Early Modern Europe, 1450–1789

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF EUROPE, 2ND EDITION

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Primary Sources

CHAPTER NINE: POLITICS AND POWER, 1600-1789

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1. Jacques Benigne Bossuet, Politics drawn from the Very Words of Scripture

Bishop Bossuet was one of the most important voices arguing in favor of the divine right of kings. This idea is found in many of his writings, which influenced the young Louis XIV, shown here. See:

http://history.hanover.edu/texts/bossuet.html

2. James VI and I: True Law of Free Monarchies, 1598

James VI drew on his (selective) interpretation of Scottish history for his own justification of royal power, claiming that kings are above the law.

The Kings thereafter in Scotland were before any estates or ranks of men within the same, before any Parliaments were holden or laws made; and by them was the land distributed (which at the first was wholly theirs), states erected and decerned, and forms of government devised and established. And it follows of necessity that the Kings were the authors and makers of the laws and not the laws of the Kings... . And according to these fundamental laws already alleged, we daily see that in the Parliament (which is nothing else but the head court of the King and his vassals) the laws are but craved by his subjects, and only made by him at their rogation and with their advice. For albeit the King made daily statutes and ordinances, enjoining such pains thereto as he thinks meet, without any advice of Parliament or Estates, yet it lies in the power of no Parliament to make any kind of law or statute without his sceptre be to it for giving it the force of a law... . And as ye see it manifest that the King is overlord of the whole land, so is he master over every person that inhabiteth the same, having power over the life and death of every one of them. For although a just prince will not take the life of any of his subjects without a clear law, yet the same laws whereby he taketh them are made by himself or his predecessors, and so the power flows always from himself; as by daily experience we see good and just princes will from time to time make new laws and statutes, adjoining the penalties to the breakers thereof, which before the law was made had been no crime to the Subject to have committed. Not that I deny the old definition of a King and of a law which makes the King to be a speaking law and the law a dumb King; for certainly a King that governs not by his law can neither be countable to God for his

administration nor have a happy and established reign. For albeit it be true, that I have at length proved, that the King is above the law as both the author and giver of strength thereto, yet a good King will not only delight to rule his subjects by the law, but even will conform himself in his own actions thereunto; always keeping that ground, that the health of the commonwealth be his chief law.



Sank neueingerichteter allenthalben viel verbesserter Albentheurlicher SIMPLICIUS SIMPLICISSIMUS Das ist:

Aufführliche/unerdichtete/und recht memorable kebens Beschreibung Eines einfältigen/wunderlichen und felkamen Baganten / Nahmens Melchior Sternfils von Huckhaim/wie/wo mansauch welcher Geffalt ernemlich in diese Belt gesommen/wie er sich tarinnen verhalten/was er mere und denckrundiges

geschen/gelernet/gepracticiret/und hin und wieder mit vielfältiger Leibs und Lebens Sefahr ansgestanden/ auch warum er endlich folde wiederum frewillig und ungezwungen verlassen dabe. Annenkich/erfreuäich und lustigzu lesen/

Wie auch sehr nunlich und nachbenct.

Mit einer Norrede / famt 20. anmuthigen Rupffern und 3 Continuationen

Son
GERMAN SCHLEIFHEIM
von Stelsfort.
Et fat mir fo wollen behagen
mit Lachen bie Warheit ju fagen.
Wompelgart/

Cornett bei Johann Fillion/ Nürnberg ju finden bei B. & Felfeden.

3. Hans von Grimmelshausen, The Adventurous Simplicissimus, 1668

Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (1621-1676) was a German official and writer who had been kidnapped by troops as a child and fought in the Thirty Years War. He later wrote a picaresque novel based on his experiences, generally regarded as the most important German novel of the century. Grimmelshausen provides graphic details about the violence associated with the war. Longer extracts in English translation can be found at:

http://www.shsu.edu/~his ncp/Simp.htm

The first thing these troopers did was, that they stabled their horses. Thereafter each fell to his appointed task, which task was neither more nor less than ruin and destruction. Some began to slaughter and to boil and to roast so that it looked as if there should be a merry banquet forward, yet

others did but storm through the house above and below stairs. Others stowed together great parcels of cloth and apparel and all manner of household stuff, as if they would set up a frippery market. All that they had no mind to take with them they cut in pieces. Some thrust their swords through the hay and straw as if they had not enough sheep and swine to slaughter: and some shook the feathers out of the beds and in their stead stuffed in bacon and other dried meat and provisions as if such were better and softer to sleep upon. Others broke the stove and the windows as if they had a never-ending summer to promise. Houseware of copper and tin they beat flat, and packed such vessels, all bent and spoiled, in with the rest. Bedsteads, tables, chairs, and benches they burned, though there lay many cords of dry wood in the yard. Pots and pipkins must all go to pieces, either because they would eat none but roast flesh, or because their purpose was to make there but a single meal.

Our maid was so handled in the stable that she could not come out; which is a shame to tell of. Our man they laid bound upon the ground, thrust a gag into his mouth, and poured a pailful of filthy water into his body: and by this which they called a Swedish draught, they forced him to lead a party of them to a another place where they captured men and beasts, and brought them back to our farm, in which company were my dad, my mother, and our Ursula.

And now they began: first to take the flints out of their pistols and in place of them to jam the peasants' thumbs in and so to torture the poor rogues as if they had been about the burning of witches: for one of them they had taken they thrust into the baking oven and there lit a fire under him, although he had as yet confessed no crime: as for another, they put a cord round his head and so twisted it tight with a piece of wood that the blood gushed from his mouth and nose and ears. In a word each had his own

device to torture the peasants, and each peasant his several torture. But as it seemed to me then, my dad was the luckiest, for he with a laughing face confessed what others burst out with in the midst of pains and miserable lamentations: and such honour without doubt fell to him because he was the householder. For they set him before a fire and bound him fast so that he could neither stir hand nor foot, and smeared the soles of his feet with wet salt, and this they made our old goat lick off, and so tickle him that he well nigh burst his sides with laughing. And this seemed to me so merry a thing that I must needs laugh with him for the sake of fellowship, or because I knew no better. In the midst of such laughter he must needs confess all that they would have of him, and indeed revealed to them a secret treasure, which proved far richer in pearls, gold, and trinkets than any would have looked for among peasants. Of the women, girls, and maidservants whom they took, I have not much to say in particular, for the soldiers would not have me see how they dealt with them. Yet this I know, that one heard some of them scream most piteously in divers corners of the house; and well I can judge it fared no better with my mother and our Ursel than with the rest. Yet in the midst of all this miserable ruin I helped to turn the spit, and in the afternoon to give the horses drink, in which employ I encountered our maid in the stable, who seemed to me wondrously tumbled, so that I knew her not, but with a weak voice she called to me, "O lad, run away, or the troopers will have thee away with them. Look to it well that thou get hence: thou seest in what plight...." And more she could not say.



Detail from a painting of the oathtaking of the Peace of Westphalia by Gerard Terborch (1617-1681)

4. Peace of Westphalia, 1648

Two conferences were held to end the Thirty Years War, as Protestants and Catholics would not sit down together. Catholics met in the city of Münster, and Protestants in the city of Osnabruck, both in the German province of Westphalia. They agreed on two largely similar treaties, with more than one hundred different articles and provisions. This the Catholic treaty.

http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westphal.htm

5. A Colonial Soldier on the Seven Years' War in North America, 1759-1761

The Seven Years War, known in the United States as the French and Indian War, began when a young George Washington led a small contingent of troops against French forces in western Pennsylvania. British forces widened their attacks on New France, and at the end of the war France was required to cede Louisiana to Spain and the rest of its North American holdings, other than two tiny islands, to Britain. British colonists fought alongside British regular forces, but the war heightened colonists' sense that they were different. The journal of a Massachusetts soldier captures these feelings, which, combined with the enforcement of British tax policies, would lead shortly to the War of American Independence.

http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5819

6. Soldiers' Music

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century armies included musicians, who played fifes and drums, and sometimes other instruments. Music served as recreation, and also as inspiration. Many of the groups now doing historical reenactments of various wars include fife and drum players. The Canadian group Gin Lane plays a typical soldiers' ballad, and explains the various instruments common in early modern popular music.

http://www.ginlane.com/music/GinLaneFMDTC.mp3

http://www.ginlane.com/GinLaneInstruments.html



7. Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685

The Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598 by Henry IV, declared that France was officially a Catholic country but that Calvinist Protestants (Huguenots) would have the right to practice their faith and maintain military garrisons in 150 towns. This limited toleration was too much for Louis XIV, who in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes. The revocation lays out Louis' justifications—or at least those he was willing to state publicly—and details how Protestants are to be handled. In this version, R.P.R. is an abbreviation for "Reformed Protestant religion."

http://history.hanover.edu/texts/nonantes.html

8. Root and Branch Petition, 1640

Petitions signed by large numbers of people were important factors in the disputes between the King and the House of Commons leading up to the English Civil War. One of the most famous was the "Root and Branch Petition," signed by 15,000 Londoners, which called for ending the church hierarchy in all its "roots and branches" and the preaching and teaching of Calvinist interpretations of church doctrine. This was presented to the Long Parliament in December of 1640.

http://history.hanover.edu/texts/ENGref/er97.html

9. A True Copy of the Petition of the Gentlewomen and Tradesmen's Wives in and about the City of London, 1642

During the English Civil war, many groups used petitions to Parliament as a way to get their political and religious grievances aired and push for changes. Most of the groups were male, but occasionally groups of women used this tactic, petitioning Parliament to improve trade laws, end imprisonment for debt, release prisoners, and end martial law in times of peace. In 1642, a group of London women petitioned parliament to take sterner measures against Catholics. We do not know who wrote the petition or if the writer was a woman), but the petition ends with justifications for the action.

It may be thought strange and unbeseeming our sex to show ourselves by way of petition to this Honorable Assembly; but the matter being rightly considered, of the right and interest we have in the common and public cause of the church, it will, as we conceive (under correction) be found a duty commanded and required.

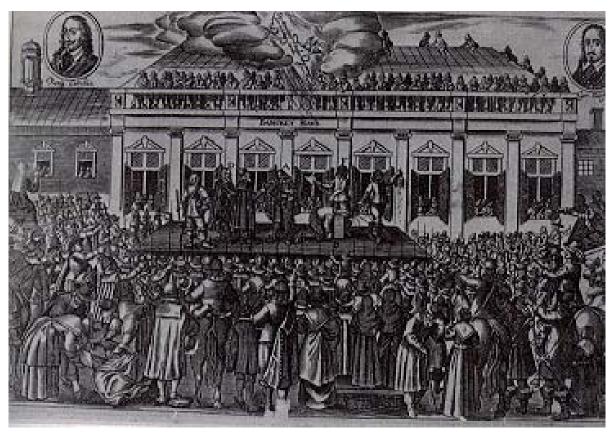
First, because Christ hath purchased us at as dear a rate as we hath done men, and therefore requireth the like obedience for the same mercy as of men.

Secondly, because in the free enjoying of Christ in his own laws, and a flourishing estate of the church and common wealth, consisteth the happiness of women as well as men.

Thirdly, because women are sharers in the common calamities that accompany both church and commonwealth, when oppression is exercised over the church or kingdom wherein they live; and an unlimited power have been given to Prelates to exercise authority over the consciences of women, as well as men, witness Newgate, Smithfield, [both prisons where Protestants had been held and executed] and other places of persecution, wherein women as well as men have felt the smart of their fury.

Neither are we left without example in scripture, for when the state of the church, in the time of King Ahasuerus, was by the bloody enemies thereof sought to be utterly destroyed we find that Esther the Queen and her maid: fasted and prayed, and that Esther petitioned to the King in the behalf of the church: and though she enterprised this duty with the hazard of her own life, being contrary to the law to appear before the King before she were sent for yet her love to the church carried her through all difficulties, to the performance of that duty.

On which grounds we are emboldened to present our humble petition unto this Honorable Assembly, not weighing the reproaches which may and are by many cast upon us, who (not well weighing the premises) scoff and deride our good intent. We do it not out of an: self-conceit, or pride of heart, as seeking to equal ourselves with men, either in authority or wisdom: But according to our places to discharge that duty we owe to God, and the cause, of the church, as far as lieth in us, following herein the example of the men which have gone in this duty before us.



Contemporary engraving of the execution of Charles I

10. King Charles I, Scaffold Speech, 1649

The execution of King Charles was witnessed by a huge crowd, and enterprising printers quickly produced broadsheets and pamphlets describing the events of his execution in very dramatic terms. This and the following source use the older Julian calendar for dating, with the year beginning on March 25, "Lady Day" in the Christian calendar, when the Virgin Mary was said to have received a visit by the archangel Gabriel announcing that she would bear Jesus. This means that Charles's execution was dated as January 1648, a date now regarded as January 1649. (England switched to the more accurate Gregorian calendar, and a year beginning January 1, in 1752. The Gregorian calendar, named after Pope Gregory XIII, had been developed by papal scientists and adopted in Catholic countries in 1582; Protestant and Orthodox countries regarded it as Catholic, so were slow in adopting it.)

KING CHARLS, HIS SPEECH

Made upon the

SCAFFOLD

At Whitehall-Gate

Immediately before his execution
On Tuesday the 30 of Jan. 1648
With a relation of the maner of
His going to Execution

Published by special authority

London

Printed by Peter Cole, at the sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange, 1649.

About ten in the morning the King was brought from St. James's, walking on foot through the park, with a regiment of foot, part before and part behind him, with colours flying, drums beating, his private guard of partizans with some of his gentlemen before and some behind bareheaded, Dr. Juxon next behind him and Col. Thomlinson (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bareheaded, from the Park up the stairs into the gallery and so into the cabinet chamber where he used to lie.

(It is observed the King desired to have the use of the cabinet and the little room next it where there was a trap door.)

Where he continued at his devotion, refusing to dine, (having before taken the Sacrament) only about an hour before he came forth, he drank a glass of claret wine and eat a piece of bread about twelve at noon. From thence he was accompanied by Dr. Juxon, Col. Thomlinson and other officers formerly appointed to attend him and the private guard of partizans, with musketeers on each side, through the Banqueting house adjoining to which the scaffold was erected between Whitehall Gate and the Gate leading into the gallery from St. James's.

The scaffold was hung round with black and the floor covered with black and the Ax and block laid in the middle of the scaffold. There were divers companies of food, and troops of horse placed on the one side of the scaffold towards Kings Street and on the other side towards Charing Cross, and the multitudes of people that came to be spectators, very great.

The King being come upon the scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the block and ask'd Col. Hacker if there were no higher. And then spake thus, directing his speech chiefly to Col. Thomlinson.

King: I shall be very little heard of anybody here, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here. Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment. But I think it is my duty to God first and to my country for to clear myself both as an honest man and a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my innocence. In troth I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a war with the two Houses of Parliament. And I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their privileges. They began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon, they confest that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me. And, to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I. So that as the guilt of these

enormous crimes that are laid against me I hope in God that God will clear me of it, I will not, I am in charity. God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament; there is no necessity of either, I hope that they are free of this guilt. For I do believe that ill instruments between them and me has been the chief cause of all this bloodshed. So that, by way of speaking, as I find myself clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too. Yet, for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say God's judgments are just upon me. Many times he does pay justice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust sentence (Strafford) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me. That is, so far as I have said, to show you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to show you that I am a good Christian. I hope there is (pointing to D. Juxon) a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causes of my death. Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go further. I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge. Nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the kingdom, for my charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but my charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my soul, and I do hope there is some here (turning to some gentlemen that wrote) that will carry it further, that they may endeavour the peace of the Kingdom.

Now, Sirs, I must show you both how you are out of the way and will put you in a way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you have ever had yet, as I could find by anything, is by way of conquest.

Certainly this is an ill way, for conquest, Sir, in my opinion, is never just, except that there be a good just cause, either for matter of wrong or just title. And then if you go beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at the first. But if it be only matter of conquest, there is a great robbery; as a Pirate said to Alexander that he was the great robber, he was but a petty robber: and so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put you in the way. Believe it you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you five God his due, the King his due (that is, my successors) and the People their due, I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his due by regulating rightly His Church (according to the Scripture) which now out of order. For to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this. A national synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, then turning to a gentlemen that touched the Ax, said, hurt not the ax, that may hurt me (meaning if he did blunt the edge) For the King, the laws of the land will clearly instruct you for that. Therefore because it concerns my own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the people. And truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever. But I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government; those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government, Sir, that is nothing pertaining to them. A subject and a soveraign are clean different things, and therefore until they do that, I mean , that you do put the people in that liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs. It was for this that now I am come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword I needed not to have come here. And, therefore, I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge, that I am the martyr of the people.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say thus to you. That in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put then that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested than I have done. And, therefore, I hope that you will excuse me.

I have delivered my conscience. I pray GOD that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom and your own salvations.

Dr. Juxon: Will your Majesty, though it may be very well known, your Majesties afections to religion, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the world's satisfaction?

King: I thank you very heartily, my lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my conscience in religion I think is very well knowne to all the world: and, therefore, I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father. And this honest man (pointing to Dr. Juxom) I think will witness it.

Then turning to the officers, said, "Sirs, excuse me for this same, I have a good cause and I have a gracious God. I will say no more."

Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said, "take care that they do not put me to pain. And Sir, this, an it please you---" But then a gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said "Take heed of the Ax. Pray take heed of the Ax."

Wiesner-Hanks: CHAPTER NINE: POLITICS AND POWER, 1600-1789

Then the King, speaking to the Executioner said "I shall say but very short

prayers, and when I thrust out my hands—"

Then the King called to Dr. Juxon for his night-cap, and having put it on said

to the executioner "Does my hair trouble you?" Who desired him to put it

all under his cap. Which the King did accordingly, by the help of the

executioner and the bishop.

Then the King turning to Dr. Juxom said, "I have a good cause, and a

gracious GOD on my side."

Dr. Juxon: There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and

troublesome; it is a short one. But you may consider, it will soon carry you a

very great way. It will carry you from Earth to Heaven. And there you shall

find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King: I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no

disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Doctor Juxon: You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a

good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, "Is my hair well?" Then the King took

off his cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. Juxon, saying,

"Remember—." (It is thought for to give it to the Prince.)

Then the King put off his dublet and being in his waistcoat, put his cloak on

again. Then looking upon the block, said to the Executioner "You must set it

fast."

Executioner: It is fast, Sir.

King: It might have been a little higher.

Executioner: It can be no higher, Sir.

King: When I put out my hands this way (Stretching them out) then—

After having said two or three words, as he stood, to himself with hands and eyes lift up. Immediately stooping down laid his neck on the block And then the executioner again putting his hair under his cap, the King said, "Stay for the sign." (Thinking he had been going to strike)

Executioner: Yes, I will, an it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body. When the Kings head was cut off, the executioner held it up and shewed it to the spectators.

And his body was put in a coffin covered with black velvet for that purpose.

The Kings body now lies in his lodging chamber at Whitehall.

Sic transit gloria mundi.

11. Newspaper describing the execution of Charles I, 1649

The chaos and conflicts of the Civil War period meant that government censorship of printed material was not enforced, and newsletters and newspapers flourished. This is the first page of a regularly-appearing newspaper, describing the events of the days around the execution of Charles I. It provides a slightly different version of the scaffold speech from that of the pamphlet included above. The entire newspaper—with the scaffold speech on page three-- can be seen at:

http://www.adelpha.com/~davidco/History/charles1.htm

(2313)

Numb. 288,

N IN T

INTELLIGENCER.

A PERFECT DIURNAL

OF SOME

PASSAGES IN PARLIAMENT.

And the Daily Proceedings of the Army under His Excellency
the Lord Fairfax.

FLOW MUNDAY, THE 29TH OF JANU., THE MUNDAY, THE 5TH OF FER, 1648.

Collected for the sectisfaction of such as desire to be correctly informed.

Printed by E. G. and F. L. for Prantes Co. as and Lattures: Buaimanare, and are so sold at their Shops in the Old Baily and at Tempis Bur.

Bayloning Munday, January 29.

HIS day the House sate early (as were appointed); one of the late secteded members comming into
the House occasioned them to consider of that businesse upon which they voted. That such
members as voted as Decemb. I last, that the King's concessions were a ground of satisfact a
peace in this nation, should not be re-admitted, but disabled to sit any longer investors for the intern.

The Dutch Ambrandours had their audience in the House. They need their instructions and letters of evadence in Franch, but had no obvice thereof in English (as is usual), but and opper should be prepared against to-morrow manning. Their dealers was to intercede for the King's life, and to keep and preserve a fact correspondency between this nation and the estate of Holland, but having no transcripts ready, and being unwilling to leave the originall, the House of that time saud not preceed in delatis thereof.

This day on Act person for otherwisen of severall names and forms herstofine used. In courte, write, general, petents, Ston., and selfing of proceedings in courte of law, institut, and equity, within the bing-hone of Engineer and Ireland, dominton of Water, and tour of Engineer-Trees as followeth—

He it exected by this present Parliament and by the authority of the man, that is all Counts of Law, survive or equity, and in all verte, greate, potents, commissions, indicators, information, units, nature of write, and in all force, recoverier, compositionates, prompted and indicators of law, justice, or equity within the higgsbur of Rugined and Iroland, describe of Webs, and town of Sewrick-upon-Lawed, rection of the name, with, this and the of Checkelle. Elements of the name, with

12. Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, 1672

William Temple was a member of Parliament and the English ambassador to the Netherlands during the 1660s, appointed by Charles II. He was instrumental in a number of diplomatic concerns, including the marriage of Charles's sister Mary to William of Orange. (These are the monarchs who would become the rulers of Britain with the Glorious Revolution of 1688.) After his return he wrote about his impressions of the Netherlands.

In the first constitution of this government, after the revolt from Spain, all the power and rights of Prince William of Orange, as Governor of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserved. But those which remained inherent in the Sovereign, were devolved upon the assembly of the States-General, so as in them remained the power of making peace and war, and all foreign alliances, and of raising and coining of monies: in the Prince, the command of all land and sea forces, as Captain-general and Admiral, and thereby the disposition of all military commands, the power of pardoning the penalty of crimes, the chusing of magistrates upon the nomination of the towns; for they presented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that number. Originally the States-General were convoked by the council of State, where the Prince had the greatest influence: nor, since that change, have the States used to resolve any important matter without his advice. Besides all this, as the States-General represented the sovereignty, so did the Prince of Orange the dignity, of this State, by public guards, and the attendance of all military officers; by the application of all foreign ministers, and all pretenders at home; by the splendor of his court and magnificence of his expence; supported not only by the pensions and rights of his several charges and commands, but by a mighty patrimonial revenue in lands and sovereign principalities and lordships, as well in France, Germany, and Burgundy, as in thy several parts of the Seventeen Provinces; so as Prince Henry was used to answer some that would have flattered him into the designs of a more arbitrary power, that he had as much as any wise Prince would desire in that State; since he wanted none indeed, besides that of punishing men, and raising money; whereas he had rather the envy of the first should lie upon the forms of the government, and he knew the other could never be supported, without the consent of the people, to that degree which was necessary for the defence of so small a State against so mighty Princes as their neighbours.



Ottoman Sultan Selim III, ruled 1761-1808.

13. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Turkish Embassy Letters, 1763

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was an English essayist and poet, whose husband was the English ambassador to Turkey. She accompanied her husband to Istanbul, and wrote a series of letters to family and friends describing her impressions of the country. These were not simply impromptu personal letters; Montagu shaped the whole body of letters as a group, and entrusted copies to a friend, who published them shortly after her death. As a woman, Montagu had access to the women of the Ottoman court, and here discusses her experiences having dinner with the sultan's wife.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1718montague-sultana.html

14. Luise Gottsched on Maria Theresa, 1749

Luise Gottsched (1713-1762) was a German poet, translator, and playwright. Like Lady Montagu, she is also known for her observant letters; here she describes a visit to the court of Maria Theresa.

To Fräulein Thomasius, of Troschenreuth and Widersberg, at Nürnberg.

Vienna, 28 September, 1749.



MY ANGEL: First, embrace me. I believe all good things should be shared with one's friends. Hence must I tell you that never, in all my life, have I had such cause to be joyfully proud as on this day. You will guess at once, I know, that I have seen the Empress. Yes, I have seen her, the greatest among women. She who, in herself, is higher than her throne. I have not only seen her, but I have spoken with her. Not merely seen her, but talked with her three-quarters of an hour in her family circle. Forgive me if this letter is chaotic and my handwriting uneven. Both faults spring from the overwhelming joy I feel in the two delights of this day---the privilege of meeting the Empress and the pleasure of telling your Highness of the honor.

This morning we went at ten to the palace. We took our places where Baron Esterhazy, who procured us admission, told us to stand. He supposed, as we did, that we, with the hundreds of others who were waiting, might be permitted to see her Majesty as she passed through the apartment on her way to the Royal Chapel. After half an hour we had the happiness of seeing the three Princesses go by. They asked the Courtmistress who we were. Then, on being told our names, they turned and extended their hands for us to kiss. The eldest Princess is about ten years

old. As I kissed her hand, she paid me a compliment. She said she had often heard me highly spoken of. I was pleased, of course, and very grateful for her remarkable condescension. Forgive me if this sounds proud. Worse is to follow. I cannot tell of the incredible favor of these exalted personages without seeming to be vain. But you well know that I am not vain.

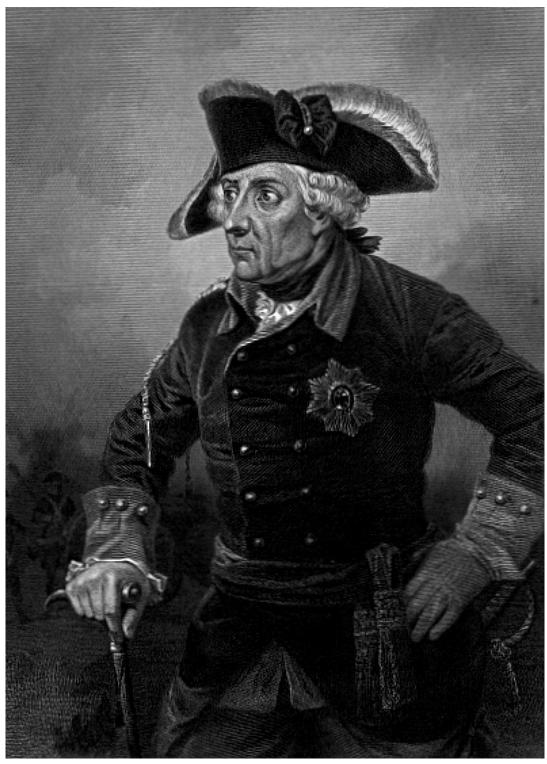
About eleven o'clock, a man-servant, dressed in gorgeous livery, came and told us to follow him. He led us through a great many frescoed corridors and splendid rooms into a small apartment which was made even smaller by a Spanish screen placed across it. We were told to wait there. In a few moments, the Mistress of Ceremonies came. She was very gracious to us. In a little while, her Majesty entered followed by the three princesses. My husband and myself each sank upon the left knee and kissed the noblest, the most beautiful hand that has ever wielded a scepter. The Empress gently bade us rise. Her face and her gracious manner banished all the timidity and embarrassment we naturally felt in the presence of so exalted and beautiful a figure as hers. Our fear was changed to love and confidence. Her Majesty told my husband that she was afraid to speak German before the Master of that language. "Our Austrian dialect is very bad, they say," she added. To which my man answered that, fourteen years before, when he listened to her address at the opening of the Landtag, he had been struck by the beauty and purity of her German. She spoke, on that occasion, he said, like a goddess. Then the Empress laughed merrily, saying "Tis lucky I was not aware of your presence or I should have been so frightened that I should have stopped short in my speech."

Maria Theresa

She asked me how it happened that became so learned a woman. I replied, "I wished to become worthy of the honor that has this day befallen me in meeting your Majesty. This will forever be a red-letter day in my life." Her

Majesty said, "You are too modest. I well know that the most learned woman in Germany stands before me." My answer to that was "According to my opinion, the most learned woman, not of Germany only, but of all Europe, stands before me as Empress." Her Majesty shook her head. "Ah, no," she said, "my familiar acquaintance with that woman forces me to say you are mistaken."

Her husband, the Emperor Franz I, joined our group and chatted with us most affably. Some of the younger children were called in and properly reverenced. Then the Empress asked if we would like to see her remaining babies, upstairs. Of course, we were enchanted at the thought. Following the Mistress of Ceremonies, we went upstairs to the three little angels there, whom we found eating their breakfast under the care of the Countess Sarrau. After kissing the little, highborn hands, we were conducted through the private rooms of the palace, an honor not vouchsafed to one stranger out of a thousand. Finally we returned to the waiting room, where all congratulated us upon the unusual honor shown.



Frederick II of Prussia (1712-1786)

15. The Rise of Brandenburg-Prussia, 1700-1728

During the seventeenth century, Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg and Prussia, began to transform his scattered territories into a unified state with a powerful army. He increased taxes significantly and supported anything that would improve the tax base. His successors, especially his grandson Frederick William I and his greatgrandson Frederick II, built on his policies, declaring themselves kings of Prussia, and establishing a fighting force that was the terror and the model for those in other countries. They supported compulsory primary education and broadened technical training because these would provide better soldiers, promoted improvements in agriculture and industry, and personally led the troops. Prussian military values can be seen in comments by visitors to the Prussian court, and letters by the rulers themselves.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/hre-prussia.html

16. Swedish Ships and Naval Power

In the seventeenth century, Sweden was at its most powerful, with a well-equipped army and modern warships. Fortunately for historians, several of these ships sank in the cold waters of the Baltic, where they were exceptionally well-preserved, in part because the Baltic is relatively low in salt, so that some kinds of sea-worms, which eat wood, cannot survive. These ships include the Vasa, the flagship of the crown that sank on its maiden voyage in 1628, and the royal ship Kronan, which was blown up during a war with Denmark in 1676. Both ships have been raised and are now museums, with the websites providing extensive illustrations and plans.

http://www.kalmarlansmuseum.se/site/kronan/proj kronan/english/



http://www.vasamuseet.se/Vasamuseet/Om.aspx?lang=en





Peter the Great in an early eighteenth-century tapestry, woven by French artisans whom Peter hired to set up tapestry production in Russia.

17. Peter the Great in the Eyes of Foreigners, 1698-1730

Peter was determined to make Russia even larger and stronger than it was. He traveled to Western Europe as a young man to learn about western technology, and reorganized and modernized the army after a crushing defeat at the hands of the Swedes. He drafted hundreds of thousands of peasants for life to serve as the footsoldiers who would be the core of this huge army and work in mines and factories. He required peasants to plant new crops that could feed soldiers and themselves, and tripled taxation. He brought in Dutch, German, English, and French experts to provide advice on technology and tactics, and hired Western architects to design a new capital, which was also built with conscripted labor. Outsiders were impressed with Peter, whether they met him on his travels or on their own visits to Russia. Included here are reports from English, German, and French commentators.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/petergreat.html