyed the bridge of Deckendorf, the duke determined to cross the river in a small boat. The boatman who con-

ducted it, ran it in his fright against one of the piers of the bridge with such violence that all on board had well nigh gone to the bottom. "Friend!" cried the undaunted prince, "be not afraid; put thy trust in God; he will not forsake us!" The vessel reached the shore without farther accident.

In 1634, the city of Nördlingen, in Swabia, being besieged by the imperial army, and reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, Bernard, unable to withstand the feelings of his heart, determined to attempt the relief of the place. "I promised them succour," said the hero; "and I will keep my word." Some of his generals would have dissuaded him from an engagement, but he overruled their objections, gave battle, and was for once defeated. His army, consisting of 30,000 Germans and Swedes, was opposed to 70,000 Austrians, Italians, and Spaniards, who were thrice as strong as their adversaries in cavalry and artillery.

The Protestant princes soon afterwards formed an alliance with France, and the duke, being in Paris, was asked by one of the courtiers, *Comment fîtes vous pour perdre la bataille?* The duke drily replied, *Je vous le dirai, Monsieur; je croyois la gagner, et je la perdis*—then, turning sharply round, he inquired, *Qui est le sot qui me fait cette question?*

On another occasion, Father Joseph, the

confidant of cardinal Richelieu, was talking to the duke about the future operations of the war, and pointing out to him, upon a map, the towns which ought to be taken. Bernard listened to the friar a long time with the utmost patience, and then interrupted him with this observation: *Cela serait bon, Monsieur Joseph, si l'on prenoit les villes avec les bouts des doigts.*

The duke treated the king himself in the same blunt manner. As he was not a reigning sovereign, Louis XIII. required of him a great deal of respect. When, therefore, Bernard was admitted to an audience of his majesty, he was not offered a seat, and it was intimated to him that he was expected to be uncovered. Bernard, however, kept his hat on, and reached himself a chair. Upon this the king was retiring, but Richelieu called him back, and the duke gave his majesty to understand that he was not to consider him as an officer, but as an ally. The audience then took place, and Bernard afterwards won the high esteem of the royal family. He refused the staff of a marshal of France, as well as the hand of the duchess d'Aiguillon, a relative of cardinal Richelieu's, because he thought her an unsuitable match for a prince of the elder branch of the house of Saxony.

In 1636, during the siege of Alsace, he received so severe a wound in the fore-finger of his left hand that he was obliged to suffer ampu-

tation. This finger is still preserved at Weimar. In 1638, he reduced the strong fortress of Breisach, after an obstinate siege. The possession of this place was eagerly coveted by France. Marshal Guebriant, who enjoyed the confidence of the duke, was therefore commissioned to negotiate with him for the cession of it to the king, who promised that in return he would enforce the claims of Bernard and his house to Thuringia and Saxony. The marshal harangued him on the subject in a long speech, to which the duke laconically replied : *C'est demander à une fille son pucelage, et à un homme de bien son honneur.*

This answer was, perhaps, the cause of his premature death ; for France found that it was the intention of this prince to form a frontier power in Germany to counteract the ambitious views of the court of Paris. From this time his destruction was determined upon. Twice did his constitution triumph over the murderous attempts of his enemies ; but a third time they proved more successful. He expired at Neuburg, on the 8th of July, 1639, after a most painful illness of five days, occasioned by poison, as was ascertained when his body was opened.

The correspondence of this prince with the imperial and other courts, and with various generals both of the Swedish and the hostile

party, between the years 1635 and 1638, is preserved in the ducal library at Gotha, in fifteen thick folio volumes.

JOHN ERNEST succeeded his father, duke William, in the principality of Weimar, in 1662. His brother, Adolphus William, established himself at Eisenach; John George at Marksuhl; and Bernard at Jena. In 1671, the line of Eisenach became extinct by the death of the young prince William Augustus, on which John George removed from Marksuhl to Eisenach. Thus three different lines were founded in 1652, at Weimar, Eisenach, and Jena. In the same year the principalities of Altenburg and Coburg devolved to the houses of Weimar and Gotha. John Ernest died in 1683.

WILLIAM ERNEST and his brother JOHN ERNEST reigned jointly till the death of the latter in 1707. His son, ERNEST AUGUSTUS, was then associated in the government with the former till his death, in 1728.

The cabinets of coins and curiosities, and the library at Weimar, were founded by William Ernest in 1700, and the *Gymnasium illustre* of the same city in 1714.

On the failure of issue male of the line of Jena, in 1690, its possessions were divided between Weimar and Eisenach.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS alone, died in 1748.

During his reign, in 1741, the line of Eisenach became extinct, and that principality was reunited with Weimar, the sovereigns of which thenceforward assumed the title of Dukes of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS CONSTANTINE married, in 1756, Anna Amelia, daughter of Charles duke of Brunswick Wölffenbüttel, and died in 1758. After his decease, the regency was vested in his widow, as guardian of her son, till 1775. The patronage bestowed by this princess on learning and science have endeared her memory to the people of Weimar. Her enlightened encouragement and the patronage of her son collected around the court a galaxy of genius, in which the names of a Wieland, Schiller, Herder, and Goethe, shine with resplendent lustre, and have caused this little capital to be characterized as the Athens of Germany.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS, born September 3, 1757, succeeded his father under the guardianship of his mother, May 28, 1758, assumed the government September 3, 1775, married October 3, 1775, Louisa, daughter of Louis IX. landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who died February 14, 1830.

By the treaty signed in Congress at Vienna, in 1815, the title of *grand-duke* was conferred on this prince with an addition to his territories comprising a population of 50,000 souls. He

was the first of the sovereigns of the Germanic confederation who gave a representative constitution to their states. He died on the 14th June 1828, at Graditz, near Torgau, on his return from Berlin to Weimar.

CHARLES FREDERICK, the reigning grand-duke, born February 2, 1783, succeeded his father on the 14th of June 1828. He married, August 3, 1804, Maria Pawlovna, daughter of Paul I. and sister of the late and present emperors of Russia, by whom he has issue :

Marie Louise Alexandrine, born February 3, 1808, married to prince Charles, third son of the king of Prussia ;

Marie Louise Augusta Catherine, born September 30, 1811, married to prince William, second son of the king of Prussia.

Charles Alexander, hereditary grand-duke, born June 24, 1818.

Charles Bernard, brother of the reigning grand-duke, born May 30, 1792, lieutenant-general in the service of the king of the Netherlands, married May 30, 1816, Ida, princess of Saxe Meiningen, sister of the queen-dowager of Great Britain, born June 25, 1794. Their children are :

William Augustus Edward, born at Bushy Park, near London, August 4, 1825.

Herman Bernard George, born August 4, 1825.

Frederick Gustavus Charles, born at Ghent, June 28, 1827.

Anna Amelia Mary, born at Zeegverghem, near Ghent, September 9, 1828.

Amelia Maria de Gloria, born at Ghent, May 20, 1830.

The grand-ducal house of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach is of the Lutheran confession. Its dominions comprehend sixty-six geographical square miles, about 1,420 English. The revenues of the country amount to 750,000 rix-dollars, and the expenditure to 640,000. Its contingent to the army of the German confederation is 2,010 men.

MODERN HOUSE OF SAXE-GOTHA.

1640 to 1825.

ERNEST, surnamed the *Pious*, the founder of this house, was the ninth son of John, duke of Weimar. On his accession to the government, in 1640, he found his country desolated by a long and bloody war, and the people plunged into the grossest ignorance, from the total neglect of all instruction, moral and religious. His first care was, therefore, to reform the church, and to establish schools for the education of the lower classes. He ordered, under severe penalties, that all persons should send their children to these schools as soon as they were five years of age; and such was the success of his regulations, that it became a common saying that "the boors of Thuringia were better educated than the gentry of other countries." By his command, Seckendorf undertook his voluminous

and valuable *History of Lutheranism*, for which the duke supplied him with manuscript materials and documents. This work, which is written in Latin, furnishes a complete history of the rise and progress of the Reformation in all the countries of Europe. Ernest likewise formed the plan and defrayed the expense of publishing the Bible with notes, composed by as many able Protestant writers as there are books in the Old and New Testament, which has always been held in high esteem, under the denomination of the *Weimar Bible*.

The duke was particularly solicitous that the cures and schools should be supplied with ministers and masters properly qualified for those situations. He always carried about with him a list of both, and would visit them familiarly in his journeys. One day, when passing through a village, he entered the minister's house, inspected his library, and perceiving his Bible covered with dust, he put a gold ducat at the beginning of the book of Revelations, unobserved by the divine. The following year, he paid another visit to the same priest, and inquired concerning his method of reading the sacred volume. The minister told his highness that it was his practice to read over the whole Bible once every four months, together with the critical observations, and that he spent some hours every day in the study of a particular book, and in perusing the

best commentators who had written upon that book. His highness then took up the Bible, opened it, and, to the no small confusion of the clerical hypocrite, found the ducat where he had laid it the preceding year.

All persons who held offices of trust under this prince were annually examined by himself, and if any of them was found to have wilfully violated his duty, he directed the 101st Psalm to be read to the offender in his presence, and discharged him from his service. Hence originated the proverb applied to unfaithful stewards:—"The prince's psalm will be read to you."

He frequently repeated these words:—"Princes are formed of earth, rule on earth, and return to earth."

In 1645, the possessions of the house of Gotha were enlarged with part of Eisenach, and in 1672, with the principal portion of the territories of the line of Altenburg.

By the duchess Elizabeth Sophia, only daughter of John Philip, duke of Altenburg, Ernest became the father of eighteen children, of whom seven sons survived him. He died in 1675.

FREDERICK I., eldest son of Ernest, divided the paternal dominions with his brothers Albert, Bernard, Henry, Christian, and John Ernest, upon which the house of Gotha was divided into various lines, which were called after their places of residence. In this partition Frederick retained

Gotha. To prevent the further dismemberment of his dominions, he introduced the law of primogeniture, by which the eldest son enjoys the whole estate on making suitable provision for the younger branches of the family. He assisted in person with his brother Ernest, duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, in relieving Vienna, when besieged by the Turks in 1683.

FREDERICK II. succeeded his father in 1691, and died in 1732. By the princess Magdalena Augusta, of Anhalt Zerbst, he had eighteen children, of whom Augusta was married in 1736, to Frederick Lewis, prince of Wales, by whom she became the mother of king George III.

John William, brother to this prince, was distinguished for his military talents. In 1696, he served in the allied army under king William III. in Flanders, as adjutant-general to his majesty. He afterwards entered into the Swedish service, was in the early campaigns of Charles XII., and subsequently signalized himself in Italy, under prince Eugene of Savoy. He was killed by a musket-shot during the siege of Toulon, in 1707.

FREDERICK III. died 1772.

ERNEST II., born January 30th, 1745, married the princess Charlotte Amelia of Saxe-Meiningen, and died on the 20th of April 1804. By the wisdom, the justice, and the benevolence of his administration, this prince acquired the

strongest claims to the reverence not only of his contemporaries but of posterity. He steadfastly opposed the raising of recruits by any foreign powers in his dominions, and refused the offer of very large subsidies made by his kinsman king George III., if he would send troops to America. He was also distinguished for his proficiency in literature and the sciences, and particularly astronomy. At Seeberg, near Gotha, he founded an observatory, and set apart a capital of forty thousand rix-dollars for its maintenance. Under the superintendence of Zach and Lindenau, it became one of the most celebrated institutions of its kind in Germany.

AUGUSTUS, son of Ernest II., succeeded his father on the 20th of April 1804. He married firstly, in 1797, Louisa Charlotte, daughter of Frederick Francis, duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who died in her first confinement, leaving him a daughter, Dorothea Louisa, who was married, in 1817, to the reigning duke of Coburg; and secondly, in 1802, to Caroline Amelia, daughter of William I., elector of Hesse Cassel, by whom he had no issue.

During the eventful years, from 1805 to 1813, when Germany was so often overrun by French armies, duke Augustus, who never quitted his capital, contrived to gain the favour of the conqueror to such a degree that his dominions were exempted from contributions and many other

hardships. He was the author of several works of imagination, only one of which has been published. He died on the 17th of May 1822, and was succeeded by his brother,

FREDERICK IV., born the 22d of November 1774, who, in 1807, adopted the Catholic faith in Rome. On his death, without issue, on the 11th of February 1825, his dominions, consisting of the principalities of Gotha and Altenburg, comprehending 54 geographical square miles, about 1,060 English, and 193,000 inhabitants, were divided among the other three branches of the Ernestine line of the house of Saxony.

HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG.

1675 to 1697.

IN the division of the dominions of Ernest the Pious, Coburg fell to the share of his second son, ALBERT, at whose death, without issue, in 1697, the possession of this principality was long a subject of dispute between the houses of Gotha, Meiningen, Hildburghausen, and Saalfeld. This contention was not finally adjusted till 1735, when the town and district of Coburg were adjudged to the house of Saalfeld, and Sonneberg and Neuhaus to Meiningen.

HOUSE OF SAXE-MEININGEN-
HILDBURGHAUSEN.

1675 to 1840.

BERNARD, third son of Ernest the Pious, obtained this portion of the paternal possessions.

ERNEST LEWIS succeeded his father in 1706, and died in 1724. His brothers,

FREDERIC WILLIAM and ANTHONY ULRICH reigned conjointly till the death of the former, in 1746. The government was then vested in Anthony Ulrich alone till his decease in 1763.

GEORGE FREDERIC CHARLES died in 1803.

BERNARD ERIC FREUND, the reigning duke, born December 17, 1800, succeeded his father, December 24, 1803, under the guardianship of his mother, and assumed the government, December 17th, 1821. On the division of the possessions of the extinct house of Gotha,

the duke of Meiningen obtained the principalities of Hildburghausen and Saalfeld, with several small districts previously belonging to Coburg, Gotha, and Altenburg, forming altogether an addition of twenty-five geographical square miles. The duke married, on the 23d of March 1825, Maria Frederica Wilhelmina, daughter of William II. reigning elector of Hesse Cassel, by whom he has issue,

George, hereditary prince, born April 2d, 1826.

The duke's sisters are :

Adelaide, born August 13th, 1792, married July 11th, 1818, to the Duke of Clarence, who, in 1830, ascended the throne of Great Britain as William IV., and by whom she was left a widow on the 20th of June 1837.

Ida, born June 25th, 1794, married, in 1816, to duke Charles Bernard of Saxe-Weimar.

The house of Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen is of the Lutheran profession. Its dominions comprehend forty-four geographical square miles, 946 English, and 144,000 inhabitants. The revenues amount to 1,250,000 florins; and its contingent to the army of the German confederation is 1,150 men.

HOUSE OF SAXE-ROMHILD.

1675 to 1710.

HENRY, fourth son of Ernest the Pious, had Römhild allotted for his portion. On his death, in 1710, without issue, the district of Römhild was possessed in common by the houses of Meiningen and Saalfeld.

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HOUSE OF SAXE-EISENBERG.

1675 to 1707.

CHRISTIAN, fifth son of Ernest the Pious, obtained certain districts of Altenburg, and fixed his residence at Eisenberg. This prince was a man of an honourable, upright mind, and a tolerable proficient in languages and sciences. In the solitary leisure left him by the concerns of his little state, he fell, however, into the reveries of the alchemists, and fancied that he saw gold and spirits where nothing of the sort was to be seen. At that time, and for some centuries before, it was a mania common among princes to strive to increase their wealth and importance by the practice of the art of making gold, and if they could produce medals of what was termed chemical gold, their happiness was complete.

Our Henry IV. exhorted all his subjects, in four proclamations, to apply themselves with the utmost diligence to the discovery of the philosophers' stone, that by such means the nation might be relieved from its debts. He encouraged the clergy in particular to this pursuit by the representation, "that as they were so fortunate as to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, it would be very easy for them to convert a base metal into one of nobler quality." No sovereign was more strongly addicted to alchemy than the emperor Rodolph II.; he was wholly absorbed in it, and therefore invited to his court the oracle of the art, the celebrated Sendivog, to assist him in his operations. The emperor Leopold I. had also many of these artists about him. Augustus, elector of Saxony, as we have already seen, was reputed to have made greater proficiency in alchemy than any of these princes. Margrave John, of Brandenburg, received, from his favourite study, the surname of the *Alchemist*, and he was prouder of this title than of the electoral dignity. Duke Frederick V., of Wirtemberg, duke Francis II., of Saxe Lauenberg, margrave Frederick Ernest, of Culmbach, and prince Augustus, of Anhalt, are also recorded to have been successful alchemists. Prudent statesmen, nevertheless, exerted their efforts to check this folly, and one of them emphatically

says:—"I never yet saw a state which could assert with truth that it had grown rich by means of alchemy. May God turn the minds and understandings of all princes from such vanities and absurdities!"

These warnings rang in the ears of duke Christian, without producing any other effect upon him than perhaps to excite his pity for the ignorance of those by whom they were given. He constructed a complete laboratory for his favourite pursuit, was in correspondence with the most eminent alchemists of his time, and was known to the adepts in England as well as in Germany by the name of Theophilus, abbot of the Blessed Virgin of Lausnitz. The dupe of many a swindler, he at length contracted debts which he was never able to discharge. He consoled himself with the notion that spirits would infallibly relieve him from his embarrassments, even when he was necessitated to reduce his establishment, and had but few resources to supply the means of living like a prince. A journal, in the duke's hand-writing, relative to his intercourse with five supposed spirits, and the magnificent promises made by them, is a singular monument of human credulity. It embraces the period between April, 1696, and March 1706. It appears that the sum promised him by the spirits, during this time, if he would have patience, exceeded five millions of dollars

in ready money, besides bullion and jewels to ten times that amount. The journal contains, moreover, a minute statement of the purposes to which the duke intended to apply these treasures, an estimate of the diamonds and precious stones, and a "calculation of the prodigious power and energy both of the red and white multiplied and fermented tincture," reduced, with incredible pains and patience, into tables—an operation which alone might suffice to turn the brain of an ordinary person.

If the supposed appearances of the spirits which conversed with the duke, and made him such profuse promises, were mere illusions of the imagination, they must have been more lively than any of which we can form a conception; if not, they may have been comedies that were acted with the deluded alchemist. It seems more than probable that a madame von Unruhe, a confidante of the duke's, who is frequently mentioned in his journal, performed an important part in these transactions, and that the spirit called Job was a worthy assistant. To some such agency may also be ascribed the following adventure.

In 1705, the duke was reclining on a couch in his cabinet, meditating on his mystical concerns, when he heard a knock at his door. He was at a loss to imagine how any person could have come thus far, unobserved by his guard

and attendants, and without being announced. He nevertheless cried, "Come in!" and a female, in the old-fashioned dress of a princess, entered the apartment. A chill came over the duke, but, mustering his courage, and having convinced himself that he was awake, he questioned the visiter as to her name and errand.

"Be not afraid," mildly replied the lady; "I am not an evil spirit. No harm shall befall you. I am Anna, a princess of your family; the unfortunate wife of duke John Casimir.* You know my history?"

"I do," answered the duke; "but what now disturbs your rest, and brings you back into the world?"

"I have something to request of you. I died without being reconciled to my husband. God in his justice has appointed a certain term for our reconciliation, and that term approaches. You are chosen to accomplish our re-union. Though I am happy, I am not yet admitted before the throne of God, but have hitherto resided in a retired place of agreeable repose; whereas my inexorable husband still hovers between time and eternity, in darkness and cold, but not without hopes of happiness."

"But how is it possible that ——."

"Believe my words. What I tell you is

* For the story of this princess, see p. 145.

truth. How many things are there which the human understanding cannot comprehend, and which nevertheless exist ! Experience will be your teacher yonder, where we all see, feel, and believe, what here never entered into our limited conceptions."

The duke was struck dumb, and the spirit thus proceeded :

" We are rejoiced to find you chosen to be the instrument of our reconciliation. Thank God with us that he has been pleased to appoint you such.—I give you eight days to consider of the matter. I shall then return at this hour to learn your determination. God be with you !"

The spirit vanished, leaving the duke absorbed in meditation on what he had seen and heard. He resolved to consult Christian Hofkunz, a celebrated divine of Torgau, afterwards confessor to the queen of Poland, how to proceed in this affair. Hofkunz, with all his casuistry, was not a little embarrassed. At length he wrote to the duke, that, " if there was nothing superstitious in the business of the reconciliation, he might undertake it ; but he ought first to examine whether he had courage sufficient, and duly prepare himself by prayer for the important duty."

The appointed time arrived, and the duchess again made her appearance. She saluted the duke, and asked if he were willing to comply

with her request. He answered that he would, provided that nothing superstitious or contrary to the word of God were required of him.

“Nothing of the kind is required,” said the duchess. “You are acquainted with my history?”

“I am.”

“My husband dealt hardly by me. In vain did I solicit his forgiveness on my death-bed: he remained unmoved. In order, therefore, that we may both become happy, and be admitted to the divine presence, we wish to be reconciled. I have already informed you where we are at present. These abodes we are now to leave, with the permission of the Almighty, who has selected you to promote this good work.”

“What am I to do? and how am I implicated in this matter?”

“Be ready to-morrow night to receive my husband and me: for I alone have power to come in the day-time, but not my husband. We will intreat you to be the umpire between us, to join our hands in token of reconciliation, to pronounce upon us the blessing of the Lord, and then to praise him along with us.”

The duke promised to comply, and the lady disappeared. His Highness then prepared to give a fit reception to his expected guests. He ordered wax candles to be lighted and placed

upon a table between the bible and prayer-book, doubled the guards at the door of his apartments, gave himself up to spiritual meditations, prayed and awaited the time with firmness, though not with perfect composure. Precisely at eleven, the duchess entered, lively and friendly as ever, and stated her case to the duke. After her came her husband, gloomy and pale, and delivered what he had to say in a harsh and unkind manner. "Now decide," exclaimed the duchess, "thou, in whom we place our confidence, beloved descendant of our race!"

Christian, influenced perhaps rather by gallantry, pity for the souls that had not yet attained repose, love of peace, and a desire to extricate himself from the affair, than by any other reasons, decided that duke Casimir was in the wrong, and exhorted him to be reconciled with his beautiful consort. "Thou hast spoken wisely and justly," said the spirit. "I am reconciled with my wife."

The duke then joined his ice-cold hand to the warm soft hand of the princess, and pronounced a benediction over them. Both said "Amen!" and the duchess kindly added: "Receive our thanks." Upon this the duke began to sing the *Te Deum laudamus*, in which he was accompanied by both his guests. When they had finished, the princess addressed him in these

words:—"Your reward for this your love and goodness you will receive from God, and soon be with us." The spirits then disappeared, and left the duke overpowered by feelings of awe, which the promised reward could not fail to excite. The guards, according to their report, heard no part of this conversation, except what was said by the duke, neither did they see the apparitions. Christian acquainted his adviser, Hofkuntz, with all the circumstances, and began to prepare for his end, which happened about two years afterwards. His chemical operations in his laboratory, to which he almost entirely confined himself, had destroyed his health, and he expired at the age of fifty-seven years, totally exhausted and worn down to a shadow. Dying without issue, the whole of his possessions devolved to the house of Gotha.

HOUSE OF SAXE-HILDBURGHAUSEN,
NOW SAXE-ALTENBURG.

1675 to 1840.

ERNEST, sixth son of Ernest the Pious, obtained, in the partition of the dominions of that prince, the town of Hildburghausen and some other districts, to which he afterwards added part of the possessions of the extinct house of Coburg.

ERNEST FREDERICK I. succeeded his father in 1715, and died in 1724.

ERNEST FREDERICK II. died 1745.

ERNEST FREDERICK III. died 1780. His first wife was Louisa, daughter of Christian VI., king of Denmark. He married, secondly, the daughter of Frederick Christian, margrave of Brandenburg Bayreuth ; and thirdly, a daughter of Ernest Augustus, duke of Saxe-Weimar.

FREDERICK, born April 29, 1763, succeeded his father, Sept. 23, 1780, and married, in 1785, *Charlotte Georgina Louisa Frederica*, daughter of Charles Louis Frederick, duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and niece to queen Charlotte, consort of George III., king of Great Britain. He died on the 29th of September 1834, and was succeeded by

JOSEPH FREDERICK ERNEST, his eldest son, born August 27th, 1789. He married, on the 25th of April, 1817, Amelia, daughter of duke Lewis of Wirtemberg, by whom he has issue :

Marie, born April 14th, 1818.

Therese, born October 9th, 1823.

Elisabeth, born March 26th, 1826.

Alexandra, born July 8th, 1830.

The duke's brothers and sisters are—

Charlotte, born June 17th, 1787, married in 1805 to prince Paul, brother of the king of Wirtemberg.

Theresa, born July 8th, 1792, married in 1810 to the then crown prince, now king of Bavaria.

George Charles Frederick, born July 24th, 1796, married October 7th, 1825, to Mary, daughter of Frederick Lewis, hereditary grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and sister of the reigning grand-duke, by whom he has two sons : Ernest, born September 16th, 1826, and Maurice, born October 24th, 1829.

Frederick William, born October 4th, 1801, married in 1834 to the countess of Shrewsbury, created princess Talbot by the king of Bavaria.

Edward William Christian, born July 3d, 1804, married July 25th, 1835, to Amelia, princess of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. They have issue two daughters: Therese, born December 21st, 1836, and Antoinette, born April 17th, 1838.

The house of Saxe-Altenburg is of the Lutheran confession. Its territories comprehend 24 geographical square miles, 516 English, and 120,000 inhabitants. The revenues amount to 250,000 rix-dollars, and its contingent to the army of the German confederation is 982 men.

HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG-SAALFELD,

NOW

SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA.

1675 to 1840.

JOHN ERNEST, seventh son of Ernest the Pious, was the founder of this house, originally called Saxe-Saalfeld, till, upon obtaining the principality of Coburg, it assumed the above title.

CHRISTIAN ERNEST and FRANCIS JOSIAS governed jointly after the death of their father, in 1729, till the decease of Christian Ernest, in 1757, left his brother the sole possessor. He died in 1764.

ERNEST FREDERICK died 1800.

FRANCIS FREDERICK ANTHONY, married, firstly, in 1776, Ernestina Frederica Sophia, daughter of duke Ernest Frederick Charles, of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who died in the same year; and secondly, in 1777, Augusta Carolina Sophia, daughter of count Henry XXIV. Reuss of Ebersdorf, by whom he had issue :

ERNEST ANTHONY CHARLES LEWIS, the reigning duke, born Jan. 2, 1784, succeeded his father, Dec. 3, 1806. He married firstly, on the 31st of July 1817, Louisa Dorothea, princess of Saxe-Gotha, from whom he was separated in 1826, and who died in 1831; and secondly, on the 23d of December 1832, Mary, daughter of the late duke Alexander of Wirtemberg, uncle of the king. By the first marriage he has two sons :

Ernest Augustus Charles, hereditary prince, born June 21st, 1818.

Albert Francis Augustus Charles Emanuel, born August 26th, 1819.

The duke's brothers and sisters are :

Juliana Henrietta Ulrica, born Sept. 23, 1781, married, in 1796, to the grand-duke Constantine of Russia, when she assumed the name of Anna Feodorowna. She was divorced from him March 20th, 1820, and resides at Elfenau, near Berne in Switzerland.

Ferdinand George Augustus, born March 28, 1785, lieutenant field-marshal in the Austrian service, married, January 2d, 1816, to Antonie Marie Gabriele, princess of Kohary, by whom he has issue :

Ferdinand Augustus Francis Anthony, born October 29th, 1816, married April 9th, 1836, to Donna Maria II. queen of Portugal, and constitutionally invested with the royal dignity on the 16th of September 1837, on which day the

queen gave birth to an heir to the crown, Peter Ferdinand, duke of Porto.

Augustus Lewis Victor, born June 13th, 1818.

Victoire Auguste Antonie, born February 14th, 1822, betrothed to the duke of Nemours, second son of the King of the French.

Leopold Francis, born January 31st, 1824.

Maria Louisa Victoria, born August 17th, 1796, married firstly, December 21st, 1803, to Emich Charles prince of Leiningen, who died in 1814, and by whom she has issue—

Charles Frederick, present prince of Leiningen, born September 15th, 1804, married February 13th, 1829, to Maria, daughter of the late count Maximilian of Knebelsberg.

Anna Feodorowna, born December 7th, 1807, married, February 8th, 1828, to Ernest Christian Charles, the present prince of Hohenlohe Langenburg.

The princess married, secondly, July 11th, 1818, H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, who died January 23rd, 1823, and by whom she became mother of her Majesty Victoria, queen of Great Britain, born May 24th, 1819.

Leopold George Christian Frederick, born December 16th, 1790, married, May 2nd, 1816, to H.R.H. the princess Charlotte of Wales, who died November 6th, 1817. After refusing the crown of Greece, he was elected king of Belgium, June 4th, 1831, and married, secondly, on the 9th of August, 1832, Louise Marie

Therese, eldest daughter of Louis Philippe, king of the French, born at Palermo, April 3d, 1812, by whom she had issue

Louis Philippe Leopold Victor Ernest, born July 24th, 1833, died May 16th, 1834.

Leopold Louis Philippe, born April 9th, 1835, hereditary prince.

Philippe Eugene Ferdinand, born March 24th, 1837.

Previously to the treaty of Congress signed at Vienna, in 1815, the possessions of the duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld comprised $17\frac{1}{2}$ German, or about 375 English square miles, with a population, according to the census taken in 1812, of 57,266 souls. The revenues of the prince amounted in 1807 to 425,000 florins.

From the territories since added, as well by the treaty of Congress, as by inheritance, the ducal dominions now comprise thirty-seven geographical, or 795 English square miles, and 130,000 inhabitants. The revenues amount to 1,100,000 guilders, besides which the duke receives from Prussia an annuity of eighty thousand rix-dollars for the principality of Lichtenberg, which he ceded to that power. The debts of the state are estimated at three millions of guilders. Its contingent to the army of the Germanic confederation is 1,116 men.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
DUCAL HOUSE OF
SAXE-COBURG-SAALFELD,
NOW
SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA.

WE have seen that all the ducal houses of Saxony are branches of the elder or *Ernestine* line, which, without regard to primogeniture, long retained the custom of dividing the possessions left by the father among all his sons. In process of time, however, the law of primogeniture began to be adopted, but it was not introduced into the house of Saxe-Coburg till the reign of FRANCIS JOSIAS, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

This prince, the great-grandfather of the reigning duke, was respected by his neighbours as a man of the highest integrity, and beloved by his subjects as an excellent sovereign. These qualities caused him to be entrusted with the guardianship of some of the princes of the kindred houses of Saxony during their minority. He

had four sons. The eldest, who succeeded him, married the princess *Sophie Antoinette*, sister to the celebrated prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, as also to the queen of Denmark, to the consort of Frederick the Great, and to the grandmother of the present king of Prussia. By this union the house of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld became nearly allied to most of the reigning families in Europe, to which it was not previously related. Its connexions were still farther extended by the marriage of the two daughters of this prince, the elder, *Sophia*, to the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (by whom she was mother to the present duke), and the younger, *Amelia*, to Alexander, margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach and Bayreuth.

The three younger sons of duke Francis Josias devoted themselves to the profession of arms. Prince *Christian*, the eldest, entered into the Austrian service, and during the Seven Years' War attained to considerable military distinctions, when ill health compelled him to quit the army and return to Coburg.

Adolphus, the third son, fell whilst very young, as colonel of a Saxon regiment of carbiniers in the first Silesian war.

The fourth and youngest of these brothers was *Frederick Josias*, the celebrated commander of the allied armies at the commencement of the war of the French revolution. He entered at the beginning of the Seven Years' War into the

Austrian service. Though then very young, the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, intrusted him with the command of the Anspach regiment of cuirassiers. He signalised himself by his courage in various engagements, and was wounded in the battle of Collin. Highly esteemed by the imperial court for his mild amiable character, his valour, probity, and talents, he soon arrived at promotions and honours. Both in Galicia and Hungary, where he was invested with the chief military command, an appointment of very great importance, he was beloved and respected; indeed his memory is still revered by the Hungarians, who have not forgotten the protection he afforded, to the utmost of his power, to the numerous Protestants resident in that country. When the emperor Joseph II. commenced the last Turkish war, he assembled a particularly fine army of nearly 100,000 men, and directed his efforts to the reduction of Belgrade. This army was commanded, under the emperor, by field-marshal Laudohn. The prince of Coburg was placed at the head of a corps of 18,000 men, destined partly to cover the grand army, and partly to make a diversion in Wallachia and Moldavia, by which also it was designed to establish a communication with the Russians, whose main force was engaged with Oczakow and some other fortresses. At the same time that the prince was detached with his corps from the Austrian grand army, general Suworoff was de-

tached with the like views from the Russian. The service upon which these two distinguished commanders were sent soon produced an intimate friendship between them, which death alone interrupted. To them belongs the glory of the highly brilliant campaign which brought the war to such a speedy termination. Continually united in their operations, they reduced the whole of Moldavia and Wallachia, and repeatedly vanquished the army of the grand-vizir, though four times as strong as their own. The most decisive of these victories occurred at Focksan and Martinestie. While Coburg and Suworoff were thus gaining victory after victory, and deciding the issue of the war, the imperial grand army had uselessly lost the flower of its troops in unimportant actions and by disease and was therefore obliged to relinquish the honour of the campaign to prince Frederick Josias alone. The emperor then appointed the prince to conduct the negotiations for peace with the Porte, and rewarded his services with the rank of field-marshal and the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa, instituted for military merit—a distinction the more valuable on account of the difficulty of earning it, and the sparing hand with which it is conferred.

About this time commenced the war of the French Revolution and the troubles in the Nether-

lands. Leopold II., who had now ascended the imperial throne, summoned the prince of Coburg to the chief command of the allied army in the Netherlands, on which occasion the prince was also nominated field-marshal of the empire. With this appointment no commander, excepting the archduke Charles alone, has since been invested. The campaign of the prince, though obstructed by various difficulties, partly thrown in the way by the court of Vienna itself, was nevertheless attended with the best success against the French. The young emperor Francis II. honoured the prince with his confidence in a high degree; at the same time the latter found means to keep up the best understanding with the rest of the allies.

The victory of Neerwinden, the reduction of Valenciennes, and other achievements of prince Frederick, are too well known to need recapitulation. The emperor Francis, who quitted the army about this period, rewarded him with the diamond star of the order of Maria Theresa, which had been last worn by the renowned Laudohn.

How terrible the name of prince Frederick had become to the republican French is proved by the well-known form of accusation: *Complice de Pitt et Cobourg*—a form which sealed the doom of thousands of unfortunate victims, and in

which democracy coupled together the names of those whom it considered as its two most dangerous enemies.

Prince Frederick finding his plans and suggestions disregarded, or even impediments opposed to their execution, resigned the command, to the great mortification of the army, which was strongly attached to him, because he treated it in every respect like a father. Clairfait was appointed his successor, but, with the departure of the prince, fortune also seemed to have forsaken the banners of the allies. He retired to his native city, where he attained to a serene old age, and terminated his glorious career in February, 1815, in his 76th year, deeply lamented by his family, and sincerely mourned by all those who were acquainted with his amiable disposition and estimable qualities. To him might justly be applied the expression of the poet, that—

his age was as a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly.

Duke ERNEST FREDERICK had, by his consort, *Sophie Antoinette*, of Brunswick, three children, two sons and one daughter.

FRANCIS, his eldest son and successor, made the science of government his peculiar study. With a clear understanding he united a truly philanthropic heart and rare attainments, acquired in the indulgence of an ardent passion

for the sciences and fine arts, of which, till his death, he was a zealous patron and admirer.

Lewis, the second son, served under his uncle Frederick Josias, as an Austrian general, and died in the prime of life, at Coburg, in 1807.

Duke Francis had three sons and four daughters by his consort, a princess of the ancient and celebrated house of the counts Reuss of Plauen. Gifted with a superior understanding, and adorned with rare accomplishments, this princess united all the softness of her own sex with the firmness of the other. Undaunted by the storms of fate, she never lost sight for a moment of her destination as a wife and a mother. Amid the various pursuits to which her genius inclined, this extraordinary woman made the most careful education of her numerous family the business, the recreation, and the happiness of her life. The tender attachment which subsists between all the surviving members of the house of Coburg is her work, her highest glory, and at the same time the surest test of the excellence of her own heart and of the hearts of her children. She died at Coburg on the 29th of April, 1837.

The two eldest daughters of duke Francis, who are both dead, were married, the one to count Mensdorf, an Austrian nobleman, the other to duke Charles Alexander Frederick of Wirtemberg, brother of the late and uncle of

the present king, a general in the Russian service; and the third was united by the name of *Anna Feodorowna* to the grand-duke Constantine, eldest brother of the emperor Alexander, by which marriage the house of Coburg became intimately connected with the court of Russia. In consequence of this alliance, the empress Catherine II. gave a military appointment to the hereditary prince, Ernest, and destined also Leopold, the youngest son of duke Francis, for the Russian service. The latter, to whom the emperor Leopold II. stood sponsor, had been originally designed for the Austrian service, but the early death of his majesty prevented the fulfilment of these intentions. Ferdinand, the second son of duke Francis, however, entered into the Austrian service, under the auspices of his great-uncle, the field-marshal.

The political convulsion, which, in 1806, involved the whole north of Germany, was attended with consequences peculiarly calamitous to the house of Coburg. When, in the autumn of that year, the French approached the Saxon frontiers, duke Francis, who was in very ill health, retired with his consort from Coburg to Saalfeld, which is situated beyond the very considerable range of mountains known by the appellation of the Forest of Thuringia, and forming the barrier of North Germany. Prince Leopold, then but fifteen years old, was the

companion and support of his infirm father ; for Ferdinand was detained by his duty in Austria, and the truly German spirit of prince Ernest had carried him to the head-quarters of the king of Prussia, with whom he had been for some years on terms of the closest friendship. The French appeared before Saalfeld ; the castle was stormed, and the ducal family which was in it, exposed to all the dangers and horrors of that disastrous battle, which cost prince Lewis Ferdinand of Prussia his life. This was more than the constitution of duke Francis, already so much impaired by disease, was capable of supporting ; he sunk under the accumulation of misfortunes, and died in the beginning of December, to the profound grief of his family and country, which were left by his decease in a truly disconsolate situation.

No sooner was Napoleon informed that the hereditary prince ERNEST, now duke of Coburg, was at the Prussian head-quarters, than he issued a proclamation declaring him his particular enemy, and caused formal possession to be taken of his territories. A French *intendant* and *commandant* were appointed exclusively for Coburg ; all the property belonging to the ducal family was seized, and a very heavy contribution imposed upon the country, which had already suffered most severely from the passage of great part of the French army, from the battle

at Saalfeld, and from the consequent plunder of the town and environs.

During this period of distress, prince Leopold remained with his afflicted mother, who but for him would have been entirely deserted, attentively watching over the interests of his family.

Duke Ernest, the faithful companion of the king of Prussia in the eventful battle of Auerstädt, proved on that occasion to his enemies how ardent a love of German independence, and how lofty a principle of honour resided within his bosom. He would rather have sacrificed himself and his possessions, than have deserted the cause of his royal friend in his adversity. One night—that night of unparalleled rout, confusion, and dismay, which at the same time overcast all the duke's prospects with hopeless despair—he rode with the king between the French watchfires towards the Harz. He kept constantly with the king, when almost every one else had abandoned him; he accompanied his majesty to the dreary wilds of Poland, to Königsberg, and to Memel; and, as if Fate had been determined to put his constancy to every possible trial, he was there seized with the epidemic nervous fever, from which he had a very narrow escape with his life.

It was not till the peace of Tilsit, that duke Ernest, who in the interim resided in Bohemia, was reinstated in his hereditary dominions, chiefly through the influence of the empe-

ror Alexander, by an order of Napoleon's, in which he was called "*un Prince ami et allié à la France.*" He afterwards had a personal interview with the emperor at Dresden, and obtained from him the further assurance of a compensation for the sums which had been wrung from the country.

When, on the 28th of January 1807, the duke returned to his capital, where he was received with general and heartfelt joy by his subjects, he found the finances dilapidated by the French authorities, various institutions, which before the war were in a flourishing state, entirely ruined, and his country to the last degree impoverished.

Though now under French supremacy, and strictly watched by Napoleon, the princes of the house of Coburg stedfastly adhered to the principles prescribed to them by their ardent patriotism, and their high sense of honour, truth, and justice; nay, they were not even at the pains to conceal from the oppressor of Germany that the deliverance of their native land was and ever would be, under every circumstance, the sacred object of their persevering exertions. Such is frequently the power of right that Napoleon himself, though he knew too well the sentiments of these princes, and kept a particularly vigilant eye upon them, still could not help doing complete justice to the sincerity of the

brothers, and therefore treated them with marked distinction when they visited Paris for the purpose of arranging the affair of the indemnities. Having spent seven months in the French capital, without effecting his object, the duke returned to Germany in April 1808.

He was now chiefly occupied in organizing the administration of his country, which was not only exhausted to the utmost by the passage of foreign troops, by contributions, and by other military burdens, but had also suffered severely from the arbitrary proceedings of Kretschmann, the minister. But, in spite of his most strenuous efforts to promote the welfare of his subjects, it was not in his power to alleviate their condition in any material degree, because, as a member of the Confederation of the Rhine, he was bound to furnish his contingent and to keep it complete.

In the course of the year 1808, duke Ernest went to Russia, and resided there for some time. During his absence, prince Leopold devoted his assiduous attention to the administration of the duchy. From that period his brother never failed to consult him on all concerns, whether internal or external, of the house of Coburg; and whenever he was not himself absent on his travels, he exclusively superintended various branches of the administration.

In the same year prince Leopold accompanied

the emperor of Russia, and his brother-in-law the grand-duke Constantine, to the interview which Napoleon had appointed at Erfurt.

In 1809, when Austria was again involved in war, Napoleon, who watched the princes of the house of Coburg more narrowly than ever, insisted, with his peculiar vehemence, that prince Ferdinand should quit the Austrian service. As he had probably been informed about the same time that supplies of arms were going from Coburg to Bohemia, he dispatched an envoy for the purpose of making a strict inquiry into the affair. This man was ordered to repeat the demand respecting prince Ferdinand, accompanied with the menace that, if he should be taken as an Austrian soldier during the campaign, he should infallibly be tried by a French council of war. The efforts of this minister to accomplish his master's purpose proved unsuccessful.

The rigid investigation set on foot concerning the *depôts* of arms led to no result, because they had fortunately been already sent off to Bohemia, and prince Ferdinand seemed to consider the last message of Napoleon as a challenge to fight with more desperate resolution than he had ever shewn against his inveterate enemy. This determination was clearly evinced in the wounds which he received during the campaign. Under these circumstances, and as Napoleon became better acquainted with the active exertions of the bro-

thers against him, it was no wonder that he should grow more jealous of these princes and more attentive to their proceedings. In consequence of this mistrust, he repeated, in 1810, his demand that prince Ferdinand should retire from the Austrian service, and this time with the additional requisition that prince Leopold also should quit the Russian army, in which he had been a general ever since 1803. Champagny, who was then minister, and to whom was referred, under the mediation of Russia, a question concerning the adjustment of the limits of the principality of Coburg, expressed but too plainly the sentiments of his master in these words, *que l'empereur ne ferait rien pour ses ennemis*.

Whoever knows the power with which such an exorcism was calculated to operate at that time on a German prince will not fail to admire the firmness of prince Leopold, who, after this declaration, still hoped that he should not be obliged to leave the Russian service, and went to Paris to remonstrate on the subject. He there found the government highly incensed at such refractory behaviour, to which France was certainly not accustomed on the part of the German princes of the Confederation of the Rhine; and he was bluntly assured that, in case of his farther refusal to comply, Napoleon would be obliged to take the possessions of the house of Coburg

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from his brother. The affections of the prince were not proof against this threat ; it produced the desired effect ; and Leopold sacrificed his own inclination and his brilliant military prospects to the welfare of his family. The emperor of Russia granted his request, that he might tacitly retain his military rank till better times should permit him publicly to resume it.

In 1809 and 1812, the states of duke Ernest were again terribly drained by the marches of numerous corps of troops, and there was the less disposition on the part of the French to spare it, because he was suspected of an understanding with Austria.

When, after the battle of Leipzig, he was once more at liberty to follow his inclination, without exposing his country to danger, he joined the allies, and enrolled himself among the combatants for the liberation of Germany. He was appointed to the chief command of the fifth German corps d'armée, which was composed of the troops of the minor German states, and chiefly occupied in the blockade of Mentz. After the capitulation of Paris, that fortress also surrendered, and the duke hastened to the French capital, where he took a part in the political negotiations, as well as in the military movements and festivities. After the conclusion of the peace, he repaired to the congress at Vienna, and not only attended to his own interests, but, as we

have seen, warmly and generously espoused the cause of the unfortunate king of Saxony.

At the congress it was stipulated that he should receive an accession of territory containing a population of 20,000, and in the second treaty of Paris, after he had made the short campaign against Napoleon as commander-in-chief of the Saxon troops, this amount was increased by 5,000 souls. Of these new acquisitions, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, the duke took possession in September 1816, and he united them into a whole by the name of the principality of Lichtenberg. Chagrined, however, at the disturbances which broke out there in consequence of the French Revolution in July 1830, and which occasioned the entrance of the nearest Prussian troops, he ceded this territory, in September 1834, to Prussia for an annuity of eighty thousand rix-dollars; and in 1836, and the two following years, he purchased the domains of Wandersleben, Mühlberg, and Röhrensee, above Erfurt, and Thal and Mechterstedt in the territories of Gotha. The alienation of Lichtenberg appeared of the less consequence, owing to the considerable accessions which had devolved to the duchy by inheritance. On the extinction of the reigning house of Gotha, by the death of duke Frederick in 1825, duke Ernest obtained, by the cession of the principality of Saalfeld to

the duke of Meiningen, the duchy of Gotha, of which he took possession in November 1826.

As a sovereign, the duke has displayed extraordinary activity, remarkable intelligence, and great love of justice. In politics he has neither hastily adopted new theories nor suffered himself to be hurried into the system of re-action, but conferred on his subjects every legitimate liberty that can be reasonably claimed in monarchical countries. After the congress of Vienna he gave Coburg a representative constitution; in Gotha he permitted the states to subsist just as he found them, but has since introduced into the cities a municipal system, modelled after the Prussian.

In person he is tall and robust, an admirable representative of princely rank. His demeanour is always, even when displeased, full of dignity, but at the same time tempered by a genuine humanity and a natural benevolence, which prepossess every one in his favour. To each of his subjects he is personally accessible; he listens to them with attention, and if it is not in his power to relieve, he never dismisses an applicant without saying something kind and soothing. Hence his people are strongly attached to his person. Fond of exercise abroad, in which, inured to all kinds of weather, he daily indulges, he is intimately acquainted with the state of his country, and sees everything with his own eyes. There

is scarcely a place in his dominions that he has not personally visited. With a highly polished taste he combines the strongest relish for the beauties of Nature ; and he has done a great deal for the embellishment of his dominions by elegant buildings and the improvement of natural scenery. He is a zealous patron of the arts and sciences, and keeps up and augments the copious library at Gotha, and the collection of natural and artificial curiosities formed there.

Gloomy as were the prospects of his house on his accession to the government, so bright and glorious have they since become. He himself acquired the principality of Lichtenberg, and likewise the duchy of Gotha, together with considerable domains to which he had a claim as the husband of the princess Louisa, daughter of duke Augustus of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg. This princess, to whom he was united in 1817, produced him two sons ; Ernest, hereditary prince, born June 21, 1818, and Albert, born August 26, 1819. After the death of his first consort in August 1831, the duke was united in the following year to the amiable princess Mary, daughter of duke Alexander of Wirtemberg. In concert with the two other ducal lines, Altenburg and Meiningen, he instituted, or rather revived, in 1833, the order of the Ernestine house.

In the year 1816 he had the gratification to

see his next brother, duke Ferdinand, wedded to the wealthiest heiress of Hungary, the only daughter of prince Franz Joseph von Kohary, to whom his extensive possessions devolved ; and his younger brother, duke Leopold, married to the princess Charlotte of Wales, the presumptive heiress to the throne of Great Britain. His sister Victoria, widow of the prince of Leiningen, became by her marriage with the duke of Kent the mother of queen Victoria, who at her coronation, which the duke attended in person, conferred on him the Order of the Garter. In 1830 Leopold, after refusing the newly created crown of Greece, was selected to fill the throne of Belgium ; and his nephew, Ferdinand, the eldest son of his brother, duke Ferdinand, has since received the hand of Doña Maria da Gloria, queen of Portugal. It would scarcely be possible to find in modern history an instance of a princely house increasing its hereditary possessions to such a degree, and at the same time extending itself upon three royal European thrones.

Ferdinand George Augustus, the eldest brother of duke Ernest, married in Vienna, where he resides, on the 2nd of January, 1816, a Catholic lady, Marie Antoinette Gabrielle, daughter of the first and last prince Francis von Kohary, at whose death, in 1826, he came into possession of his extensive estates in Hungary,

and assumed the name of Saxe-Coburg-Kohary. In 1827 he was naturalized in Hungary, and in the following year received from the emperor of Austria the investiture of the Kohary estates, by which he has become the founder of one of the wealthiest houses in Hungary. As he became at the same time the founder of a Catholic line of the house of Coburg, all his children having been brought up in that religion, he was obliged at his marriage to renounce by a particular act the right of succession to the patrimonial possessions in Saxony on behalf of himself and of his descendants.

It is this circumstance, no doubt, that has furnished ignorant malignity with a pretext for attempting to excite popular prejudice against the future husband of queen Victoria, by asserting that he is a papist; though a reference to any of the ordinary sources of information must have convinced every lover of truth, that all the ducal lines of the house of Saxony are in all their branches, with this solitary exception, Protestants of the Lutheran confession.

Leopold, the youngest brother, whose early history is intimately mixed up with that of the reigning duke, manifested in childhood an excellent understanding and a benevolent heart. As he advanced in years he displayed a strong attachment to literary and scientific pursuits, and even at that time all his actions were

marked with dignified gravity and unusual moderation. His propensity to study was seconded by the efforts of an excellent instructor, and, as he remained a stranger to all those dissipations with which persons of his age and rank are commonly indulged, his attainments, so early as his fifteenth year, were very extensive. His extraordinary capacity particularly unfolded itself in the study of languages, history, mathematics, botany, music, and drawing, in which last he made a proficiency that would be creditable to a professor.

The vicissitudes which he was so early destined to experience, seemed only to contribute to preserve the purity of his morals; and they certainly had a most powerful influence in the development of that rare moderation, that ardent love of justice, and that manly firmness, which are the predominant traits in the character of this prince.

Necessitated in like manner at an early age to attend to a variety of diplomatic business, he acquired, partly in this school, and partly in his extensive travels, a thorough knowledge of men in all their relations; and though his experience was not always of the most agreeable kind, still it had not the effect of warping the kindness and benevolence of his nature.

We have seen in what manner he was compelled, in 1810, to sacrifice his prospects of

military distinction in the Russian service. Obstructed in the career which he had marked out for himself, he declined all the offers of appointments made to him from the West, and devoted himself with the more assiduity to the affairs of his house, and to the arts and sciences. In 1811, he negotiated with the crown of Bavaria, at Munich, a frontier arrangement, of considerable importance to the principality of Coburg, and likewise, under the then circumstances, to the whole south of Saxony—a business which, from the complicated interests that it involved, was attended with infinite difficulty. The diplomatic talents of the prince, however, at length succeeded in adjusting the differences by the conclusion of a convention with Bavaria.

When, towards the end of 1811, the political horizon began to be once more overcast, and a new prospect of a happier result was afforded, prince Leopold, unable any longer to endure his constrained inactivity, again tendered his services to the emperor of Russia. Alexander, apprehensive lest a premature step might endanger his family, begged to defer the fulfilment of his wish to a more seasonable time. The prince, having thus failed in the object upon which he was exclusively bent, in order to withdraw himself from the observation of the French government, set out, at the beginning of

1812, on a distant tour, and travelled to Vienna, Italy, and Switzerland.

At the commencement of 1813, the three brothers of the house of Coburg exerted themselves, as far as their situation permitted, to prepare the emancipation of Germany. Such were the zeal and the openness of their proceedings, that the French government, incensed in the highest degree, only waited for the moment of a favourable turn in the political state of affairs to wreak its utmost vengeance. In spite of its rage, however, the reigning duke, Ernest, repaired to Berlin, where he had no inconsiderable influence upon the personal resolutions of the king, in consequence of which he sent his brother Ferdinand to Vienna. Prince Leopold went to Munich, to pave the way for happy changes, and in February proceeded to Poland, to the emperor of Russia, who received him with cordial friendship. Here he communicated to field-marshal Kutusoff much important information respecting the state of things in Germany, and the condition of the French army, and thus acquired the honour of being the first prince of the then existing confederation of the Rhine, who openly declared against France.

The allied army now marched from Poland to Silesia and Saxony. On the 2d of May, Leopold was in the battle of Lützen, and the fol-

lowing day with the Russian cavalry formed part of the rear-guard. The prince was afterwards sent by forced marches towards the Elbe, to the support of the Prussian general Kleist, but his destination was changed, and he returned to Lusatia.

On the 19th of May, the prince marched to the support of general Barclay, but was recalled to assist on the 20th and 21st in the battle of Bautzen. In this engagement he was employed in supporting the line on various points, and in the evening of the second day, he covered the retreat, amidst the hottest fire, with that serenity which is the property of genuine courage. After the battle he retired to Silesia with the corps of cavalry to which he was attached.

During the armistice and the negotiations at Prague, prince Leopold repaired with the consent of the emperor of Russia to that city, and was the only stranger who was there admitted to several interviews with the emperor Francis.

On the expiration of the armistice, the prince proceeded with the army to Bohemia, and thence to the frontiers of Saxony. The main force of the allies was already before Dresden, while the cavalry reserve was engaged in the more difficult march across the mountains. On the 26th of August, Vandamme briskly attacked the corps posted near the fortress of Königstein to cover

the rear of the grand army and the principal communications with Bohemia, and commanded by prince Eugene of Wirtemberg. This general urgently solicited a reinforcement of cavalry, that he might be enabled to maintain his highly important position against a very superior enemy; and, about noon, Leopold was in consequence detached with his cuirassiers to his assistance. Scarcely had the prince joined the corps when the enemy commenced the attack. The infantry, on account of its weakness, was posted on the wings, and supported upon two villages; while Leopold and his cavalry formed the centre. This precarious position did he maintain, during a contest of five hours against a foe three or four times as numerous, and, after the two wings of the corps were almost completely surrounded, with such unshaken intrepidity, that night came on before the enemy had been able to gain any decisive advantage, or to force the position. Eugene paid that tribute to the prince which he amply deserved, for by his firmness he had not only saved the whole corps, but rendered it impossible for Vandamme to make an attack, either in flank or rear, on the main army of the allies, engaged on the 27th of August with the assault of Dresden, which would necessarily have been attended with the most disastrous consequences.

On the 27th of August, the corps took a position on the other side of Pirna. As the im-

portance of the action of the 26th, and the possibility of a less fortunate result was sensibly felt at the head-quarters, the first division of the Russian guards, under the brave general Yermolof, and the regiment of hussars of the guard, were sent to reinforce the corps at Pirna. The whole was placed under the orders of count Ostermann, who gave to prince Leopold the command of the cavalry of the combined corps.

The enemy stormed Pirna, and sought with his cavalry to extend himself upon the level ground near the Elbe, when Leopold met and drove him back into the town, from which he did not again attempt to debouch; as the dreadful weather, which was one cause of the retreat of the grand army, prevented any thing more decisive than an incessant skirmishing.

The same night, count Ostermann's corps received information that the grand allied army was in full retreat to Bohemia, and that the road from Dresden along the Elbe was now open to the enemy. That corps was placed by this event in a very perilous situation; for, with its left wing on the Elbe, Dresden, whence the enemy was approaching, in its rear, and its left wing on the main road to Bohemia, which was already occupied by the French, it had but one road left for its retreat, and this was commanded by the fire of its adversary.

Count Ostermann now ordered prince Leopold

to proceed, if possible, with his cavalry through the defile, upon which the right wing was supported, and to occupy and maintain a plain near Great Cotta, which is traversed by the main road to the woody range of mountains. Leopold executed the movement with such rapidity, that the enemy had not time to occupy this plain in sufficient force ; he drove him from it, and maintained his position there till the main body of the corps, with the infantry and all the artillery, had effected its retreat. The enemy had meanwhile reached by a shorter route and occupied some of the heights and passes in the mountains, and thus almost intercepted the prince and his cavalry ; but with great difficulty he forced his way through, and on this occasion rescued many wounded of the infantry of the Russian guard, who had heroically stormed the passes.

The position of Peterswalde was the last that Ostermann's corps could take in the mountains to afford time for the retreat of the main army ; and it was therefore successfully maintained, though not without considerable effort. Here the assembled generals received intelligence that the main army was still in the mountains, and that the grand head-quarters of the allies were yet at Altenberg, in Saxony. It was therefore determined to cover the road to Töplitz, in order to afford the grand army as much time as possible for debouching.

On the 29th of August, the troops were accordingly to have continued their march at a very early hour; but, before they could break up, the French cavalry, supported by a very considerable division of infantry, attacked the village of Peterswalde, which was occupied as the advanced guard of the line of encampment with infantry, pushed forward through it, and was on the point of falling upon the columns that were about to march, when prince Leopold came up with his cavalry, and drove back the enemy into the defile. He maintained the little plain near Peterswalde till the infantry and artillery had retired to the position of Nollendorf, and then caused his cavalry to fall back *en échelon*. He was himself nearly taken, with the last division, but he forced his way through and rejoined the main body of the corps, which, but for the successful attack of the prince, would probably have been totally cut off. This action doubtless gave rise to the false report in one of Napoleon's bulletins, subsequent to the affairs near Dresden, that prince Leopold had been made prisoner by the French.

Ostermann's corps, though considerably diminished, now proceeded in the best order down the declivity of the mountains into the plains of Bohemia. The left wing, which was supported upon the mountains, was formed by the infantry; in the centre, through which ran the

high road, was stationed the greatest part of the artillery, and the right wing, composed of prince Leopold's cavalry, occupied an open plain. As the chief object was to gain time, every advantageous spot of ground, which was capable of detaining the enemy ever so little, was defended with the utmost obstinacy. Leopold therefore manœuvred with his cavalry *en échiquier*, and never withdrew to a new position, which it was necessary to take every sixty or one hundred paces, till the *tirailleurs* of the infantry had fallen back into the intervals of his order of battle. The enemy, who renewed his attacks with increased impetuosity, made an extraordinary effort to force the last position of the corps near the village of Prisen, with a tremendously superior artillery. The loss of this position would have rendered the retreat of the main allied army from the mountains in a great measure impracticable ; it was therefore imperatively necessary that it should be maintained to the very last man. As the French general Corbineau was advancing to attack Leopold, with a corps of cavalry at least thrice as numerous, the prince went to meet, and repulsed him. The French general, staggered by the intrepidity of his opponents, though so inferior in number, lost the decisive moment of victory ; and, as the prince received a considerable reinforcement of cavalry, and fresh troops continued to arrive

from the mountains, he was enabled to maintain his position till night.

On the morning of the 30th of August, before the conflict was renewed, Leopold was presented on the field of battle, by the emperor of Russia, with the cross of commander of the military order of St. George, for his conduct during the preceding days.

Soon afterwards commenced the attack upon Vandamme, who was surrounded by the allied army, now nearly concentrated. Leopold who was this day engaged upon the extreme wing, pursued the enemy to Peterswalde, and did not rejoin the main army till night. The victory over Vandamme was necessarily dependent on the operations of Ostermann's corps : for, had this corps been broken on the 29th of August, the French would have been masters of all the *débouches*, by which alone the grand allied army could retreat to Bohemia ; and the greatest part of the army, and the whole of the artillery, which it would have been absolutely impossible to carry off on account of the badness of the roads, must infallibly have been lost. It is sufficiently obvious to every reader what incalculable disasters, military and political, would have resulted from such an event. On the other hand, the consequences of this victory were most important : Vandamme was taken, together with almost all his generals, nearly the whole of his infantry, consisting of

fifty-two battalions, and all his artillery, amounting to nearly 100 pieces of cannon, while but a small remnant of his corps, including the cavalry, effected its escape.

The other allied sovereigns, as well as the emperor Alexander, acknowledged with the greatest satisfaction the important part which Leopold had contributed to the success of the operations between the 26th and 30th of August; and for his conduct during this interval he was afterwards presented with the Austrian military order of Maria Theresa. In the beginning of October the allied army returned to Saxony.

On the 16th of October, the first day of the battle of Leipzig, when the enemy had made a general and not unsuccessful attack with cavalry upon the centre of the main army posted near the villages of Magdeborn and Cossa, the honourable service of covering not only this important point, but also the Russian batteries planted opposite to those of the French, was allotted to prince Leopold, who on this occasion lost a great number of his men. On the 17th, he continued in the same position, and had already received orders for the attack of the enemy's batteries, when it was deferred till the following day, on account of the non-arrival of several corps which were expected. On the 18th, the last and decisive day of this gigantic conflict, the prince pushed on, with his cavalry in the centre, to the environs

of Leipzig. In the afternoon, when the left wing under general Coloredo was very furiously attacked by the French, it was asked what cavalry would go to the support of this wing. Though a greater force was wanted than Leopold had with him, he nevertheless offered himself, as there was no Austrian cavalry at hand, and went to the assistance of Coloredo. On the 19th he marched to the support of general Giulay, and followed the advanced guard and this corps to the vicinity of Erfurt.

The prince then proceeded to Frankfurt, where he remained during the residence of the allied sovereigns in that city, and afterwards went through Swabia and Switzerland to France. Here he was detached on the 30th of January 1814, to the support of field-marshal Blücher and general Rajefsky, to Rizaucourt, whence he returned, on the 1st of February, to the grand army. From a *bivouac* near Bar-sur-Aube he marched to the battle of Brienne, and assisted on the 2d to pursue the beaten enemy to Lesmont. The prince then marched to Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes, and afterwards to Nogent-sur-Seine, Trainel, and Braye, whence the army again retreated.

In the plains in advance of Troyes, the whole of the cavalry made some demonstrations against the enemy, but no affair of any consequence ensued. On the 23d of February, the prince

formed the rear-guard at Troyes; the army took a position behind the Seine, and then fell back to Chaumont.

On the 12th of March, the prince, as well as the greater part of the Russian troops belonging to the main army, advanced upon the road to Vitry. After the French had recovered Rheims and occupied Chalons, the prince formed the advanced guard towards the roads leading to those places. In this service the troops, already extremely fatigued by the repeated night marches and incessant manœuvres in an exhausted and desolated country, and continually harassed moreover by the armed peasants, who were particularly troublesome in Champagne, had to endure extraordinary hardships and inconveniences.

Till the 20th of March, the enemy was daily expected to make a general attack upon the right wing of the army, which therefore occupied all its positions, in readiness for battle. When, however, the enemy on the 20th suddenly retired from the Marne to the Aube, the allied troops of the right wing marched to the left upon Arcis, by which movement the main army effected its junction. The French now made a very impetuous attack, which the allied army repulsed with the greatest firmness, on which occasion the prince had to support the right wing. On the morning of the 21st, Leo-

pold was sent forward with his cavalry, part of the Prussian guard, and a reinforcement of horse artillery, to form a communication with the corps of the prince-royal of Wirtemberg, which had not yet come completely into line. The enemy, apparently deterred from an attack upon the allies by their excellent position, occupied Arcis as a rear-guard position, and retired upon the road to Vitry. At nightfall the allied army also marched again to the left bank of the Aube, and then likewise directed its course towards the Marne, when the prince formed the support of the advanced guard upon Vitry.

On the 24th of March, the allied army took the road to Paris, and on the 25th its advanced guard attacked Marshal Marmont at la Fère Champenoise. The prince, being sent with his cavalry to the support of this advanced guard, attacked the enemy on the right flank at Conentraï, drove him from his position, and took five pieces of cannon. Being joined by the rest of the allied cavalry, he followed the marshal from position to position, and did not desist from the pursuit, even when the greatest part of the allied cavalry was recalled against the corps of general Pactod. Marshals Marmont and Mortier, who had by this time formed a junction, profiting by the consequent weakness of the pursuers, sent their cavalry to attack the

artillery of the Russian guard. Leopold took this attack in flank, drove back the French cavalry to an elevated position which the marshals had occupied, saved the Russian artillery, and, in spite of a very brisk fire, maintained his post till night.

The troops of the grand army were not again engaged till the battle of Paris. On the 31st of March, prince Leopold entered Paris with the reserve cavalry, and there remained in garrison. He accompanied the sovereigns to England, and sailed with them in the *Impregnable* from Boulogne to Dover. He continued here about a month after the sovereigns, and did not leave England till the end of July.

In the beginning of September he repaired to Vienna, to the Congress, for the purpose of promoting to the utmost of his power the independence of his native land and the interests of his family.

Leopold's politics, sound as his understanding and his heart, could not chime in with all the maxims which were broached there. He could not, above all, convince himself, that it was just to sacrifice the right of one to the convenience and power of another; and, though he duly weighed the many clashing political interests, he found it impossible to admit the paramount cogency of those reasons upon which the partition

of Saxony was decreed. We have already seen how strongly his brother Ernest expressed himself against that measure.

The Congress acknowledged the services which the princes of the house of Coburg had never ceased, during the last ten years, to render to the good cause, as well as the sacrifices that had been made by them, and therefore granted an indemnity, which, though afterwards diminished by imperative political considerations, was nevertheless not inconsiderable. This business was exclusively conducted by prince Leopold during the last decisive months, and to him alone is to be ascribed its happy issue.

On the return of Napoleon to France, Leopold hastened from Vienna to the grand allied army on the Rhine, which soon afterwards reached Paris. On the termination of the war, the affairs of his family detained him for some time in the French capital, after which he proceeded by way of Coburg to Berlin, and here it was that the invitation of the Prince-Regent intimated to him the preference which he had gained in the affections of his daughter, the princess Charlotte of Wales, presumptive heiress to the throne of Great Britain.

Leopold accordingly proceeded forthwith to England, and on the 26th of March 1816, a message of the Prince Regent to both Houses of

Parliament acquainted them with the approaching marriage of his daughter, which took place on the 2d of May. The prince had been previously naturalized, created duke of Kendal, and invested with the rank of field-marshal. The estate of Claremont in Surrey was purchased for the royal couple; and Marlborough House, Pall-Mall, was assigned for their town residence, with an allowance of £60,000. per annum, which, in case Leopold should survive his consort, was then to be reduced to £50,000. That contingency too soon occurred. On the 6th of November 1817, the hopes of the prince and of the whole nation were blasted by the unexpected decease of the princess in childbirth. His intense sorrow for this sudden bereavement was expressed in a striking manner. In the apartments commonly used by himself and his royal consort every article remained for many years, by his direction, precisely as her own hand had left it, and a small Gothic building erected in the grounds at Claremont, and destined for the purposes of pleasure and recreation, was converted by him into a monument to her memory. This beautiful structure is so interesting from the circumstances which attended its origin, the object for which it was erected, and above all the mournful purpose to which it has been dedicated, that we shall not

scruple to borrow the account of it given in the pages of that popular annual, *Forget-Me-Not* for 1824:—

“The ornamental plantations of Claremont are luxuriant and admirably diversified by bold undulations of surface. Upon one of the most elevated sites, called the Amphitheatre, from the fine view which it commands, formerly stood an ancient garden-seat, on which the princess Charlotte contemplated the surrounding scenery on her first visit to her adopted residence. The Evergreen Mount, as she then called it, soon became a favourite and a favoured spot; she visited it often, and was daily more and more enamoured of its charms. Her Royal Highness, therefore, resolved to erect on this spot a small building that should supply an agreeable retreat at all seasons, during her retirement with the prince, her husband, from the busy scenes of public life.

“The resolution was made with the ardour of youth, gaily anticipating the delights of social intercourse, of friendly confidence, and of affectionate seclusion, to be enjoyed there, and perhaps also picturing ‘the mother’s holidays,’ when the anxious promise should be realised, and she should there watch the daily development of her infant’s mind, and instruct it to fulfil the important objects of its destiny.

“The building was immediately begun and in the gothic style—this being admirably suited

to the surrounding accompaniments, and, as the princess observed, ‘because it was the architecture of her country.’ Though custom has given a foreign name to this species of architecture, it is truly our national property and a British art. The plan of the building is an irregular octagon, with long recesses on its two longest sides, so that it forms an octagonal centre, the pinnacles of which produce, externally, the resemblance of a coronet. The interior was proceeding towards its finishings, which were to be gaily elegant—the painted glass windows opening to the ground; the ceiling decorated with gilded coronets and armorial bearings, supported by youthful warriors; and the whole furnished with corresponding cheerfulness and splendour, all co-operating to perfect its pleasurable character.

“ But, just when the work was on the eve of completion, the awful moment arrived in which the whole nation was listening in expectant delight, when, in an instant, the dearly cherished hope was destroyed by that astounding intelligence, that heart-sickening disappointment, which filled the empire with one sorrow, the genuineness and intensity of which had no parallel but in the universal admiration of those excellences now the more valued, if possible, for their loss.

“ November had at this moment paralyzed the scenery of Claremont. The leaves had fallen

from the trees, and the ground was gloomy with them ; the place, lately so cheerful and inviting, and every object by which it was adorned, seemed at once to participate in the dreadful stroke : it was as if death had at one blow laid prostrate all its charms, mocking from thence the public hope, and rioting in desolation.

“ The progress of the works at ‘ her house upon the hill,’ as the late princess always called it, was resumed in the following year. It was designed to be a house of joy, but it proved to be a house of mourning ; and the very marks which distinguish the original intention of the building, by their contrast with their now closed and enshrouded aspect, deepen the interest with which it is viewed, and augment the affliction of the beholder—for it is not possible to contemplate the spot without its awakening the bitterest recollections of the heart, and few visitors of sentiment leave it but in tears.

“ With the deepest feelings, his Royal Highness prince Leopold commanded that the character should now be changed, and the building be exclusively devoted to the memory of the princess. The casements are, therefore, walled up, and light is admitted above them merely, but through painted glass, in which the British and Saxon arms and the initials of the prince and princess are united amidst the national emblems of the country.

“The tracery of the interior is beautifully elegant, and was greatly admired by her Royal Highness. Nothing was there altered but the ornaments by which it is embellished; the armorial bearings are now supported by angels, and the temporal coronets are changed for celestial crowns. Immediately in front of the door, and beneath the canopy, which is formed by a portion of the octagon, is erected a Gothic altar, on which is placed an exquisite bust of the princess in statuary marble.”

For many years after the lamented decease of his royal consort, Leopold led a life of comparative retirement, taking no part in politics or public affairs, till, in 1830, the three allied powers which had undertaken the pacification of Greece, offered his Royal Highness the hereditary sovereignty of that new state. On the 11th of February, he accepted that offer conditionally; but, dissatisfied with the boundaries proposed to be assigned to Greece, he finally declined the tendered crown on the 21st of May. On the 4th of June in the following year, the national congress of the Belgians, having established their independence, elected Leopold their king. This new dignity he accepted, and on the 21st of July, after swearing to maintain the constitution, was inaugurated king of Belgium. On this occasion, he relinquished, so long as he should be sovereign of that country, the annuity of 50,000*l.* settled

upon him by the British Parliament, upon condition that the Government should take upon itself the payment of the pensions granted by himself and the princess Charlotte, and the expense of maintaining the mansion and park of Claremont.

The circumstances of the country, attacked by its former sovereign the king of the Netherlands, having called on two occasions for the active interference of its powerful neighbour, France, it is not surprising that a still closer connexion should have ensued between King Leopold and Louis Philippe, to whose daughter Louise he was united in 1832. Having courageously met and overcome the many difficulties incident to a new government and administration, and displayed in both talent, prudence, and moderation, he has deservedly won the attachment and respect of his people. The birth of an heir to the throne in 1833 tended to strengthen these feelings; the decease of this infant in the following year caused so much the deeper affliction: but two sons since presented by the queen to her royal consort afford a fair prospect for the transmission of the crown in his own line.

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PRINCE ALBERT.

IF our memoir of Prince ALBERT proves rather scanty, we can assure the reader that it is not for want of application to the best sources. His youth, and the circumstances in which he has hitherto been placed, afford, in truth, but little scope either for the biographer or the hisorian.

Born, as we have seen, in 1819, very few months after his royal cousin, to whom he is about to be united, he received the rudiments of instruction at the ducal palace of Ehrenburg, where he was daily attended by eminent professors of the College of Coburg, and other masters. His father, who, even in a private station, would be considered a highly accomplished man, himself superintended with affectionate anxiety the education of his sons; and, on his separation from his consort, he was induced to place Albert, the younger, under the care of his aunt, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. The young prince then resided for some time at Kensington, and at

Claremont with his uncle Leopold, sharing the lessons given to his cousin, the princess, in music and other sciences. An early attachment was thus insensibly formed; each had abundant opportunity of gaining an acquaintance with the other's character and qualities; and that bond of affection, which links together so closely all the members of the house of Coburg, — a house to which, through her mother, the Queen, in fact, belongs—may well be supposed to have strengthened that predilection which she is said to have entertained for the prince, ever since maturing years and judgment have led to the serious consideration of a matrimonial alliance.

On the marriage of his father to the Princess Mary of Wirtemberg, in December 1832, Prince Albert returned home, and resumed his studies agreeably to the plan of education laid down by the duke. Such was the progress he made that, before he had completed his seventeenth year, he was deemed qualified to remove with his brother to the Prussian university of Bonn, where these princes not only attended the public lectures on the classics and classical literature, moral philosophy, mathematics, politics and political economy, history, and statistics, but were attended by several private teachers of the ornamental accomplishments. Here, too, he had a most desirable opportunity for improving him-

self in English, the correct accent of which he had already acquired during his previous residence in this country.

While at the university, Prince Albert was a general favourite, for his amiable manners, his engaging conversation, and the propriety of his conduct. It was during his stay at Bonn, too, that he published for the benefit of the poor a collection of poems, some of which have been set to music by his brother Prince Ernest. We are assured that these productions are equally creditable to the head and the heart of the youthful poet; and the object to which they were dedicated affords sufficient proof of the benevolence of his nature.

In July 1838, the brothers accompanied their father to England to attend the coronation of her Majesty, and at Michaelmas in the same year, having completed their studies at Bonn, they returned to Coburg, where they were received with universal demonstrations of joy. Preparations were soon made for a tour to Italy, and in December the princes set out, attended by Baron Stockmar, who has been for many years confidentially employed in the affairs of the house of Coburg. The travellers were accompanied by the duke to Munich, where the most marked honours were paid to them, public rumour having already proclaimed the brilliant destinies that awaited Prince Albert.

The rest of the winter was spent in Italy, and on their way home the princes visited Vienna. The first object that met Albert's eye on entering his apartments in the palace of Ehrenburg, was the portrait of Queen Victoria, arrayed in the robes and decorated with the insignia of royalty, worn on the first prorogation of the British Parliament, painted at the express command of her Majesty, by Chalon, and engraved by Cousins. This present, transmitted to Coburg by the Queen during his absence, produced a surprise the more agreeable, as his highness had received no previous intimation of its arrival.

In England rumour had for some time pointed out Prince Albert as her Majesty's consort; and the belief in the accuracy of the report, although it was positively denied by the ministerial newspapers, was strengthened by a visit paid to this country by the king of Belgium, and the subsequent arrival of the young prince himself, during the autumn of 1839. Immediately after the departure of his Highness, this question was set at rest. The Queen caused all the members of her Privy Council to be summoned for the 23d of November; and, eighty-five of them having assembled on that day at Buckingham Palace, her Majesty was pleased to make the following communication:

“I have caused you to be summoned at the present time, in order that I may acquaint you with my resolution in a matter which deeply concerns the happiness of my people and the welfare of my future life.

“It is my intention to ally myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement which I am about to contract, I have not come to this decision without mature consideration, nor without feeling a strong assurance that, with the blessing of Almighty God, it will at once secure my domestic felicity, and serve the interests of my country.

“I have thought fit to make this resolution known to you at the earliest period, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me and my kingdom, and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects.”

At the humble request of the privy-councillors present, her Majesty was pleased to order that this her most gracious declaration should be made public.

On the 8th of December, official intelligence of these proceedings having reached Coburg, the court, the ministers, and other high functionaries, and the deputies of the states of the duchies of Coburg and Gotha, met in the hall of

the throne, in the palace of Ehrenburg ; and the reigning duke and duchess, with the princes Ernest and Albert, having entered, the following proclamation was read aloud :

“ By order of his Highness the reigning Duke. His Highness the reigning duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, convinced of the sincere interest which his faithful subjects take in every thing concerning the ducal house, has thought proper to call around him the deputies of the states and the high functionaries, to announce the betrothal of his younger son, Prince Albert, with her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. His Highness is happy in being able to express his firm conviction that, with the noble qualities of heart and mind of her Majesty, this union will, with the divine aid, secure the happiness of his son, who will consecrate all his efforts to his new country, but who, even when distant from his native land, will retain for it a profound sentiment of love and interest.”

While the prime minister, Baron von Carlowitz, was reading this proclamation, the cannon of the fortress and the military bands announced the auspicious event to the people.

We are assured that, as soon as the union between the sovereign of the British empire and Prince Albert was finally arranged, the Prince, who had in the course of last year been declared of age, and put in possession of property bequeathed to him by his mother, which produces

a revenue of 28,000 florins, or about £2,400. sterling per annum, granted pensions to several persons who had belonged to his household, and then transferred the estate to his brother, the hereditary prince.

When the English Parliament met on the 16th of January 1840, her Majesty opened her speech, delivered in person from the throne, by advertising to this important subject in the following terms :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,—Since you were last assembled I have declared my intention of allying myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. I humbly implore that the divine blessing may prosper this union, and render it conducive to the interests of my people as well as to my own domestic happiness, and it will be to me a source of the most lively satisfaction to find the resolution I have taken approved by my parliament.

“ The constant proofs which I have received of your attachment to my person and family persuade me that you will enable me to provide such an establishment as may appear suitable to the rank of the prince and the dignity of the crown.”

The discussion of the address proposed in the House of Lords, in reply to her Majesty's speech, afforded occasion to the Duke of Wellington to remark emphatically on the omission of the queen's ministers to specify, either in her decla-

ration to the privy-council or in the speech just delivered, that the prince who was to be honoured with her hand was a Protestant. Such a public statement was, in fact, the more imperatively demanded, as the silence maintained on that point had encouraged rumours that his Highness was of the Roman Catholic persuasion. "I think," said his Grace, "that we, my lords, and that the public also, are entitled to know something beyond the name of the prince.I therefore intreat your lordships not to let this first opportunity, on which we are called upon to congratulate her majesty on her approaching marriage, pass without the insertion of the word 'Protestant' before the word 'Prince' in the proposed Address." The noble duke concluded with moving an amendment to this effect, which was carried without a division. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, in the course of this discussion, bore the most honourable testimony to the character of Prince Albert. "I feel called upon to state," said the royal duke, "from my knowledge of affairs abroad, and my personal acquaintance with the young and illustrious prince whom her Majesty has honoured by choosing as her consort, as well as from what I have heard of him in all quarters, that he will not only contribute to her happiness, but also by his conduct render himself extremely popular with the country."

On the 21st of January, bills for the naturali-

zation of his Highness were brought into both houses, and on the 27th the House of Commons voted a provision of £30,000 per annum, to be continued to him in the event of his surviving her Majesty.

On the 24th of January, the ceremony of the investiture of Prince Albert with the Order of the Garter took place at Coburg. The assemblage of witnesses comprised the ducal family, all the functionaries of the court and state, the clergy and the officers of the Prussian and Saxon garrisons of Gotha, Erfurt, Weimar, and Meiningen. After reading a letter from Queen Victoria to the reigning Duke and another to Prince Albert, Lord Torrington and Colonel Grey, especially deputed for the purpose by Queen Victoria, assisted the Duke and the Prince of Leiningen in investing the prince with the insignia, the guns being fired during the ceremony.

Nothing is wanting to these details but the date of the royal nuptials, which are officially fixed for the 10th of February. We shall, therefore, conclude, with a few general observations on her Majesty's future consort.

Every trait that has hitherto developed itself in the character of Prince Albert proclaims him to be peculiarly fitted for the high destinies to which he is called. All accounts concur in describing him as of gentle and unassuming demeanour, of uncorrupted morals, frank, kind-

hearted, and benevolent; in short, as possessing all those qualities that constitute an amiable man. His character and his tastes are represented as being so peculiarly in accordance with those of the people of his adoptive country, that he cannot fail to render himself acceptable for his own sake. By the free selection of such a consort, the domestic happiness of our young and gracious Queen, in which the whole nation takes so profound an interest, is assured, so far as by human means it can be assured. Descended in a direct line from the elder branch of the house of Saxony, whose representative, in the time of the Emperor Charles V., chose rather to sacrifice his dominions, or even life itself, than abandon the Protestant religion as taught by Luther, of whom he and his immediate predecessor were the zealous protectors, Prince Albert, it is said, has often declared himself prouder of this distinction than of any personal advantage that he enjoys. This warm attachment to the Protestant faith must be deemed a subject of particular congratulation, when we consider the close connexion into which the prince is about to enter with the British crown and nation—a nation so justly jealous of the preservation of its established religion, which may confidently reckon upon finding in him, in time of need, a staunch and steady supporter. From the alliance of the house of Coburg with several of the sovereigns

of Europe,* we may further deduce a favourable augury for the maintenance of that peace and good understanding which it is so much the interest of all to cultivate. In short, under whatever aspect it may be viewed, the union of a high-born, amiable, and accomplished prince, with Her who is universally looked up to as

“The expectancy and rose of the fair state”—

a union so fruitful of promise both to her Majesty and to the country at large—cannot but be celebrated as an event for general jubilee and rejoicing by the loyal people of her united empire.

* Since these lines were written, the public papers have announced that this house is about to be bound by a second tie with that which occupies the throne of France, in the approaching marriage of the Duke de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, with the Princess Victoire Auguste Antoinette, eldest daughter of Duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Kohary, and first cousin of Prince Albert and of Queen Victoria.

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THE END.

