

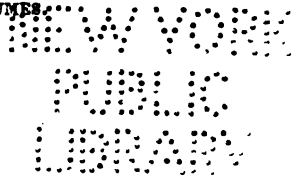
VISIT
TO
NORTHERN EUROPE:
OR
SKETCHES
DESCRIPTIVE, HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND MORAL,
OF
DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN AND FINLAND,
AND THE
FREE CITIES OF HAMBURG AND LUBECK,
CONTAINING
NOTICES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, ARTS AND SCIENCES, EDUCATION, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, OF THOSE COUNTRIES AND CITIES.

BY ROBERT BAIRD.

WITH MAPS AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN S. TAYLOR & CO.,
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1841.



The Vierland Flower Girl.

Vierland Peasants.

V I S I T

TO

NORTHERN EUROPE.



Frederiksborg Castle, referred to in Chapt. xv.

NEW-YORK:

JOHN S. TAYLOR & CO. PUBLISHERS.

1842.

P R E F A C E .

A brief explanation, both of the circumstances under which this work has been written and published, and of the plan upon which it has been prepared, is due to the reader.

When the author was about to go to Europe, in the year 1835, many of his friends requested him to write something respecting the countries which he might visit during his sojourn in the old world, if the nature of his work there, and the duties which resulted from it, should permit. He could hardly do otherwise than promise compliance with their wishes. At that epoch, neither he nor any of his friends foresaw that his labors in Europe, for the philanthropic and religious objects for which he was sent thither, would call him to any other country than France, and those which are contiguous to it.

In a short time, however, it became obvious that duty required him to visit almost the entire continent. Accordingly he has continued, with two interruptions, occasioned by visits to his native country, to pursue the work to which he was called, and in its prosecution he has visited most of the countries in Europe twice, and some of them three times.

These repeated and protracted visits to the various parts of the great field of his efforts, certainly offered him favorable opportunities for obtaining extensive information respecting the different countries which were comprised in it. But the nature and variety of his duties rendered the writing of a book extremely difficult, if not impossible. Nevertheless, last year, during his second visit to the Scandinavian countries, the attempt was made to write something which might be useful to his friends and countrymen, respecting at least

that portion of the continent. And amidst the sufferings—resulting from a long-continued illness—which he endured, on a journey of several months in Scandinavia and Russia, the following work was mainly written; while his many and pressing duties since he returned to pass a few months in this country, have not left him time to do more than review what he had written on the spot, and supply such portions of the work as he had not been able to write in the course of the journey which it undertakes to describe.

Under these unfavorable circumstances, the work was prepared, and is presented to the public. The author is deeply sensible that it is neither what it ought to be, nor what it would have been,—if he could have spared the necessary time for its proper preparation. But such time he never expects to find, and therefore, if he published the work at all, he must publish it as it is, and throw himself upon a public which he believes to be disposed to judge with kindness every attempt, however humble, to contribute something towards the augmentation of useful knowledge respecting other countries. Thus much for the circumstances under which this book was written and now issues from the press.

A word or two in relation to the plan which has been adopted.

Two courses, widely differing from each other, presented themselves to the author's mind at the outset, in regard to the nature of his proposed work.

The one was to write a book which should contain as much interesting and useful information respecting the countries of which it might treat, as could be conveniently exhibited in such a work, and as little about the personal adventures of the author as would be consistent with giving to it some degree of connection and unity.

The other was to write a book of travels, properly so called, and fill it with accounts of what he saw or heard in the countries under consideration, and of his intercourse with the various classes of persons with whom he came in contact.

There can be little doubt as to which of these courses it would have been the more easy to pursue; and just as little as to which would have secured the greater degree of popularity. Had the author resolved to follow the latter, he could without difficulty, and without drawing very largely on his imagination, have filled a work with incidents that fell under his observation, or which he heard from others, which, it is probable, would be read with not a little interest. This would have been more certainly the case if he had given freely and extensively the remarks that were made to him by many of the distinguished individuals with whose acquaintance he was honored, and whose hospitalities, in not a few cases, he was invited to enjoy.

It did not require a moment's deliberation to decide on the former course as more likely to be useful, however difficult to execute; and to reject the latter, as likely to lead, on the one hand, to the saying of many things of no sort of utility to the reader, and on the other, of violating confidence, and doing what would be discreditable to himself, and what is of far greater consequence, to the country which he is proud to call his own, and which he can truly say that every year's residence abroad renders dearer than ever to his heart.

He therefore resolved to prepare a work which, whilst it might contain some notices of his own comparatively insignificant movements, should be filled mainly with such geographical, topographical, historical, and biographical sketches, interspersed with useful and interesting anecdotes and facts, as might, in his opinion, be instructive to the reader. Upon this basis the work has been written; and this explains why so much detail has been given.

The author has had frequent occasion to lament, when perusing books of travels, that they often fail to give the reader a correct or satisfactory conception of the places which are proposed to be described. He would state a single instance: how often has he read in books of travels, to say nothing of letters in the newspapers, of the Golden Horn at Constantinople, and yet never, so far as he recollects, has he seen in any book, an intelligible description of that beautiful

sheet of water, which runs up from the Bosphorus and separates the city of Constantinople from a suburb that lies to the east, and forms, in fact, one of the finest harbors in the world. How far he has himself avoided this defect, it does not become him to say. Travellers, after having visited a particular scene, and of course having their minds filled with the clear impressions which personal observation always gives, are ever in danger, when they sit down to write, not only of losing all recollection of their own former ignorance and misconceptions, but of actually taking it for granted that those for whom they write have very much the same ideas of the scenes which they are about to describe as they themselves now possess.

The reader will find that the present work differs in many respects, from the generality of books of travels. A chapter has been bestowed on the history of each of the most important of the Scandinavian countries, because the author has supposed that the reader would be interested in perusing such an epitome of the past, before he enters upon the more minute details which follow. Biographical sketches have been given of Thorvaldsen, Griffenfeld, Tordenskiold, Tycho Brahé, and other distinguished men, because it was hoped that they would be found interesting and instructive.

In a word, the author, in preparing this work, has acted very much upon the principle of supposing that those who will read it know but little about the countries of which it treats; and in doing so, he has availed himself of all the means which he possessed of collecting such information as he deemed most likely to be useful, from books, from personal observation, and from the conversations and contributions of the best informed men, whose acquaintance he formed in the countries which are spoken of in this work.

It is probable that this book will fall into the hands of some who are already familiar with all the information which it contains. To such persons the author begs leave to offer two remarks: First, he prays them to remember that there may be others who are less informed on the subject than they are. And secondly, he forewarns them that the book was not written for them. Let them, therefore, put it aside.

The age of dedications is pretty much passed away ; and if it were not, the author has no pretensions to the patronage of any one. But if he thought it advisable to attempt any thing of the sort, he would inscribe this humble work, first to the friends of his youth in his native county of Fayette, in Pennsylvania, who have been pleased to take a lively interest in all that has concerned him ; and next to the many friends and acquaintances whom he is thankful for possessing in so many parts of his country.

It gives the author great pleasure to express here his many obligations to the diplomatic and commercial agents of his government, whom he met in the countries which he visited. He received nothing but kindness from these gentlemen, whose attentions he is happy to know, are most cordially rendered to all their countrymen who visit those hyperborean regions. To none of them is he more indebted than to Christopher Hughes, Esq., who has long been the acceptable and faithful representative of the United States at the Court of Sweden.

One word more : This work is wholly of a miscellaneous character, and treats of no subject exclusively. To such as have expected to find in it a more detailed account of the religious condition of the ~~Scandinavian~~ countries, he would say, that if it please God to spare his life, and continue his health, it is his intention to publish a work on the state of religion throughout the whole continent of Europe, and he will, in that work, enter into all the details connected with that subject.

With these remarks the present work is commended by the author to the kind regards of his friends and of the public.

New-York, November, 1841.

NOTE.

In addition to the common histories and other works which treat of the Scandinavian countries, the author has had occasion to consult the following books.

1. DENMARK DELINEATED, or Sketches of the Present State of that Country: By A. Andersen Feldborg, published at Edinburgh in 1824.
2. DR. EDWARD CLARKE'S TRAVELS in Scandinavia.
3. COXE'S TRAVELS in the North of Europe.
4. BARROW'S TRAVELS, in Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.
5. SCANDINAVIA, ANCIENT AND MODERN: By Dr. Andrew Crichton of Scotland, and Henry Wheaton, Esq., American Ambassador at Berlin. From this invaluable work, which contains the best history of the countries of which it treats that can be found in English, the author has drawn much and freely, in preparing the historical sketches which he has given in this book.
6. LAING'S TOUR IN NORWAY, and
7. LAING'S TOUR IN SWEDEN, both of them filled with valuable information.
8. LETTRES SUR LE NORD, par X. Marmier.
9. RECUEIL DES EXPOSES DE L'ADMINISTRATION DU ROYAUME DE SUÈDE; traduit du Suédois, par J. F. De Lundbad.

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VISIT TO SCANDINAVIA.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE FROM HAVRE TO HAMBURG.

Departure from Havre in the steamer *Paris*—Great increase of steam-boats engaged in the commerce of this city—beauty of the weather and the scene in passing the straits of Dover and Calais—Vast commerce of the North Sea—Scene of the destruction of the Invincible Armada—Battle of Camperdown—Admirals Duncan and De Winter—The loss of life in some of the great naval battles of England, compared with that of some of her great battles on land—Those of the Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, Salamanca, Vittoria, Waterloo—Approach to the Elbe—Helligoland—Cuxhaven—Ascent of the Elbe—Scenery on each bank—Stade—Blankenese—Altona—Arrival at Hamburg, and the debarkation.

JULY 11, 1840.—Left Havre at 7 o'clock, P. M., in the steam-boat *Paris* for Hamburg. The weather was mild and beautiful. The sun was fast descending to the horizon, and to his "ocean-bed," as our noble steam-ship moved majestically out of the basin, or artificial harbor, in the heart of the city, and passed through the Grand Canal, which forms the entrance to the haven from the River Seine. In a few moments we were on the broad expanse of that river, just where it empties itself into the English Channel. In a few moments more we rounded the high bluff that lay on our right hand, lost sight of the city and its forest of masts, rising up amidst its houses and overtopping them, and were fairly on our way for the North.

Our steam-ship was one of the line of steam-vessels which run weekly between Havre and Hamburg. These ships are vessels of what may be called the first class, as it regards size, and are propelled by powerful engines. The length of the *Paris* is one hundred and eighty feet. In proportion to her length she is a narrow vessel, sharp-built, and well constructed for swiftness.

It is surprising to remark how rapidly the number of steam-boats, which issue from Havre, have increased since the year 1835. At that epoch, there were but few running, and those few were chiefly confined to the navigation of the Seine. At present, besides those which run daily up to Rouen, or across to Honfleur, there are now regular lines of steam-boats established between Havre and the following named points, and which issue from it, as from a focus, viz. : Cherbourg, Morlaix, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Cadiz and the Mediterranean ports, Portsmouth and Southampton, London, Dunkirk, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and St. Petersburg. There are, probably, between thirty and forty steam-boats now plying between Havre and other ports ; a few years ago there were but five or six.

Our course, north-eastward, was along the coast of France, and at but a few miles' distance, from it. But night soon came on, and put an end to the rich enjoyment which we found in sitting on the deck and contemplating the shores of a country, which, though foreign, contained so many objects around which our affections most tenderly clustered. The next morning, as we came on deck, our noble steam-ship was moving with majesty and rapidity through the narrow strait which separates England from the continent. As we held on our midway-path, the bold white cliffs on our left, beneath which the little city of Dover reposes, and the more humble coast on our right,

with the ancient city of Calais, rising on its margin, were equally and fully in view.

No one, we think, can enter the German or North Sea, by the Straits of Dover and Calais, in a fine day, and a transparent atmosphere, without being struck with the sight of the great number of sails which he sees in every direction. Every thing betokens the vicinity of some great commercial emporium. It is to or from London, the commercial metropolis of the world, that these numerous vessels are going or coming. But not all: on the other side of this busy sea, so full of life in all directions, lie the important and flourishing cities of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Hamburg, with their crowded ports; whilst still further to the North, on the same side, is the entrance into the Baltic, into which and from which a vast amount of commerce is constantly flowing and re-flowing. In no other part of the world does a sheet of water, of the same extent, present such a scene of floating wealth, as does this North Sea, in connection with the British Channel. Indeed they may, unitedly, be termed the Grand Port of the world!

In the afternoon of that day, we were opposite the coast of Holland, and passed, at no great distance, Camperdown and the Texel, places associated with some of the most illustrious achievements of the English navy. Indeed, our voyage was, at almost every step, carrying us over what may be called, truly *classical* scenes in England's History. For it was along these coasts that she gained not a few of those triumphs which have given her the vaunted title of "Mistress of the Ocean." It was between Havre or rather Boulogne and Calais, if we have been rightly informed, that a few English ships, under Admiral Howard, first came in conflict with the vainly-called *Invincible Armada* of Spain in 1588, and which comprised 150

ships of all sizes, and carried 30,000 men, charged with the mission of overthrowing England's power and annihilating with it her Protestant religion. It was at Calais and afterwards on the coast of the Netherlands, that Drake, Hawkins, Howard and Frobisher, with scarcely 30 ships, attacked and harassed the Armada, and destroyed not a few of the ships which composed it. Britain's navy has performed deeds of greater éclat in the two centuries and a half which have since elapsed, but none which evinced more noble daring, or which have had a greater influence on her career as a nation, or on the interests of mankind in the entire. And oft and striking as has been the interposition of Divine Providence in behalf of that great people, never has that interposition been more apparent than at the epoch to which we refer. The bravery and the skill of Hawkins and his fellow-Admirals would have been of little avail, had not a force infinitely superior to that of man come to their help. It was the artillery of Heaven which finally confounded and overwhelmed, in the North Sea and on the coasts of the Orkney islands, this vast squadron, which had but a few months before left the ports of Spain with such lofty and sanguine hopes of success. It was well, therefore, that Elizabeth inscribed on the medals which she caused to be struck in memory of the defeat and the dispersion of this great Armada, the following motto; *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*,—God blew upon them and they are scattered.

In more recent times, these same waters were the scene of many a sanguinary conflict between the English and Dutch navies. But no one naval battle, we believe, has occurred in later times in the North Sea, which was more desperately fought, or which involved a greater number of men and ships, than that which took place off the insignificant village of Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, and about five miles from it, on the 11th of October,

1797; when Admiral Duncan, with 16 ships of the line,* (as they were then called, though two of them would now be termed frigates,) attacked the Dutch fleet of 29 vessels, of which 16 were ships of the line, under the command of Admiral De Winter, and after a long-continued and bloody engagement, succeeded in capturing or destroying nine ships of the line. This naval battle was one of the most destructive to their own men, as well as to the enemy, in proportion to the number of men engaged, that is to be found in the annals of the English. Their fleet carried about 8,000 men, all included; and of this number 191 were killed, and 560 wounded. The Dutch lost, as we have just stated, nine ships of the line, taken or sunk; and about 600 of their men were killed, and 800 wounded. Their brave Admiral was taken prisoner and carried to England, where he was treated with the distinction which he merited. He afterwards returned to his own country, where he was entrusted with the very highest commands by Louis Buonaparte, during his brief reign, and by Napoleon, after Holland had become united to France, in 1810. He died in 1812, at Paris, and his remains rest in the Pantheon.

We may remark, in passing, and whilst the very scenes through which we were sailing call our attention to the subject, that though, from the nature of the case, the number of men engaged in any of the great naval battles has borne no comparison with the number of men who have been engaged in the great battles on land, yet the

* We follow the English authorities in regard to the numbers, &c., of the English ships engaged in this battle. The account which some continental writers have given of this matter is widely different, making, in fact, the English fleet to consist of no less than 20 ships of the line, and about 15 frigates. We deem the English statement of the number of their ships, men, &c., to be more worthy of credit than that to which we have just referred.

comparative destruction of human life has generally been far greater. This will be made clear by the statement of the loss, killed and wounded, in a few of the great battles of each species of warfare which have occurred in modern times.

In Lord Howe's action with the French, on the 1st of June, 1793, there were twenty-six sail of the line engaged, carrying 17,000 men. The number of the killed was 281, and of the wounded, 797; total killed and wounded, 1,078.

In Lord Bridport's action, on the 23d of June, 1795, there were fourteen sail of the line engaged, carrying 10,000 men. The number of the killed was 31, and of the wounded, 113; total of killed and wounded, 144.

In Lord St. Vincent's action, February 14th, 1797, there were fifteen sail of the line, and 10,000 men. The number of the killed was 73, and of the wounded, 227; total of killed and wounded, 300.

In Lord Duncan's action, (off Camperdown), October 11th, 1797, there were sixteen sail, (including two fifties,) and 8,000 men. The number of the killed was 191, and of the wounded, 560; total of killed and wounded, 751.

In Lord Nelson's battle of the Nile, August 1st, 1798, there were fourteen sail, and 8,000 men. The number of the killed was 218, and of the wounded, 677; total of the killed and wounded, 895.

In Lord Nelson's attack on Copenhagen, April 2d, 1801, there were eleven sail of the line and five frigates engaged, carrying 7,000 men. The number of the killed was 234, and of the wounded, 641; total of the killed and wounded, 875.

In Lord Nelson's battle of Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805, there were twenty-seven sail, carrying 17,000 men. The number of the killed was 412, and of the wounded 1,112; total of the killed and wounded, 1,524.

In Lord Exmouth's attack on Algiers there were five sail of the line and five frigates engaged, carrying 5,000 men: total of the killed and wounded, 818.

It will be seen that of these eight naval battles,—the most celebrated in the annals of England during the last fifty years,—the number of the killed and wounded in Lord Exmouth's attack upon Algiers was by far the greatest in proportion to the number of men engaged; being in fact but little less than one-sixth. None of the great battles on land during the period just alluded to, we apprehend, with the exception of that of Waterloo, show a destruction equal, in proportion to the number of men engaged. If we confine ourselves to the number of the killed alone, in Nelson's three great naval battles of the Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar, and compare it with the number of the slain in Wellington's three great battles of Salamanca, Vittoria and Waterloo, we shall find the relative mortality to stand thus:

Nile, - -	1 to 36	Salamanca,	1 to 90*
Copenhagen,	1 to 39	Vittoria, -	1 to 70
Trafalgar, -	1 to 41	Waterloo, -	1 to 40

These statements present some interesting facts to our notice, and show that the loss of life in the naval battles which the English have fought with the French, Dutch and Spanish, though often quoted to prove the comparatively small loss of that nation in her naval actions, does nevertheless exceed that of her greatest engagements on land. And yet her loss in the naval battles referred to, bears no comparison with that which took place in some

* This statement has reference solely to the *English* troops who were engaged in those battles, and does not include their auxiliaries, the Spanish, Portuguese, Hanoverians, &c. In all these battles, the destruction of life was greatest among the *British* troops, properly so called; that is, the troops composed of natives of Great Britain and Ireland.

of the actions of her single frigates with ours, during the last war between the two countries.

But if this subject be interesting, it must be confessed also that it is a painful one to every truly benevolent mind. War, whether by sea or by land, is so great an evil, and so awful a proof of the depravity of our race, that it should never be contemplated by a Christian without deep sorrow and sincere humiliation for the degradation of mankind. What heart that possesses right feelings on this subject does not earnestly desire, and pray for, the coming of that day when

“Peace on earth shall hold her universal sway,
And man shall cease his fellow-man to slay.”

The second day after we left Havre we were still favored with fine weather. Our course was along the coast of Western Germany. And as the sun was going down we approached the island of Heligoland, so well known in the period which elapsed from 1804 to 1814, as the centre of a vast contraband trade, by which British manufactures found their way into Germany by the Elbe, in spite of all the attempts of Buonaparte to prevent it, by his celebrated commercial restrictions. The island is a poor barren spot, and is of no other value than as affording a *point d'appui*, if we may so speak, to England in case of a war with the continental powers. During the period to which we have just referred, her gigantic navy stretched, like a vast crescent, around the southwestern part of the continent, its left horn reaching to the island of Heligoland, and its right extending to Malta.

Heligoland is supposed to be the ancient *Herta*, one of the most sacred seats of Scandinavian idolatry. The etymology of its name imports that it was emphatically the *Holy Island*. It is about nine English miles in circumference, and rises up on almost all sides precipitous from

the ocean, and when seen in the distance resembles a great brick-kiln. It produces some oats and barley, but not enough for the consumption of the inhabitants, who are about 2,200 in number, and whose occupation is that of fishing, and of acting as pilots. The English took it from the Danes in 1807, and by the treaty of Kiel, in 1814, they secured its possession for themselves. The people who inhabit this forlorn island are of Frisian descent, and speak the old Frisian dialect. They pay no taxes to England, and are permitted to administer their own affairs very much according to their own mind. In the summer time, this little island is a good deal visited by invalids for the purpose of sea-bathing, and by the gourmands for the abundance and variety of its fish and other marine productions. The English have kept very few men here, as a garrison, since 1821; and in times of war a comparatively small number of men could defend it against all the attacks which could be made upon it. No island could be better situated than it is for the centre of a vast contraband commerce, inasmuch as it is equidistant (being about 28 miles) from the mouths of the Weser, the Elbe and the Eyder,—an advantage which, as has been remarked, was not neglected during the period to which we have referred, as did well attest the vast magazines of British colonial goods, here formed for being smuggled into the continent as occasions offered. We will only add, that its light-house is of the greatest use to guide vessels, which would enter the three important rivers which we have just named.

Leaving Heligoland far on our left, we turned into the wide-mouthed Elbe, and soon drew near to the little city of Cuxhaven, with its projecting pier, and its well known light-house, important to us, as the light of day was quite withdrawn, and the sky was become deeply overcast. This ancient little town stands on the southern bank of the Elbe, and with a small adjoining territory of a few square

German miles in extent, and a population of some 6,000 souls, belongs to the city, or rather the commonwealth of Hamburg. But Cuxhaven is not the metropolis of this little territory, notwithstanding its harbor, its commerce, its pharos, and above all, its advantages for sea-bathing. That honor belongs to the adjacent city of Ritzebüttel, which has a population of 1,600 souls, or the double of that of Cuxhaven. The territory or bailiwick of Ritzebüttel was obtained by Hamburg, by conquest, in the 14th century, and has remained under the government of that city ever since, though distant from it about seventy English miles, and wholly divided from it by the intervening territory of the kingdom of Hanover.

The harbour of Cuxhaven is sufficiently capacious and entirely safe. Into this port, vessels are often compelled to put during the tempestuous seasons, when the navigation of the North Sea is dangerous. It is here, too, that vessels coming from climates where epidemic diseases prevail, have to undergo quarantine, in order that such diseases may not be permitted to ascend to Hamburg and other cities in the interior. In former times, the quarantine regulations of this little port were extremely vexatious. Nor are they even now wholly free from useless severity. We are not sure, however, that the practice still exists which once prevailed, of sending vessels which were suspected of having some infectious disease on board, up to the coasts of Norway, for the purpose of receiving a good airing, or rather a strong ventilation!

It is at Cuxhaven that the Pilots of the Elbe chiefly reside. These men are celebrated, and justly, for their skill, their courage, and their enterprise. They may be seen often far out in the North Sea, looking for ships which are approaching the mouth of the Elbe. We are happy to learn, that through the influence of a Senator of Hamburg who resides in the bailiwick of Ritzebüttel, a

Temperance Society has been formed among the inhabitants, and that its influence has been eminently good. The efforts of two or three excellent pastors, too, have exerted, and continue to exert, a very salutary influence upon this little community. We will only add, in reference to the commerce of Cuxhaven, that there is a regular line of sailing packets between it and Harwich in England, and that the steamboats from Havre and London to Hamburg, always touch at this place in going and coming. So that there is no want of life and bustle on its wharves, and among its little population.

After leaving Cuxhaven, our steamboat pursued its way up the meandering Elbe, without halting, save for a little while at Stade, a town on the southern or Hanoverian side of the river, where every vessel which passes up or down the river is required to pay a toll. This tax is not great, but it is vexatious ; and in virtue of what right, or for what services rendered to the navigation of this river by the State of Hanover, we have never been able to divine. And yet our English friends, who have ever been loudest in their abuse of the poor kingdom of Denmark for the toll which she exacts from vessels which pass the Sound at Elsinour, suffered a similar imposition to exist at Stade, from the accession of the Elector of Hanover, George the First, to the throne of their country, until the year 1837, notwithstanding that the kingdom of Hanover during all that period was an appanage of their crown. We have heard it said that this toll is exacted by the Hanoverian government as a compensation for keeping up the lights along the river. But although the first part of the night was very dark, we saw very few light-houses throughout the entire course of the river from its mouth up to Stade ; perhaps it was because it was so dark ! Now we think that it is high time that there was a proper understanding on this subject. We have not the slightest

objection that nations which need it, should receive eleemosynary assistance. But then we think that they ought to receive it in the shape of avowed charity, and not by way of what is little better than downright robbery, whatever may be the disguises assumed.

As it was already dark when we left Cuxhaven, the scenery through which we passed, on our winding way up the Elbe, could not be distinctly seen, although we had at intervals, and especially towards the middle of the night, the refulgence of a full-orbed moon, which gave to the expanded river, its low and meadowy islands, and its gently sloping but distant banks, a very soft and agreeable appearance. But we remember well how much we were pleased with a voyage up this same river on a beautiful day in the month of May, in the year 1836. On the left hand lay the sloping green fields of Holstein,—a country appertaining to Denmark, with numerous villages, almost all of which are adorned with rows of trees, which give them a singularly rural and charming appearance in the season of summer. On the right hand lay the low plains of Hanover, rising gently from the margin of the wide river, and covered with forests, beyond which the steeples of churches and the tops of the houses of the villages, which at intervals occur, are seen peering up, and indicating the abodes of man in that land of extensive pasturage and numerous herds of cattle. Holstein is also abundant in the same species of wealth, and its horses enjoy an unrivalled celebrity throughout Europe, for their size and strength, and are much esteemed for their great weight, and consequent *momentum*, in the cavalry service. The islands, too, of the river, which are numerous and extensive, and resemble insulated prairies or meadows, and which are so characteristic of the entire lower course of the Elbe, were covered with herds of cattle, feeding in all directions without restraint. So numerous and extensive are these islands, that

they cause the river to have a width in many, or rather in most places, below Hamburg, of several miles. In many places it is divided into so many channels that the main one appears insignificant in its width. It is owing to this fact that the navigation of this river is difficult and requires experienced pilots. The main channel is very serpentine, and the principal current consequently pursues a very meandering course.

At the early hour of four o'clock, in the morning of the third day after leaving Havre, we were on the deck to see by the light of day, which had for almost an hour been dawning upon us, the scenes through which we were passing in our near approach to Hamburg. And well did they reward the sight. Whilst the southern or Hanoverian side of the river continued nearly the same in appearance, the northern or Danish side had become more bold and striking. Indeed we do not know where any thing more beautiful can be found than the bank of the Elbe, on that side, for about seven or eight miles below Altona. A continuous succession of beautiful summer residences of the wealthy citizens of Hamburg and Altona, adorns this bank, which slopes down from a considerable elevation to the water's edge. Nothing could be more refreshing to the sight, at this early hour, when the sun was pouring his early, and yet mild, but glorious effulgence upon the cool and dewy face of nature, than those charming gardens, filled with green shrubbery and pleasant lawns, bordered with the carnation, the dahlia, the tulip, the rose, and the lilac. Nothing more agreeable than the sweet odoriferous airs which were wafted from them. The contrast between such a scene and the unvarying, aqueous one which we had been contemplating for two or three days, was most striking and enchanting.

This line of delightful summer mansions is called *Blankenese*. It extends quite up to Altona, at which we were

now arrived, and which is a Danish city, of much beauty and great prosperity, and which has a population, at present, of more than 30,000 souls. This city so closely adjoins Hamburg, that they are only separated from each other by a narrow street, or rather a sort of ditch, which a stranger would think to be almost any thing else than the boundary of two cities, which are rivals in trade, and which are under wholly different governments. The site of Altona is somewhat remarkable. A row of warehouses and shops borders the river, beneath the high bank or continuous bluff, on the sides of which houses rise rapidly above each other; whilst the main part of the city stands on the extensive plain which stretches out beyond and forms a delightful table land, intersected by streets, and covered with well-built houses and fine gardens.

And now we were fairly arrived off Hamburg itself, and came to anchor alongside of the immense mass of shipping, of all countries, which lay in tiers of some three or four vessels deep, in many places, along the shore, to the extent of a mile or a mile and a half.

Having collected together our luggage and given it into the charge of a waterman, and having bid adieu to our companions of the voyage, as well as to our worthy French captain, we descended into a small boat, and made our way through the crowd of ships. We passed what is called the *Blockhaus*, which is a small house for a guard-station, on a projecting pier of considerable length, and which forms a part of the entrance into the *Binnen-Hafen*, or Inner Harbor, and at length landed at what is called the *Baumhaus* (or Wooden House), where is another station of the police. There was no vexatious examination of baggage; no demanding and scrutinizing of passports. An officer at the *Blockhaus* only asked us whether we had any merchandize, and allowed us to pass on upon our simply replying in the negative. Another at the *Baum-*

haus politely asked us, in broken English, for our names, and the name of the hotel to which we were going.

And thus ended our voyage from Havre to Hamburg, a distance of 600 miles, and which occupied the short period of 58 hours. No remarkable incidents occurred. Our fellow-passengers were a few Germans and French, who were, without exception, civil and agreeable in their manners. But as they were all merchants, and wholly intent upon their favorite pursuits, we could learn but little from them save accounts of the state of trade and of stocks. When tired of reading and of talking, we had, however, during the two fine days which we passed on the voyage, one un-failing source of enjoyment, which consisted in taking our seat on the deck amidst our fellow-passengers, where, when we became fatigued with contemplating the scene through which we were passing—the dark and watery plain, the almost innumerable white sails which were passing over it, and the blue vault of the cloudless firmament above and around us—we could find amusement in making a philosophical comparison of the nasal and guttural sounds, with which our ears were alternately saluted by our Gallic and Germanic companions, as well as in regarding, in the same spirit, the curling and ascending volumes of smoke which issued from the cigars of the one and the pipes of the other.

CHAPTER II.

HAMBURG.

Position of Hamburg—Its harbor—Its canals—The Alster—Description of houses—Their shape, &c.—Height of the houses—Narrowness of the streets—Busy aspect of the city—The Exchange—The cellars—Handsome appearance of the people—The costume of the Vierlanders—Of the servant-women—Fortifications of Hamburg—Now almost leveled down, and forming pleasant promenades—Gates—Practice of shutting the gates at sun-down—The Want of public Places in Hamburg—The Binnen Alster, and its beautiful promenades—The finest streets in the city—The environs—Parish or suburb of St. Paul—Parish of St. George—The shores of the Grosse Alster—the village of Ham.

HAMBURG, the most considerable of the Free Cities of Germany, is situated on the right, or northern bank of the Elbe, at about 70 miles from its mouth. Its position is in north lat. $53^{\circ} 34' 32''$, and east long. (from Greenwich, $27^{\circ} 51'$). The Elbe is navigable up to this point for the largest merchant ships. And without question, this city, as regards foreign commerce, is the chief gate of northern Germany. Less, indeed, than Berlin, in point of extent, as well as in point of population, and inferior to it as it regards manufactures and institutions for the promotion of the arts and sciences, as well as literature in general—it is, on the other hand, far superior to that city in the extent of its trade, both interior and exterior, and for the wealth of its inhabitants.

Its site, along the margin of the river, is low, but rises very gradually as it recedes. The highest portion of the city lies in the west, in the direction of Altona, and is a continuation of the elevated bank of the river, or plateau, on which that town stands. In the eastern and north-

eastern direction, the site evidently rises somewhat, but not so much as in the western. The variety, however, in the surface of the city is not very great. The accompanying plan will give the reader a tolerably correct idea of its general position, its chief streets and canals, as well as the localities of its most important buildings and establishments. The circuit of the city is stated to be 22,000 feet, or rather less than four English miles.

A small stream—not deserving the name of a river—called the Alster, rises in the sand hills of Holstein, to the north of the city, runs through the middle of it, and falls into the Elbe, forming, by its expanded estuary, as it joins that river, what is called the *Binnen Hafen*, which we have already mentioned. This little river, as the Hamburgers term it, just before it enters the city, and immediately to the north of it, expands into a considerable lake, called *Der Grosse Alster*. From the lower, or southern side of this lake, some portion of its waters pass on each hand, into the wide and deep moat or trench which surrounds the city proper; whilst the main body of them passes into what is called the *Binnen Alster*, which is a beautiful sheet of water, lying in the northern part of the city, in the shape of a parallelogram, of nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and something less in width. From the *Binnen Alster*, at the south-eastern corner, the stream issues in considerable volume, and turns some dozen large water-wheels, connected with several flour-manufacturing establishments. In its onward course, and quite in the heart of the city, it sets in motion as many more, connected with other flour-mills. After this, it finds its way to the Elbe, through the *Binnen Hafen*, as we have already stated. Whilst on the east, an arm of the Elbe enters the city, and is there divided into a number of canals, which take various directions, till they unite, and join the Alster at the head of the *Binnen Hafen*. We ought to add, in

order to be as accurate as possible, that the exterior part of the Binnen Hafen, or rather the sheet of water which lies between it and the middle of the Elbe, is enclosed by strong piles of timber, driven endwise down into the bottom, thus forming a port where ships may lie in safety. This is called *Rummelhafen*.

Canals intersect the lower part of the city in all directions, and many of the stores and large warehouses are built upon their banks. In this part of the city, and also in that which lies east of the Alster, and which is called the *Old Town*, the streets are for the most part narrow and crooked; whilst many of those in the western, or *New Town*, are much broader, straighter, and altogether more pleasant.

However useful the canals of Hamburg may be to commerce, they are far from adding much either to the beauty or the pleasantness of the city. Whilst some of them have streets running along their sides, which serve as wharves to them, many of them have no such additions to increase their convenience or their amenity. Unlike those of Amsterdam, which have generally not only a street on each side, but also pleasant rows of trees, or like those of Venice, which are bordered by the agreeable fronts of private houses and even palaces; the canals of Hamburg are lined with the unseemly backs of houses and stores, which extend to their very verge, and even rest on their side-walls. This gives them a most sombre and disagreeable aspect, with their dark, stagnant waters lying deep beneath the lofty houses which border, and sometimes, overhang them.

The houses of this city are chiefly built of bricks, which in many of the streets retain their primitive color, save where time has given it a dark brown aspect. Many of them, however, and especially in the newer and more pleasant parts of the city, are stuccoed and painted white,

yellow, or lead color. In the older streets, many of the houses are made of frames of wood, with the intervening spaces filled up with brick, and stuccoed or not as the case may be ; a style of building of which one sees much in Northern Germany, and also in some parts of France. The surfaces of these frames are set even with the bricks which fill up the intervening portions ; and when they are painted red, or yellow, or black, whilst the brick portion of the wall retains its natural color, or has been whitewashed, the contrast is striking, and presents a picturesque assemblage of squares, parallelograms, triangles, etc. We will add that most of the houses in this city are from three to four stories high, and some are even five. Few comparatively are less than three. In the old portion of the city the greater number of the houses are five stories high, without counting the cellars and the attics. And in this part of the city it is not uncommon to see houses which are built of frames, and the spaces intervening filled up with brick-work, which are not only very high, but whose successive stories, as one ascends, project very considerably over those below, making, in fact, successive offsets of from one to two feet ! Such houses have a very singular appearance, and remind one of the cobb-houses which children sometimes build on the same principles. They often project very considerably over the streets. We have noticed some high houses, and one or two mills, in which the fourth and fifth stories projected some six or eight feet at least, over the foundation-story. One can hardly avoid having the thought, when looking at such houses, that there is danger that they may become top-heavy, and tumble over. The roofs of almost all the houses in Hamburg are covered with tiles, and thus are well protected from fire in that direction.

In the older parts of the city, the houses generally stand with the end to the street, and their gables almost equal

those of Rotterdam and other cities in Holland, in their scalloped and otherwise fantastic shapes. The windows of the best houses almost invariably consist of six large panes of glass, the frames and sashes of which stand out in a line with the wall. Generally the windows are made to open like folding doors, the sash being connected with the window frames by hinges for this purpose. And at least one or two of the panes in each window are so attached by hinges that they may be opened when it is not desirable to open the whole, or even the half of the entire window. This manner of making windows is very different from that which prevails with us; but it is that which one finds throughout all the northern countries of Europe—indeed we may say throughout the entire continent; it certainly is far more convenient than that in which a portion of the window frame is made to slide up and down. As to outer window-shutters, they are almost wholly unknown, not only in Hamburg, but throughout all the north of Europe. And persons who walk along the street are often not prevented in the day-time, even by a curtain, from looking into the rooms and parlors which are on the ground-floor. The ladies of this city, but not so generally as those of Holland, sometimes have, for their amusement and convenience, small looking-glasses, set in iron-frames, so placed outside of their window that by means of the reflection, they may perceive who is passing in the streets, without being compelled to put their heads out, as is too often done by some not-very-well-bred ladies in some other countries. Of course they may sit by the window sewing, or talking, and at the same time see what is going on in the streets to a considerable extent. But as we have just remarked, this practice is far from being so general in this city,—and the same remark may be made of Copenhagen and other cities in the north of the continent,—as it is in some cities of Holland. In France, and the

cities in the southern part of Europe, this custom, we believe, is wholly unknown.

In the oldest parts of the city, and, indeed, in almost every part of it, there are many streets which are exceedingly narrow, and almost invariably destitute of everything which resembles a side-walk, or trottoir. But there are some streets in the western, as well as in the northeastern parts of the city, which have considerable width, and which have side-walks. In most cases these side-walks are narrow, and they are uniformly paved, like the portions of the streets which are for vehicles of all sorts, with small round stone, upon which it is, as may be supposed, very far from being comfortable to walk. And we may mention that a singular practice exists here, which renders the side-walks still narrower than they need be, and, in fact, almost useless. It is that of putting several steps to the doors of the houses, which often project so far on the side-walks as to leave not more than a foot or eighteen inches for the foot-passenger. And then stone posts, with intervening iron chains or bars, run from the steps of one house to those of another, and inclose a little space for no sort of utility, but which just so much trenches on the convenience, or rather the use of the side-walks.

The streets, too, with few exceptions, are far from being kept clean. The narrow ones—and they are the great majority—are almost intolerable in the hottest season of the year, from the vast quantities of dirt and filth which are allowed to accumulate in them during the night and early morning, and which are not removed as promptly as they ought to be. Indeed, we wonder that the yellow fever, or some other epidemic, does not take up its permanent abode among the Hamburgers. They may thank the northern position of their city, as much as any other earthly cause, for the immunity which they enjoy. Bad, however, as the state of things is in summer, we are

told that it is worse, if possible, in winter. For then the gutters, or drains—which, in the small streets, run along the middle of the street, and by which whatever of filthiness can slide or roll down into them is floated off in summer, when there is water enough for the operation—become filled with the refuse which is thrown into them, and which sometimes accumulates into great heaps, and becomes frozen, and almost bids defiance to all efforts to remove it. A greater annoyance it would certainly be difficult to conceive of. Now, all this is really inexcusable. But, if such be the state of the narrow streets, the wider ones are scarcely less agreeable. For, instead of having one drain in their centres, they have two, one on each side, along the verge of the side-walks; and as they are almost always filled with dark, filthy currents of water, it would seem as if they were intended to bring the odours which exhale from them as near as possible to the passers-by, and even to the worthy citizens, as they sit in their parlors and stores. Now, all this is intolerable. Surely it would not be difficult to have subterranean drains, or sewers, in Hamburg, as is the case in London, Philadelphia, and so many other of the best regulated cities.

No one can visit Hamburg without being struck with the air of business which the city every where wears. Hundreds of vessels, of all descriptions, and belonging to almost all nations—English, French, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, American, &c.—lie in tiers along the bank of the river, opposite the city, and the hum of business is heard continually among them. Some have just arrived; others are about leaving; some are unloading; and others are loading. Small boats, managed by skilful rowers, are moving about in all directions over the surface of the Elbe, which is here, in its main channel, from a thousand to twelve hundred feet wide, and deep enough

for large merchant ships. Seamen, in crowds, are seen on the wharf, or sauntering about the numerous grog-shops which too much abound in all the streets in the vicinity of the river. Steamboats arrive from London two or three times a week, and from Havre once a week, and as often depart for those ports. Vast numbers of river and coasting craft lie crowded together in the Binnen Hafen, and in some of the wider adjoining canals, along whose wharves there is an incessant bustle. And if one should visit the Bourse or Exchange at the hour from one to two o'clock, he will see some two or three thousand men, merchants, traders, dealers in stocks, &c., who assemble in that venerable temple of Plutus, and transact such business as can be transacted in the way of barter or exchange. It is somewhat amusing to visit this spot, which is one of the most distinguished of all the exchanges on the continent for the amount, as well as the variety of business which is annually done in it. The mere buying and selling of stocks, in banks or companies, or loans, is a small part of the business which is here done. The buying and selling of all sorts of articles of trade or commerce here takes place. The merchant who has received a thousand bushels of wheat, or five thousand hides, goes to the exchange to sell or barter them; and great is the confusion of language which for one or two hours is here heard every day, save the Sabbath. Babel itself, the next morning after the woful confusion of tongues had taken place, scarcely presented more confusion. The rich banker, who moves about with the haughtiness of a prince, is there. The more humble dealer in wares is also there, endeavoring to improve his fortune. The ever-vigilant Ben-Israel is there, ready to drive a good bargain with either, or with both, if a good opportunity should serve. Whilst as to language, the noble German, with its rich and deep tones, predominates over the French, the English, or any other

dialect of men which dares for a moment to invade the premises.

Even the narrowest streets in the Old City, (and some of them are indeed narrow, scarcely allowing a cart to pass) are crowded with stores and shops, to enter which, we may remark, you must commonly enter the hall or entry of the house, and then turn to your right or left, as the case may be, into the *magazin*, as the French call it, which you seek, instead of entering at once by a door from the street, as is universally the case with us. Not only so, but beneath the stores and shops which occupy the first story above the ground, there are, in most of the streets, whether more or less narrow, in this part of the city, magazines of a somewhat different sort, in what may be called cellars, or rather basement-stories. These basement shops are about half below the surface of the street, and are entered by a flight of stone steps. And here one meets with all imaginable variety of articles for sale. Here is a grocery, with its coffee, its tea, its sugar, &c. ; there is a provision-store, with its hams of bacon, its dried beef, its dried sausages and tongues, its cheese, and its butter. A few paces further there is a fruit-store, where all fruits from the vicinity are to be seen filling baskets and barrels, and with them the orange, the lemon, the pine-apple, and the cocoa-nut, from far distant lands. Sometimes you find a shoe-store, sometimes a shoemaker's-shop, and sometimes shops of other trades, in close proximity to an oyster-shop, in these subterranean positions. Sometimes the son of *Æsculapius* places in these regions the magazine of his potent medicines, and there concocts, with magic skill, the drugs which his art demands. And alas, what is far worse, and far oftener to be found, there too, in almost every square, is the shop where diseases, poverty, and death, are sold under the shape of brandy, rum, whisky, gin, wine, and beer! You cannot possibly mistake

one of these establishments, for, to say nothing of the rows of decanters and bottles at the window, and their representation by the painter's art on the pannels of the window-shutters and door, or on a vast sign-board which is placed over the door, another and most significant emblem is certain to catch your eye, and this is nothing more nor less than a keg of sufficient dimensions, and well blazoned with various colors, which is conspicuously hung out over the doors of these dens of Despair, to allure the unstable, the unreflecting, the poor, the unhappy, and the inexperienced youth to temporal and eternal ruin! Many of these cellars are used as dwelling-places, the store or shop occupying the front room.

The number of the cellars which are occupied either as stores or as dwelling-places, or as both at once, is said to be about two thousand. They are chiefly to be found in the Old Town, which is the lowest part of the city, and which is liable to inundations, through the extraordinary rises in the Elbe, at the time when strong and long-continued west and northwest winds prevail. When this calamity takes place there must necessarily occur much suffering among the families which inhabit these humble abodes. The greatest inundations which have occurred within the memory of any persons now living were those of the 21st of July, 1771, and the 10th, 11th, and 12th of December, 1792. In the latter, the water rose twenty feet six inches, and caused a vast destruction of property and an immense amount of suffering.

As may be supposed, it is, generally speaking, only the poorer classes of people, the artizans, the day-laborers, and the more humble traders, who are tenants of these damp and unhealthy abodes. Without doubt, some of them are miserable enough; though we confess that we did not see very striking evidences of it whilst wandering, as we often did, for the purpose of observation and inqui-

ry, through these narrow streets and alleys. But if any one wishes to have something else than the plain, brief, and unvarnished notice of these abodes, and those who occupy them, which we have just given, we commend to him the following poetic description of them by M. Marmier.* “All the houses of this part of the city (the Old Town) are high, and space is here measured by the weight of gold. From the ground-floor to the garret, the merchant has invaded everything. There are his stores, his counters : he knows what every foot of the floor which he occupies has cost him, and he dreams day and night how he may make the most of it. But under the door of the first story, another, a subterranean door, is to be seen, which opens only half above the pavement. It is hither that the true toppers come, in a sweet mystery, to incense the god whom they have chosen. A gilded keg, hoisted above the window, is the sacred sign before which they bow, and heaps of oyster-shells and broken glass announce

* M. X. Marmier, a talented young Frenchman, who spent the greater portions of 1836, '37, '38, and '39, in traveling over the Scandinavian and other portions of the north, including the Ferö islands, Iceland and Spitzbergen, and who gave to the public some very interesting notices of these tours through the pages of the *Revue de Paris* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. These letters have been since published in two volumes, under the title of *Lettres sur le Nord*. They are full of French wit, vivacity, and imagination. But, as is too much the case with works written for journals, the beautiful and striking predominate too much over the true. One never becomes tired in reading such a book ; but then we know not what to believe ! We will only add, that M. Marmier is a man of most amiable benevolence, who with all his exaggeration and his wit, evidently studies to avoid wounding the feelings of those respecting whom he writes. Since his return to France he has continued to write for the *Reviews of Paris*, on various subjects ; and recently he has received the appointment of chief librarian in one of the important national libraries in that city.

on the morrow, to those who pass, what has been the sacrifice! In the cross-streets and alleys these subterranean abodes are inhabited by workmen and the families of the common people. And it is sad to see these poor people crowded together in these humid retreats, where the salubrious air never penetrates, where their sight never rejoices in the rays of the sun. In winter, the torrent swollen by the snow inundates them; in the summer every passer-by bespatters them with mud; and the gilded carriage which stops at their door deprives them of the little light which they have. The unhappy people are placed there just as they are in the world. Every edifice which they inhabit presses upon them, as does every ladder in social life. The family of the rich dances over their heads; the rich sing in passing before their prison. They bend beneath the load of their misery, and they endure the noise of every festival, and the echo of every burst of joy. They are the Parias of the citizens, the Helots of the Republic of Commerce.”*

The appearance of the people, of almost all classes, may be pronounced handsome. The blue eye, and the fine light complexion, so common, we might almost say universal, in Germany, are to be seen here in all classes. In no city in Europe, so far as we can judge, will one see finer-looking people. And an uncommonly large proportion of the men and women whom one meets in the streets are really handsome. The style of living among the wealthier classes is not inelegant, and in some cases it deserves the epithet of luxurious; whilst the manners of this class evidently have a degree of aristocratic pride and hauteur which is not agreeable, and which one would not expect to find in persons whose wealth must have afforded the means of obtaining the best education. The persons

* *Lettres sur le Nord*, Tome Premier, pp. 31, 32.

of this class are also charged with a want of hospitality, and even civility, towards strangers, which we cannot believe to be merited by them taken as a body. On the contrary, we think that though the higher classes of this city may be somewhat reserved in their manners, and slow in receiving strangers to their houses and to their confidence, they are nevertheless not wanting in the duties of even an elegant and liberal hospitality, when a proper opportunity presents itself.

The dress of the Hamburgers of the middle and higher classes does not differ from that of the people of London and Paris, or any other city in which the civilization of Western Europe prevails. But it is otherwise with the lower classes, and especially with the peasants, or farmers from the vicinity, who daily visit Hamburg, to supply its markets with vegetables, meat, milk, &c. Amongst these, the most remarkable is that of the people called *Vierlanders*, or the inhabitants of Vierland, a district of country along the Elbe, from five to ten miles above Hamburg, and on the same side of the river. This district of country forms a portion of the territory which is under the joint government of Hamburg and Lübeck. It has derived its name from the fact that it was originally divided into four parishes; and hence it was called Vierlände, or Four Lands, or Parishes. The people who inhabit this entire district are of Flemish origin. Their ancestors fled from Flanders to this place, for the sake of their Protestant faith, in the 16th century. The descendants of those pious people have occupied that country ever since, preserving their peculiar costume, as well as their Protestant faith, almost intact. They are said to be, in general, a very virtuous people, industriously cultivating their grounds, living peaceably in their little villages, enjoying good schools and the instruction of pastors who are mostly evangelical and faithful. It is from that district that Hamburg is chiefly

supplied with vegetables, milk and fruits. And every morning, save that of the Sabbath, at an early hour, you may see numbers of these people, especially the young of both sexes, marching along the streets with immense burdens, in the shape of baskets of fruit and vegetables, or pails of milk, suspended by cords from each end of a piece of timber about three feet long, and of the thickness of one's arm, which rests on the shoulders, and is so flattened and scolloped out as to fit well the back of the neck. In this position, if the person who carries the load stoop a little, it lies fast, and allows the carrier to employ his or her hands to steady the cord or chain on each side, from which some three or four baskets of fruit and vegetables, or a huge bucket of milk, is suspended. It is almost incredible what burdens these persons, the majority of whom are young women, can in this manner carry. They do not appear to be a very large race; but their ruddy and cheerful countenances show that though their life is a laborious one, it is not so unfavorable to health as it might seem at first sight, and that they are contented with it. And what is beyond all praise, their honesty and virtue are proverbial.

Their costume is peculiar. The men wear broad-brimmed black hats: and collarless coats of loose, round-about shape, with a thick row of bullet buttons on one side, and a thickly set row of button-holes on the other: a similar but short row adorns the lower extremities of the sleeves. Their vests or waistcoats are generally red, and have a thickly-set row of bullet-shaped buttons in front. They have small-clothes or breeches, of large dimensions, which are united to their vests by huge silver or plated buttons, somewhat larger in size than one of our dollars, and are withal adorned on each side, about the place where we have pockets usually, with a row of round silver buttons. They wear long black or mixed stockings, when the weather is cool,—often none at all in the summer,—and shoes

with goodly buckles of silver, or some other metal. A purple or other-colored cravat, tied closely to the neck, completes the attire of a Vierländer gentleman.

As to the women, their dress has a considerable degree of variety, but may be described in a general manner. It consists ordinarily of shoes with large buckles, long blue or black stockings, uncommonly short petticoats of a darkish color, and a still shorter upper garment, which we have heard called a *short-gown*, in the days of our boyhood—we do not know what it is called in the modern nomenclature—which fits very closely around the body, and opens in the bosom, so as to expose a nice pink, or red-and-white handkerchief which covers the neck and shoulders; and finally a cap with a white fringe in front and a black crown, surmounted by a straw hat or bonnet, which sometimes has no crown at all, or not more than an inch in height, and which lies on the head in shape like some pie-dishes which we have seen, and of course is secured in its place by a band which passes under the chin. But when the Vierländer girl puts on her Sunday clothes, or appears in the street as a seller of flowers, her attire is more gaudy. She then has nice low shoes, with a red band across the instep, white stockings, a prettily bordered blue apron over her brown or other colored petticoat, a spencer or boddice, red behind and green before, with short and full white sleeves, and so opening as to show a beautifully ornamented sort of breast-plate in front; a red handkerchief around the neck, and a straw bonnet of the most remarkable shape, being like nothing so much in the world as a tin milk-pan, which might hold a gallon or two, turned bottom upwards, and placed on the top of the head.

We may add, before we pass from the subject of costumes, that a stranger cannot avoid being struck with the appearance of the servant girls in Hamburg. They dress with neatness and propriety, wear caps, and almost uni-

versally dress in such a way as to leave their arms exposed up to the shoulder, in all kinds of weather, which fact, together with hard labor, gives them not only a brawny form, but a red color, which vies in point of depth with that of their ruddy and rotund faces. You meet them at all hours in the streets, hastening, with a quickness which is characteristic of the industry of the German women, to perform some errand, and often carrying under one arm a little narrow box, apparently about two feet in length, which is covered commonly with a red shawl. It is in this way, especially, that they carry eatables, and things which they do not wish to expose to the gaze of every body. We do not know that we have seen anything exactly like this mode of carrying things about, any where else. We should doubtless become reconciled to it in time; but we confess that we never saw one of these servant maids pass by us, with this concealed and mysterious-looking affair under her arm, without having it instantaneously associated in our mind with the coffin of a child, to which it bears no little resemblance in shape. Of course the association cannot be pleasant. A moment's reflection dispels the illusion; but back it will come, as often as the apparition which causes it passes before our eyes. We only mention it as an instance of the influence of the association of ideas on one's feelings.

The time has been, when Hamburg was extremely well fortified. An immense rampart, with bastions at suitable points, surrounded the city, and rendered it exceedingly well protected on the land side. This rampart consisted of a vast embankment of earth, elevated to a great height, and made so wide that it was impregnable to cannon-balls. This embankment must have cost a vast deal of labor. It ran from the river below, around in the shape of a segment of circle greater than a semi-circle, until it ended at the river above, a circuit in length of more than three

English miles. Outside of the rampart, there was a ditch of great width and depth, and filled partially with water, which it received from the Gasse Alster, the southern extremity of which sheet of water formed even a part of the line of defence. But the removal of the old fortifications was commenced in 1804, and the great works erected by the French in 1807-14, have been demolished. The rampart has been partially levelled down, and converted into a most delightful promenade, where the citizens assemble in great numbers, when the weather is fine. No one, who has not seen this rampart, will be likely to have a correct idea of its extent. Levelled down as it is, it still has a very considerable height, especially where the bastions occurred, and indeed every where, except where it is traversed by the roads which lead out of the city. At these points it has been levelled down to allow free ingress and egress. The surface of the rampart is laid out in gravelled walks, and fine grass-plats, bordered with flowers, and adorned with forest trees which give a very pleasant shade in the hot weather of summer. So wide is the ditch or moat which lies outside of this rampart, that it actually resembles a small and sluggish river, or at least a good-sized creek, whose banks slope gracefully down to the water's edge, and are covered with a green-sward. The whole appearance of these fortifications, even in their comparatively dilapidated state, indicates that they must, when in their perfect condition, have been uncommonly strong. In fact, they were capable of resisting almost any force which could be brought against the place when Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl, commanded the French forces here in 1813, and prepared to defend the place against the combined armies of the Prussians, the Russians and the Swedes. In 1810, Bonaparte added this city to his vast dominion, and made it the most northern city of his empire, as Genoa was his most southern, or southeastern.

But these ramparts are now appropriated to a more agreeable use, and far distant may the time be, when they shall be re-built, and devoted to their pristine use ! On the contrary, it would seem as if the rampart ought to be completely removed and the ditch filled up, to make way for a greater extension of the city, which is, at present, hemmed in and confined, so that every foot of ground which is fit to be built upon is already occupied.

There are three great gates through which one may enter Hamburg on the land side. One of these is on the west side, towards Altona, and is called the *Altonathor* ; another on the north, and is called the *Dammthor* ; and the third is on the northeast, and is called the *Steinthor*. It is through this gate that the road passes, which leads to the very pleasant village of Ham, as well as Lübeck and Berlin. Besides these three principal gates, there are two others, which are smaller, and not so much used. One is on the eastern side of the city, immediately on the margin of the Elbe, and is called the *Deichthor*. The other is on the eastern margin of the Grosse Alster, and is called the *Ferdinandesthor*. It is much used by those who go out to the suburb of St. George, which lies beyond the rampart, on the northeastern side of the city.

And here we may mention that a singular practice exists in this city, and one which is not a little annoying to strangers, viz. ; that of shutting the gates, or considering them as shut, at the going down of the sun. The bells of some of the churches are rung for a few minutes previously, to announce that the gates are going to be shut. This signal being heard, all who are out of the city hasten to enter it before the bells cease to ring, and those who are in the city and desire to quit it, hasten to get out of it before the signal ceases. For after that moment every one who passes the gates, either coming in or going out, must pay a toll, which is so graduated that it is increased rapid-

ly for every additional two hours. If we remember rightly, it is two skillings, or about four cents of our money, from sun down till eight o'clock; four skillings from eight till ten; and six skillings from ten till midnight, for a person on foot. For carriages it is of course much more. The revenue which the city derives from this species of taxation, amounts, we are assured, to 100,000 marks-courant, or more than \$30,000. It is said that it was the French who first conceived this method of raising funds, when they had possession of the city, and put the conception in practice. It is very likely, for they are an ingenious people, and none have ever shown themselves more expert robbers, when they have had an opportunity; a fact, to the truth of which not a few nations on the continent, which have succumbed for a longer or shorter period, to their victorious arms, can well testify.

Hamburg has scarcely any spot within the walls which deserves the name of a *Place*, or, as we commonly say, an *open square*.* There is, indeed, immediately in front of each of the principal gates, within as well as without, a

* We need exceedingly in our language some word which would correspond to the French *Place*, the Italian *Piazza*, and the German *Platz*; which signify an *open space of ground*, without the slightest reference either to its extent, or to its shape. Our word *Square* does not express it; for the very term properly designates one sort of shape, and is therefore often inapplicable, unless we adjoin to it some such explanatory qualification as an Irish friend of ours in Philadelphia is in the habit of doing, when he speaks of the *round Square* which he says exists somewhere in that city. Besides, the word *Square* is more commonly applied to a rectangular piece of ground which is covered with houses, and is synonymous with the word *Block*. We see no better way, therefore, than to employ the word *Place*, in the sense in which the French do; and we shall accordingly do so throughout this work, only premising, further, that it will be commenced with a capital letter when used in this sense, and accompanied or not, as circumstances may require, with any qualifying word.

considerable space of ground which is called, we believe, a *Platz*; but is no way worthy of special notice. But although the citizens have no public places or gardens within the city walls to serve as promenades, they are not without resources. On all sides, except that which the river washes, they have the rampart, with its beautiful walks, its over-shadowing trees, and its refreshing grass-plats, and flowery borders. And, above all, they have the *Binnen Alster*—which is certainly the most beautiful sheet of water which we have ever seen lying within the walls of a city; and which, in fact, considering the position of the suburbs, is almost in the centre of Hamburg. On the north side of this sweet lake, lies the broad rampart, adorned with rows of trees, and intersected, near the north-western corner, by a short canal and a drawbridge, uniting the *Binnen Alster* with the *Grosse Alster*. A wind-mill stands near to this drawbridge, and ought not to be forgotten, for it adds not a little to the picturesqueness of the scene, when its huge arms or wings are in motion, beating about amidst some sparsely planted poplars, which stand hard by. The rampart is here, as elsewhere, laid out in handsome walks. On the western and southern sides, run beautiful gravelled walks, between several parallel rows of linden trees, and between the margin of the lake and the *Neue Jungfernstieg*, and the *Jungfernstieg*, which border those sides of the *Binnen Alster*, or the *Alster*, as the citizens more commonly and conveniently term it. Nothing of the kind can be more pleasant than these charming walks. Benches occur at intervals, for the repose of the aged, or the weary. On the southern side, and quite in the water, or rather on it, stand two neat wooden buildings, in which the loungers and the smokers assemble, and drink coffee, or beer, or brandy, just as suits their taste, and smoke segars. During the latter operation, they either read a newspaper within the establish-

ment, or taking a seat without it, they spend their time in staring at the ladies who are passing by. It is to be hoped, however, that these coffee-houses, or, to speak more properly, nuisances, will be before long removed; for they obstruct the view, and are of no sort of utility, inasmuch as the drinkers and smokers can find all their enjoyments at the hotels or coffee-houses on the opposite side of the street, where stand the splendid *caravanseras* entitled the *Hotel Russie, Stadt Petersburg, Belvidere, &c.*, where, if a man have money enough, he need not fail to live well.

To these beautiful walks the Hamburgers, both the worthy and the unworthy, resort, when the sun, fatigued by his long course in the sultry season of summer, has retired to his western bed—if we may speak a little after the oriental fashion—and there promenade, gossip, and eat ice cream with the ladies, and smoke; every one pleasing himself as well as he knows how. In this way the sweet hour of twilight passes away; nor do they retire until ten or eleven o'clock. Meanwhile the scene is illumined by hundreds of lamps lighted up on three sides of the Alster, and which shine most beautifully among the linden trees, and render these walks really enchanting. Crowds of gentlemen and ladies meet, salute each other, and pass and repass. The suppressed whisper, or the more audible conversation, is heard in every direction, interrupted at no unfrequent intervals by the loud and boisterous laughter which issues from the above-mentioned coffee-houses, or from the hotels, the oyster-cellars, and beer-shops across the street. All faces are jocund. The cares of the day are talked, or drunk, or smoked away; and at a late hour, the merchant, the mechanic, and the idler, with their feminine accompaniments, if they have any, retire to rest, not without thought of the morrow's toils, and of the wonted enjoyment which is to follow. In the chilly autumn, the dreary winter, and the early spring, the lovers

of pleasure desert these walks, and seek amusement in the ball, or the theatre, or the concert; whilst the more serious seek happiness where it is quite as likely to be found, in the bosom of their families, around the genial fireside, in pleasant converse, in useful books, or in the sweet strains of domestic music.

Nor are the walks along the banks of the Binnen Alster less agreeable, when the sun is in the meridian, or when he is declining in his course. Even at these hours, especially during the hottest portions of the year, they are much frequented as places of fashionable promenade. At such times, every thing about these walks looks cool and refreshing. A few pleasure-boats spread their white sails to the gentle breeze, and pursue their course over the lake, or rest at anchor, their lifeless canvass flapping around the tiny mast. The beautiful swans which live on its bosom, make their gentle way from shore to shore, or rest together in some corner, overshadowed by the lindens which stand on the verge. But in winter all is dreary here. One unbroken sheet of ice covers the Alster, and men and boys find amusement in skating, or other exercises on the glassy platform.

Before we quit this delightful spot, we must say, that it would add greatly to the beauty of it, if the eastern side of it were adorned with walks, as the other three sides are. This would require the removal of a long row of houses, whose backs stand towards the Alster, and which—though some of them have small gardens attached to them—are far from being agreeable, when contrasted with the shaded promenades, and, as it respects two of them, the fine rows of houses which stand beyond them, which adorn the other three sides.

Some of the best streets of Hamburg commence at the Binnen Alster. One of these is a continuation of the Jungfernstieg, towards the east; another runs at right angles

from that street towards the south, and is called the *Neuer Wall*. It is the street where there are many of the finest shops or stores of Hamburg, and has been called the Bond street of the city, in allusion to the famous street of that name in London. Whilst on the west there runs, at right angles to the Alster, a street called the *Esplanade*, which is bordered, on each side, by a row of high dwelling-houses, uniform in size and appearance, and all stuccoed and painted white. It is the finest street in the city.

But however confined the city of Hamburg proper is, and destitute of extensive Places or gardens, to serve as public promenades, it is not wanting in fine environs. On the west lies a plain of irregular shape, called the *Heiligegeist Feld*, (Field of the Holy Ghost,) which is unenclosed, and is appropriated to the use of graziers for their cattle. Here, too, military reviews take place. In the neighborhood of this common there are many very pleasant residences, occupied chiefly by merchants, whose business confines them to their counting-houses during the day, but who spend the nights with their families, in these very pleasant abodes, without the walls. There are several places of amusement for the people also in this vicinity, at one of which a friend of ours informs us he saw a large number of people enjoying a theatrical representation one summer's afternoon. It was, in fact, a sort of primitive theatre, being only an enclosure open above, and filled with seats, where, whilst the actors were performing on a stage on one side of the area, the ladies sat knitting whilst looking on, and the gentlemen enjoying their pipes and their mugs of beer. This is certainly a method of finding amusement which has at least the appearance of industry, so far as the ladies are concerned, to plead in its favor. The Hamburgers who thus strive to blend economy with amusement, are not far from being equal in ingenuity to some people in Florence, who take places in certain

theatres of that city, during the winter season, and occupy them every night, from dark until ten or eleven o'clock, for the purpose of avoiding the expense of fuel at home.

Between Hamburg and Altona lies the very pleasant and wide-spreading suburb of St. Paul, which is a most agreeable quarter for a residence both summer and winter.

Immediately north of the city and along the western shore of the Grosse Alster, are many very beautiful country seats. Pleasant hours have we spent, once and again, at the residence of Mr. D****, and of Mr. W****, the former a wealthy German gentleman, who has a charming seat on the very border of that fine sheet of water; the latter is an Englishman, whose residence is at some distance from the lake, in the midst of the highly cultivated and garden-like plain which stretches out in that direction.

North-eastward of the city, and immediately east of the Grosse Alster, lies the large and handsome suburb of St. George, in which are some very pleasant streets—many of them, however, not so well paved as they should be—and which are occupied by an industrious and respectable population. Beyond the suburb of St. George, there is an almost continuous village, along the road which leads to Berlin, for the distance of three English miles. At that point is the very agreeable village of Ham, which is the spot where the foundation of a town in these parts was first made, and from which Hamburg derives its name. There are many pleasant country-seats in this village, one of which is occupied by our good and distinguished friend Mr. S****, one of the Syndics of Hamburg, a gentleman of fortune and of letters, whose reputation extends far beyond the Republic in which he holds so important an office, and who is beloved by all who have the pleasure of knowing him.

CHAPTER III.

HAMBURG.

But few fine public buildings in Hamburg—The Old Exchange—The Bank and currency of the city—Churches—Want of places of worship—Low state of religion—A fine motto—Great St. Michael's—View from one of its towers—Humane establishments—Orphan House—The Asylum—The Hospital of the Holy Ghost—The General Infirmary or Krankenhaus—St. Job's Hospital—The Convent—Prisons—Alms-houses, etc.—Literary establishments—Primary schools—The gymnasium—The Johanneum—its history—Other schools and scientific institutions—The book-trade—The press—The Censorship.

THERE are but few public buildings of any note in Hamburg. As in most other free governments, the inhabitants of this Republic—if republic it may be called—have preferred the useful to the ornamental, in the construction of their public edifices. There is no want of a due study of those things which promote comfort, convenience and individual enjoyment, and this is displayed in a thousand ways; but those objects in which utility to the masses, or what is the same thing in this case, to every individual, directly or indirectly, is not apparent, receive but little encouragement and aid from the resources of the commonwealth. Individuals there are, who are lovers of the fine arts, and who do something to encourage them, but the number of such is not great. Hamburg is emphatically a commercial city. Trade, under almost every variety of form, interests all, and occupies all; and inasmuch as it is wholly free from all restrictions, there is, as might be supposed, a vast competition. Consequently, large profits are out of the question; and great fortunes are not the result of few years' speculation, but the fruit of long and patient

industry, united with the most prudent economy. This fact constitutes the true key which opens to us the mysteries, if we may so speak, of the character of the inhabitants of this city, as displayed both in their individual and in their public life.

The Old Exchange stands almost in the centre of the city, and within the limits of the Old Town, as it is called. It is approached by narrow and dark streets, from all directions. It is a long wooden building, of two stories, the upper one of which rests on pillars. It resembles a great *shed* more than anything else. Here, in the lower or open story of this building, and in the court on its northern side, and even in the adjoining streets, you may see a vast crowd of men every day except the Sabbath, from 12 till 2, which are the hours of business. Considering the great amount of business which is done here, it is wonderful that the merchants of Hamburg have so long endured this miserable edifice. We are inclined to think that it is the shabbiest Exchange in the world. But we ought to add that at the moment in which we write these lines, a New Exchange—such a one as is worthy of the city—is approaching a state of completion. It stands at some distance from the old, but in the same quarter.

Hard by the Old Exchange is the Rathhaus, or Senate House, which is the seat of the civil government of the city. It is a building convenient for the purposes for which it was erected, but has nothing showy about it, nor is it worthy of a particular description.

The Bank is a plain, substantial building, but a few paces distant from the Senate House, and the Old Exchange. There is nothing in the architecture which deserves notice. But the principles upon which its financial operations are conducted, are remarkable, and wholly unknown among us, as principles of banking. A brief account of them may not be uninteresting.

If we are not mistaken, the Bank of Hamburg is the third, in the order of time, of all the banking institutions in the world. The first was the Bank of Venice, which was established in 1171, during the crusades, and for the promotion of those memorable expeditions. It was a bank of deposit only, and strictly a public bank, as the government became responsible for the amounts deposited, and the whole capital was in fact a public loan, the funds of the bank being made use of by the government. At first, the amounts deposited in this bank were not withdrawn, but remained to the credit of the depositor, and this credit might be transferred by him to another person, instead of paying the money. Subsequently, however, the deposits were allowed to be withdrawn, when desired, for the convenience of travelers, and to make distant payments, and in cases where a mere transfer of credit would not answer the purpose. The Bank of Venice continued in existence until the dissolution of the Republic in 1798.

The next bank established was that of Amsterdam, in 1609. This bank was established to remove the vexations to which the circulating medium was exposed, from the fact that the Jews and others fell into the practice of clipping the gold and silver coins, and carried this so far that these coins ceased to have the convenience of coins. The bank, when established, received the coins at their true weight, and gave a credit for them, and this credit was, as in the case of the Bank of Venice, transferable. The deposits remained in the vaults of the bank, and certificates of credit circulated. A small per centage was charged on transactions, and which was more than sufficient to sustain the expenses of the establishment.

The Bank of Hamburg was established in 1619, and consequently ten years after that of Amsterdam. Like that institution, it is merely a bank of deposit and transfer : it neither makes loans nor circulates bills. But it

differs from the Bank of Amsterdam in this respect, that the deposits, which must be in coin or in bullion, may be drawn out. The bank has, therefore, no fixed capital. There is nothing to prevent the total withdrawal of its funds, if the depositors are disposed to call for them. The deposits are almost wholly in silver bullion, and are transferred in business, from one person to another, as the exigencies of trade may require ; or are withdrawn when the holder chooses. The expenses of the establishment are defrayed by the charge of a certain rate per page of the transfers recorded in the bank-book to every depositor. The institution is managed by five directors, who are chosen annually by the whole body of such citizens as have a right to vote for municipal officers. They receive no salary, and are sworn never to reveal the amount which the Bank has in its vaults, nor how much any individual has in deposit. When a transfer is made, or is proposed to be made, they are bound simply to state to the person to whom the transfer is to be made, upon his inquiry, whether the person who proposes to make the transfer, has funds to the amount of the proposed transfer.

It will be at once perceived that this bank does nothing in the way of furnishing a circulating medium. Nor does it augment the facilities of obtaining money on loan. All loans are, therefore, made by private houses, either associated in business, or acting individually. As to the amount of capital, or rather of the precious metals, almost all of which is silver, which it may at present have in its vaults, no one out of the Direction knows with certainty. It fluctuates from week to week, or rather from day to day. We have heard it estimated at from ten to fifteen millions of our dollars ; but we have some reason to believe that it usually exceeds twenty millions. This bank was plundered by Marshal Davoust in 1813, when he commanded at Hamburg, and the sum which he took

added to what he obtained from the citizens, was sent most opportunely to Napoleon, then at Dresden, at a time when he stood in the greatest need of financial aid. We do not know the precise amount which he took ; but if it be true, as asserted, that 38 per cent on the amount taken was repaid by France at the restoration of the Bourbons, as it was stipulated by the treaty of Vienna should be done, then the sum exceeded twenty-five millions of dollars, for by the decision of that treaty, between sixty and seventy millions of francs were to be refunded to the city of Hamburg, of which fifty millions, or something less than ten millions of dollars, were to be paid to the Bank alone.

We would only remark, before we quit this subject, that the currency of Hamburg is not a little perplexing to a stranger. The most common silver coin is one that is called *zweidrittels*, (two-thirds,) being equal to two-thirds of the old dollar of the German Empire. There is a small copper coin, called a *skilling*, which is worth about one and three-fourths of our cents. There are also pieces of two, four, six, and eight skillings. Thirty-one skillings make one *zweidrittel*. There are also two denominations of money which do not exist as actual coins ; one is the *mark-current*, and the other the *mark-banco* ; the former of which is equal to 16 skillings, or about 28 cents, and the latter about 42. Prussian dollars, also, both silver and paper, as well as the gold coins of that kingdom, and those of Holland, France, and England, together with the Danish *species* dollar, circulate at Hamburg.

CHURCHES.

No one can make himself well acquainted with the city of Hamburg, without being struck with the fewness of the churches.* Within the walls there are five Parish

* The clerical dress of the pastors of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in this city consists of the gown and bands, such as Episco-

churches, all of the Lutheran denomination. Of these, four—St. Peter's, St. Nicholas', St. James', and St. Catherine's—are in the Old Town; whilst only one, Great St. Michael's, is in the New Town. These parishes, which are the bases of the civil government, as we shall see hereafter, are large, and what is more, exceedingly unequal. Great St. Michael's, for instance, includes nearly one half of the city. Outside of the walls there are two large parish churches, viz.: St. Paul's, in the suburb of St. Paul, and Trinity, in St. George's. Besides the five parish churches within the walls, there is also one German Reformed church, one Roman Catholic church, one Chapel, (St. Gertrude's,) and also chapels in the Orphan-house, Work-house, Poor-house, and House of Correction. There are also chapels or oratories, for worship, in the General Infirmary, the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and the Asylum. There are several synagogues for the Jews, who are about seven thousand in number. The French Protestants have also a church or chapel, and a regular pastor. And there are no less than three chapels for the English, one of which is Episcopal, for the adherents of the Established Church of England, which is partially supported by the British Government, and partly by voluntary contributions; another for English Dissenters and seamen, which is supported by voluntary contributions; and a third for those of the Methodist denomination. The first and last named are much less numerously attended than the second, which stands on the margin of the river,

pal ministers and some others wear with us. In addition to this, they wear a ruff, or collar, made of several layers of crimped lawn, making a thickness of an inch or more. This article of their dress gives them a most singular appearance. Their heads seem, in fact, to be resting on a white dish of great thickness. Antiquity, as well as novelty, may make one ridiculous; and when it does, it is time that it should be abandoned.

in the very centre of the population most occupied in nautical affairs. We ought to add, that of late years there has been an attempt made to establish a Baptist Church among the native population. This has encountered not a little opposition from some of the city authorities, instigated, perhaps, by other persons. In fact, at one time, this opposition took the form of a violent persecution—a persecution disgraceful to the city, and especially to the promoters of it.

It thus appears, that the number of places in which religious worship is held in Hamburg is not inconsiderable. But excepting the five Parish churches, and those of the German Reformed and the Roman Catholics, within the city proper, and the two which are in the suburbs, they are all small, and almost insignificant as to the number of persons whom they will hold. Few of them will contain more than five hundred, and most of them not more than two hundred, or two hundred and fifty persons. And including all the churches, chapels, &c., in the city and in the suburbs, there is not room enough for fifty thousand people, out of the one hundred and forty thousand who inhabit the city and suburbs. Indeed, we are persuaded that even this estimate is by far too favorable. The population of Hamburg, we need hardly say, is, with the exception of about seven thousand Jews, and half as many Roman Catholics, wholly Protestant.

We are sorry to add, that we have reason to believe that the state of religion in this city is very deplorable. The time was when it was far otherwise. At the Reformation, Hamburg, almost entire, embraced the doctrines of Luther and Melancthon. And in the renovation of the constitution which then took place, the Government became emphatically religio-political, and has remained so ever since. The Church and State became incorporated with each other, as we shall see in the next chapter, in a

manner exceedingly prejudicial to both. For a long time, and more especially within the last fifty years, the pure Protestant faith has been gradually, but certainly and radically losing ground. Almost all the preachers, and they are numerous, being as many as four or five in several of the Parish churches, and not less than two in any of them, as well as in the German Reformed Church—are reputed to be imbued with neological sentiments. Most certain it is, that the life of practical godliness exists not in this city as it once did. It cannot be said that the churches are very well attended, except it be on some extraordinary occasion, such as Christmas, Easter, &c. There is every reason to believe that there is a great deal of infidelity in this city; and every year it is manifesting itself more and more. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that writings of a very dangerous character have been published by some of the clergy within the last few years. There is a great deal of open wickedness in this city. In few seaports on the continent is there as much prostitution as there is here; so open is it, that no one can avoid seeing it. There is, too, a great deal of intemperance. There are not less, we are assured, than three thousand public-houses, groceries, grog-shops, oyster-shops, &c., at which intoxicating liquors are sold. But it is cheering to know, that there is a very considerable band of faithful Christians here, who are engaged in all good works, and by whom much is doing to circulate the sacred scriptures, religious books and tracts, to instruct the young and the poor in the truths of the gospel, as well as to promote temperance and every other good thing. It is true, that they encounter much opposition. Among them are a number of young men who have finished their theological studies in the Universities of Germany, and who, whilst waiting to find places as pastors, are occupied in doing good, as they have opportunity, in their native city. One of their

good enterprises has been the establishment of a Missionary Institute, where a number of young men are now preparing to preach Christ among the heathen, seeing there is no place for their labors at home.* Some of these young men are engaged in Sunday Schools, and others visit the hospital, the poor-houses, and the private sick and the poor, for the purpose of administering spiritual instruction and consolation.

As specimens of architecture the churches of Hamburg are not deserving of particular notice. They all have towers, some of which are remarkable for height, and for beauty of form. The interiors contain few things worthy of particular mention. In all of them there are altarpieces and other paintings, some of which are very well executed. From the number of such pictures, including those of deceased pastors, suspended from the columns and walls, a stranger would almost be led to fancy himself in a Roman Catholic church. Over one of the principal doors of St. Peter's, there is a very beautiful Christian motto—**ORATE, LABORATE, TOLERATE**—Pray, Labor, Endure.

* It may be asked why these young men are turning their attention to the foreign missionary work, whilst there is so much to do at home? We answer that the creation of new churches and other places of worship, is an affair wholly under the control of the government, which will neither do the work, nor allow others to do it. Those young men are not permitted to open places of worship, because the government, forsooth, supposes that the city is well enough supplied! The fact is, the government bears the expense of the Lutheran and Reformed worship of the city, and of the two Parishes of St. Paul and St. George, (that is, of eight churches in all, and some thirty or forty pastors and assistant pastors,) and it deems this enough. If it would leave the whole subject to the voluntary efforts of the people, and allow as many places of worship, of all descriptions, to be opened, as the people might desire, and might be willing to support, not many years would pass away before there would be much more religion than there is in Hamburg.

But the finest of all the churches in Hamburg is that of St. Michael's, which stands in the western part of the city, or the New Town, as we have already stated. Like all the rest it is built of brick. It is of great dimensions, and its tower, which is one of the noblest that we have ever seen, rises to the height of four hundred and fifty-six feet. This church was built under the superintendance of the famous architect Sonnin, and its tower was intended for astronomical observations. The view from the tower, on a clear day, is one of the finest which we have ever contemplated; for the scene, which spreads out beneath, and far and wide, is one of the most pleasant that can be conceived. The windings of the Elbe, both above and below the city; the great extent of the shipping lying in the harbor, with their streamers floating aloft in the air; the broad and fertile islands which are planted in the river, with the wide plains of Hanover beyond them to the south, and the mountains which bound the horizon in the same direction; the green fields and waving forests of the Holstein, on the north, and the beautiful expansions of the Grosse and the Binnen Alster in the same quarter; together with the compact city, with its more scattered suburbs, which lie beneath, presenting a most striking contrast—in its brown roofs, its red, or white, or lead-colored walls—to the sweet face of nature which everywhere stretches abroad beyond it—all constitute a scene of surpassing variety and beauty.

HUMANE ESTABLISHMENTS.

In no other city in the world are there, in proportion to the extent of population, more numerous or better regulated institutions for providing for the wants, and consoling the distresses of the poor and the miserable. There are two Boards—a greater and a smaller—of Commissioners, for taking care of the poor, who have charge of

the entire duty of looking after them, and of making such arrangements as are necessary for their support. These Boards take measures to have the city often explored, and the condition of all the poor well ascertained. Those that cannot support themselves, by reason of infirmity, are provided for. As to those who can work and will not, or those who cannot find work to do, the first are compelled to labor, and the latter are supplied with something to do. By an old law, nobody was allowed to beg, or to give charity to a street-beggar under a penalty of five dollars, one half of which fine might go to the beggar, if he chose to give information against the person who relieved his wants. That law has not for a long time been put in force, we are told ; but yet it is rare indeed to see a beggar in the streets. We do not remember to have seen a case in the three or four visits which we have made to this city, and a sojourn, off and on, of several weeks.

One of the best endowed and most liberally supported philanthropic institutions of Hamburg, is the Orphan House, in the Admiralty street. It is a fine building, three stories high, and two hundred and thirty-six feet in length, in front. The rooms for study, and those for sleeping, are ample, and admirably arranged. There are also playgrounds for the two sexes. The number of children who are in this establishment commonly exceed six hundred. They seem to be well taken care of, and are under the instruction of several teachers and a chaplain, or minister of the gospel, and an assistant, who is called a lecturer. A physician and a surgeon are attached to the institution ; and the children are under the immediate charge, so far as their personal wants require, of a steward and his wife. Besides the six hundred children who live in the establishment, there are many more—sometimes the number exceeds five hundred—who are under seven years of

age, and who are provided for at the expense of the institution, in families in the town or country. The chapel is large enough to accommodate several hundred of the people in the vicinity, as well as the children who live in the establishment. The expense of this institution is great, and complaints are made of its management, and perhaps not without some reason, on this score. If we understood one of the principal teachers, who acted as our guide when we visited it, and to whose kindness we were under great obligation, it exceeds 120,000 marks-current, or more than \$33,000.

In the Institution called the Asylum, there is a place of refuge for 140 aged persons, who on the payment of a moderate admission-fee, are taken care of for life. In the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, 150 old and poor persons are comfortably supported, most of whom are females. None are admitted under forty-five years of age. This humane institution dates from a very remote epoch. There is also, a Marine Alms-House, for the support of poor seamen, suffering from mental debility or bodily exhaustion, and for aiding the widows and orphans of seamen. It was established by an association of merchants in 1556, and is a most praiseworthy institution. Neither merchants nor any other class with us care as much for the wants of seamen, either physical or spiritual, as they ought.

The General Infirmary or *Krankenhaus*, is one of the finest establishments of the kind which we have ever seen. It is situated in the suburb of St. George, and near the outer moat or ditch which formerly contributed to defend Hamburg in that quarter. It is a gorgeous structure, which resembles a palace, when viewed from a short distance. It is a parallelogram, the building forming one side and the two ends. The front faces the city; the rear faces the canal or ditch, from which the area in the rear is separated by a fence of planks and rails. The façade has a

length of 702 feet 8 inches, and the wings, or buildings which form the ends of the parallelogram, are 330 feet long. The width of each building is 56 feet. The central building in front is three stories, and the wings are two stories in height. Besides the chapel, or oratory, there are one hundred and ninety-three rooms which can be warmed and ventilated. The area enclosed, in the rear, contains 200,000 square feet, and is divided into sections, and is adorned with no little taste, with trees, and gravelled-walks, grass-plats, shrubbery and flowers. This extensive institution is designed for one thousand patients, and it is always full. It was erected in 1823, at the cost of 1,282,000 marks-banco, or more than half a million of dollars. Its superior arrangements and judicious management have already given it much celebrity in Germany, and it serves as a model for other institutions of the kind. Some of the patients pay their board and other expenses, in whole or in part. The expenses of the poor are defrayed from collections in the Parish churches, and other resources which the city has provided. The entire annual expenses of this establishment are usually about 250,000 marks, or near \$80,000.

There is an institution called Job's Hospital, in which married couples and single persons may procure a residence for life, at the sum of 3,800 marks-current, or about \$1,344 each. They are also entitled to receive a certain fixed sum annually, not large, but sufficient to supply many little wants. This hospital is one of the richest in the city, and was founded in 1505.

When the Reformation took place in Hamburg, in the former part of the 16th century, several monastic institutions which the Catholics had established were converted to philanthropic or charitable use. Amongst these we may mention a Convent, founded in 1240. In this edifice reside at present some six or eight unmarried females,

belonging to respectable families in Hamburg. In addition to a comfortable lodging, they are in the receipt of 132 marks, with liberty to live out of the institution. An entrance free, or rather a residence free, in this institution, costs 1,700 marks banco, or near \$675.

There are other benevolent institutions where the poor find food and clothing when they need it, and a relief of all their physical wants, but which it is not necessary that we should specify. We have said enough to show how great has been the attention which the Hamburgers have paid to the subject of beneficence, and how liberal the provision is, which the spirit of their free institutions has caused them to make for the necessities of those who need the sympathies and the aid of their fellow-men.*

PRISONS, ETC.

As to prisons, work-houses, and houses of detention, Hamburg has its proper share of them. As far as we are able to form an opinion on the subject, these establishments are much behind what they ought to be; especially in regard to means for preventing intercorruption, if we may use the word, of morals, as well as those which ought to be employed to effect a true reformation—we mean the simple and faithful application of the moral influence of the pure gospel. All other means are, in our opinion, powerless, and of but little worth. We were, however, most happy to meet here that most worthy philanthropist, Dr. Julius—so well known in our country for the interest which he takes in the cause of prison-discipline. Dr. J. lives in the city of Hamburg, and

* We were unfeignedly sorry to find among the beneficent institutions of Hamburg a Foundling Hospital; which we regard as nothing more nor less than an encouragement to licentiousness. We shall have occasion to revert to this subject in other parts of this work, and therefore we say nothing more on it at present.

through his influence with those in authority, in concurrence with other excellent and philanthropic gentlemen of the place, a decided and permanent improvement is about to take place in the prisons of this city. This is a work which emphatically requires patience and perseverance. It is extremely difficult to induce the governments in these old countries to pull down establishments which have cost a great deal of money, and whose very inconvenience and even unadaptedness, have become venerable by reason of their antiquity. And what is more, the expense of building new ones, on a better model, absolutely deters them. But the example of other countries, and especially of our own—concurring with the incontrovertible arguments, which constantly occurring facts of the most interesting character pronounce in a decided manner, must ultimately lead to the most desirable results. The transformation which has taken place in many of our prisons, and the vigor with which the work of reform has been prosecuted, excite much interest everywhere throughout Europe. And ultimately the ameliorations which we have made in our prisons, in our Asylums for the Insane, and our Retreats for Juvenile Offenders, will be everywhere imitated.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS.

The good people of Hamburg have long manifested a laudable interest in diffusing widely in their Republic the blessings of education and of knowledge. This has been one of the benefits which they have received from the glorious Reformation. Good primary schools are established in all parts of the city, as well as in the territories which appertain to it, and the number of adult people who cannot read, within the limits of the commonwealth, cannot be great. In the elementary schools of this city, as in those throughout Germany generally,

a knowledge of vocal music forms a very pleasant part of the acquisitions which the youth make in them.

From what we have been able to learn, we should incline to the opinion that Hamburg is not so much deficient in good primary schools as in those which are intermediate to them and the gymnasium or college. And we think that this defect exists in an emphatic degree in relation to children of the female sex, who do not, it seems to us, prosecute their studies far enough in the schools which they attend. This is a subject in which we take a most lively interest. We think that females of all classes ought to be educated as well as the males of the same classes. And there is nothing in the advances which education is making in our country which gives us more unfeigned delight than the rapid increase of the higher education of females. It is not possible to extend this education too widely, or carry it too high, unless it be by neglecting to educate the males of the same condition in life, to an equal degree. Nowhere on the continent of Europe, or even in Europe entire, does the education of females make the progress which it has been doing with us during the last few years.

There is no University at Hamburg. The young men of this city who pursue University studies commonly go to Berlin or to Göttingen. But there is an excellent Gymnasium, of a high rank, in which there are several able Professors, viz. C. F. Wurm, Professor of History, J. G. C. Lehmann, Professor of Natural History, Dr. Christian Petersen, Professor of Classical Philology, and Dr. Otto Carsten Krabbe, Professor of Sacred Philology. These gentlemen give also public lectures, which are attended by many people, especially those which relate to the more popular subjects, such as History, Political Economy, &c.

This institution, which has for its object not only to prepare young men for the Universities, but also to give

those, who may not be able to go to the Universities, an accomplished education, such as will fit them for business, or for the learned professions, was founded by a decree of the Senate of Hamburg which bears the date of November 7th, 1611. In procuring this decree, Jacob Reinecius, Chief Pastor of the Church of St. James, was especially active; and in consequence of his zeal he was appointed to see the decree executed in a manner worthy of the city. This he did to the satisfaction of all. Among the most distinguished men who have gone forth from this institution, we may mention John Albert Frabricius, J. Christian Wolf and J. Christopher Wolf (two brothers,) and Herman Samuel Reimarus.

The present number of regular students in the literary branch of this institution is very small, inasmuch as most of the young men prepare to attend a similar course of lectures in the neighboring Universities.

There is an Anatomico-Surgical School attached to the Gymnasium, in which there are some seven or eight Professors, some of whom are men of considerable celebrity.

There is another institution of the nature of a Gymnasium, in many respects, called the *Johanneum*. It dates from the year 1529, and has therefore been in existence three hundred and twelve years. It was established at the instigation of Luther, and for the express purpose of subserving the interests of the Protestant faith.

The history of this institution is interesting. When Adolphus the Fourth, on the 22d of July, (the festival of St. Mary Magdalen) 1227, stood opposite to the Danes on the battle-ground of Boruhövede, just ready for the fight, before proceeding to attack the enemy he made the following prayer in the presence of the whole army: "Holy God, I trust in thy mighty arm, and will not be found ungrateful if thou assist me, unworthy as I am. If thou wilt help me conquer the enemy, I promise as a grateful acknow-

ledgment of thy mercy to future generations, to erect churches for thy honor, as a memorial of this battle ; to flee all worldly lusts, and to devote myself to thy service." The troops, animated with new courage, after a bloody contest, routed the Danes, who were so completely worsted that they entirely withdrew from the German dominions. Adolphus kept his word, and erected two convents in Hamburg, one of which was dedicated to Mary Magdalen, and the other to John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. This latter convent was, from the year 1235 till the 20th of May, 1529, occupied by the Minorites of the Dominican order, when it was converted by Bugenhagen, the friend and co-adjutor of Luther, into a school-house, and occupied by the Real school until the 22d of September of the present year (1840), when its decayed condition rendered it unfit for further use. In 1814, the building was used for a while as a church, as the French had taken the churches of the city for secular purposes. On the occasion of removing from the venerable old building—which had been in existence more than 600 years,—to the newly erected one, an ode was sung, and two excellent discourses were delivered. The object of the school is to educate young men for the mercantile pursuits, and for learning trades ; not for the learned professions. It is called the Johanneum, from the fact that the convent from which it originated was dedicated to John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.

This institution has rendered much service to the cause of Letters as well as Religion. At present the number of Professors and Lecturers is eleven. The subjects on which instruction is now given in this school are Natural Philosophy, Geography, Natural History, English, French, and Biblical History. The subjects, in all their extent and ramifications, seem to be pursued thoroughly. The number of the pupils varies from time to time. It is often not

much less than four hundred. This summer, that of (1840), it is three hundred and sixty-five. Several of the Professors in this excellent institution are men of highly respectable acquirements, and have a reputation which extends far beyond the walls of their city.

There is in this city a school for teaching Navigation, which was opened in 1826. It has an observatory.

There is also a Drawing School; an Institution for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb; a Botanical Garden—reckoned one of the richest in Germany; an Academy of Commerce; a society for the promotion of the useful arts and trades, which has a library and a collection of objects of art and National History; a Commercial Library; a library of the city which contains, it is said, 200,000 volumes; and an extensive collection of newspapers at the Börsenhalle. Several private gentlemen of this city have very fine collections of objects of art and of science, which they take pleasure in showing to any well-recommended stranger, who desires to see them. The science of music finds many admirers and cultivators in Hamburg; and not a few of the inhabitants are excellent amateur performers.

In connection with this subject, we may add that Hamburg is the mart of no inconsiderable commerce in books. Many works are published here. Formerly this species of trade was carried on to a greater extent than at present. It is not uncommon to meet with old books, of a large size and valuable character, which were printed in this city. At present the great book-trade centres in Berlin, in Leipsic, and in Stuttgart. Whilst other large cities of Germany have, comparatively, but a very moderate share in it.

The press in Hamburg is far from being entirely free. We do not mean to say that it is not freer than it is in Berlin, or in Vienna, or many other cities on the conti-

ment. But there exists a censorship here, and that of a pretty rigid character. The reason of this is obvious. Hamburg belongs to the Germanic Confederation, and its affairs are under the influence, and to some extent, under the control of the Germanic Diet, which holds its sessions at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. One of the objects of that Diet is to see that the press of the states which are represented in that body, be kept under proper restraint. Hamburg is too near to the absolute monarchies of Prussia and Austria, to say nothing of Russia, for the toleration of a perfectly independent press. And yet it is hard to control the spirit of liberty which pervades the community to a very considerable extent, as we might well suppose. The Censorship is committed to a Senator, whose task is by no means an enviable one. For if the editor of a paper happens to say anything against the Autocrat of all the Russias, or against the Emperor of Austria, or the King of Prussia, the Censor may expect soon to have the Ambassador of the government in question at his doors, demanding reparation,—that is, the suppression of the number of the journal which contains the censurable article. To resist his demands is impossible. And thus the Censor's life is one of perpetual distraction and vexation. And he finds it impossible to satisfy anybody—the people, the editors, or the foreign representatives.

The number of newspapers published at Hamburg is not great. Besides, there are several monthly publications of a literary sort ; some of them are ably conducted.

Although Hamburg is a commercial and not a literary emporium, it would be unjust to say that there are no men of learning here. On the contrary, there are scholars here, and ripe ones. Some of the clergy, as well as some of the professors in the institutions of which we have spoken, are men of fine attainments. Professor Wurm, whose acquaintance we have considered it an honor to make, is the author of not a few valuable works. No man in Ger-

many is better acquainted with English literature or English Constitutional History than he is. Dr. Julius, known as well in our own country as in Europe, for his writings on philanthropic subjects, and especially prison-discipline, resides most of his time in this city, of which he is a native. The celebrated Professor Neander of Berlin was born here, and, like Dr. Julius, is of Jewish origin. Both are now Christians; the former a Protestant, and the latter a Roman Catholic. We believe that the celebrated radical and infidel, but talented Heinrich Heine, who now lives in Paris, and who has written several volumes of "Traveling Sketches," and other things, was also born at Hamburg. Some of the public men of this little commonwealth, are men of considerable learning, and take pleasure in encouraging it in others.

Nor has Hamburg been wanting in literary men in former days. Gerstenberg, the poet, lived here, or in Altona. Büsch pursued here his mathematical and historical labors, and prepared for the press his treatises on commerce and banking. Professor Ebeling here wrote his great work on North America. Bode laid the foundation of his astronomical fame in this great emporium of commerce. Klopstock resided here thirty years. And the oak is still shown to the traveler curious in such matters, in the pleasant village of Harvestehude, near this city, beneath which Hagedorn, the poet, used to sit and hold converse with that celebrated brother-poet, whilst they were at times joined by their mutual friend Kramser, respecting the measures necessary to raise the literature of their own dear Germany. It was to the agreeable little village of Wansbeck, about three miles north of Hamburg, that the celebrated John Henry Voss retired, after his long and painful controversy with Professor Heyne of Göttingen, a controversy which for ever severed these distinguished Greek scholars. At Wansbeck also lived for a time the renowned Tycho Brahé.

CHAPTER IV.

HAMBURG.

ITS HISTORY AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Hamburg founded by Charlemagne—Made the see of an Archbishoprick by Louis le Debonnaire—Long exposed to the attacks of the Germans and Danes—Embraced the Reformation—Became an Imperial Free City in 1618—Gained much during the Thirty Years' war—Was a prominent city in the Hanseatic League—Suffered much from the French from 1803 till 1814—Conduct of Bernadotte, Vandamme, Davoust—Expulsion of the French and restoration of its ancient form of Government—Constitution of Hamburg—The Senate and its powers—The Burgomasters, Syndics,—Council or College of the Elders—College of the Sixty—College of the One Hundred and Eighty—Functions of the Senate—The General Assembly of the citizens—Law-making power—Of the Executive—The Judiciary—Custody of the Treasury—Various details—Military affairs of the city—Police—Watch and fire department—Government of the Territory of Hamburg—Present state and prospects of the Commonwealth.

It is now more than a thousand years since the city of Hamburg may be said to have had its origin. The foundation was made by Charlemagne in the beginning of the ninth century. That distinguished monarch, who was desirous of extending his dominions far to the north, caused a citadel and a church to be built on the elevated point, or rather ridge, of land which lies between the Elbe and the eastern bank of the Alster, not precisely where the city of Hamburg stands, but rather where the village or suburb of Ham now stands. The reader will observe that the conqueror built both a citadel and a church, for he was both a warrior and a propagator (after his own fashion,) of the Faith. History tells us that after having conquered the Saxons who inhabited the countries bordering on the upper course of the Elbe, he unceremoniously put several thousand of them to death, because, forsooth, they

were not willing, at his bidding, to relinquish their pagan rites and adopt those of the Christianity which he professed—and which we fear was a sad misnomer of the holy religion which the Saviour of mankind taught, and which is called by his name. Indeed, to believe this *pious* monarch, the great object of all his conquests was the promotion of the kingdom of Christ! And as to Hamburg, whilst he planted a citadel there, to overawe the Saxons, and keep the Danes in check, he also built a church and established a colony of priests for the purpose of extending Christianity far and wide, not only in these regions, but even into the more distant countries inhabited by the Scandinavian races.* So that, in reality, Hamburg was both a military post and a missionary station, in the commencement of its existence. Nor are the annals of the Church, which record the progress of Christianity in those days, barren in valorous exploits achieved by the missionaries of Rome, who made Hamburg their headquarters, and issued thence to carry the torch of truth, as they believed, into the regions of hyperborean darkness.†

* Properly speaking, Charlemagne only commenced the good work. His son and successor, Louis le Debonnaire, prosecuted it much farther. He sent the celebrated monk, Ancharius, to Hamburg, and finally made that city the see of an archbishoprick, of which Ancharius became the first occupant, and was declared the papal legate for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, by a bull of Pope Gregory IV. This occurred about the year 830.

† It would seem as if his Holiness, the present Pope, after the lapse of 1000 years, had some idea of making Hamburg what Charlemagne intended it to be—a great missionary station for spreading the Faith into the countries of the distant North, for he sent, some two years ago, a M. Laurent to that city, as Vicar-General for the north of Germany, and for Denmark, Sweden and Norway. But M. Laurent finds little to do in these parts, for there are but few Roman Catholic churches in the adjoining portions of Germany, only one in Hamburg, one in Sweden, and none in Norway. And as to Denmark, where there may be some five or six, the government

For a long period this infant settlement was exposed to the incursions and ravages of its barbarous neighbors; it was several times actually destroyed, but as often was it rebuilt, and ultimately it gained a permanent existence. By degrees it acquired a considerable extension, so that as early as the 12th century it was reckoned to be an important commercial city, and certainly was so for those times. In the 13th century it was one of the cities which formed the celebrated Hanseatic league, of which we shall give some account in the next chapter. Even after the decline of that confederacy, it maintained its freedom and its flourishing commerce. The league which subsisted between it and the cities of Lübeck and Bremen continued until 1810, when it was dissolved by the conquest of Hamburg by the French. It was, however, renewed in 1814, and continues till this day, and includes Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Until about the commencement of the 16th century, the city was confined to the strip of land which lies between the Elbe and the eastern bank of the Alster. The occasion of the extension of the city to the western bank was the arrival of many persons from the Netherlands, and especially from the portion of it which is now called Belgium, who sought at Hamburg a refuge from the terrible persecution which the infamous Duke of Alva waged against them on account of their having embraced the Pro-

has informed him that it has resolved to dispense with his services. So that the superintendence of the Vicar-General is not likely to be very burdensome to him. As to the aggressive work of missions, we apprehend that the envoy of his Holiness will find the soil of this region hard to cultivate, let him attempt the work where he may. We are happy to add, that as it respects the Vicar-General personally, he is a man of many excellent qualities, and is probably as unexceptionable in his character and deportment, as any person whom the Pope could have sent upon this unpromising mission.

testant faith. Thus arose what is called the New Town, which now forms the most beautiful and the most extensive part of the city, and which was so important a portion of it even in the early part of the Thirty Years' war, (from 1618 till 1648,) that it was included within the fortifications, and thus gave to the city proper its present extent.

In the year 1618 Hamburg was formally acknowledged a free city of the Germanic Empire, although the archbishops of Bremen claimed a sort of authority over it, as did also the Swedes for a season. Afterwards both Bremen and Hamburg were ceded to Hanover. But, in general, Hamburg maintained, during the greater portion of this period, a sort of independence; though situated between rival powers which desired to possess it. On the one hand were the Danes, whom the Hamburgers have ever regarded as their hereditary enemies. On the other hand were the German Emperors, who thought much of making this fine commercial city an integral part of their dominion. Nor were the archbishops of Bremen disposed to let them have peace. During several centuries the people of Hamburg never considered themselves exactly secure for any considerable period. This fact accounts for the strong fortifications with which they surrounded their city, and by consequence, for the compactness of their population within the walls. It was this that made them cautious about having much to do with strangers, as well as of receiving many of them at once within their walls. It was this continual fear in which they lived, that led them to adopt all possible precautionary measures to prevent being surprised by their enemies. One of those measures was the practice of shutting the gates of the city at the going down of the sun, and keeping them fast barred until they were assured he was fairly up on the succeeding morning. They lived as if they heard the great Danes prowling, like wolves, around their walls during the night, con-

tinually seeking some aperture by which they might enter. Or if, perchance, the Danes were at peace with them, they had to provide against the enemies who lived up the Elbe. And if these were, by any means, brought to friendly terms, there were their never-slumbering enemies, the archbishops of Bremen, living only sixty miles to the south of them, who must be looked after and guarded against.

During the Thirty Years' war, and those which subsequently occurred, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the population of Hamburg was augmented by the immigration into it of thousands who sought tranquillity within its neutral walls. For a long period its manufactures were quite considerable. But as those of England, and France, and other countries became established, and widely diffused, those of Hamburg diminished; until at present it has nothing beyond some sugar-refineries, whale-oil refineries, cotton-printing establishments, and its ship-yards. The main source, however, of Hamburg's prosperity was commerce—unrestricted commerce with almost all countries. To be sure, her commercial prosperity was far from being uniform. There were times in which, owing to the untoward influence of general wars, it was greatly diminished. Nevertheless, at the commencement of the present century, Hamburg was one of the richest and most prosperous cities in Europe. Its reverses began in 1803, when the French first advanced into Hanover, and took possession of that appanage to the English crown. They seized Ritzbüttel, and closed the Elbe to the English; who, in turn, closely blockaded the mouth of that river. Hamburg was now obliged to carry on what little of commerce still remained to her through the Danish seaports of Tönningen and Husum, the former near the mouth of the Eyder, and the latter somewhat further to the north; and whatever it imported through Hanover, or by the upper

Elbe, had to be accompanied with certificates that it had not passed through English hands. Still more, the city was required to pay to the States of Hanover—in other words, into the treasury of Napoleon—the sum of two millions and a quarter of marks-banco, or \$945,000.

After the capture of Lübeck, (of which we shall speak in another place,) the French, under Marshal Mortier, entered Hamburg, and remained until after the treaty of Tilsit, which was made the next year. During much of that interval, Marshal Bernadotte, (now King of Sweden,) commanded the French army which was stationed in Hamburg and its vicinity; and by his very affable manners and humane disposition, made its presence as little burthensome as possible. For a few years Hamburg continued to have the shadow of liberty; but suffered much from the oppressive course pursued by the French generals who commanded in the northwestern part of Germany. As to the commerce of the city, it was finally ruined by the Berlin and other decrees of Bonaparte. At length, Hamburg, with the whole of the northwestern part of Germany, was incorporated into the French Empire, (13th Dec., 1810,) and was made the capital of the newly-created Department of the Mouths of the Elbe.

But, in the beginning of 1813, the approach of General Tettenborn, with a portion of the allied force, obliged the French to leave Hamburg. This occurred on the 13th of March. Upon their retreat, the inhabitants re-established their free Constitution, which the French had abolished, and prepared to take part in the grand struggle. For this purpose, more than 2,000 men were enlisted for the military service, as a part of the Hanseatic Legion, which Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, resolved to raise conjointly. In addition to this, a guard of citizens was formed, composed of 7,000 men. In the month of April, a part of the Hanseatic troops took the field, and their cavalry distin-

guished themselves at Ottersberg. But the French again advanced into Hanover, took possession of Harburg and Wilhelmsburg, on the left or southern bank of the Elbe, and commenced bombarding Hamburg on the 20th of May. On the 31st of that month, the inhabitants, being unable of themselves to defend the place, and disappointed in their expectations of aid from the Swedes, opened their gates to the French commanders, Vandamme and Davoust. A strong corps of the French army was stationed there, and the large contribution of 48,000,000 francs was levied upon the citizens, and a part of it was exacted immediately. A great injury was done to the property of individuals. Soldiers were quartered upon the people, and the houses of those who left the city were used for barracks for the military, who did not hesitate to destroy, for fuel or any other purpose, whatever property could be so used, without the least remorse or hesitation. In fact, the city was treated as a conquered one. Vandamme remained but a short time; but the Prince of Eckmühl (Davoust,) continued here almost a year. The cruelty of his measures is painfully remembered at this day. It is said that 40,000 persons, of every age and sex, were driven from the city before the end of the year 1813, and exposed to all the rigors of the winter. The dwellings of about 8,000 persons, in the environs of the city, were burned, and their occupants had barely time to escape with their lives. Davoust is charged with having set fire to these houses, in order to clear the ground around in front of the fortifications, and so prevent them from being used as a means of attack by the allied forces, who were approaching the city, after the battle of Leipsic. But the friends of that officer, in vindicating his conduct, attribute the burning of these houses to accident. It is very probable that the Hamburgers have represented Davoust as a greater monster than he really was. We say a *greater*

monster—for that he was a monster, there can be but little doubt.*

In the latter part of 1813, Davoust caused a wooden bridge to be built across the Elbe, from Hamburg to Wilhelmsburg. We have already remarked that the Elbe at Hamburg, as well as for a considerable distance above, and throughout its entire course below, is very broad, and its channel almost filled up with low, flat islands, many of which are liable to inundation in the autumnal and vernal seasons, when the waters of the river attain their greatest height. To erect this bridge, he did not hesitate to seize the wood that he needed wherever he could find it. And in a few days a bridge of 14,394 French feet (or nearly three English miles) was erected, over which he withdrew, in the midst of the winter, the chief part of his forces,—leaving only enough to garrison the place for the present. And so escaping from the forces which were besieging the city from the northern side of the river, he made his way across Hanover, towards France, whither the waning fortunes of his master earnestly called him. The bridge remained until the year 1818, and was known as the Wilhelmsburger-Brücke.

* It ought to be said of Davoust, that he seems to have been literally nothing but a soldier. A man of noble birth, and of undaunted courage, he rose to the highest rank in his profession, by qualities purely military. He knew no rule but the will of the Emperor, as exhibited in his orders. He seems to have had a sort of idolatrous attachment for Napoleon; and it has been told us at Hamburg that he was heard to say, and more than once, that he knew no law but the command of his sovereign; and that if Bonaparte had commanded him to put his father to death, he should not have hesitated a moment to execute the order. Firmness of character, personal bravery, and a military rigor often approaching to cruelty, were his characteristics. It is due to his memory to say, that he published, in 1814, a vindication of himself from the charge of cruelty towards Hamburg. He died in 1823.

In the spring of 1814, the last of the French forces finally left Hamburg, and the city was taken possession of by the Russian general, Benningsen, who remained until the end of that year. Since that epoch, Hamburg has enjoyed a long period of uninterrupted tranquillity and prosperity. For we do not consider the troubles which occurred here in 1830-31, and as a fruit of the Revolution of July in France, as an exception worthy of notice. The population has steadily and even rapidly increased since the return of peace in 1815. At present, including the suburbs to the distance of some two miles, it cannot be less than 140,000.

We have already spoken of the little territory which Hamburg owns at the mouth of the Elbe, called the bailiwick of *Ritzebüttel*. It possesses a territory immediately to the north and the east of the city, of irregular shape, and of 116 square miles in extent. Some of the islands in the Elbe belong wholly or in part to Hamburg, together with the village of Moorburg on the left bank. In common also with Lübeck, Hamburg has jurisdiction of the bailiwick of Bergedorf, the capital of which is a village of the same name, and has a population of two thousand souls,—and over the district along the Elbe, some eight or ten miles above the city, called the *Vierlande*,—of which we have spoken elsewhere. The population of the territories belonging to Hamburg may be estimated at about thirty thousand souls. So that the entire number of the inhabitants of this commonwealth may be considered to be about 170,000.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF HAMBURG.

The Constitution of Hamburg—and the same thing is true of those of the other Free or Hanseatic Cities,—is so very different from what we find in any other state or country, whether ancient or modern, that we propose to

give our readers as full a notice of it as may be necessary to make it clearly understood. It will be seen that the government of this commonwealth is a most remarkable mixture of aristocracy and democracy; and that these very different, and in some sense, antagonistic elements are so balanced, the one against the other, or rather are so blended together, as to produce a government under the shadow of which the people have enjoyed, during a long period, unexampled prosperity and happiness.

The Constitution of Hamburg is commonly represented as having originated at the introduction of the Reformation into the city, about three hundred and fifteen or twenty years ago. This is not strictly true. Many of the chief principles of that organic law or institution were certainly embodied more fully than they had ever been before. But the present constitution of that city owes its more complete development to acts which took place in 1710 and 1712. Changes have unquestionably taken place since that epoch; but the great features of the constitution remain essentially as those acts left them. We now proceed to delineate them, and shall afterwards specify such modifications as have been since introduced.

The sovereign legislative power resides, jointly and equally, in the Senate and the citizens.

The Senate is composed of four Burgomasters, three of whom must be lawyers and one a merchant, and twenty-four senators, of whom eleven are lawyers, and the other thirteen are taken from among the merchants in general, who are citizens.

One of the three Burgomasters who are lawyers presides over the senate. There are four Syndics, who have a consultative voice in the deliberations of the senate, but no vote. They are charged with the foreign and domestic relations of the state, and with the reduction of the acts of the Senate to proper forms. They take rank after the

Burgomasters. The Senate has also four secretaries, who are charged with making the minutes of the proceedings of the senate, and with the communication and the preservation of the acts of that body. One of them is the prothonotary, or chief secretary, and another is archivist, or keeper of the Records.

The Senate chooses and appoints the Syndics and its secretaries. It chooses and appoints also its own members, or, in other words, fills all vacancies in its own body. To be eligible to the office of senator, it is necessary to be a citizen, to have completed the age of thirty years, to profess the Protestant religion, and formerly it was necessary to be a member of the Lutheran Church (commonly called on the continent the *Confession of Augsburg*), to be attached to no foreign service; and finally, not to be the kindred by blood, either in the ascending or descending line, nor the son-in-law, nor the father-in-law, of any other member of the senate. More than two brothers-in-law cannot be members of the senate at one time; nor more than five persons related to each other in the third degree.

Every Senator, upon his election, must take an oath, standing, in relation to his election—that it has been brought about without fraud—and on his knees, he must take the oath peculiar to a Senator. He must hear, in the same posture, the reading of the constitution, which he swears to obey. And when a citizen has been elected a Burgomaster or a Senator, he must accept the office, or quit the city, paying at the same time into the public treasury the tenth part of his estate.

We have now spoken of the aristocratic part of this government—the Senate—and of its attributes. The reader has doubtless remarked its strong features, which consist in the Senate's appointing the Burgomasters, Syndics and secretaries, and filling the vacancies which occur

in its own body, and that all these appointments are for life.—We come now to speak of the Burghers or citizens, or what the French call the Bourgeoisie, and of their rights.

The citizens are divided into five sections, by parishes or quarters; at the head of each of these sections there are elders, next deacons, and finally sub-deacons. (The last-named are ecclesiastical only in name.) The three elders of each parish unite and form a college or committee of fifteen members, called the College of the Elders. Another college, called that of the Sixty, is composed of the forty-five deacons (nine from each parish) united with the fifteen elders. And finally, another college, called that of the Hundred and Eighty, is formed by the union of the hundred and twenty sub-deacons (twenty-four from each parish) with the college of the Sixty.

The elders have their own records, and secretary. They fill up vacancies which occur in their number by choosing from among the deacons; (two members of the Senate must be present at this election.) They choose also the deacons from among the sub-deacons. And the sub-deacons are chosen by the deacons from among the citizens. There are besides, in each parish, six supplies, or supernumeraries, called assistants, who are destined, in an emergency, to take the place of sub-deacons.

Besides these superior colleges (which are required, under pain of a fine, to be present at all the convocations of the citizens,) every citizen who is proprietor of a house which is worth the sum of about one thousand dollars of our money, if the house be in the city, and two thousand, if it be beyond the walls and in the territory of Hamburg, has the right to a seat in the general assembly of the body of citizens, and to vote on all questions which come before the assembly. The captains of the militia or national guards of the city, the Deputies of the Chamber of Commerce, and the presidents of the Trades-Associations, are

also entitled to the right of sitting and voting in the general assemblies of the citizens, even when they are not possessors of houses.

The Senate communicates with the general assembly of the citizens, either by attending in a body, or by a deputation of two of its members; and with the superior colleges by the intervention of this same deputation.

It is the Senate that confers the right of citizenship, and which receives the oath of a new citizen. Formerly, none but those who belonged to the Lutheran Church could enjoy the rights of citizens; but, since 1815, that law has been altered, so that at present not only members of the German Reformed Church, but even Roman Catholics, may become citizens, and may also be elected to the Superior Colleges, and even to the Senate. This is as it should be.

The Senate is invested with the double function of government and of the administration of justice.

The Senate, considered as a governing body, whether as a whole, or by those of its members to whom are assigned, in particular, different functions of the government, exercises superior superintendence, and executive power; watches, in quality of magistrate of the Police, for the general safety and welfare; appoints the diplomatic agents, and those commercial agents employed abroad; directs the public affairs in all their extent, and negotiates with foreign powers; convokes the assemblies of the citizens when it judges necessary (it is bound to do so at least once in three months,) and when it believes itself dispensed from doing so, it is required to assign the motives for so doing to the College of Elders. The latter transmits them to the other Colleges to know whether there is not reason to desire a General Assembly.

Constituted as a judicial body, the Senate administers justice in civil, as well as in criminal matters, according

to the published rules for judicial proceedings, and according to the laws of Hamburg, adopting for aid the Roman common law.

The Senate judges, in the first instance, by those of its members who are delegated to this effect, viz., the Burgomasters in civil matters, and the Prætors both in civil and criminal matters, as well as those of police.

It judges, in the second instance, in civil matters by sections, and in criminal by general sessions, at which only two burgomasters preside.

Whilst the Constitution of the German Empire was in vigor, an appeal in civil matters might be taken before the Imperial Chamber at Wetzlar—one of the imperial cities—in cases which involved sums of not less than one thousand dollars, (excepting suits concerning letters of exchange and maritime insurance—these latter appertaining to the Admiralty Court, composed of one burgomaster, four senators, six merchants, and two men who were formerly shipmasters.) After the suppression of the Tribunal of Wetzlar, in 1806, recourse was had to the Law Faculty of some University, to which the report of the trial was sent by the presiding burgomaster. Of late years, however, a Supreme Court, as the ultimate court of appeal for all the Hanseatic cities, has been established at Lübeck, and to it appeals are now made in the last instance. This is considered a great improvement.

The Senate has the right to exercise grace in capital condemnations, but only to mitigate, not to pardon. It exercises also the highest guardianship.

The conveyance and the mortgaging of real estates take place publicly before the Senate, and are afterwards formally inscribed by a secretary in the book of mortgages.

The citizens share in the fullest manner, with the Senate, in the legislative power. The Senate cannot act without the consent and concurrence of the citizens, in the

following cases : In the making of the laws, and every thing which concerns constitutional points;—in concluding alliances and treaties with foreign powers;—in the augmentation or diminution of the armed force, called the garrison, and in the changes which are to be made in the means and measures of defence ;—in the permission to be granted to the free exercise of any new religious worship ; —in the disposal of the funds, and the administration of the institutions for the maintenance of the poor ;—in the acquisition and alienation of the domains of the city, as well as in every thing which relates to the public treasury ; —in the establishment of imposts of every sort, direct or indirect ;—in the granting of new privileges ;—in drafts to be made on the treasury of the city, into which all the revenues, ordinary and extraordinary, of the city, are poured, and which bears all the public expenses.

The administration of the treasury, with every thing which relates to it, is confided to ten deputies from the citizens, chosen by them for this purpose, for six years, and who, during their term of office, cannot be elected Senators. The Senate cannot, at any one session, appropriate a sum from the treasury exceeding ten crowns, or about ten dollars of our money.

Upon all these different points of legislation, the initiative, as it is called, or the right to propose new laws, belongs to the Senate. Nevertheless, the College of Elders, (one of whose functions is to watch over the conduct of the Senate, and to see that it does not deviate from the principles of the Constitution,) has the right to take the initiative, when the citizens have expressed a desire to have a certain law, and having made it known to the Senate, the latter refuses to convert this desire into a formal proposition.

The general resolution, or the desire of the citizens, is conveyed to the Senate in writing. If the citizens, in

their general assembly, accede to any proposition made to them by the Senate, that proposition becomes a law. But the Senate has the right to reject the modifications which may have been made, communicating, at the same time, its motives for their rejection to the citizens. It has the right to re-produce, even as often as three times, propositions which have been declined by the citizens. If, after the third presentation of a proposition, the Senate persist in its opinion, and the citizens persist also in their refusal, there is then instituted, from one side and the other, what is called the Committee of Conciliation, which is composed of eight or ten Senators and eight or ten citizens, drawn by lot, which decides, finally, upon the adoption or rejection of the proposition, and whose session must not last longer than fifteen days.*

The citizens, moreover, enjoy the right in particular to appoint the greater part of the members of the deputations of the citizens in the various departments of affairs, and the administrators of the different foundations for charity, education, &c.

The commercial interests of the city are entrusted, in general, to a deputation composed of six members, elected by the whole body of merchants, and to which is added one of the oldest members of the association of shipmasters. The six merchants are replaced, one by one, each year. This deputation watches over the interests of commerce, and exercises an active superintendence over every thing which concerns that subject. It concurs in the appointment of brokers and dealers in exchanges, and determines with them the course of exchange.

* Such has been the harmony between the Senate and the people, that, during the hundred years which preceded the year 1810, it was not necessary to resort even once to this Committee of Conciliation. Nor are we certain that it has been resorted to more than once or twice since that epoch.

The college of the citizens for the admiralty has the administration of the taxes of the harbor, and of every thing which concerns the navigation of the Elbe down to its mouth.

The city levies two sorts of imposts, the direct and the indirect. The indirect imposts consist mainly in the octroi, or taxes upon articles of consumption, in taxes upon objects of luxury, in duties on merchandise.

Every citizen pays annually a quarter per cent. upon the value of his personal effects. This contribution he paid formerly secretly, and the sum was left to the conscience and good faith of each one. In extraordinary cases, another contribution of one quarter per cent. was levied upon all the property, real as well as personal. The execution of this law was performed in the same manner.

Since some years, circumstances have rendered necessary several extraordinary impositions, as well upon real as upon personal property, among which is a capitation-tax levied by classes, a patriotic contribution, in honor and conscience, left also to the good faith of each one, and several others.

The military force of Hamburg consists of about 1,400 infantry, one company of dragoons of 72 men, and one of artillery of 92 men, destined to secure to the public repose and protection. These are the hired troops of the city, and may be called its garrison. The contingent of troops which Hamburg is bound to furnish to the Germanic confederation is 1,400 men, if we have been rightly informed. The administration of the garrison is committed to a council of war, composed of six senators and six citizens. The command is entrusted to the Senate, which nevertheless cannot cause more than thirty men to march without the co-operation of the College of Elders.

Besides the regular force above named, the citizens are

also constituted into a national or civic guard, which consists of eight battalions of infantry, two companies of artillery, five companies of yägers, and a squadron of cavalry, embracing in all about 10,000 men. Every burgher and son of a burgher, with the exception of medical and clerical men, is obliged to serve in this civic guard from the age of 18 to 45 years. It is to this civic guard that the care of the city is chiefly entrusted, and each member of it is often called on to perform service. The whole is superintended by the senior major of Hamburg, two senators, a lieutenant-colonel, and six staff-officers, forming together the committee of the civic-militia.

The senate has a sort of guard called the *Reitenden Diener*, or horse-servants, consisting of a body of sixteen men. These men perform various functions; one while on horse-back, armed with swords and muskets, like dragoons; anon they are on foot, and superintend funerals, dressed in black, and wearing huge small-clothes, short-folded cloaks, vast white capes on the shoulders, ruffs around the neck, white wigs, or scull-caps on the top of the head, made of wool, and small dress-swords by their sides; and at another time they are a sort of dandies, figuring away at weddings as requisitionists, gay messengers, attired in gallooned coats and pumps, with their hair nicely powdered, and wearing low court-hats or chapeaux.*

A committee of Senators, in conjunction with one from the citizens, has control of the night-watch, which consists of 500 men, who mount guard with upper and side arms, and at night patrol the streets in pairs, carrying a lance and a rattle;

* These *Reitenden Diener* are a company of very privileged characters. Their office is lucrative by means of the many presents which they receive for their manifold labors. And so valuable are places in this company that large sums are paid to purchase them. We have been told that as much as 16,000 marks have been given for admission into this limited fraternity.

and crying at intervals the hour of the night. They have a captain and five lieutenants. A committee of seven senators and five citizens from each parish has the control of the fire-engine establishment, and the direction of the efforts which are made for the extinguishing of fires. And we may add that the arrangements for this purpose are admirable. Fire-engines in sufficient numbers are placed on wheels, to be dragged along the streets, and others in boats to be worked on the canals when required in such positions. About 750 men are attached to this branch of public service.

The police is under the direction of one senator, who is appointed to this post, and whose authority is very great. In general the police regulations are good, and are kindly and faithfully administered.

The Senate, united with the College of the Sixty, exercises the supreme superintendence in ecclesiastical matters, and, united with the College of Elders, it exercises the oversight of the superior establishments for public instruction. The inferior depend upon the administrative councils of the Churches, or upon individual direction.

The inhabitants of the Territory of Hamburg have their own particular jurisdiction. Each district has a Prætor, a member of the Senate, who judges of affairs in the first instance. The Senate is the Superior Court of appeal. One district only is under the jurisdiction of the College of the Elders. The port of Cuxhaven and the city of Ritzebüttel form a particular bailiwick. The bailiff is a Senator who unites in himself all the powers. The bailiwick of Bergedorf and the district of the Vierlands are governed by a bailiff appointed alternately for three years by Hamburg and Lübeck.

We are bound to add to what we have stated respecting the constitution and government of Hamburg, that nowhere in Europe are the Jews more despised, than they

are in this Free City. It is an anomaly only to be paralleled by the existence of slavery amongst ourselves. In Hamburg a Jew cannot be a citizen, nor can he pursue any handicraft. He may be a physician, we believe, or a lawyer; but he cannot belong to any of the guilds or corporations of the city. The consequence is that this despised race are engaged in petty traffic of one sort or another. Those of them who are brokers are generally rich. The majority are very poor. The oppression in which they have been held by their Christian brethren has made them here, as elsewhere, dishonest, mean, servile, clannish and hateful. With their present characters and habits, they are very unfit indeed to be citizens; but they will never become better whilst treated as they are. We have some things to mourn over in our own country, but it is a matter of thankfulness that so far as it relates to the Jews, we have nothing to be ashamed of. With us the Jew is respected and has all his rights. Is it so in England, in Germany, in Holland, or any other country in Europe, save France and Belgium? It is not.

We now bring our notices of the history and government of Hamburg to a close. We have endeavored to trace the chief points of interest in the annals of this important commercial emporium. And we have attempted to delineate its Constitution, and describe its Government. Our limits have necessarily confined us to the briefest statements possible. And yet we trust that we have succeeded in giving our readers a tolerably clear idea of the complicated and well-adjusted machinery of the government of this little commonwealth. At first sight, nothing could appear more aristocratic than the Constitution of this city; but a closer inspection will satisfy any one that there is a very powerful element of democracy intermixed with it, and that in fact the checks and balances are so various, and so well conceived and

arranged, as to produce a very safe and wholesome action. The present constitution of Hamburg was the fruit of a long and painful trial of other forms of government during the seven hundred years of its existence previous to the Reformation. During that long period the aristocratic principle prevailed, and the mass of the people were oppressed by the rich and haughty merchant-nobles. It was owing to the elevating and sustaining principles of the Reformation, in connection with the more wide diffusion of knowledge which preceded, promoted and accompanied that great moral revolution, and which was in turn strengthened by it, that the people were enabled to rise up and successfully demand their due participation in the government of their city. Nor ought we to forget that commerce, from the very stimulus and expansion which it gives to the human mind, is favorable to liberty, at least to certain kinds of it, and to a certain degree. And yet commerce is not likely of itself to secure an equal liberty, and an equal participation in the government to all classes of the people, as the history of Venice and of Genoa has fully demonstrated.

The position of Hamburg gives it many advantages. It commands the commerce of the extensive valley of the Elbe, which is on many accounts the most important river in Germany, if not of all Europe. The entire trade of the country drained by this great river, must, as it flows forth to distant parts of the world, or as it reflows, make Hamburg a vast entrepôt. The value of the merchandise and other foreign productions which pass through this city annually, is very great, exceeding, probably, \$80,000,000. The duties are almost nominal, being about seven-sixteenths of one per cent. on the imports, and a quarter per cent. on the exports. The revenue of the commonwealth is estimated at 4,000,000 marks, or \$1,680,000. The debt is estimated at 80,000,000

marks, or \$33,600,000. But nothing is known with accuracy on these points, inasmuch as nothing is published by the government.

The continued prosperity of this city is as certain as that of any other city on the continent. It may, and it doubtless will, experience fluctuations and reverses. The question of the Prussian Customs-Union, for instance, may agitate and embarrass its councils, and for a time seriously affect its interests; but sooner or later it will revive from each successive adversity, and hold on its prosperous way. In general, it has been governed with wisdom and prudence. Improvements may not have been made as rapidly as some have wished; all that is desirable may not have been done for education and the intellectual elevation of the people. Still progress has been made, slowly, but surely; and what the people have gained they have the consolation of knowing that it is their own, and that it will endure.

CHAPTER V.

LUBECK.

Detestable roads between Hamburg and Lübeck—Situation of the latter city—Our journey thither—A German Doctor—Want of a rail-road between these two important free cities—Pleasantness of the site and appearance of Lübeck—Aagreeable streets—Old-fashioned houses—Its ramparts now pleasant promenades—History of Lübeck—Its ancient size and importance—Its former wealth and commerce—Its present population—Remarkable things in Lübeck—Dom Kirche—St. Mary's—Wonderful clock—Dance of Death—The Carved Chamber—The Rathhaus Overbeck—Lübeck was the capital of the Hanseatic League—History of the Hansa or League—Causes which led to its decline—Present number of the Hanseatic or Free Towns—Constitution and Government of Lübeck—More democratic than Hamburg—Capture of this city by the French in 1806—Awful scenes which ensued—Return to Hamburg.

HAVING resolved to visit Lübeck, we left Hamburg, at an early hour, accompanied by a German gentleman, who had expressed a desire to share the coach we had engaged, and thus lighten the expense to each party. But though the distance between these cities is not more than thirty-six miles by the most direct road, which was the route we took, we did not reach Lübeck until it was quite late in the afternoon. The cause of this slow progress was the wretched state of the road over which we were compelled to travel.

Lübeck stands on the peninsula, which is formed by the confluence of the Wackenitz with the River Trave, at the distance of about ten miles from the Baltic, into which sea the Trave flows. Its position is northeast from Hamburg. The country between Hamburg and this city is almost perfectly level, and may be said to form a portion of the isthmus which unites the extensive peninsula of Sleswic

and Jutland to Germany. The soil is very sandy, and therefore not favorable for solid roads. A good macadamized one is a great desideratum, which would soon be supplied if the question rested with the people of Hamburg and Lübeck. But unfortunately this is not the case. Of the intervening country only a very small portion, and that in their respective vicinities, belongs to those cities. The remaining, and by far the greater portion, belongs to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, which are constituent parts of the kingdom of Denmark. And as the government of that country has from time immemorial been jealous of the cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, it has up to this moment refused either to make a macadamized road or a railroad between those cities, or permit the people of those cities to make one themselves. They have offered not only to make a rail-road, but to allow his Danish majesty a large share of the profits which might arise from it, if he would only grant them the permission to make it through his dominions. But hitherto all their proposals have been rejected. The king of Denmark has long desired to divert the trade which passes between Hamburg and Lübeck, and cause it to pass from Altona to Kiel, which are cities in his own dominions. For this purpose, he has caused a good turnpike-road to be made from Altona to Kiel; and for the same reason he has hitherto refused to allow either a rail-road or a macadamized road to be made from Hamburg to Lübeck. The consequence is that the roads, and they are two in number,—each diverging some few miles from a straight and intermediate line,—being left without proper care, are almost impassable. We pursued the more eastern one of the two, by way of Wandsbeck, Siek and Schönburg. We found the sand so deep as to render it impossible for the horses to go faster than a walk, a great part of the way, or rather until we came within seven miles of Lübeck, and entered upon

its territory. From that point we had a good road to the city. The more western route, by Oldealoe, is considerably longer, but somewhat better, we understand, than that which we pursued.

There are no stages running between Hamburg and Lübeck. We were therefore compelled to hire a hackney-coach, with two horses and a driver, to take us from one city to the other. And a most tedious journey we had of it, notwithstanding the garrulity of the German gentleman who took part of the carriage with us, and who, (we learned it from his own lips), was a son of Æsculapius, residing in the fair city of Moscow. He further informed us that he had been making a visit to his friends in Germany; and that he was then on his way to Lübeck, for the purpose of taking steamboat thence, on his return to Russia, the country of his adoption. When we add, further, that he is a believer in the virtues of homoeopathic medicines, we have said all that we need to say of him.

An English tourist, speaking of this journey, says: "It consumes from ten to twelve hours. Starting early is recommended, as much time is lost in snaps-drinking by the driver, bread-eating by the horses, and wheel-greasing by a nondescript personage, performing the united offices of hostler and waiter." Our painful experience corroborates this statement. As to the nature of the road, throughout a great part of the way, it recalled to our mind most vividly, the roads of almost pure sand which we have seen in the neighborhood of some of the villages along the sea-coast, in the western part of New Jersey. And yet immense wagons, laden with the merchandise of various countries, pass constantly between Hamburg and Lübeck over these roads. And it may give the reader some idea of the difficulties which they have to encounter, in rolling almost up to the axle in the sand, to be told that we actually saw several moving along at a very slow pace, though

drawn by eight, nine, and in one case, eleven horses! and yet nothing would be easier than to make a good rail-road between these cities, and when made, it would unquestionably be one of the most profitable in Europe.

Lübeck is a city of no little celebrity. For a long time it was at the head of the Hanseatic, or Free Cities; and its commerce not only covered the Baltic, but extended far along the western coasts of Europe. Its situation is the finest which the country in which it stands affords. It stands on the Trave, which is a small but deep stream, which, rising in Holstein, runs first to the south, and then turns to the east, and finally to the northeast; and, passing by the western side of Lübeck, falls into the expanded Gulf of Lübeck, which forms the southwestern portion of the Baltic sea. The width of the Trave at Lübeck does not exceed one hundred yards, and its entire course is a very meandering one. Nevertheless, merchant ships of a large size wind their way quite up to the city. The Wackenitz, which flows from the east, and passing by the eastern side of the city, falls into the Trave, is a small stream.

At the mouth of the Trave there is a considerable village, called Travemünde (mouths of the Trave), which is quite a pleasant place. We made an agreeable excursion to it, by one of the little steamboats which ply between it and Lübeck. It is from this little seaport—which is, if we may so speak, both the port and a suburb of Lübeck—various lines of steamboats run to Copenhagen, to Stockholm, to St. Petersburg, and sometimes to Riga. The population is about 1,200 souls. There are fine baths here. In fact, Travemünde is quite a fashionable resort as a watering-place for the Lübeckers and their neighbors during the season of summer. The country around Lübeck, far and wide, is almost perfectly level, and exceedingly well cultivated. It is, indeed, like a garden. There

are no fences, and not many hedges; and at this season of the year, one sees in every direction fields of wheat and rye ripe for the harvest, and extensive fields of potatoes, which are here cultivated not only as an article of food, but also for the purpose of distillation. In the immediate vicinity of the city, the country is covered with luxuriant gardens, filled with all sorts of vegetables.

The site of Lübeck is considerably more elevated than the country around. It stands, in fact, on a hill, or ridge of moderate height, on the peninsula, as we have already stated, between the Trave and the Wackenitz. Its position is altogether agreeable and convenient.

Lübeck was for a long time an exceedingly strong city, being surrounded by great ramparts and wide and deep fossés, which were made after the principles of Vauban, with massive gateways, surmounted with towers, which remain entire to this day. At present, these broad and elevated ramparts, which are of earth, and covered on their sides with a fine grassy sward, are planted with lindens and other beautiful trees, and form the most delightful promenades imaginable. Not only so—there are also beyond the ramparts, in some directions, and especially on the northwest, beautiful woods of considerable extent. These refreshing retreats are eagerly sought by the inhabitants during the heat of the day, and especially when the shades of evening fall upon the city. Then may great numbers of finely-dressed and well-behaved people, of all ages, be seen promenading on the ramparts, or in the contiguous forests.

Many of the streets of Lübeck are broad and straight; and there is about them an air of purity which makes this city a very pleasant one. It would be difficult to find a town of the same size in western Europe, where there is so much in the style of architecture which carries one completely back into the middle ages, or, at least,

to the confines of them. Almost all the houses stand with the end to the street, and have gables which are either sharp-angled, or fantastically scalloped. The roofs are almost invariably covered with tiles, of a dark reddish color; whilst the walls are of brick, stuccoed or painted, and generally either white or brown. And what is very pleasant is, that almost every where one sees a remarkable degree of taste displayed. The windows of private houses are pleasantly adorned with pots of beautiful flowers. Often the opened front door enables those who pass along in the street to have a charming peep into the interior gardens, all bedecked with the rose, the hyacinth, and the tulip. Whilst the streets, and every thing external, give convincing proofs that cleanliness ranks high in the catalogue of the virtues of the Lübeckers.

Lübeck is an ancient city. It was founded by Adolphus II., Count of Holstein-Schaumburg, in 1144, who, ten years afterwards, ceded it to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. Henry made it a free port for the northern cities, granted it municipal privileges, which were afterwards confirmed by several of the emperors of Germany, and gave it the celebrated Lübeck code, which was afterwards adopted by many German cities. In 1226, it became a free city of the German Empire, and was afterwards at the head of the Hanseatic League, or Union, and preserves, until this day, its archives. Its fleet long commanded the Baltic; and many were the wars which it sustained against Holstein, Mecklenburg, Denmark, Sweden, and the Wendes and other pirates. Gustavus Vasa here found refuge from the cruelty of Christian II., King of Denmark. And its voice decided once and again the affairs of the kingdoms of the North. With the decline of the Hanseatic League, the fortunes of Lübeck declined. But still it maintained, for centuries, amid many fluctuations, its commercial privileges and its freedom.

When the Constitution of the German Empire was abolished by Napoleon, in 1806, though now become dis-severed from the rest of Germany, it remained a free Hanseatic city. In 1810, it became identified with France, and formed a part of the Department of the Mouths-of-the-Elbe. But by the Congress of Vienna, it was again declared a free city, and with Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine, it is represented in the German Diet.

In its palmiest days, a vast commerce centred in Lübeck. In those times, merchandise consisted much more than at present in articles of great value but of little bulk ; such as silks, gold and silver ornaments and wares, and such like precious commodities. At that period, Lübeck was the abode of many rich merchants, as Venice and Genoa were at a still earlier period. Even now there is not a little wealth in Lübeck ; and its commerce is still considerable. We were surprised to see so many large vessels lying in its little stream, and still more to find not less than six or eight fine looking ships and brigs on the stocks in its dock-yards. The whole number of vessels, however, belonging to this place, is probably less than one hundred. In 1817, above nine hundred ships arrived at Lübeck ; but its commerce has greatly declined within the last twenty years. Its manufactures, consisting of gold and silver laces, hats, cotton and woollen goods, are not considerable.

But, whatever may be the present state of Lübeck, every thing indicates that its former prosperity must have been very great. The houses, in many instances, possess a grand aspect. Their size, their style of architecture, and the taste which they display, prove that its merchants of the olden time were princes in fortune.

The present population of Lübeck is about 26,000 ; the day has been when it was little less than 100,000.

The territories which belong to it are not extensive. They are composed of a district of a few miles in extent in the vicinity, including a strip of land which runs down the Trave to its mouth, and comprehends the town of Travemünde, and some six or seven other villages. In common with Hamburg, it exercises jurisdiction over Bergedorf and the Vierlands, as we have stated, when speaking of that city. But its whole territory does not exceed 116 square miles, with a population of about 20,000 souls. So that the entire population of the commonwealth of Lübeck may be estimated at about 46,000 souls.

There are not a few things in Lübeck which a stranger will do well to see. One of these is the Dom-Kirche or Cathedral.* There are many interesting things in this church; including the tombs of many distinguished families which belonged to this little Republic. One of these is a very handsome bronze sarcophagus of a very liberal benefactor of this church. Every where there are portraits and monumental effigies in honor of the dead, hung up on the walls, or on the columns, which support the roof of this vast edifice. There is also a clock of very curious mechanism here; in the face of which two eyes open and shut at each movement of the pendulum, and whilst the image of Death strikes the hour with his death-like hand, that of Time turns his hour-glass. But the best thing by far in this church is the collection of paintings made by John Hemling, in 1471. Those of the Apostles and three other saints are uncommonly good.

But the church of St. Mary was still more interesting to us, inasmuch as it has a great deal more of the pure Gothic about it. Some portions of it are wholly in that style; others are of the mixed or bastard Gothic, as it has

* Lübeck was formerly the see of a Roman Catholic Bishop. But since the year 1530 the principles of the Protestant Religion have been the Faith of almost all the inhabitants.

been called. Its walls and columns are covered with the pictures of saints and of former pastors, together with monuments of important events, relating to the history of the city. Its floor is composed of stone or marble slabs, covered with inscriptions, beneath which are the abodes of the dead. It has also a beautiful altar-piece made by Quellino; a famous astronomical clock;* and a remarkable painting, called the Dance of Death.† There are three

* When this clock strikes the hour of 12 at noon, a door opens and a figure moves gracefully out, followed by seven others, representing the Emperor of Germany and his seven Electors, who, as they pass round in front of a statue of the Savior, bow the head, and then disappear on the other side, very much in the style in which the three wise men of the East render homage to the Virgin, in the famous clock of the Place of St. Mark at Venice. But this clock in the church of St. Mary is remarkable in other respects, and is a wonderful specimen for the time in which it was made, 1405. It contains a complete calendar from 1753 till 1783, with all the days of the week, the signs of the zodiac, and the course of the sun. It indicates all the eclipses of the sun and moon visible at Lübeck, from 1815 till 1860, the course of the moon and that of the planets.

† The name of the author of this painting is not known. It was made in the 15th century, probably in reference to the black plague which desolated so much of Europe, during that century and the one preceding. The same thing is to be seen at Basle and Berne in Switzerland, but that at Lübeck is the most ancient of all. First comes Death alone, leaping, and rejoicing to see the company which follow him. Then comes another Death, dragging after him the Pope; who wears his pontifical mantle and his tiara, and seems reluctant to enter this unhappy dance. A third Death then appears, pushing the hesitating Pope, and dragging the Emperor, who likewise has no desire to follow. Then another follows, conducting the Empress and a Cardinal. Others, of different ranks, follow. And thus the whole social body is represented in succession, from the chief of the empire to the simple citizen; from the old man to the infant. Then Death stops, puts down his scythe. The world is mowed, and the dance ends! All the personages represented in this scene are dressed as becomes their rank. One wears his crown and carries his sceptre. Another his silk cloak. Death is a skeleton, naked and pale, but lively and gambolling about on one foot, while

towers on this church. The one on the east is not very high. But the two on the western end are of great altitude, being 396 feet from the floor to the ball on the spire. It is no trifling labor to ascend one of them, as we found by experience.

Another object of great curiosity is a chamber of carved wood. It is some eighteen or twenty feet square, and its sides and ceiling are made wholly of wood, carved in the most beautiful manner. The number of figures which are here represented is almost incredible, and the skill which it displays is admirable. The scenes which are represented are chiefly scriptural. But as is usual in most things of this sort made in the middle ages, there is a most ridiculous and abominable admixture of the heathenism which mingled itself so much with the Christianity of that period, and from which, in many of the most celebrated Roman Catholic churches on the continent, it is not yet emancipated. There is, for instance, a naked Leda and her swan, in the midst of apostles and saints, whilst Danæe, Europa, and other mythological harlots, are placed amidst the holy personages of the Bible! This chamber is in a house which formerly belonged to a very rich family of this city, but is now the property of the commonwealth, and open to the visits of strangers.

Another object of great interest, as well for its associations as for the fine Gothic style of its architecture, is the Rathhaus, or City Hall, with its little turrets, its symbols of war and of vigilance, and its finely chiselled and light balcony. Here are the public offices of the city. It

his victims, whether wearing the diadem or the laborer's cap, exhibit a sorrowful visage, and eyes filled with tears.

Besides this old painting, there is one by Overbeck, representing Christ entering into Jerusalem, which is well worthy of a stranger's notice. It is, in fact, an admirable work; the face of the adorable Saviour is so calm, so majestic, and withal so mild and beautiful, that one never grows tired of beholding it.

is here also that the Senate meets when business requires a session. It is really a very interesting building, and its façade is particularly fine. The hall of the Senate is a very remarkable one, and also very beautiful.

Besides good primary schools, Lübeck has a gymnasium, a school for drawing, a school for navigation, a society for the encouragement of the useful arts, and a public library. But Lübeck is still a commercial and not a literary city. It cannot be said that there is here a great taste for books or for the fine arts. Overbeck is the only modern artist of distinction whom this city has produced. Of him she has reason to be proud. He is far from being equal to the great masters; but he seems to us to have a juster idea of the importance of making painting a means of giving salutary impressions to the mind, than most of the distinguished men who have labored in this interesting profession. It is deeply to be regretted, that so few of them have felt the obligation of making the promotion of virtue and goodness the great object of their art, instead of making it minister to the baser passions of the human heart. Alas, it is to be feared that most of the distinguished painters and sculptors have themselves become more and more depraved, as they advanced in life, and by natural consequence the works of their pencils and their chisels only embodied their moral degeneration.

There are not less than five or six large Lutheran churches in this city, and it is to that denomination of Christians that the vast majority of the people belong. There is, however, one German Reformed church, whose pastor, the Rev. Dr. Geibel, is one of the most zealous and excellent preachers in Germany. There is also one Roman Catholic church.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HANSA.

As our readers may desire to know something of the origin and nature of the Confederation of what has been commonly called the Hanseatic Towns, we will give a very brief sketch of it.

In the early part of the 13th century almost all western Europe was infested with robbers on land, and pirates on the waters. This was owing to the chaotic state of society at that time. No country seemed to be blessed with a well-founded, well-directed, and all-pervading government. The sovereigns were little better than paramount chiefs, such as one finds at this day in so large a portion of central Asia. Every petty chieftain did pretty much his own pleasure in his little dominions. And as it was easier to plunder than to live by honest industry, many of them, especially those who lived along such rivers as the Elbe, the Rhine, the Rhone and other natural channels of trade, took to highway robbery, and without mercy preyed on the passing caravans of merchants, who annually visited Italy, or the southern cities of Germany, to seek the productions of the distant East, which the commerce of Venice and Genoa attracted to Europe, and gave in exchange the commodities of the North. As this trade increased in value, so did the number of the castles of the robber-chiefs multiply, along the great thoroughfares to which we have alluded,* from which armed bands rushed down upon the merchants who were passing by. The latter, compelled to travel in companies, and well-armed, either fought or fled, as they judged the probabilities of victory to be greater or less. To so great an extent did this evil grow, and so slight was the prospect of any adequate protection

* The ruins of many of these castles are to be seen along the banks of the Rhine, the Rhone, and other rivers in Europe at this day.

from the higher governments, that a convention between Hamburg, Ditmarsh, and Hadeln took place in 1239, and a confederacy between Hamburg and Lübeck in 1241, in which they agreed to defend their commerce against the distant robbers and pirates, as well as their own walls and inhabitants against the attack and the tyranny of the neighboring princes, who wished to extend their dominions over them, and abolish those privileges which had been granted to them by the Emperors of Germany, and which had been the basis of their prosperity.

In 1247, Brunswick joined the confederacy, which was a highly important increase of their number, for that city was in the line of the trade which at that time set between the northern countries of the continent and Italy and India, through the central part of Germany; though a part of that trade passed by the Rhine and the Rhone. Many other cities and towns joined the confederacy in the course of a few years. And so numerous did the members of this union become that, in 1260, a diet was held at Lübeck, which had become the chief city of the league. Regular meetings soon began to be held. They occurred once in three years, and took place in that city about Whitsunday, or in the month of May. The archives were kept at Lübeck, and the seal of that city was impressed on all their papers. In every thing it took the lead.

Authors are not agreed as to the number of the Hanseatic cities, when the confederacy was in its most flourishing day. It is usually stated to have been eighty-five. Some writers, however, make it exceed one hundred. They were all in the northern part of Europe. We will only mention a few of them: Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Göttingen, Brunswick, Hanover, Munster, Osnabrück, Cologne, Magdeburg, Berlin, Dantzic, Königsberg, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in Germany; Bergen in Norway; Warberg in Sweden; Wisby in Gothland;

Thorn and Cracow, in Poland; Riga, Memel, Dorpat and Revel in Russia; Zütphen, Zwole, Nimeguen, Venloo &c., in Netherlands. Those authors who make the number of the Hanseatic cities to exceed one hundred, include Novgorod, and even Moscow, in Russia; and Antwerp, Bruges, and several other cities in Belgium.

The confederated cities took the title of Hanseatic, from the old Teutonic word Hansa, which signifies a league for mutual defence.

The towns which belonged to the Hanseatic confederacy were divided into four provinces, each having a capital or head-city; but Lübeck was recognized as being at the head of the whole league. For a long time the prosperity of these confederated cities was great. The commerce of all its members was greatly augmented and protected. To a very considerable extent similar laws and commercial regulations were introduced into all of them, and a uniform currency was, to a great degree, adopted and employed; a fact which greatly facilitated their inter-commercial relations. Great factories were established by the league at London, at Novgorod in Russia, at Bruges in Belgium, at Bergen in Norway. At length the commercial influence of the Hanseatic cities became so great that it seemed to involve all Europe in its train. Wealth flowed into them from all quarters. And in the process of time, the political influence of this confederation of merchants, as it might be called, became so great, that kings trembled on their thrones before its ordinances. It conquered Eric and Hakon, kings of Norway, and Waldemar III., king of Denmark. It deposed a king of Sweden, and gave his crown to Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. In 1428 it equipped a fleet of 248 ships, carrying 12,000 soldiers, for the conquest of Copenhagen. Even a burgomaster of Dantzic ventured to declare war against Christian, king of Denmark. So great was its power that it undertook to

provide for the security of commerce in the Baltic and the North seas. In the countries under its immediate influence it constructed canals, and introduced a uniform system of weights and measures.

But the prosperity of the Hanse towns began to decline when the circumstances on which it naturally depended began to be changed. This was the case when, through the advance of civilisation, the western nations began generally to appreciate the advantages of commerce, and each to seek to enjoy for itself that prosperity which commerce secures. With the progress which the science of government made from century to century, and the increase of security to merchants, the occasion which created and required the Hanseatic confederacy disappeared. The discovery of America also tended to diminish greatly the prosperity of the Hanseatic cities, inasmuch as it made a complete revolution in the commerce of the world, calling forth the resources of Spain, and Portugal, and France, and Holland, and above all of England, and enlisting them in commerce, to the destruction of the monopoly which the Hanseatic cities in the North, and the Republics of Italy, had so long enjoyed.

The first diet was held at Lübeck in 1260, as we have elsewhere remarked ; the last was held in 1630. At that diet the confederation was dissolved. But Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, and, we may add, Dantzic, formed a new alliance, though not under the name of Hanseatic cities. Properly speaking, the name of Hanseatic towns exists no longer in the vocabulary of politics. Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck and Frankfort-on-the-Maine are styled in the German confederation, the Four Free Cities.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF LUBECK.*

The Constitution of Lübeck is older than that of Hamburg ; it received its present form, save the few changes which have subsequently from time to time been introduced into it, from two constitutional revisions in 1665 and 1669. In many features it is identical with that of Hamburg ; but on several points there is a considerable difference. We will give a summary of it.

The Supreme Power resides jointly and equally in the Senate and Body of citizens.

The Senate is composed of four Burgomasters, three of whom are lawyers and one a merchant, and sixteen Senators, a majority of whom are merchants, who are chosen from the seven first colleges or classes of the citizens. A Burgomaster always presides in the meetings of the Senate. There are two Syndics, whose functions are precisely similar to those of the four Syndics of Hamburg, viz : they act as the secretaries of state for foreign and home affairs, give proper form to the acts of the Senate, have only a consultative voice in the meetings of the Senate, and take rank after the Burgomasters. The Senate has a chief secretary, two other secretaries, and an archivist or keeper of the archives, who are charged with the proper reducing to writing of the minutes of the Senate, the transmission and preservation of its acts, and the direction of the chancery.

The Senate appoints the Syndics, Secretaries, and Keeper of the Archives. It fills the vacancies which occur in its own numbers. To be eligible to the place of Senator, it is necessary to have completed thirty years ; not to be in the service of any foreign power ; and finally,

* For an interesting account of the constitutions of the Free Cities, the reader is referred to the valuable little work of M. Charles de Villers, entitled : *Constitutions des Trois Villes-Anseatiques, Lubeck, Bremen et Hambourg*—published at Leipsic in 1814.

not to be related in the ascending or descending line, or in the collateral line, even to the fourth degree, nor in the first degree of affinity by marriage, to any one of the other members of the Senate.

— The newly elected Senator is obliged, in addition to the ordinary oath as citizen, to take a particular one as a member of the Senate.

Every person elected Burgomaster or Senator is required to accept the office, or quit the city, after having paid one-tenth of his fortune into the public treasury.

The inhabitants who enjoy the right of suffrage are divided into twelve colleges or classes. The first is composed of the Patricians; the six following are composed of different companies or guilds of merchants in the mass; two others are formed of retail-merchants; and the three last are the brewers, ship-masters, and common laborers. Each of these colleges is presided over by a certain number of Elders, and has its particular place of meeting, where it deliberates and adopts its resolutions respecting any affair which concerns it. In the deliberations on the affairs of the state, each college has one vote. The plurality of these votes expresses the will of the citizens. Those of the citizens who are not members of the above-mentioned twelve colleges take no part in the deliberations which concern public affairs.

The Senate communicates with the citizens, either by writing, or verbally by a committee charged to confer with the Elders who are the speakers of their respective colleges.

It is the Senate which confers the right of citizenship, and receives the oath of the new citizen. The Lutherans, German Reformed, and Roman Catholics are equally admitted to it.

The Senate is clothed with the double function of government and the administration of justice, and its attri-

butives or prerogatives are precisely similar to those of the Senate of Hamburg, which we have described in detail. It exercises government as a body, or by deputations. It has charge of the police ; it appoints to all public employments, carries on the affairs of the state, and negotiates with foreign powers. It administers justice both in civil and criminal affairs, according to the published rules and according to the Lübeck code of laws, calling in the aid of the Roman common law, as well as the canon law.

The Senate judges, in the first instance, by the persons whom it delegates to this purpose, to whom are added clerks and other officers in the different inferior courts established in the city, in the suburbs, and in the territory. It judges, in the second instance, in civil and criminal affairs, in the general sessions held for that purpose.

From these decisions the party which considers itself aggrieved had formerly the right, in civil matters, of appeal to the Law-Faculty of some university in Germany, and whilst the constitution of the empire was in vigor, the parties had the right of appealing, in cases where the sum in litigation exceeded one thousand dollars, to one of the supreme tribunals of the Empire. They might carry their complaints of the denial or delay of justice to the same tribunal. But since 1815, all such appeals, in the last resort, are carried to the Supreme Tribunal, for the four Free Cities, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen and Frankfurt, which holds its sessions always in the city of Lübeck.

The Senate has power to pardon the crime or mitigate the punishment, in cases of capital offences. It exercises superior guardianship, under the direction of one Burgomaster, assisted by twelve senators. (This is the same thing as holding what we call Orphans' courts.)

The conveyance and mortgage of real estates take place publicly before the Senate, and are inscribed by the Prothonotary in the book of mortgages.

The cases in which the Senate cannot act without the concurrence of the citizens are precisely the same as those mentioned in the Hamburg Constitution ; they are such as making new laws, conferring privileges, giving orders on the treasury, &c. &c. Without consulting the citizens, the Senate cannot disburse a sum which exceeds two hundred dollars.

The initiative, in proposing laws, belongs to the Senate, which pronounces after the majority of the votes of the colleges, the resolutions of which must be transmitted to it in writing. In case of an equal division in these votes, the Senate decides. It has the power of rejecting, in part and in whole, the amendments which the colleges of the citizens may have introduced into a bill. It has the right to reproduce, from time to time, the propositions which the colleges of citizens have rejected. But the latter, in turn, have the right to express their desires to the Senate, and in this way call forth such propositions of modifications as may suit them.

The eight commercial colleges of citizens, named above, are called in particular to deliberate and to give their concurrence, in the following cases : In those which concern the interests of commerce in general, or any of its branches, and the modifications of the laws which have relation to it. 2d. In the making of new regulations, whether general or special, in affairs of commerce. 3d. When there is question of granting privileges to manufactures and fabrics. 4th. When there is question of some disposition of a law which concerns the currency.

The city levies two sorts of taxes, direct and indirect. Among the former some are levied on real estate, and others on personal property. The indirect imposts consist especially of duties on articles of consumption, stamp duties, taxes on objects of luxury, and duties on merchandise. During many years it has been found necessary to

levy many extraordinary impositions or taxes, both on real estate and personal property, among which is a capitation-tax, and what is called the patriotic contribution in honor and conscience,—and left to the good faith of each one,—and likewise many others.

The garrison of the city, which is subject to the orders of the Senate, consisted formerly of four companies, embracing four hundred men in all, and is destined to the maintenance of the public tranquillity. At present the number of the troops is greater, we believe, than it was 25 years ago. The contingent of this city for the German Confederation is 406 men. In extraordinary cases, the citizens, arranged in some 25 or 30 companies, are called on to occupy the gates.

The three denominations of Christians, Lutherans, German Reformed and Roman Catholics, enjoy the liberty of worship, and have their own churches. The Senate has supreme oversight in ecclesiastical affairs. The institutions of education also come under its supervision and control.

The inhabitants of the suburbs are considered as external citizens, and do not exercise the rights of actual citizens. Those of the rest of the territory, beyond the suburbs, are subject to the laws and imposts of the city. They are under the jurisdiction of the Senate. Their courts of first instance are particular tribunals. The inhabitants of Travemünde have a magistrate appointed by the Senate, and who holds their courts of first instance.

Such is a brief but comprehensive outline of the constitution and government of Lübeck. The reader will have remarked that it is considerably more democratic in several points than that of Hamburg. We will only add that the people have long lived happily, and we believe, contentedly under it, and though it might be amended, perhaps, in several particulars, yet take it all in all, it must be

pronounced a remarkably well constructed and well balanced machine, which has worked well a long time, and which it will be well to modify with great deliberation and prudence.

The revenues of Lübeck are about \$275,000. The public debt is nearly two millions of dollars; which is certainly very great for a commonwealth of not more than 46,000 souls. This city maintains very intimate commercial relations with Hamburg. In fact, if a good railroad were made between them, it would be little more than a suburb of that city. By means of a canal, from the Stecknitz, a small stream which falls into the Trave above Lübeck, to the Dolmenau, which falls into the Elbe, a large amount of trade is carried on between these cities, in addition to that which traverses, in wagons, the sea of sand and mud which lies between them.

We terminate our notice of Lübeck by giving a brief account of the awful events of November 6th, and the days following, 1806,—by which this city, which had enjoyed the blessings of an uninterrupted peace during more than a century, was suddenly overwhelmed in the calamities of war, and received a blow from which it has scarcely recovered during the many years of prosperity which have succeeded. Apart from the mere historical interest which attaches to the events which we are going to narrate, we cannot recall to our minds too frequently the dreadful consequences of war. A vivid impression of the evils which this awful scourge of the human race has, from time to time, inflicted on so many of the fairest portions and the most beautiful cities of the old world, would make men talk less flippantly than they do when they speak of the glories of war, and have a juster estimate of the blessings of peace, when they consider the question of exchanging them for scenes of rapine and blood.

On the 14th of October, 1806, Bonaparte, with the Grand

Army of France, met, and completely put to route, the forces of the Prussians on the plains of Jena. The first consequence of this great battle was the complete dispersion of his enemies, and his prompt and uninterrupted advance to Berlin. By this movement, the remains of the Prussian armies were completely divided. A portion of those forces,—and by far the greater,—with the king and other members of the royal family, retreated towards the eastern part of the kingdom, whither they were followed by Napoleon with the larger part of his forces. Several detachments of the Prussian army, including the remnants of shattered regiments, under the command of Blücher, fled precipitately to the west, and were closely pursued by the corps which the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte), Marshal Sault, and the Grand Duc de Berg commanded. Notwithstanding that their army was from day to day joined by some detachments which were flying over the country in various directions, the Prussians were almost daily defeated in their rear guards, and compelled to retreat from one position to another.

In a few days they were driven wholly out of Prussia, and compelled to take refuge in Mecklenburg, where they committed the greatest excesses in their rapid flight. But even here they found no resting-place, for the French columns, converging from different points, pressed hard upon them. Quitting the plains of Mecklenburg, Blücher presented himself at the gates of Lübeck, and seemed resolved to take possession of it, and there defend himself against his enemies. In vain the Senate of that peaceful and wholly neutral city, expostulated with him, and depicted the frightful consequences of this step. In vain they invoked the shield of justice and of the rights of nations; even this last defence of the helpless was of no avail to them. The Prussians entered by the three gates which stand on the eastern, northeastern and south-

eastern parts of the city, and strongly entrenching themselves by placing many pieces of cannon at those gates, and a considerable force with them, in order to make the greatest possible defence, they marched the largest part of their army through the city, and passing the gate on the western side, and crossing the river Trave, deployed or spread themselves over the level country, which lies on the left bank of that river, down to Travemünde. These arrangements were made early on the morning of the 6th of November.

But no sooner were they made than the three French commanders appeared with their forces, which in all amounted to fifty thousand men; and at once a most furious battle took place. The wretched Lübeckers beheld with consternation the awful strife which had commenced at their gates, and which was soon to penetrate through all their streets. After a furious cannonade of some two or three hours, the French drove the Prussians from the gates, carrying them at the point of the bayonet, and pursued them pell-mell into the streets. The Prussian musketeers, who had been posted in each house, on one side of every street that terminated at the gates, opened a murderous fire upon the French, who in turn attacked them, after they had driven back the mass of their enemies with whom they were engaged in front. This was no easy matter. Several times the Prussians rallied, and drove them back, and for a considerable time the awful spectacle was beheld, of opposing masses of men driving and re-driving each other at the point of the bayonet, and contesting every inch of ground. Vast numbers fell in the murderous affray. But at length the French cleared the streets, and then attacking the enemy that were entrenched in the houses, they pursued them from story to story, and from room to room, even to the very roofs.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when the

French got full possession of the city. Then commenced a scene of pillage and brutality which it is impossible to describe. The infuriated soldiers, who as a mass did not know that Lübeck was not a city which belonged to the enemy, and who believed, as soldiers always do, that what they had taken by storm was wholly their own, rushed everywhere into the houses of the citizens, instantly killing all who made resistance, and sometimes those who did not, and seized every thing of value on which they could lay their hands. Money and valuables, jewels and clothes, were the first objects of their rapine. In getting possession of these things great violence was often employed, and sometimes the persons who gave up with reluctance, what they possessed, or what they were supposed to possess, were instantly killed. Next victuals were sought. And to add to the excess, the miserable inhabitants thought to pacify the soldiers by giving them wine, with which the cellars of the rich, and of those who dealt in this article of commerce, unfortunately abounded. Drunkenness being added to fury, the disorders which the French committed were truly frightful. We speak only of the soldiers; for it is due to truth to say that the officers, and especially the excellent Marshal Bernadotte, did all that they could to repress these violations of all laws, human and divine. Still all they could do during the night which followed accomplished but little. It ought to be stated that some valuable officers lost their lives, nobly endeavoring to protect the helpless people. A Captain Clary, a relative, we believe, of Marshal Bernadotte, was badly wounded whilst engaged in this good work.

The next morning, at an early hour, the three Marshals left the city, in further quest of the enemy, whom they overtook beyond the village of Schwartau, two leagues from Lübeck, and compelled him to surrender. Towards evening, they returned with their forces, fifty thousand in number, bringing with them the twenty thousand troops of

the enemy, whom they had taken prisoners. All these men had to find places in Lübeck and the villages around. The churches and church-yards, the public Places, and the private houses were filled with them. No time was lost in ceremony. Whatever was wanted was taken possession of with the promptness of French soldiers. The Senate of the wretched city was in session perpetually, endeavoring to do all they could to satisfy the wants of their numerous and not very welcome guests. Bread and all other sorts of provisions were demanded in the most pressing manner. Provender for the horses was needed and could not be found. Thousands of horses must have starved, if the king of Denmark had not allowed corn and hay to be carried from the neighboring province of Holstein to supply them. No effort of ours can give an idea of the confusion and difficulty in which the poor Senators were, or of the insolence with which they were treated. The clamorous applicants assailed the Hall in which they were assembled, some demanding one thing, and some another. A cook wanted six dozen fresh oysters for his master, and stood impudently insisting that they should be instantly forthcoming! Another demanded the choicest wines! Another fresh bread! And there would have been no end to their clamor, had not the Prince of Ponte Corvo interfered by a proclamation, addressed especially to his own men, and by other measures, to prevent the Senate from being insulted. But notwithstanding all that great and good man could do to prevent it, wild disorder prevailed throughout the night of the 7th, and during the 8th and 9th days and nights. Gradually good order was restored, and these excesses restrained, and made finally, in a good measure, to cease. But no description can give our readers an adequate idea of these scenes.

The loss of property by pillage and needless waste was immense. Many families were literally plundered of

every thing in the shape of money, jewels, and wearing apparel. In many cases, parlors on the ground floors were converted into stables, and horses were to be seen standing on fine Brussels carpets, feeding from troughs which stood on marble tables, in front of looking-glasses! The loss of property was estimated at more than two millions of our dollars. But all this *material* waste was nothing in comparison with the demoralization which took place during these few days. The soldiers gave up the reins to their vilest lusts, whenever there was an opportunity of gratifying them. Women of all ranks and conditions fell a prey to their violence. In one case, twenty-two wretches seized one woman, the wife of a laborer, who had been married only the night before, and having gratified their base desires, threw her into a shallow pond in the rear of the house, where she died a few hours afterwards. The extent to which this barbarity was carried can never be known; for what parents, or husbands, or brothers, would not wish to conceal such cases, as completely as possible, and mourn in silence over the ignominy which their daughters, their wives, and their sisters had suffered? In many cases, beautiful and virtuous young ladies died in the course of a few weeks or months, consumed by the hidden grief which preyed upon them, in remembrance of the scenes through which they had passed. And what is, we believe, without a parallel in the history of the sacking of cities, even the female inmates of a Hospital for the Insane were invaded by some wretches, and two of them—fortunately for themselves unconscious of the crimes which these brutes committed—long bore the traces of the violence which they had received from their hands. We are fully aware that there are certain persons of such consummate depravity, that they can make light of such crimes as we have here alluded to, and can even laugh at the idea that there is any great enormity in such actions. They

are, in their opinion, only the trifling incidents of war, which one must expect, and are in reality hardly worthy of censure. But the laugh of such men is the laugh of hell, and their levity is the most appalling demonstration of the ineffable baseness of their souls! We turn, however, from this subject, and will pollute our pages with no more revolting details respecting it. The furious cry was every where heard: "Au nom de l'Empéreur! donne-moi ta bourse,—ta montre,—tes chemises,—ta femme! *Tout ton argent, ou je te tue!*"*

Amidst all these awful and cruel scenes, there was, as is always the case where the French are concerned, not a little of the extravagant and the burlesque. One soldier, who had pillaged the house of a Lutheran pastor, put on his cassock of black camlet, put over it his belt and his cartridge-box, and sallied forth to join his companions. Some dragoons, having need of a guide, tied a citizen to the tail of one of their horses, and so set out in quest of what they wanted. The house of the pastor *Von Houde* had been completely pillaged by some twenty or thirty marauders. Two soldiers afterwards came and stayed all night at his house, and helped themselves to such articles as they could find, notwithstanding the kind treatment which they had received from its occupant. In the morning, when about to depart, they demanded what little money he had, which he gave them. They still wanted to know if he had not some thing more in his pockets. He pulled out a small silver box, at the sight of which they exclaimed, "Here are the ducats!" He told them that the box contained the wafer which he used in giving the sacrament to the sick. At this they started back, fell on their knees, and begged to be allowed to kiss the box! They then went off; but were careful not to give up the things which they had stolen. Wonderful mixture of im-

* In the name of the Emperor! give me your purse, your watch, your linen, your wife! *All your money, or I will kill you!*

morality and superstition! For one cannot call by the name of religion an idolatry so gross, and which influences so little the heart.*

We may add to the notice which we have just given of the capture and the sacking of Lübeck, that it was a long time before the city recovered fully from this great calamity—a calamity so much the more overwhelming and distressing, as it was unexpected, and occasioned by those whom it had considered to be its friends. Among the twenty thousand prisoners whom the French took on this occasion, were 2,000 Swedes—many of them young noblemen—who had been sent to aid the Prussians. The noble conduct of the Prince of Ponte Corvo towards these Swedish troops, as well as towards the inhabitants of the city, was the circumstance which afterwards led to his being chosen Crown Prince of Sweden. A noble reward for such noble and generous conduct!

We quitted Lübeck with reluctance, for we found it a most agreeable city. Those who like bustle and crowds of people, will find it *triste*, as the French say, and rather dull. But we like its antique, quiet aspect, and the good order, and good taste, and kindness of heart which are every where visible. From Lübeck we returned to Hamburg.

And now, as we have completed our visit to the two celebrated Free Cities of Hamburg and Lübeck, which stand on the isthmus which unites the Scandinavian region to Germany, we propose to pause a little while before we enter that region, that we may take a hasty review, in our next chapter, 1., Of the early Scandinavian history, and 2., Of the modern history of Denmark. Such a historical sketch may be both interesting and profitable; and it will better enable us to understand some things which we shall doubtless meet with in the progress of our travels.

* We are indebted for the facts in relation to the capture of Lübeck, to a most interesting account of it which M. Villers gave in a letter to the Countess Fanny Beauharnais.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF DENMARK.

Early history of the Scandinavian country fabulous—Scandinavia unknown to the early Romans—The Cimbric War—Tacitus's account of the Scandinavians—Pliny's—Character of the people—Religious rites—Procopius's account of the Scandinavians—Cassiodorus—The arrival of Odin from Scythia—His adventures and character—His institutions and death—History of Denmark from the days of Odin till Horda Knut—Dan Mykillati—Rolf Krake—Ivar Vidfadne—Harold Hildetand—Sigurd Ring—Ragnar Lodbrok—Horda Knut I.—Gorm the Old—Harold Blaatand—Svend Tveskæg—Knut the Great—Horda Knut II.—History of Denmark to the Union of Calmar—Svend Estrithson and his five sons—Prosperous reign of Valdemar the Great—The good Bishop Absalom—The successes of Valdemar the Great—Valdemar III.—Christopher I. Valdemar IV. (Atterdag)—Margaret—History of Denmark from the treaty of Calmar till the Reformation—Capricious reign of Erik—Christian I.—John or Hans—Christian II. and his cruelties—Frederick I.—Christian III.—History of Denmark from the Reformation to the present time—Frederick II.—Christian IV., Denmark's ablest monarch—Frederick III, wise and able—Change in the constitution of the kingdom—Christian V.—Frederick IV.—Christian VI. and Frederick V., both good monarchs—The imbecile and unfortunate Christian VII.—The unhappy fate of the queen, Caroline Matilda—The adventures and fate of the celebrated Struensee—Copenhagen twice attacked by the English—Frederick VI., the calamities of his reign and his domestic sorrows—Christian VIII., the present king.

I. GENERAL NOTICE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.

It is proper that a brief notice of the early or rather fabulous history of the entire Scandinavian people,—including the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes and Finns,—should precede the sketches of the history of each of the four Scandinavian countries which we propose to give in its proper place.

The early history of the original settlers of Scandinavia, like that of all other nations save the Jews, is either buried

in total obscurity, or involved in legendary fictions, which have in all barbarous ages supplied the absence of real knowledge. The historians of the north of Europe, who have, with a zeal and a perseverance unequalled in any other part of the world, investigated the histories of their respective portions of Scandinavia, have generally come to the conclusion that the earliest inhabitants of these regions, of whom any monument remains, were a colony of the Goths, a branch of the Scythians, who some 2,000 years before the Christian epoch, left the banks of the Araxes, and gradually wandered westward to the shores of the Euxine Sea, and thence over all the northern parts of Europe, until they reached the Northern Ocean. They conquered whatever wandering tribes they may have found occupying these primeval abodes. Grotius and other authors suppose, with probability, that the Laplanders and Finns are descended from those ancient tribes in Scandinavia, who were conquered and driven back into the inaccessible regions of the extreme north, by the Goths. If we were to believe the early chronicles of these countries,—the records of tradition and of song,—we should be able to trace their history back to the very door of Noah's ark, and give even the names of the kings, who have, in a long succession, reigned over these parts, from the days of Japhet and his two sons Gomer and Magog. Sweno,—say these veritable chronicles, as Joannes Magnus and Olaus Rudbeck, two learned Swedes, assure us,—the eldest son of Magog, founded the Swedish monarchy; and his brothers Gether and German, were the ancestors of the Getæ and the Germans; whilst Ubbo, the youngest, built the city of Upsala, and succeeded his father on the throne a few years after the confusion of tongues! But passing by all these legendary accounts as given by the authors just named, as well as those recorded by Saxo-Grammaticus, who wrote about the end of the 12th century,

and by Torfæus, an Icelander, who resided the greater part of his life in Norway, and wrote in the latter part of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, we come to what is more worthy of credit.

The early Romans knew nothing of the Scandinavian nations. Living in the remote regions of the north, their names even were for a long time unknown in Rome. And this state of things might have continued for centuries longer had it not been for the terrible insurrection which the Cimbri, the ancient inhabitants of Denmark,—the Cimbric Chersonese,—made into Italy during the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, about 112 years before the Christian epoch. A portion of these warlike tribes left their original abodes in the north, with their wives and children, to seek a place of habitation farther to the south. Their number was estimated at 300,000. The men were arrayed in the armor usually worn in those times. Each soldier wore a helmet, surmounted with high plumes, and adorned with the representation of the head of some animal, with the mouth open; a polished cuirass of iron covered his body; and he carried a long halberd in his hand. Besides two-edged darts for throwing at a distance, they had broad and heavy swords, which they used in close fight. After having spread terror and desolation throughout all their route, they arrived on the northern borders of Italy. In four successive battles they defeated the Roman generals. At length Caius Marius was sent against them. That great general defeated at first a portion of these barbarians, as the Romans called them, at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix-in-Provence, near Marseilles) with great slaughter, and finally overthrew and almost annihilated the remainder on the plains of Vercelli (Vercellæ,) near the Adige, in the north part of Italy. In the dreadful slaughter of that day, 140,000 men are said to have fallen, and about 60,000 were taken prisoners. A few of

the Cimbrians escaped, and took refuge in the neighboring mountains, where their descendants are to be found a distinct race, at the present time. Frederick IV. of Denmark visited this singular colony, who occupy seven parishes, (the *sette commune*) in 1708, discoursed with them in Danish, and found their idiom perfectly intelligible.*

The Cimbrian war lasted ten years. After that event we hear no more of the Scandinavians until the days of Augustus, when, as Strabo informs us, they sent ambassadors to solicit the friendship of the Roman Emperor, and to make him presents. In the days of Tacitus, the remains of these people had not yet recovered from the ruinous emigration and its disastrous issue, which we have just mentioned. That great author who was the first, as it has been justly said, to illustrate the study of facts by the science of philosophy, gives us the first rational accounts of those northern tribes, which had so much troubled the commonwealth, and were destined afterwards to overthrow the empire of Rome. He not only gives us their names, but also delineates, in a most masterly manner, their character, customs and habits. In his day these obscure tribes had made no figure in the history of the world. It was not so in after times. Some of these tribes, whose barbarous manners he describes, have placed their names, by their deeds of high endeavor, on History's most ineffaceable pages. The Vandili, who lived in the low, flat country of Mecklenburg and Pomerania; fought their way from the woods and marshes of north Germany to the sunny coasts of Africa; the neighboring Suevi conquered the rich fields of fragrant Spain; the Longobardi fixed their residence in the plains of Italy; and the Angli, then an obscure tribe, and too insignificant to merit the particular notice of the imperial historian, afterwards placed

* Eustace's *Classical Tour through Italy*, vol. 1. p. 142.

their name and their history in the annals of the most celebrated country in the world.

Of the Scandinavian tribes, mentioned by Tacitus, the *Suiones* (the *Sviar* of the middle ages,) occupied the southern part of Sweden. The classic author represents them as brave, warlike, and having ships, and as being governed by absolute monarchs. The *Sitones* are alleged to have occupied Norway, and to have been governed by a woman,—a degradation which the Romans considered not only unworthy of freemen, but even worse than the basest bondage. The *Fenni*, whom Tacitus places in Finland, were the most debased and barbarous of all the Scandinavian tribes, feeding on common herbs, without houses, and clothed in the skins of wild beasts. Ignorant of the use, and even of the existence of iron, they pointed their arrows with bones. They had no fixed abode, but wandered from place to place, finding a miserable shelter, in seasons of storms and of winter, in temporary habitations, made of the boughs of trees. As to the inhabitants of the remotest north, Tacitus had only such reports as represented them as half-human and half-beast, which he rejects as absurd.

Pliny names the *Hilleviones*, the *Goutoi*, the *Daukiones* and the *Skrithfinni*, as living in what is now called Sweden. The last mentioned tribe lived along the Gulf of *Bethnia*, and were so named from the rapidity of their movement over the ice and snow on wooden skates.

In manners and appearance, all these northern tribes bore a strong resemblance to each other, and to the ancient Germans. According to Tacitus, who viewed them with the eye of a philosopher, and described them with his customary brevity of style, their national characteristics were—robust bodies, compact limbs, blue eyes, stern countenances, and a fierce, warlike disposition. They were capable of enduring cold, hunger and fatigue; but impa-

tient of heat and thirst. In war they found their chief delight. In peace, they gave themselves up to sloth, to drinking and gaming. In their feasts, they were addicted to quarrelling; and scenes of hilarity often ended in brawls and murder. Their annals existed only in the songs of their bards, or skalds, an order of men who were treated with unbounded reverence, and whose rude, but animating strains were heard with equal delight in the day of battle and at the feast of victory.

With the use of money they were but little acquainted. They are said to have preferred silver to gold, not because it was more valuable, but because it was more convenient for the purchase of the cheap and common commodities which they needed. Their roving habits, as well as their contempt of industry, made it impossible that they should enjoy the luxuries, or even the comforts of civilized life. Flocks and herds constituted their principal wealth, as well as the means of their subsistence. Of iron they had but little knowledge. That metal, notwithstanding the immense stores which were contained in the bowels of their country, and which has constituted so large a portion of its modern productions, was exceedingly scarce, and its use very limited, among the inhabitants of even the eastern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula.

There was one feature in their moral state which was common to all the Scandinavian nations. It was that their superstitious ceremonies were the same. The goddess Hertha, or Mother Earth, was every where adored and worshipped with the same ceremonies. Her temples were the solemn groves. The symbol of her form and her majesty was veiled from vulgar eyes. Her permanent abode was a wooded island. But she was accustomed to make visits, from her insular residence, to the surrounding neighborhoods. In her processions she was carried in a cart drawn by cows. Wherever she went, the greatest hilarity

prevailed. Sacrifices were offered in abundance. During her peregrinations, quarrels ceased, even wars were suspended, and the sword returned to its scabbard. When fatigued with the converse of mortals, she was carried back to her island-home, which some maintain to have been Zealand; others assert that it was Rugen; and others still, that it was Heligoland, (the Holy Island,) at the mouth of the Elbe. But, in fact, all attempts to determine the residence of the Scandinavian Cybele have been vain.

Such is the substance of the details which the Roman historian gives us of the manners, religion, and institutions of the inhabitants of Scandinavia. Procopius, in the sixth century, describes the gross superstitions of the tribes which peopled Thule, or Scandinavia, and the worship which they rendered to gods or demons, which presided, according to their theology, over the air, the earth, the ocean, the rivers, and the fountains. The sacrifices which they offered were bloody. They offered as victims the prisoners whom they took in war, an offering peculiarly acceptable to their deities. Cassiodorus also wrote, to please his imperial master, Theodoric, an account of these nations. The original of his work is lost. Jornandes wrote an abridgment of it, from which it appears that the appellation of Ostrogoths and Visigoths (or Eastern and Western Goths) was derived from the two provinces of East and West Gothland, in the southern part of Sweden.

The most important epoch in the history of the Scandinavian nations, according to their early chronicles, was the arrival of Odin, with a numerous retinue of friends and companions. This event occurred in the century immediately preceding the commencement of the Christian era. At least this is the conclusion to which the most learned of the northern archæologists have come. This Odin, who figures so much in the early history of Scandinavia, was one of the Scythian princes who were expelled

from their country when it was conquered by Pompey, in the Mithridatic war. His original name was Sigge; but he assumed the name of Odin, a Scythian deity, whose priest he was, as were also two of his brothers. The city which he inhabited in his native land was called Asgard, and the people were called Asen, or Aesir. Leaving his brothers in Asgard, Odin set out to seek his fortunes in other lands. Wherever he went, he conquered every thing before him, until at length he reached the shores of Sweden, having passed through Denmark on his way, and founded Odensee and other places of importance in the islands of the Danish archipelago. He fixed his abode at Sigtuna, on the shores of lake Logur (the Målar Sea,) in the modern province of Stockholm. Upsala was founded by him, and places in that neighborhood were assigned to his pontiffs. The surrounding territory was called the Lesser Svithiod, or Sweden, in distinction from the Larger Svithiod, or Scythia, from whence he and his companions had emigrated; and also Mannheim, the home of Man, to distinguish it from Asgard, or God-heim, the abode of the Asen, or celestial deities.

Not satisfied with the conquest of Denmark and Sweden, Odin extended his rule over Norway also; and at his death he left three of his numerous sons on the thrones of these three countries, viz.: Heimdall, in Sweden; Skiold, in Zealand, from whom the race of the Skioldung-kings descended, and ruled over Denmark; and Yngve in Norway, whence sprang the Yngling-monarchs, who ruled long in that country. Balder, another son of the same venerable sire, ruled over the Angli in the southern part of the Cimbrian Chersonese, or what is now called Sleswic. Descendants from the same immortal stock were to be found, for many ages, in other countries. Horsa and Hengist, the two Saxon chiefs who conquered England in the fifth century, reckoned Odin (or Woden, in their dia-

lect) as their ancestor, and were descended, according to their account of the matter, from Balder, the viceroy of the Angli.

Marvellous, indeed, are the accounts which the ancient Scandinavian chronicles give us of this Odin, the warrior-king, the divine prophet, and sacred priest. His sword never returned unvictorious to its scabbard. His vast mind penetrated far into the vista of futurity. His knowledge on all subjects was most extensive, if not infinite. His music was such as to make the rocks expand with delight, and the spirits to stand motionless in the infernal regions. The Sagas* even tell us that he could strike his enemies with blindness; render the edges of their weapons dull; make his own warriors invisible; change himself into any beast, bird or fish, at pleasure; and fly in an instant to any part of the world. And they even go so far as to say that he could by a single word extinguish fire, still the raging sea, direct the course of the winds, and raise the dead!

After having accomplished a vast number of glorious achievements, Odin terminated his life with his own hand, saying to his attendants that he was going back to Scythia, to take his seat among the gods at Asgard, where he would prepare an eternal banquet, and abodes of felicity, for those who fight like heroes, and bravely die with their swords in their hands. His remains were buried at Sigtuna, with great pomp and magnificence.

* *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 6, 7. The Sagas are collections of legends. These collections are quite extensive, and extremely curious. These, with the *Elder Edda*, a collection of the songs and legends of antiquity, made by Sæmund Sigfusson, in the eleventh century, and the *Younger Edda*, written as a commentary on the former, by Snorre Sturleson, contain an immense mass of legendary lore, which has been thoroughly examined and sifted by the Danish archæologists.

Such is the account which the Scandinavian Sagas give of this wonderful personage. It is not astonishing that the author of such achievements was soon worshipped as a god by the ignorant and the credulous. Gibbon and Pinkerton have not hesitated to express their disbelief of the existence of any such hero, or that any such man ever came from the shores of the Caspian sea to those of the Baltic. But the most profound of the Danish and Swedish archæologists of our times seem to think that such a person did really exist, and that the amount of the truth, when stripped of the mythic additions of the Sagas, is that Odin was a foreigner from the east, of much talent, who obtained extensive authority in Sweden and the adjoining countries, and gave some peculiar laws and institutions to the people.

Referring the reader who desires to have a perfect knowledge of the theogony of the Scandinavians to the Elder and the Younger Edda, we have only to add, that the aboriginal religion of the inhabitants of that country was very simple. They worshipped one supreme God, from whom emanated many inferior deities which presided over the elements and operations of nature; and whose favor was to be propitiated by sacrifices, and to become the reward of the just and the brave in a future state. The institutions of Odin and his followers greatly corrupted this simple Sabeism, and modified it in many respects. One principle, however, ran through all: namely, that the joys of a future existence were eminently, and indeed, exclusively, reserved for the brave. All sorts of bliss was to be theirs. And in the 540 halls in the palace of Valhalla they were to revel for ever, and drink mead, proffered to them by the Valkyries or nymphs of Paradise, out of the skulls of their vanquished enemies! No marvel that the believers in such a religion loved war, and despised death on the field of battle.

Passing from these general notices of the early history

and institutions of the entire Scandinavian race, we shall devote the remainder of the chapter to the consideration of the history of Denmark in particular.

1. The Danish historians divide the history of their country into several eras. The First comprises that portion of it which passed from the beginning of the reign of Odin, in about the year 70 before the commencement of the Christian era, until the death of Horda Knut II., which occurred in the year 1,044 of that era. They present us with a list of some 36 kings who reigned within that long period.* Not a little obscurity, however, hangs over the names as well as the reigns of some of these monarchs—if indeed

* The following is the series of kings who reigned in Denmark during the era referred to in the text. It is the result of the unwearyed excavation which the Danish archæologists have made in the antiquities of their country.

This series of Danish kings is called that of the *Skioldungs*, from Skiold, a son of Odin, the Mohammed and the Mars of the Hyperboreans.

	B. C.		A. C.
Odin arrives in the North,	70	Rolf Krage,	died, 522
Skiold, died,	40	Frode VII.	" 548
Fridlief I.,	23	Halfdan III.,	" 580
Frode I., after Christ,	35	Rorik Slyngebånd,	" 588
Fridlief II.,	47	Ivar Vidfådne,	" 647
Havar,	59	Harald Hildetand,	" 735
Frode II.,	87	Sigurd Ring,	" 750
Vermund, the Sage,	140	Ragnar Lodbrok,	" 794
Olaf the Mild,	190	Sigurd Snogoje,	" 803
Dan Mykillati,	270	Horda Knut I.,	" 850
Frode III., the Pacific,	310	Erik I.,	" 854
Halfdan I.,	324	Erik II.,	" 883
Fridlief III.,	348	Gormr the Old,	" 941
Frode IV.,	407	Harald Blaatand (Blue-toothed),	" 991
Ingild,	456	Svend Tveskaeg,	" 1014
Halfdan II.,	447	Knut (Canute) the	
Frode V.,	460	Great,	" 1035
Helge and Roe,	494	Horda Knut II.,	" 1042
Frode VI.,	510		

we may give them this appellation. The first of this line, after Odin, was his son Skiold, to whom tradition has attributed all possible good qualities. Of many of the others nothing worthy of mention is recorded. It was a long time before all the territory of what is now called Denmark was reduced under the sway of one king. Different parts of the country were governed by different princes. The successors of Odin reigned only in Zealand and the adjoining islands, during the first ten centuries. At length they subdued (during the reign of Gorm the Old) the petty kings of Jutland and Sleswic. Many kings were elected by their subjects in popular assemblies, where all had a right to vote. But choice was always made from the sacred stock of Odin.

The most distinguished of these early Danish kings were Dan Mykillati, Rolf Krake, Ivar Vidfadne, Harald Hildetand, Sigurd Ring, Ragnar Lodbrok, Horda Knut I., Gorm the Old, Herald Blaatand, Svend Tveskaeg, Knut the Great, and Horda-Knut II. The brevity which the nature of this work demands forbids our entering into the details of the actions of these sovereigns. The first named united all Denmark, save Jutland, under his sway. Rolf-Krake was distinguished for his gigantic size, and his many virtues. Harald Hildetand seemed to have raised the kingdom to a wonderful pitch of renown. He was overthrown in a great naval battle on the coast of Scania, by his nephew and successor, Sigurd Ring. The accounts which we have of this celebrated battle, represent it as having been truly wonderful. It would seem as if all the petty kings, princes, and nobles of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and many other countries, must have been there. Sigurd had 2,500 ships, as they were termed. Harald had 30,000 princes and nobles. Dreadful was the slaughter on both sides, in this great and terrible fight, in which, according to the northern muse, "The sun was darkened

with the immense multitude of darts and stones, and the smoke of human gore." Old Harald was killed by Odin himself, who, like the Mars of Grecian poesy, interfered on this occasion, and beat out the warrior-king's brains with his resistless war-club. Sigurd, when dying, left his kingdom to his son Ragnar Lodbrok, who, like many of his predecessors, greatly infested with his fleets the coasts of England and France. In the former country he at length lost his life, in a battle with Ella, the Saxon king of Northumberland. His sons terribly avenged his death, and Ivar, one of them, took actual possession of the throne of that part of England. Gorm the Old, son of Horda Knut I., fully established the rule of the Danish kings over Jutland. During his reign, Christianity, which had for some time been making progress in Sleswic and Jutland, through the labors of the celebrated Ancharius, the great Apostle of the North, penetrated into Denmark. Harald Blaataand, after a long and prosperous reign, was dethroned by his son Svend, (the Swyen or Sweno of British history) who renewed the Danish descents upon England, in the year 981, after they had ceased during nearly a century. After having made many irruptions into that island, and having been as often bought off by the weak Ethelred, he captured the city of London in 1013, and established the Danish dominion in Britain. Svend was but a poor Christian; or rather he turned apostate and tried to re-establish paganism. But his son Knut* the Great was a better man, and did much

* The name of this king is spelled variously by the Danish and English authors—Knutr, Knud, Cnut and Chnut. When he was canonized, in the 12th century, his name was latinized into Canutus, whence his name became Canute in English. Hardicanute derives his name from Hordia, the district or county where he was brought up—not from his *hardy* constitution, as some may suppose.

to re-establish Christianity in Denmark. After a prosperous reign, which was not, however, free from some severe cruelties—for the expiation of which Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome—he died at Shaftesbury, in England, (in the month of November, 1035) at the age of forty-one, leaving the kingdoms of Denmark and England to his son Horda Knut II.

2. We come now to the Second Period in the history of Denmark, which extends from the death of Horda Knut II., in 1042, to the union of the three kingdoms by the treaty of Calmar, in 1387—a period of 345 years. During this period many changes took place in the affairs of that country, which the brief limits assigned to this sketch will not allow us to notice, save in a manner the most general and the most concise possible. Instead, therefore, of noticing in detail the reigns of the twenty-two kings* who occupied the throne during that era, we shall content ourselves with giving an account of those who were the most distinguished.

Horda Canute succeeded his father, Canute the Great, in

* The following is a list, according to the Danish historians, of the kings who reigned in Denmark during that period :—

	A. D.		A. D.
Svend Estrithson, died,	1076	Knut VI.,	died 1202
Harald (Hein) Svendson,	" 1080	Valdemar II., (Sejer)	" 1214
Knut III., (the Saint,)	" 1086	Valdemar III., (co-re-	" 1231
Olap, (Hunger,)	" 1095	gent,)	" 1250
Erik, (Eiegod),	" 1103	Erik VI. (Plogpenn-	" 1252
Nickolas Svendson,	" 1134	ing,)	" 1259
Erik IV., (Emun),	" 1137	Abel,	" 1286
Erik V., (Lamm,)	" 1147	Christopher I.,	" 1319
Knut V.,	" 1156	Erik VII., (Glipping)	" 1334
Svend (Grathe) Emunson,	" 1157	Erik VIII.,	" 1375
Valdemar I., (surnamed	" 1182	Christopher II.,	" 1387
the Great,)	" 1182	Valdemar IV., (Atter-	" 1375
		dag,)	" 1387
		Olaf,	" 1387

the kingdom of Denmark, and upon the death of his half-brother Harald Harefoot, he became undisputed master also of the Anglo-Saxon sceptre. But intemperance soon put an end to his reign. His successor was his cousin Svend, a son of Estritha, a sister of Canute the Great, and Ulfr Jarl, whom that monarch had murdered. With him commenced the second or middle dynasty, which reigned in Denmark for nearly 300 years.

The reign of Svend Estrithson was far from being a tranquil one. First he had a disastrous war with Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, by whom he was defeated in a great naval battle in the river Lissa, and escaped a capture with vast difficulty, and only through the kindness of Harald's lieutenant, Hakon Jarl. Next he equipped a fleet to recover the throne of the Norman kingdom in England. But this enterprise failed through the treachery of the general who commanded, Asbion Jarl. Then succeeded a war with the Archbishop of Bremen and the prelates of his own kingdom, because of his having married the princess Gyda, the daughter of his former wife Gunhilda. In the issue, he was compelled to put her away. To avenge himself on his adversary of Bremen, he solicited the pope to appoint an archbishop within his own dominions. This favor was granted, and the city of Lund in Scania, then belonging to Denmark, was made the archiepiscopal see. This arrangement, however, did not go into effect until the reign of his son Erik the Good. And finally he had a serious difficulty with his friend, Bishop William of Roeskilde, but which terminated happily. He died of a fever whilst in Jutland, and was buried in the cathedral of Roeskilde, by the special care of Bishop William.

After the death of Svend, a period of more than a century of intestine difficulties, wars and bloodshed, passed, until the reign of Valdemar the Great. Svend had left

five sons, who all succeeded him in order on the throne. They were Harald, Knut, Olaf, Erik, and Nikolas or Niels. Harald reigned but a short period—was a good prince, rather than otherwise, and was called Hein, (the Gentle). Knut engaged in an expedition against England, which turned to no account, though 1,000 ships, it is said, had been collected for the purpose. He was afterwards killed, in the church of St. Albans at Odensee in the island of Funen, whither he had fled, by the people, who were exasperated by his exactions. Olaf succeeded. During his reign a famine prevailed throughout the kingdom; for this reason he is surnamed Hunger. Erik, called Erigod (the Good), succeeded him. He set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died at Cyprus. And last of all Nikolas came to the throne, and reigned long and feebly. His nephew, Knut Lavard, son of Erik the Good, rebelled against him, and was assassinated by his cousin Magnus, a son of Nikolas. The indignant people bestowed the kingdom on Erik Emun, a brother of Knut Lavard. A civil war ensues, and Nikolas and his son Magnus are defeated and slain. Erik, having obtained possession of the throne, puts his brother Harald to death and all his children, save Olaf, who fled to Sweden. Erik made a successful excursion against the pagan Wends in the isle of Rugen, and compelled them to embrace Christianity. Upon his return he was assassinated by the son of a man whom he had ordered to be put to death. Erik, son of Erigod, succeeded, and had a war with Olaf, who had returned from Sweden, and claimed the crown. He was defeated and slain in battle. Erik afterwards abdicated the throne, and became a recluse. A bloody civil war then ensued between Svend Grathe, a natural son of Erik Emun, and Knut, son of Magnus, which issued in the death of both, one in battle, and the other by assassination, when Valdemar, called the Great, son of Knut Lavard, ascended the throne.

The preceding paragraph is a summary of the turbulent and disastrous reigns of some eight or ten sovereigns, under whose sway, or violent attempts to reign, the poor afflicted country bled at every pore. But the happy reign of Valdemar compensated in some degree for these long-continued evils. It is refreshing, after wading through the uninteresting, or rather the distressing details which a fuller history must give of events such as we have just touched upon in the few preceding paragraphs, to arrive at the history of such a prince as Valdemar I. Unfortunately, his reign was not long, for it commenced in his 26th, and ended in his 48th year. Yet, during that time, he did much for his country, which he found impoverished and distracted by long-continued civil wars, pillaged with impunity by the piratical Wends, and the common people trodden under foot by the feudal and ecclesiastical nobility. All these evils were in a greater or less measure remedied during his reign of twenty-two years. He drove the Wends from all the strongholds which they had seized in the kingdom, and pursuing them to their haunts along the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic, he conquered them in thirteen expeditions and twenty-eight battles. The city of Jomsberg, situated on an island in the mouth of the river Oder, and which was the commercial emporium of the Wends, he captured and utterly destroyed in the year 1170. In a word, he subdued completely this entire robber-race, and freed the kingdom from all further solicitude from that source. He repressed also the insolence of the clergy, and especially Eskill, the Archbishop of Lund, who was compelled to vacate his see, in which he was succeeded by the good Absalom, the bishop of Roeskilde.

This Absalom was a remarkable man. He was the sincere friend of the king, and ever at his side in the times of danger. He was a warrior as well as priest. If the

Wends made a sudden irruption into any part, during the absence of the king, Absalom laid aside his robes; in place of the mitre he put on the helmet, exchanged the crosier for the sword, and, sallying forth, he led the troops to battle and to victory. He founded, or rather fortified and enlarged the city of Copenhagen, which was then only a village of fishermen. Absalom erected a fortress on the spot where now stands the vast palace of Christiansborg. It was called at first Axelhuus, or Absalom's house. In a short time traders flocked to this place, so favorable for commerce; and in the course of a few years a considerable city was formed, and the foundation laid of one of the finest capitals in the north of Europe. Absalom left it as an appanage to the Bishops of Roeskilde, from whom it was afterwards purchased by Christian I., and made the capital of the kingdom.

For the protection of the kingdom against the Germans, Valdemar enlarged and strengthened the fortress or breastwork across Sleswic; and for the maintenance of the Church, he introduced tithes. He died in the year 1182, regretted by all his subjects.

The characters, as well as the fortunes of the successors of Valdemar I., were exceedingly various. Knut VI., his son, guided by the wise and vigilant Absalom, archbishop of Lund, not only avoided the snare which the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had spread for him, but also defeated and annihilated the forces of the Duke of Pomerania, whom the Emperor had stirred up against him. The whole of Pomerania was conquered, and, indeed, the entire country along the southern shores of the Baltic, from the Vistula to the Elbe. For this reason that monarch assumed the title of King of the Slaves, or Vandals, which has been ever since retained by his successors on the throne of Denmark. Knut was afterwards compelled to take up arms again, against Adolphus III., Duke of Holstein, and

Bishop Valdemar, who had stirred up a civil war. But the issue of it was favorable to the king, who soon afterwards died. During the peace which the kingdom enjoyed for a great portion of the reign of this prince, the arts and commerce began to make an advance. The condition of the people became visibly improved, and their manners and dress began to wear the appearance of increasing refinement. They wore no longer the garb of mariners, but adopted the dress and arms of other civilized nations, using for this purpose "rich stuffs," as Arnold of Lübeck informs us, "of various colors, and even purple and fine linen."

The brother and successor of Knut VI. was Valdemar II. This king extended the Danish dominions even to Revel, on the Gulf of Finland, having overrun Esthonia with a large army, transported on a fleet of one thousand vessels of all descriptions. Victory every where attended his arms. But in the latter part of his reign, he lost, by various reverses, in his quarrel with Adolphus IV., and other petty princes of Germany, and the free city of Lübeck, a large part of the possessions of the crown on the southern coast of the Baltic; and Denmark, from being the first power in the north of Europe, began to fall from that proud pre-eminence. This monarch did much to improve the laws of his country, and the administration of justice. He caused a survey of his kingdom to be made, not unlike that which the Domesday-Book of William the Conqueror contains, and reduced to great order the civil and municipal regulations of the realm. He died at the age of 71.

His oldest son, Valdemar III., reigned but a little while. He was accidentally killed in a hunting party in 1231. Upon his death, the country was again desolated by civil war between his three brothers, Erik, Abel, and Christopher, who at length composed their differences, and all succeeded, in the order in which they were named, to the

throne. The first two met with violent deaths, and the last,—Christopher,—sustained during all his reign a fierce contest with the archbishop of Lund, the famous Jacob Erlandsen, and the other clergy of the realm, whose insolent claims had now become equalled only by those of the feudal nobility. After his death, civil war again burst forth, and there was nothing but confusion, violence, and mal-administration during the reigns of his successors, Erik VII., Erik VIII., Christopher II., and Valdemar IV., (Atterdag,) until the kingdom sunk to the lowest state which we can imagine to be consistent with existence. The nobles and the clergy encroached so much upon the crown, and upon the rights of the nation, that in reality the sovereign had no power left, but was completely at their mercy. And to such a pitch of degradation was the kingdom reduced, that it presented that perfect specimen of the worst of all kinds of monarchy, in which there is a sceptreless king, a despotic nobility, an avaricious and insolent priesthood, and an oppressed and ignorant people.

Valdemar IV. was the best of these worthless sovereigns, and his memory is still cherished with some respect; and the peasants in the vicinity of Vordingborg, his favorite place of residence, implicitly believe that he is often heard at night, if not seen, flying with his horses and his dogs, through the air on his hunting expeditions, as he was wont to do in the olden times. Upon his death, Olaf, son of Hakon VI., king of Norway, and Margaret, the second daughter of Valdemar IV. above mentioned, was chosen king, and his mother regent during his minority. Upon the death of her husband Hakon VI., in 1380, Margaret became regent of the kingdom of Norway also, for her son, who was the regular heir to the throne of that country. Not content with two crowns for her son, or rather for herself, Margaret claimed for her son, in the right of her husband, Hakon VI., the crown of Sweden, of which he, as the

son of Magnus Smek, was the legitimate heir. But Olaf died at the age of 17, in the year 1387. This, however, did not prevent Margaret from claiming the three crowns. By Denmark and Norway she was chosen queen, upon the death of her son Olaf; and the Swedes, a few years afterwards, upon the expulsion of their king, Albert of Pomerania, tendered her their crown also. Thus the three crowns were united. The details of this union were settled by commissioners from the three kingdoms, at Calmar, in 1397.

3. The Third Period in the history of Denmark extends from the Union of Calmar until the Reformation.*

During this period eight sovereigns ruled over the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Of all these sovereigns, no one was more remarkable for striking traits of character than the first Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North," as she has been called. As has already been stated, she became Regent of Norway in 1380, upon the death of Hakon VI. Upon the death of her son Olaf, who died at the age of seventeen years, she became sole ruler of both Denmark and Norway, when those countries became united. From that epoch they continued to be united, until the latter was added to Sweden, in 1814. But Margaret claimed the throne of Sweden also, in the right of her husband, as has been stated, and succeeded in driving Albert from it, and shut him and his son up in prison. Her conduct towards her unfortunate relative was cruel in

* The sovereigns who reigned during that period were the following :

	A. D.		A. D.
Margaret,	died, 1412	John (or Hans),	died, 1513
Erik of Pomerania, deposed,	1439	Christian II.,	" 1523
Christopher III.,	died, 1448	Frederick I.,	" 1533
Christian I. (of Oldenburg),	" 1481	Christian III.,	" 1559

the extreme. When conducted into her presence, she took ample vengeance upon him for his taunts and sarcastic railleries, directed against her sex,* as well as for his boastful threats. After having been imprisoned at Lindholm in the southern part of Sweden three years, Albert was committed to the charge of the Hanseatic League. And after an imprisonment of three years more, he was released, and allowed to pass the remainder of his days in peace, in the duchy of Mecklenburg. As for his feminine rival and enemy, she died in 1412, having reigned in Denmark, under different titles, 37 years. In that kingdom, which she exalted by her talents to a pitch of comparative greatness, and retrieved from the low estate in which it had been left by her father and predecessor, her memory is respected even until this day. But she was far from being equally esteemed in Sweden, where, indeed, her reign became in the end not less detested than was that of the unfortunate Albert. Before her death, her grand-nephew, Erik of Pomerania, son of Mary, daughter of her sister Ingeborg and Henry I., duke of Mecklenburg, was elected and declared her successor.

Erik was an unstable and despicable character. His first achievement in arms was to support the war which his predecessor, Margaret, had commenced against the young counts of Holstein. Next he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Upon his return he commenced a war against the Hanseatic republic, which lasted many years. He fortified Elsineur, and levied a toll on the ships of foreign nations which passed the Sound. His noble queen, the good Philippa, who had unsuccessfully defended Copen-

* By way of mockery, Albert had the audacity to send a whetstone, several feet in length, to Margaret, recommending her to sharpen her sword upon it, before she ventured to encounter him in battle. Coxe, in his Travels, says that this whetstone is at Upsala; but we presume it is at Lund, if anywhere.

hagen against an attack of the Duke of Holstein and the armies of the Hanseatic League, was shamefully maltreated by him in a fit of anger, and died not long after in the Monastery of Wadstena, universally lamented by the people of the three kingdoms.

In Sweden, the tyrannical rule of Erik led to successive and successful revolts under the direction of the famous Engelbrekt, Engelbrektson and Charles Knutson. Various attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation. Erik promised to do better, but repeatedly broke his promise. At length the people of Denmark also rose up against him, and uniting with the Swedes, offered the crown of the United Kingdom to Christopher of Bavaria, who was a descendant of Valdemar Atterdag. He accepted the offer, and was crowned king in 1440, whilst Erik retired to the island of Gothland, carrying with him the most precious effects of the Danish crown, and the archives of the nation. There he lived as a sort of private king during nine years. Whence, having been dislodged, he retired to Germany, in 1449, where he lived ten years more. Christopher reigned only eight years, which was quite long enough to make his rule unpopular everywhere. In Sweden it was absolutely odious. He was a foreigner, and endeavored to surround himself with every thing foreign. He made an unsuccessful attempt to put down the Hanseatic Cities, which he hated because they were rich, powerful and free. By an attempt worthy only of a robber and a pirate he endeavored to capture the city of Lübeck, but failed.

Upon the death of Christopher III. the posterity of Valdemar Atterdag, both in the male and female line, became extinct. After some delay and much discussion, the Senate offered the crown of Denmark to Christian, Count of Oldenburg, who was descended on the female line, from Erik Glipping, one of their former kings. This prince

reigned 33 years. He was far from being as bad a man as some of his fellow-kings. Nevertheless his reign was neither wisely directed, nor happy in its results. He had an almost perpetual contention with the Swedes, who elevated to the throne, some two or three times, their countryman Charles Knutson. But at length Christian triumphed over his rival, and established his sway there, but not on the only true basis of authority,—the hearts of the people. Denmark, or rather Norway, had, from ancient times, ruled over the islands which lie to the north and west of Scotland. Magnus Hakonson, a king of Norway, ceded the Western Isles to Alexander III., for a certain pecuniary quit-rent, which for a long time the Scottish sovereigns had neglected to pay. Upon the arrangement of a marriage between Margaret, daughter of Christian, and James III. of that kingdom, the quit-rent due to Norway for the Hebrides, was remitted, and a promise of a dowry of 60,000 Rhenish florins, with the young princess, was made. As security for this sum, Christian pledged to James the Shetland and Orkney islands; but the money was never paid. And thus the remaining conquests of the Northmen in the Scottish seas were lost, and became annexed to the Caledonian or Scottish kingdom.

As Christian was a remarkably devout, though it must be confessed not always a very dutiful, son of the church, he must needs make a pilgrimage to Rome. The most important result of this long journey was the establishment of the University of Copenhagen, to which his Holiness graciously gave his consent, and which was incorporated in 1478, by a royal charter. Its statutes, conceived altogether in the spirit of the age, were framed by the archbishop of Lund. Those of Bologna in Italy served as a model.

Christian I. died in 1481, and was succeeded by his son John, or Hans, as the Danes call him, who reigned until

1513. The most remarkable occurrence in this reign was an attempt on the part of the Danes to subdue the brave Dithmarschen, a people descended from Slavic origin, who inhabited the western coast of Holstein, from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Eyder. This low and marshy country they had diked and made cultivatable. Here they had maintained their national independence and their popular government, for ages, against all the attempts of the Danes and the Holsteiners. John marched against them with a force of 30,000 men, including the flower of the Jutland and Sleswic-Holstein nobility. But he was awfully defeated, and forced to make an inglorious treaty with these poor people, and leave them undisturbed the rest of his reign. Nor was he more successful in his attempt to retain his hold over the Swedes, who rose against him, under the conduct of Sten Sture, and, after his death, that of his kinsman, Svante Sture, and again that of his son, Sten Sture, the second of that name. In that struggle the Danes were often defeated. At one time their queen was taken prisoner, and retained in Sweden two years. But John was more successful in repressing an insurrection in Norway, many of whose most distinguished nobility he circumvented and destroyed. He also, after repeated wars with them, compelled the Hanseatic Cities to abandon Sweden, and make favorable treaties with Denmark.

Upon the death of John in 1513, his son, Christian II., succeeded to the throne. He was one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that human nature has ever produced. During the lifetime of his father he had shown what he could do, whilst subduing Norway. Nor did his after-life belie the promise of his youth. He immediately set about attempting to recover Sweden. Failing in an attack upon Stockholm, which was valiantly defended by Sten Sture II., he proposed a negotiation. And having succeeded in getting

several of the nobility (one of whom was Gustavus Vasa, who was destined to be the deliverer of his country,) on board his fleet, which lay off that city, he sailed away for Copenhagen, carrying these men, whom he had treacherously seized, into captivity. His next step was to invade Sweden in the winter of 1520. This he did with a great army, and succeeded in conquering every thing before him. The Swedes, having lost their chief, Sten Sture II., in battle, were compelled at length to submit. The attempt of Christina Gyllenstjerna, the widow of this illustrious man, having failed to save Stockholm, Christian entered that city. A truce took place and peace was made. Three days of tournament and feasting occurred. In the midst of these scenes of unsuspecting festivity, Christian seized, at the pretended instigation of Gustavus Trolle, the infamous archbishop of Upsala, who was one of his creatures, a large number of the chief men of the nobility, clergy and citizens, who had been opposed to him. They were tried before the archbishop, who was at once judge, accuser and party. Ninety-four distinguished ecclesiastics, senators, knights, and burgomasters, were condemned as guilty of heresy and schism, and delivered over to the secular arm. On the 8th of November, the gates of the city were closed, many pieces of artillery were planted in the public Places, and at the corners of the streets. A death-like silence prevailed, whilst the castle-bell tolled, and these brave men marched to their doom. They were beheaded in the market-place. Never did men die with more courage. To the last they called upon their fellow-citizens to rise and avenge their death in that of the tyrant.

By this inhuman stratagem Christian succeeded, for the present, in breaking down the spirit of Sweden. But within three years from that time, that country was wholly delivered from the Danish dominion, and its independence secured, through the efforts of Gustavus Vasa, who, having

escaped from Denmark, returned to his native land, and at length succeeded in arousing first the Dalecarlians, and then the entire nation, to a rebellion, which he conducted to a most fortunate issue. He became himself king of Sweden in 1523; and thus ended the famous Union of Calmar, after it had a nominal existence of 126 years, (from 1397 till 1523,) during which it proved a source of evil to all the three kingdoms, and of much oppression to Sweden, in particular. Not long after this event, Christian was expelled by his proper subjects from Denmark, the nobles having drawn up an act of deposition, in which they declared that in consequence of his various acts of tyranny, the three kingdoms had been reduced to great misery, "as is well known to God and St. Lawrence."

Christian fled, with his most valuable effects, to the Netherlands, where he endeavored to engage the Emperor, Charles V., whose sister Isabella he had married, in his cause, but he did not succeed. Ten years afterwards, through the aid of the Hanseatic cities, he equipped a fleet and sailed for Norway, with the hope of re-conquering his dominion in that country. But he was defeated, taken prisoner, and carried to the castle of Sonderborg, in the little island of Alsen, where he was immured for twelve years, in a room, the door of which was walled up, and which had one window looking out upon the sea, and a small one on the other side, through which communication with the prisoner might be maintained. His only companion in this dismal abode was a favorite dwarf. In 1549, he was removed to the castle of Callundborg, in Jutland, where he lived in greater comfort five years longer. He died in 1559, at the age of seventy-eight, having outlived both of his immediate successors. In his exile, as well as during his imprisonment, Christian occupied himself much with the subject of religion.

He had done considerable for the promotion of the Reformation by appointing Martin Reinhard, one of Luther's disciples, to be Professor of Divinity, in the University of Copenhagen, in 1520, and by admitting, in the year following, Carlstadt, another friend of the Great Reformer, into Denmark, as a missionary to propagate the Reformed doctrines. Hans Mikkelsen, and Christian Pedersen, who translated the Scriptures into the Danish language, were his intimate friends, and for a while his companions in his adversities.

The character of Christian II. was a singular compound of good and bad. He was a wise man in some respects. He was, with all his cruelty and tyranny, one of the best lawgivers that Denmark ever had. He owed his very expulsion from that kingdom to two excellent decrees, one relating to the sale and treatment of the serfs or peasants, and the other to shipwrecks. So that it is not without reason that he has been termed "a Titus in laws, and a Domitian in actions." Nor did the people gain much by his expulsion.

The successor of Christian II. was Frederick, duke of Sleswic-Holstein. This prince reigned from 1523 until 1533. But the events of this period were in no way remarkable. The time of the monarch was chiefly taken up in suppressing domestic enemies, and looking after Christian II., who, as we have just said, made an attempt on Norway, during the last months of his reign. We may add, that during these ten years the country was greatly agitated by the progress of the Reformation, which Frederick favored in a more decided and open manner than even his predecessor had been disposed to do. The great apostle of the new doctrines, in this kingdom, was Hans Jansen, originally a peasant of Fionia, and afterwards a monk of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. When convinced of the truth of the doctrines of the Re-

formation he became their powerful advocate, from the pulpit and from the prison-window, in private meetings as well as in popular assemblages in the streets.

Frederick I. was succeeded by his son, Christian III., who enjoyed a long, and, upon the whole, a prosperous reign, extending from 1533 until 1559. His accession to the throne was indeed contested by the Lübeckers and the Count of Oldenburg, his kinsman. But his arms finally triumphed over both. During his reign the Reformation made great progress, and may be said to have become perfectly triumphant. At a meeting of the estates of the kingdom, a recess or law was adopted, and signed by more than 400 nobles, besides the deputies from the people by which, 1. The castles, manors, and other lands belonging to the prelates and monasteries, were annexed to the crown. 2. The temporal and spiritual power of the bishops was taken away, and the administration of their dioceses was confided to learned men of the Reformed Faith, under the title of Superintendents. 3. The religious houses were reformed; the regular clergy who did not choose to enter the secular ministry, were allowed to remain in their cloisters, upon condition that they should lead godly lives, read and hear the word of God, and that their surplus revenues should be devoted to hospitals and other charitable institutions. 4. Lay-patronage was preserved, and the clergy were allowed to exact only their regular tithes, one-third of which should be appropriated to the support of the curate, one-third to the proprietor of the church, and the remaining one-third to the king for the use of the university and schools of learning. The religious economy of Denmark was afterwards more fully settled by the labors of the celebrated John Bugenhagen, who framed a book of discipline and ordained bishops, &c.

5. The Fourth Period of the history of Den-

mark extends from the Reformation to the present time.*

Christian III. was succeeded by his son Frederick II., who reigned from 1559 until 1588. The very commencement of his reign was signalized by his invasion and conquest of the brave Dithmarschen. These people had become Protestants; but this was of no avail. And so well had the Danish monarch laid his plans, and so ably was the campaign conducted by the distinguished general, John Rantzau, that these dwellers in the marshes were defeated with dreadful slaughter, and speedily compelled to submit. After this succeeded a long and useless war with Sweden, which was finally arranged by the treaty of Stettin in 1570. The remainder of Frederick's life was devoted to peaceful pursuits, and the internal administration of his kingdom. His zeal for the Protestant religion was active, but too much regulated by the intolerant maxims of the age, for he would allow no dissent from the Lutheran faith, which was the type of Protestantism which prevailed in Denmark, as well as in the other two Scandinavian nations, Norway and Sweden.

The son and successor of Frederick II. was Christian IV., who was but twelve years old when his father died. Including his minority, this prince reigned sixty years (from 1588 to 1648). And although his reign cannot be said to have been a happy one, he was by far the ablest

* The sovereigns who have reigned in Denmark from the epoch of the establishment of the Reformation till the present time are:—

	A. D.		A. D.
Frederick II., who died,	1588	Frederick V., died,	1706
Christian IV.,	1648	Christian VII.,	1808
Frederick III.,	1670	Frederick VI.,	1839
Christian V.,	1699	Christian VIII., (now	
Frederick IV.,	1730	reigning, 1841.)	
Christian VI.,	1746		

monarch that ever sat on the Danish throne. Possessing a mind of a superior order, and attainments of a respectable character, united to the most indomitable perseverance, he accomplished far more for his country than any prince who either preceded or succeeded him. Strong attachment to his subjects, deep interest in every thing which concerned their welfare, unbounded public spirit, united with most untiring vigilance in discovering and correcting abuses in the conduct of the subordinate agents of the government, contributed to render him the idol of the nation. It is almost incredible what sums he contrived to save from the limited revenues of the kingdom, to be employed in promoting works of public utility. To this day, one sees in Copenhagen, and elsewhere in the kingdom, monuments of his wisdom and energy. He encouraged the arts of peace, as well as those of war; he promoted commerce; he exacted a more faithful administration of justice; he relieved the burdens of the people; he visited frequently the provinces of Denmark, and annually extended his personal inspection to the affairs of Norway. He was a brave and able admiral as well as general; and with great justice he is ranked among the very best rulers of his day. He was engaged in a war with Sweden from 1611 until 1613. He engaged in a war with Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, in defence of the Protestants of the empire, which lasted from 1625 until 1629. He was involved in a second war with Sweden, from 1643 to 1645. But it cannot be said that Christian was very successful in any of his wars; and whatever may have been his bravery and military skill, his claims to the grateful remembrance of the Danes must rest on other and better grounds, viz., his anxious desire to render them happy as well as respected.

Christian IV. was succeeded by his son, Frederick III., who reigned from 1648 until 1670. He is represented by

historians as a man of much capacity; and certainly his conduct displayed no little energy. During his reign, Denmark was involved in two wars with Sweden—the first of which was exceedingly disastrous to her interests; the monarch of the latter country (Charles X.,) having overrun almost the entire kingdom, was on the point of attacking Copenhagen itself. The second war, on the contrary, which was commenced in the greatest injustice on the part of Sweden, was more successful, and enabled the Danish monarch to retrieve, in some degree, the honor of the nation. It was in the former of these wars that Denmark lost, irrecoverably, the provinces of Scania, Halland, and Bleking, in the south part of Sweden, which she had long held. Peace was re-established between the countries in 1660.

This year (1660,) is also memorable in the history of Denmark on another account, for it was the epoch of the conversion of the kingdom from an elective and limited monarchy to an absolute and hereditary one. This was accomplished by a stroke of policy on the part of the monarch, in which he was sustained by the three lower orders of people against the nobles. Denmark had long been under the tyranny of its nobles, who, whilst they formed the fourth order of the state, really ruled the crown on the one hand, and the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants on the other. In fact, so great and so dominant had become their influence, that the Diet in which the other three orders were represented with them, had almost ceased to exist. And to such a pitch of tyranny did they attain, that they occasioned the singular spectacle of a nation cheerfully surrendering their liberties into the hands of one man, in order to escape the domination of many. The last ten years of this monarch's life were devoted to the encouragement of industry, the extension of commerce, and the redeeming of the grievances of his people. He

died in 1670, with the reputation of not having abused the absolute power which he had usurped.

The eldest son of Frederick III. succeeded to the throne in 1670, under the title of Christian V. He reigned until 1699. He is considered by the Danes to have been a wise, brave and patriotic prince. As usual, there was a cruel and useless war between Denmark and Sweden during his reign, which was terminated by the treaty of Fontainebleau, in 1679.

Christian V. was succeeded on the throne by his son, Frederick IV., who reigned from 1699 until 1730. The first act of his reign was to join the coalition of Russia and Poland against Sweden, during the minority of the celebrated Charles XII. But the young hero of the North, quickly laying aside the follies and the luxury of his youth, seized the sword, marched to the very gates of Copenhagen itself, compelled the Danes to sue for peace, and by the achievements of a campaign of six weeks, earned for himself the reputation of being a distinguished general, at the age of eighteen. This occurred in the year 1700. Instructed by the ignominious issue of this war, Frederick had the discretion to be quiet for some years. But no sooner was his formidable enemy and rival defeated at Pultowa, than he determined to declare war a second time upon Sweden. And for twelve years and more he prosecuted these hostilities, in which he gained but little honor, though he augmented, in some degree, his territories. The last ten years of this monarch's life may be said to have passed in peace and tranquillity. The only event of importance was the destruction of a large part of his capital by an accidental fire, in 1728, by which more than 1,640 houses were consumed.

Frederick IV. was succeeded by his son, Christian VI., who reigned from 1730 until 1746. He was one of the best sovereigns whom Denmark ever possessed. His en-

tire reign was devoted to the promotion of the best interests of his kingdom. He abolished the monopolies which existed in many articles of commerce, such as wine, salt, tobacco, &c. He corrected many abuses in the administration of the finances, as well as of the other departments of state affairs. He renewed, or established, favorable treaties with the other nations. He greatly promoted the sciences and the arts, by inviting men, distinguished for their attainments in both, to settle in his country. He established a royal bank, and greatly promoted the fisheries which Denmark then commenced, on the coast of Greenland. He instituted a company to trade with India, and, in every way possible, enlarged commerce. In a word, it may be said that nothing that was calculated to render his people more prosperous or more happy, seemed to be neglected by him. And, after a reign of sixteen years, this prince died, carrying to the grave the universal regret of his subjects, and the esteem of all Europe.

Christian VI. was succeeded by Frederick V., who reigned from 1746 until 1766. This prince may be truly said to have succeeded to the virtues as well as the throne of his father. He ruled his kingdom with eminent wisdom; encouraging manufactures, which, until *his* time, may be said to have been scarcely known in Denmark; enacting wholesome laws; and, in short, doing all that he could for the advancement of the kingdom. By a wise economy he succeeded in bringing the expenditures of the government far within its receipts, and thus was enabled to discharge a very considerable portion of the national debt which had begun to accumulate. He was a munificent patron of the arts, of the sciences, and of religion. He was twice married, first to Louisa, daughter of George II. of England; and the second time to Juliana Maria of Brunswick-Wolfenbütel, who became so famous afterwards for her intrigues to procure the

government for herself and her son Frederick, in opposition to Christian, the son of the former wife of the monarch, and consequently the true heir of the throne. On the 14th of January, 1766, the excellent monarch died, in the forty-third year of his age. And so greatly was he beloved that when his son ascended the throne, the people expressed their loyal and affectionate aspirations in the simple and beautiful phrase: "May he not only live long, but reign well, like his father!"

Frederick V. was succeeded by his son, Christian VII., whose nominal reign extended from 1766 until 1808. But during his minority, the country was governed by a regency, the prominent person in which was the queen dowager, Juliana Maria, of whom we have just made mention; and in 1784 his son Frederick, though a youth, was compelled to become joint-occupant of the throne with his father, and take the reins of state out of his imbecile hands. Christian VII. was anything else than an answer to the vows which his people made at the death of his father. His long reign included more disasters to his unfortunate country than ever befel it during the lifetime of any other man. We do not say that he was justly accountable for these disasters, for he seemed to be such a personation of weakness and folly in the first half of his reign, and of utter fatuity in the latter, that he can scarcely be considered accountable for anything. Shortly after he had ascended the throne he married Caroline Matilda, the youngest sister of George III., then possessor of the throne of Great Britain. And such were the personal charms and amiable manners of this youthful queen, who was only in her sixteenth year when she was married, that she soon became the favorite of the court and of the kingdom. But the fickle temper and vicious habits of the king soon destroyed every hope of domestic happiness. In 1768 he set out upon his travels over

Europe, influenced by the love of pleasure and by vanity, far more than by any desire of improvement. But the queen he did not permit to accompany him. This journey was chiefly remarkable for bringing him into acquaintance with Struensee, a German physician, residing at Altona. This man, whose melancholy fate is interwoven with the history of Denmark, possessed very considerable abilities, much wit, and most insinuating manners; but his principles were corrupted by the prevailing infidelity of French philosophy, and his life was that of a libertine. He soon obtained a vast influence over the mind of the imbecile monarch, and was by him invited to Copenhagen, where he rapidly rose from the station of physician to the king, to that of privy-councillor, and ultimately to that of first minister to the crown. Two of his intimate friends, Brandt and Rantzau, together with his own brother, were raised to offices of importance. Struensee not only gained a vast influence with the king, but he also became a great favorite with the queen, whom he quite restored for a time to the confidence of her husband. But the period of his influence was short, and his fall was more sudden and overwhelming than his rise had been rapid and splendid. He was hated by the nobles, who were jealous of the power which he, a foreign adventurer, had acquired over the government. He was suspected of being on too intimate terms with the queen. And, finally, he was charged with aiming at nothing short of the crown itself. A conspiracy was rapidly formed. He was seized, speedily tried, condemned and executed. All this was the work of only a few days. The queen was arrested, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and divorced from her husband. For awhile she was immured in the castle of Cronburg; but was afterwards released through the influence of the British government, and permitted

to retire to the castle of Zell, in Hanover, where she was surrounded with many comforts which her brother provided for her. But she lived only three years in her comparatively happy retreat. She died of a putrid fever, which the skill of the excellent Zimmerman could not arrest, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

The fate of Struensee, whilst it was perhaps in many respects merited, was of a nature to excite our pity. During the period of his short-lived power he introduced some wholesome laws,—one was the giving of freedom to the press; another was the liberation of the peasants from slavery. But that he brought upon himself the odium of the nation by some unnecessary innovations and laws, and laid himself open to the charge of a boundless ambition, is what no one can deny. During the period of his imprisonment—which was from the 15th of January until the 28th of April—he was visited by the late excellent Münter of Copenhagen, who published an interesting account of his libertinism, conversion and execution.* Brandt was executed with Struensee. Both victims were beheaded on the same scaffold, after their right hands had been cut off. And both evinced an example of Christian resignation which bore a striking contrast with the profligacy of their lives.

During the reign of the weak and unfortunate Christian VII. Copenhagen was twice attacked by the English, first in 1801 by Nelson, and again by Admiral Gambier, commanding the naval force, and Lord Cathcart that of the army, in 1807. We shall speak in another place of these disastrous attacks upon the independence of Denmark, and therefore we say nothing more of them here.

* Dr Münter's highly interesting "Narrative" of the libertinism, conversion and execution of Struensee, has not only been published in Danish, but also in German, and lately in French.

In 1808, Christian VII. was succeeded by his son, Frederick VI., who had, in fact, long held the reins of government. This monarch reigned from 1808 until the latter part of 1839. And few monarchs have ever been more beloved: few have been more unfortunate. Almost the earliest lesson which he learned, was the disgrace of his mother. At the early age of 16 years he was forced to ascend the throne, and take the sceptre out of the hands of his incapable father. Afterwards came the dreadful wars which grew out of the French Revolution, in which Denmark became involved, in spite of all her efforts to avoid it, and in consequence of which her capital was twice attacked, and once taken, and with it almost her entire naval force. Then succeeded the destruction of her commerce in a war of seven years with England. And finally Norway was torn from her and added to Sweden, for which scarcely any thing deserving the name of compensation was given. We might add, also, that the sorrows of the late king, for the misfortunes of his kingdom, were augmented by those of a domestic nature. But two of his numerous children by the queen arrived at adult years. They were both daughters, and one of them married, most unfortunately, the present heir-apparent, from whom she was divorced a few years ago.

The present king of Denmark is a grandson of the celebrated Juliana Maria, whom we have already mentioned. His father was a half-brother of Christian VII. Consequently he is a half-cousin of the late monarch. He is about 55 years of age, and has the reputation of being a man of much knowledge and of good moral character. He has scarcely been long enough on the throne to enable us to speak confidently respecting what is likely to be the character of his reign. The people have expected of him a constitution; and the more fully have they indulged this hope from the fact that Norway obtained her constitution (by

which she has become one of the freest countries in the world,) in 1814, when he was viceroy of that country. Hitherto the hope of the nation, in this respect, has been disappointed. But perhaps better things are in store for them.

We here terminate our brief notice of the history of Denmark. Many facts, relating to isolated portions of that history, we shall have occasion to give in subsequent pages. What we have said in this chapter may serve for the purpose of giving the reader a general and connected view of the times past of that kingdom. To those who have not extensively read the history of that country, this chapter, we hope, will communicate a considerable amount of information; whilst, to not a few, it will serve to refresh their memory, in relation to events concerning which they have formerly been familiar.

CHAPTER VII.

JOURNEY FROM HAMBURG TO KIEL.

Various routes from Hamburg to Copenhagen—That by Kiel preferable to the others—Departure from Hamburg in a Holstein wagon or diligence—Our fellow-passengers—Altona and its Institutions—Origin of its name—Its Churches—Beauty of its situation—Village of Ottensen—Tombs of Klopstock and his two wives—Notices of his life—Baron Von Voght—Duke of Brunswick—Dumourier—Bourrienne—Village of Flottbeck—Departure from Altona—Erroneous ideas of the ancient Greeks respecting the Geography of the Scandinavian countries, as shown by the writings of Herodotus and Strabo—Pythias—Pliny—Romans become acquainted with Scandinavia by their conquests in Germany—Procopius—Othhere and Vulfstan—Derivation of the names Denmark, Norway and Sweden—Geographical notice of Denmark—Its general aspect—Its soil—Its productions—Its bays and friths—Road from Altona to Kiel—Slowness of the Holstein stages—Appearance and dress of the Holstein peasants—Modes and implements of agriculture—Improvements in agriculture—Holstein Nobles—Governor of Sleswic—Holstein—Duchy of Lauenburg—Beauty of the country in the neighborhood of Kiel—Arrival at that city.

ON this occasion, as in the summer of 1836, we found it most convenient, in going from Hamburg to the Danish capital, to take the route by way of Kiel.

There are three routes from Hamburg to Copenhagen. One by way of Lübeck, whence there is a steam-boat which runs to Copenhagen twice a week. Another, which may be called the middle route, is by stage to Kiel, in Holstein, and thence by steam-boat, which also runs twice a week, once directly, and once to a port in the island of Zealand, whence there is a stage to the capital. The third lies through Holstein and Sleswic, by way of Rendsburg, Sleswic, Flensburg, Apenrade, and Hadersleben; thence by steam-boat across the Little Belt to Assens, on

the island of Funen, and thence by Odensee to Nyborg, whence there is a steam-boat across the Great Belt to Corsør, in the island of Zealand; and thence by stage through Sorø and Roeskilde, to Copenhagen. The last named route is the longest of the three, being about 290 English miles, and most expensive. The other two are nearly equal in length, being about 210 or 220 English miles. To those who love traveling by land, the last of the three above-named routes is the most desirable, inasmuch as, with the exception of the passage of the Little Belt, which is 12 miles wide at the point where it is crossed, and that of the Great Belt, which is 20 miles wide, the whole journey is performed by land, and lies through a country of surpassing beauty. Several of the cities and towns through which this route lies, are charming places. We have had some experience of all of them, and for convenience and rapidity, we have preferred the one by way of Kiel, and thence by steam-boat, through the islands of the Danish Archipelago. What renders this route greatly preferable to that by way of Lübeck, is that the road from Hamburg to Kiel is a macadamized one, and generally kept in good order; whereas, as we have already stated, that from Hamburg to Lübeck is most detestable.

Quitting Hamburg in a fine large Holstein coach, which resembled, somewhat, a French diligence, save that it had only two compartments, a coupé, and what the French would call the interior, but which is far more spacious than the interior of their diligences, and with an agreeable company of Danes, Germans, Swedes, and English, our humble selves being the sole representative of the Republic of North America—we soon passed the *Altona Thor*, and quickly traversing the intermediate space of plain and the suburbs of St. Paul, we found ourselves in the fine city of Altona, the second in the kingdom of Denmark, in point of size, riches, and commerce.

We have already stated that Altona stands less than two miles below Hamburg, and that the two cities are, in fact, contiguous on the immediate verge of the river, though they are separated on the plain above to the distance which we have just mentioned. From the position of this city, a portion of it being built on the low alluvial bank of the Elbe, another portion on the brow of the high secondary bank, and the rest on the elevated plain which spreads out above—it has a fine amphitheatric appearance, as seen in the distance from the south. It is, indeed, altogether a very pleasant city. The *subripal* part, or the part below the high bank, resembles the old parts of Hamburg too much, in its narrow, crowded and dirty streets. But this is but a small portion of the city. That which stands higher, in point of elevation, is more extensive, and every way pleasant. In its present state, Altona has the appearance of a modern town; and, in fact, it may be called such, for it was burnt to the ground in 1713 by the Swedes, under General Steenbock, and has since been rebuilt in a better manner than it formerly was. The upper portion of the city is laid out in broad and regular streets, most of which are well built; whilst those which constitute, as it were, the suburbs, are really delightful, especially in the summer, for their rural character and aspect. Many of them are adorned with rows of trees; whilst the houses are surrounded with pleasant gardens and lawns.

The present population of Altona is about 30,000; of whom 2,500 are German and Portuguese Jews, who have a convenient synagogue. The Christian population has four churches for its accommodation, viz.: one for the Lutherans, one for the German Reformed, one for the French Reformed, and one for the Moravians. The pastor of the last named church is an excellent, pious, and

talented man : he is a son of the late Bishop Garvé, of the same denomination, who was an able divine, a good poet, and author of many sweet hymns and other religious melodies. It is to this church that many of the most pious people of Altona resort, to find that spiritual instruction which the blighting influences of formalism and rationalism too greatly prevent them from finding elsewhere.

Altona is provided with good schools. There is here also a gymnasium, a commercial school, a school for teaching anatomy, a public library, and other literary establishments.

The commerce of this place is quite considerable, and increasing. There are here good and convenient dockyards for building ships ; and, in order to promote as greatly as possible its prosperity, the Government of Denmark has made it a Free City. This privilege has given it great advantages, and compelled the Hamburgers to reduce the duties which they levy upon all merchandise which enters their city, to the very small amount of seven-sixteenths per cent., or less than one-half of one per cent., in order to compete with the people of Altona.

There is here a mint, which is of great convenience to the commerce of the place, and to which the Hamburgers also resort. On the other hand, the merchants of Altona frequent the Exchange of Hamburg, and, in fact, live in the most amicable relations with their rivals in business. This feeling of good neighborhood does credit to both cities, and demonstrates that they have resolved, in the true spirit of philosophy, to make the best of a juxtaposition which was so much dreaded at first, on the part of the older, and for a long time unrivalled city, as to give the name of Altona—*All-zu-nah*, (which means *altogether too near*,)—to the unwelcome intruder. We give the

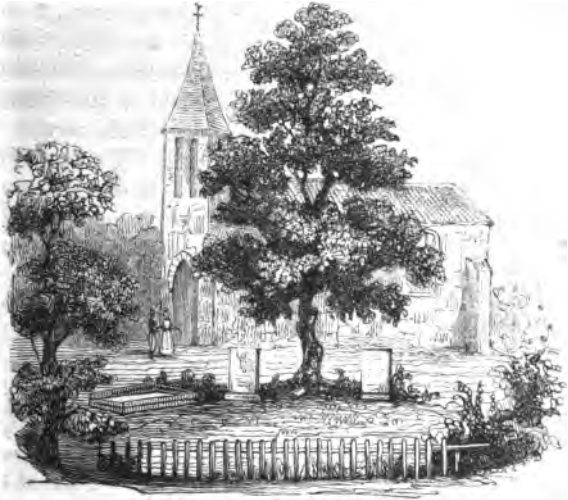
current etymology, and reputed origin of the name.* At present, several of the commercial establishments of the two cities are blended in the most intimate union.

At a short distance to the west of Altona is the village of Ottensen, in the yard of whose parish church is a simple monument of Klopstock, the distinguished poet of Germany. Beneath a wide-spreading elm, or linden—we forget which—within an enclosed area lying between the church and the road, stand two marble monuments, at the heads of the tombs of the poet and his second wife; whilst on the left hand, and quite adjoining, is that of his first wife. A simple and pious inscription informs the stranger respecting the epochs of the births and of the deaths of these worthy people, their character, &c.† These simple monuments, in their very rural position, please us much more than the splendid mausolea, or the chiselled urns or columns which one sees at Père Lachaise, where artificiality pervades, and spoils every thing.

Klopstock (Frederick Gottlieb) was born July 2d, 1724, at Quedlinburg. He received his education chiefly at

* The story in relation to the origin of the name of the city of Altona, is this: When the village which afterwards took that name, and which was at first inhabited only by fishermen, had become so large as to excite the fears of the Hamburgers, the latter sent a deputation to the King of Denmark, to complain of his allowing this town to grow up at that spot, saying it is quite too near (*es ist alle zu nahe*), meaning that it was too near to Hamburg. The king was deaf to the remonstrance; but in order to do honor to the deputation, he said that the town should be called what they had named it in their memorial, "Al-to-na."

† The monument of Klopstock is, strictly speaking, composed of several pieces of marble, so put together as to have, at first sight, the appearance of one upright slab. On the front side, there is in basso relievo, a female figure, which points with her left hand towards the heavens, and with her right sustains a cross, the arm resting on a globe. The whole is appropriate and pious in design, and plain and neat in execution.



THE TOMB OF KLOPSTOCK.

The above engraving will give some idea of the tombs of Klopstock and his two wives. There are, however, one or two errors in it: the monuments at the head of the graves of the poet and his second wife—those erect blocks of marble which the reader sees beneath the tree—ought to be almost in juxtaposition; and there should be a gate in the fence opposite to the tombs.

Jena, where he studied theology. But he devoted his subsequent life to the muses, and not to the work of a minister of the Gospel. He spent several years, after leaving the university, at Leipzig, when he published in 1748 the three first Cantos of his *Messiah*, which at once procured him great celebrity. After having visited Switzerland, he went to reside at Copenhagen, at the request of Bernstorff, who was minister of Frederick V. From 1751 till 1759, he spent his time mainly at Copenhagen, but partly also at Hamburg, where he married the celebrated and talented Meta, (Margarette Moller, the daughter of a merchant) in 1754, whom he had the misfortune to lose in 1758. The last thirty years of Klopstock's life were spent chiefly at Hamburg, or its vicinity, in the capacity of a diplomatic agent of the Danish government, accredited to the commonwealth of that city. He died, March 14, 1803, and was buried in the same spot where he had buried his first wife,* and, where the remains of his second wife rest by the side of both.

Klopstock has been called, and justly so, the Milton of Germany.* He had a fine poetic spirit; though he was unquestionably inferior in vigor of conception, and masterly expression, to the great British bard. Besides his celebrated epic, entitled *Messiah*, he wrote many lyric and elegiac odes. His poems are mostly pervaded with a sweet religious spirit. The choruses of his dramatized epics possess the highest lyric beauty. He wrote also on Language, the Art of Poetry, Grammar, &c., as well as

* The simple inscription which he caused to be placed over the remains of this excellent lady, to whom he was most tenderly attached, is as follows :

*Saat gesaet von Gott,
Am Tage der Garben zu teifen.*

Seed sown by God,
To ripen for the harvest.

Poetry ; and his works, when first published together, (at Leipzig) made 12 volumes 4to. He was a man of great goodness of character, and he ranks among the very best poets of Germany till this day.

At the distance of some three or four miles from Altona, there still lived, at the epoch of our first visit to Hamburg, in 1836, a most interesting old man, who bore the name of Baron Von Voght, who was the intimate friend and warm admirer of Klopstock. We had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of this philanthropic old gentleman, and of spending some hours at his hospitable summer residence, which was a very pleasant place. He gave us many interesting facts in relation to his own history. He was the son of a wealthy merchant of Hamburg, who gave him a good education, and sent him forth at a very early age to travel throughout Europe, and acquire the improvement which nothing but this mode of instruction can give. Among the countries which he visited was France, where he was received very kindly at the court of Louis XV., and had the honor of being invited to the table of the monarch. On that occasion, as he related to us, his attention was arrested by the remarkable face of a gentleman dressed in a plain suit of green, who sat opposite to him at the table, and who he was told upon inquiry, was no other than our own illustrious Franklin, who was at that time in Paris, as the commercial agent of the Colonies, and was even then the object of no little attention, in consequence of the celebrity which his philosophical investigations had given him. Baron Von Voght, we would only add, after a life of not a few incidents, ended his days, in 1837, at his country-seat near Altona. He had been made a Baron by the Austrian government, for some services which he had rendered to the cause of agriculture, during the period of his residence at Vienna, whither he had been invited by the Emperor for that express object.

It was at Altona that the Duke of Brunswick died, in 1806, of the wounds which he had received some weeks previously at the unfortunate battle of Jena, where he commanded the Prussian forces. At Altona also lived the French General Dumourier, when in exile from his native country. The house which he inhabited is now called Rainville's Tavern, and is beautifully situated amidst a large and fine garden, on the high bank of the river Elbe, a short distance below Altona. It was, for a considerable time, occupied by Bourrienne, whilst he acted as the French diplomatic agent at Hamburg, in the days of Napoleon. It is an object of interest to such travelers as take pleasure in visiting the abodes which distinguished men once occupied.

A little lower down the Elbe, and between Altona and Blankenese, is Flottbeck, a very favorite place of resort to the Hamburgers. The road which leads from Ottersen to it, is a fine one, and passes through a succession of beautiful villas, gardens, and plantations; whilst the blue river, which borders the scene on the left, is ever and anon seen through the green foliage. In the immediate vicinity of this village is one of the finest parks in Germany. It belongs to a Senator of Hamburg. The grounds are laid out in the English fashion, and the majestic oaks which rise here on all sides, prove how justly Germany is entitled to the designation of "the land of oaks."

It was ten o'clock at night when we left Altona on this occasion, and turned our faces fairly towards the Scandinavian regions, or rather when we entered them,—for Denmark is included under that name in its more general acceptation. Of course, we had but little opportunity for seeing well the country through which we passed, though we had the light of a fine moon, until the morning dawned upon us. But we well remember what are the features of this country, having traveled this route in June, 1836, and

also having traversed it, in different directions, at subsequent epochs.

The Scandinavian countries were as little known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, as were the people who inhabited them. The former, in their ignorance, supposed the regions of the north to be the abode of darkness, and, at the same time, to contain the paradise of the sun and the residence of the blessed. It was here that Apollo and Diana were born, as they supposed light to be generated by darkness ; and hence they emigrated to Delos. The flickering beams of the aurora-borealis, which illuminate the dreary region of winter, they considered as the awful forms of the Scandinavian deities, bright with the celestial splendor, and revealing themselves as fitful visions to the eyes of mortals.

As to the actual position of these countries, and the character and condition of their inhabitants, they seem to have had literally not one correct conception. Herodotus says they were the most happy and virtuous ; dwelling in peace and delightful intercourse with the gods, under cloudless skies, in fields yielding biennial harvests, and clothed with the verdure of perpetual spring. When satiated with life, which was protracted to an extreme old age, they joyfully crowned their heads with flowers, and plunged from the mountain-precipices into the depths of the sea.* This picture of felicity, we need not observe, is drawn wholly from his own imagination, or from the

* Herodotus, lib. IV. c. 33-36. Geijer's *Svea Rikets Hafder*, tom. 1. p. 53-55. Upsala, 1825. The descriptions which Pomponius Mela and Pliny give of the aboriginal people of these countries correspond with those of the Father of History, and are equally absurd. Thompson and Dr. Edward Clarke, in their *Travels*, and Mallet in his *Northern Antiquities*, give also numerous traditions, which the inhabitants of Sweden have preserved, in relation to the manners and life of the earliest inhabitants of that country, as well as similar traditions relating to the other portions of Scandinavia.

stores of tradition and report which that author so much used in composing his history.

Strabo and Pliny give some extracts from the voyages of a Massilian Greek of the name of Pytheas, who visited twice those remote shores. His descriptions show that he visited the peninsula of Norway and Sweden, which he says was called Thule, and the higher districts of which he represents as wild and uncultivated, and peopled with savages, who subsisted by hunting and fishing. In the southern parts the inhabitants were further advanced in the arts of life ; they sowed grain, reared bees, and brewed hydromel, which was their favorite beverage ; but they all possessed the same ferocious and warlike character.*

The Romans, by their wars in Germany, at length obtained better ideas of the countries which border on the Baltic, to the shores of which sea they were attracted by the amber which is found there. Their writers represent the peninsula of Sweden and Norway to be a vast island, whose circumference was unknown. In reference to the great reflection of the sun's rays at midsummer, Tacitus says, it was reported to be so bright at midnight, as to eclipse the stars. These writers give us some account, in the main tolerably accurate, of the Sound, the strait between the "Northern Columns of Hercules," as Tacitus calls it, and of the Baltic or the Codanic Gulf, as Pomponius Mela calls it, together with some notices of its islands, and of the names and character of the tribes which inhabited its shores. Long afterwards, Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, added much information to that of these earlier writers. And in the eighth century, some additional light was thrown on the geography of these countries by the dis-

*Strabo, Geog. lib. II. p. 104 ; lib IV. p. 201. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. IV. c. 12, 13, 16. Ptol. Geog. lib. II. c. r. Some doubts have been entertained respecting the authenticity of the voyages of Pytheas ; but these doubts do not seem to be well founded.

coveries of two navigators, Onthere a Norwegian, and Vulfstan a Dane, whose voyages Alfred the Great translated from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, for the benefit of his subjects. Even at that period the Scandinavian kingdoms had only begun to assume a distinct form, and to appear in history under their modern appellations.

Denmark, or Denamearc, was the country of the Danir, or Danskir, a tribe of the Goths established in Scania, and who were so called from the flatness of the country (*daim mark*) which they inhabited, and which lies between the hills of East and West Gothland on the north, and the Baltic on the south. Some philologists trace the etymology of the word to Dan, the name, as they say, of the founder of the kingdom, who lived in the fourth century; others trace it to a word signifying *bald*; others again,—absurdly enough,—to Danaus, a Trojan leader, who, as they say, conducted a colony of his countrymen to these hyperborean regions!

Sweden is called, in the present language of the people of that country, Svearike, or the kingdom of the Sviar—the Suiones of Tacitus—another Gothic tribe who lived in the country which borders the Mælar sea. The termination *rike* denotes a kingdom, or dominion. We have it in the word Bishop-rik. The word Kings-rike was used in England to denote a kingdom, so late as the times of Queen Elizabeth. The names Suedia, or Suecia, and Svidiodar, are to be found in the earliest annals of that country.

Norway, the Nerigon of Pliny, is a slight corruption of Nord-rike or Norrike, the northern kingdom (the Norwegians call their country Nor-rige,) and is not derived, as some assert, from Norweg, which signifies the *way to the north*.

The boundaries and subdivisions of these kingdoms were very different at different times, according to the power or rather the success in arms of their rulers. For a long time

Scania, or the southern part of Sweden, formed a part of the kingdom of Denmark; whilst on the other hand, the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, which now belong to Denmark, were not then under its dominion. Norway, which was for a long period independent, and the most powerful of the three, at length became subject to Denmark, and remained an integral part of that kingdom during four hundred years. But since 1814, Norway has been united to Sweden. And finally Sweden, which was originally the weakest of these Scandinavian realms, became very powerful, through the successes in arms of her great Gustavus Adolphus, and in fact had at one time almost all the coasts of the Baltic under her sway. In process of time, however, and chiefly through the impolitic wars of Charles XII. and Gustavus IV., she lost all her possessions on the southern shores of that sea, as well as those on the Gulf of Finland, together with those also on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Bothnia. As a compensation for these losses, she has received, on the other hand, the kingdom of Norway, which has made her dominions co-extensive with the entire Scandinavian peninsula.

But we must recall ourselves from these general remarks to a more particular notice, though brief, of Denmark.

The geographical position of Denmark is between $53\frac{1}{2}$ and $57\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of north latitude, and 8 and almost 13 east longitude from Greenwich. Its length from the Elbe, its southern frontier, to Cape Skagen in Jutland, is 280 miles; the greatest width of the peninsular portion of it is about 110. The superficial area, including both the islands and the mainland provinces, is estimated at 22,680 square miles. Being almost surrounded by the sea, it presents an extent of more than 4,000 miles of coast, the whole of which is intersected by innumerable bays and creeks. The continental part of the kingdom consists of

North Jutland (or what is more commonly called Jutland), South Jutland, or Sleswic, Holstein, and the small duchy of Lauenburg, which was ceded (with a pecuniary consideration,) in 1815, by Prussia, in exchange for Swedish Pomerania. The islands which belong to Denmark, or rather which form a part of it, are, 1. The very important group lying in the western end of the Baltic, the principal of which are Zealand, Funen or Fionia, Laaland, Langeland, Falster, Moen, Alsen, Femeren and Bornholm. 2. Some small ones in the Cattegat, the chief of which are Anholt and Lessee. 3. A group along the western coast, in the North sea, the most important of which are Fanoe, Romoe, Syltoe, Fohr, Avroe, Pelvorm, and Nordstrand.

The most important of these insular portions of the kingdom is Zealand, which is of an irregular shape, having a circumference of 170 miles, and is separated by the Sound from Sweden, and by the Great Belt from Fionia or Funen. It is a beautiful and fertile island, and Copenhagen, the capital of the entire kingdom, stands on its eastern shore. Fionia is next in size, but first in fertility of soil. It is 49 miles long and 33 in average width. Laaland, Falster, and Femeren are still smaller. Alsen, in the Little Belt, is one of the most agreeable of the whole Danish Archipelago, as the group of islands which we are considering is sometimes called. Bornholm stands by itself, at the distance of 88 miles from Zealand, in the Baltic, surrounded by dangerous rocks; it has seven towns and twenty-one parishes. It is famous for its cattle, its brick-kilns, and what is worse, its distilleries of brandy, or rather of whisky. Anholt, in the Cattegat, is remarkable for its light-house; and Fanoe is inhabited by fishermen, and builders of small merchant vessels. Whilst of the islands on the western coast, Syltoe rears fine cattle, and

produces (as do all) good seamen; Fohr is frequented for sea-bathing, and possesses excellent oysters, large quantities of which are shipped to Harburg, Copenhagen, and other chief towns in this region. Nordstrand and Pelvorn are the remains of a large island, the greater part of which was carried away by the violence of the waves in 1634.

The Duchy of Holstein is nearly one hundred miles in extent, from east to west. Its superficial area is not less than three thousand four hundred miles. It is divided into some thirty or forty districts or small territories, which are greatly under the influence of baronial laws and privileges. Sleswic takes its name from the river or arm of the sea called the Shley. It is seventy-two miles long, and from thirty to fifty-six in width. A small district near Flensburg is still called Angeln; whence it is supposed that this part of the country was inhabited by the *Angli*, a people famous in the annals of northern invasions. The capital of the two duchies of Holstein and Sleswic is the city of Sleswic, where resides the Governor-General, in the palace or castle of Gottorp, which is one of the finest buildings in the kingdom. Jutland was formerly inhabited by the Jutes, and contains the districts of Aalborg, Viborg, Aarhus, and Ripen. Its length is one hundred and eighty miles, and its greatest breadth about one hundred and ten.

The general aspect of Denmark is that of a fertile and well cultivated country. Its surface is flat, and covered in some places with sands and marshes. This is more especially true of the continental part. In fact, with the exception of Holland and the most western coast of Germany, on the North sea, there is no part of the continent which is so low as are many portions of the kingdom of Denmark. Of mountains, there is absolutely nothing which deserves the name. The highest inequalities of

Holstein and the two Jutlands, do not exceed eight hundred or one thousand feet. And the islands, though diversified with woods, lakes, pastures, and cultivated fields, in many places scarcely rise above the level of the sea. The hills in Zealand and Funen are mostly very gentle eminences, clothed with soft verdure in the season of summer, and sloping gradually to the verge of the beautiful sheets of water in which they are embosomed.

The soil is composed of sand and clay. The alluvial deposits, which abound in many parts of the kingdom, contain a chalky sediment, mixed with marine shells and the fossil remains of animals. There are, in some parts, strata of peat or turf, which is used as an article of fuel by the inhabitants. Rich meadows and pasture-lands are to be found in all parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the duchies of Lauenburg, Holstein and Sleswic. The humidity of the atmosphere, occasioned by the near vicinity of so much water, is extremely favorable to vegetation. The dark forests which once covered Jutland, and indeed all parts of the kingdom, continental as well as insular, have almost all disappeared. Here, and there a remnant is to be seen, in straggling belts, and on the knobs of hills. The entire forests of the kingdom are estimated to be about one thousand square miles in extent. The destruction of the forests on the coasts, is supposed to have exerted an injurious influence, having removed the shelter which formerly protected the country from the invasion of the sand. The beech may be said to be the national tree of Denmark; the oak, the elm, the pine, the maple, the ash are also found.

From the proximity of the sea to all the parts of the kingdom, the seasons are milder than in most countries of the same parallels of latitude. There is more rain and snow in the winter than severe frosts. The springs are late, and very gradual, in consequence of the cold fogs

which abound in that season. The summers are cool, the warm weather lasting only from the beginning of June until the middle or end of August. The mean temperature of the year, at Copenhagen, is 45.68° ; that of the warmest month being 65.66° and of the coldest 27.14° . The winter commences in the latter part of November, and is usually preceded by some weeks of cloudy, gloomy weather, which announces the great change which the climate is undergoing, in its transition from summer to winter.

The most cursory glance at a map of this country will convince us that no large rivers could be found in it. And in fact, except the Elbe, which forms its southern boundary, there are no streams of any great length. The most considerable are, the Trave, which flows into the Gulf of Lübeck, the Eyder which separates Holstein from Sleswic, and falls into the North sea, and the Guden which traverses North Jutland. But the want of rivers is well supplied by the almost innumerable arms of the sea, which penetrate far into the country, and afford commodious channels for the transport of merchandise and all agricultural products. The entire western coast, and, we may add, the eastern also, of Jutland, Sleswic and Holstein is indented with these inlets, which the Danes call *fiords*. The most remarkable of these fiords are those of Roeskilde and Ise in Zealand, Odensée in Funen, and Ljim in Jutland. The last named fiord is now rather a channel than a fiord; for the intervening strip of land which bounded it on the west, gave way during a very violent storm in 1825, and thus transformed the frith or inlet into a channel, and the peninsula on the northern extremity of Jutland into an island. These numerous fiords, and the convenient navigation which they afford, also render canals less necessary; for there is scarcely a point in all Denmark which is more than forty miles from the sea, or some

navigable water which falls into the sea. There are, however, a few canals. The largest is that of Sleswic-Holstein, of which we shall speak in another place, which extends from the Eyder at Rendsburg to the Gulf of Kiel, and thus unites the North sea with the Baltic. Another is the Stecknitz, which we have already mentioned, and which connects the Elbe with the Trave. The canal of Oden-sée is important as opening a communication from the interior of the island of Funen to the Great Belt. There are one or two short canals in Zealand, made for the transportation of wood and agricultural products to the Catte-gat. Artificial harbors have been made at Elsineur in Zealand, and Frederikshavn in the northern extremity of Jutland. Whilst along the western side of Holstein and Sleswic, dykes have been formed to protect the country against the encroachments of the North sea, which in the winter-storms rages violently against that coast.

The lakes of Denmark are small, but exceedingly numerous, being estimated to exceed four hundred. Many of them, indeed, scarcely deserve the name, being little more, in fact, than shallow ponds. They abound in Holstein, Sleswic, and Jutland. There are also many in the islands, and not a few are remarkable for their beauty. It is calculated that the waters, without reckoning the bays and inlets of the sea, form one-sixteenth part of the entire surface of the kingdom; a sixty-eighth part being occupied by the channels of rivers, and above a twentieth covered with lakes and marshes.*

The distance from Hamburg to Kiel is 14 Danish, or about 64 English miles. The road is a good, substantial one, being macadamized throughout, though rather in a rough manner. It is a "royal road," having been made wholly at the expense of the Government of Denmark.

* Malte-Brun's Geog. lib. cxlix. p. 572.

But the road is good enough, and the diligence, or "eil-wagen," as it is called, is quite comfortable. It requires no less than twelve hours to make the route; for the Holstein postilions, like the greater part of those whom one meets with in Germany, are men of wondrous compassion for their horses, as well as for themselves. So that, instead of passing over this road in some seven or eight hours, as they might easily do, they are content to jog along, with pipe in mouth—a practice which is eminently German—at the rate of five or six miles per hour.

At the first station after leaving Altona, we came to the Danish custom-house, and underwent the ceremony of examination. But though a little tedious, it was by no means disagreeable, the officers contenting themselves with merely giving a hasty look into the trunks and other baggage. As a general remark, we can truly affirm, that we have ever found the Danish custom-house officers a class of uncommonly civil and obliging men.

Throughout the first half of the way from Altona to Kiel, the country is remarkably level, and covered at this season of the year with fields of wheat and rye, growing yellow, and nearly ready for the sickle, or verdant in rich pasture-lands, on which large herds of fine cattle, or horses of a noble stature, are seen grazing. Holstein, in common with Lauenburg, and the neighboring duchies of Mecklenburg, is celebrated both for fine cattle and its large horses, thousands of which are annually bought for the cavalry-service in France, Austria, and other countries. Very few fences of any description are to be seen in this country, and not very many hedges. The divisions between the fields, and the boundaries of farms, are frequently made by ditches, especially where the country is of a marshy nature.

The people are an athletic race, evidently of German origin. They are an industrious, frugal folk, in very

comfortable circumstances, generally speaking, and are in a good degree a virtuous and happy people, unless we have been greatly misinformed.

A large proportion of the people of Holstein live in villages, as do the people of Germany, and go forth in the morning to cultivate their fields, which are at a greater or a less distance, and return in the evening. The towns through which we passed were numerous; but the most important of them are Bramstedt and Neumünster.

The dress of the Holstein peasants or farmers is somewhat of this style: the males, especially those who are the more advanced in years, wear the time-tried small-clothes, with goodly buckles at the knee, much in the fashion of the Germans whom we often receive in the United States, fresh in the simplicity of their fatherland. The females throughout all Holstein and Sleswic, wear the petticoats and the short gown of our grandmothers' days, and the hat precisely like the bell-crowned ones which have been in and out of fashion, we know not how many times within the period of our remembrance, and tied closely under the chin. Like the men, they are a robust, hard-working race, of much physical strength, and above the ordinary size of women of the same life with us. We met many of them on the road, either going to the neighboring market-towns, or returning from them; and either on horseback, or fearlessly driving a small wagon or cart. Every thing indicates that Holstein is a German country, as is the greater part of Sleswic, and the whole of Lauenburg. There is, however, a strong patois, or dialect which the peasants use much amongst themselves, and which is said to bear some resemblance to the Slavonic, and is probably the remains of the language which was spoken by the Slaves and other tribes which once inhabited this whole country.

Few portions of Europe are more fertile than are many

parts of Holstein and Sleswic, and no portion of the continent is better cultivated. Considerable improvements, too, have also been made within the last few years, in the mode of conducting agricultural labors. The most approved machinery of all sorts is becoming more and more introduced, through the exertions of Agricultural and Patriotic Societies. There is room, however, for further improvement. Their wagons, their plows, (with wheels,) their harrows, the harness and gear of their horses, are still too heavy and cumbrous. Tenacity of adherence to the usages and manners of their ancestors distinguishes the people of this land of surpassing natural resources, as it does the agricultural and little-instructed populations of other portions of Europe. The Holsteiners, we must say, however, are much in advance of the French in their agricultural implements and processes.

We were much struck with the appearance of the houses throughout Holstein, which are generally low, often of only one story, with roofs of enormous height, and consequently extremely sharp and pointed. This form of a roof seems to be adopted for the two-fold purpose of having much room above, for the stowing away of hay and other productions of the land, and as being better for the material with which their houses are chiefly covered, which is *thatch*, laid on in great thickness, and which becomes so matted together, and so overgrown with a species of short grass, that it has the appearance, at a distance, of being made of live turf. These roofs, when well protected from the rats, last a long time. They usually project several feet over the walls, and make a sort of portico on the two sides, or all around, in cases of those which are square, and have roofs running up from the four sides to a point. The walls are generally made of frames of timber, filled up with brick, which are in many cases painted a deep red, and pointed in white, which make

quite a contrast with the frames of wood, which are painted black, yellow, or whatever color the owner may fancy.

The Duchies of Holstein and Sleswic are governed by a governor appointed by the king of Denmark, and who resides at the castle of Gottorp, at Sleswic, as we have already stated. These Duchies, as well as that of Lauenburg, have their own laws and usages, which in many respects differ from those of the original kingdom of Denmark—that is, of the islands and Jutland. The king of Denmark, in his right as *Duke of Sleswic and Holstein*, is a member of the Germanic Confederation; and these portions of his dominions have a right to be represented in the Diet of that Confederation, and are actually represented there. The present governor of Sleswic and Holstein is a prince of Hesse, who is connected with the royal family of Denmark, inasmuch as he is a brother-in-law of the late king, who was a half-cousin of his present Majesty. He is not a man of much character. Far different was his excellent father, who died a few years ago, and who was for many years president of the Holstein Bible Society, in the operations of which he took a deep interest. He lived to a great age, and for many years maintained the character of a consistent and decided Christian. His death was a great loss to this important part of the kingdom. And the more so, because of the smallness of the number of those who, among the nobility of Sleswic and Holstein, in any degree resemble him. On the contrary, the greater part of this class of the inhabitants—and it is a numerous one—lead idle, voluptuous, and vicious lives, and are far from exhibiting many specimens of true virtue and dignity, and thus elevating and purifying the human race, as the advocates of privileged classes would have us believe they do. Many of the nobility of these duchies, we ought to add, are poor—a small number, comparatively, are very rich.

The land is chiefly owned by rich proprietors, nobles and others, who rent it out to tenants in parcels, either for a fixed sum, or for a certain share of the grain and other productions. Some proprietors, however, cultivate for themselves, and on a large scale. The peasants or farmers have the right in these duchies, as they have now in all parts of the kingdom, to purchase land and cultivate it for themselves. And many of them have done so. In this way the number of small farmers is increasing gradually; and thus, too, the landed property is undergoing that subdivision which so greatly prevails with us, and which is so essential an element of equal freedom in any country.

Adjoining Holstein on the southeast, and between it and the two duchies of Mecklenburg, lies the small duchy of Lauenburg. This duchy is a fine country in general, though portions of it are too sandy. It has several pleasant little cities and towns, among which, as preëminent, is Ratzeburg in the north, beautifully situated on the borders of a small lake. As a specimen of the complex relations which in some places exist between the different states of Germany, we may mention, that although the duchy of Lauenburg now belongs to Denmark, the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz has a *domanial* propriety or ownership in the Dom-church, or chief cathedral of Ratzeburg, and over the small village of Palmburg, in the neighborhood of Ratzeburg; and exercises actual sovereignty over the little city and territory of Schönburg, which lies on the road between Hamburg and Lübeck. But it is time to return from this little digression.

In the latter part of our journey the country lost very much of the level, monotonous character, which that had through which we had passed on the western side of Holstein. By degrees, as we advanced, it became undulating, and even hilly, as we approached the city of Kiel. But all

was admirably well cultivated. The sloping sides of the hills, up to their summits, were covered with fields of grain, or with pasture-grounds. The fields were far more frequently separated from each other by hedges than they were in the western and southern parts of the duchy. They reminded us much of England; though they are far from being as well kept as the English hedges. It was really like traveling through a succession of large gardens,—so finely cultivated is the country, far and wide, for miles before we reached that city. In its immediate vicinity, one sees what is rarely seen in the western parts of Holstein, very pretty forests, of limited extent, which crown the hill-tops, and constitute a feature of great beauty in the scene.

We arrived at 10 o'clock A. M. at Kiel, and had the remainder of the day for exploring that pleasant little city.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGE FROM KIEL TO COPENHAGEN.

Situation of Kiel—Its fine bay—Kiel an old German city—Market-day—Women of Probstei—Steam-boats from Kiel to Copenhagen—Kiel often visited by Russian ships of war—University of Kiel—Professors—Mode of giving instruction by lectures—Public and private lectures—Preparations for leaving Kiel—M. Marmier's description of the arrival and departure of the Copenhagen steam-boats—Beautiful voyage down the bay of Kiel—Voyage through the Danish Archipelago—Description of these islands—Their cultivation—Life and manners of the inhabitants—Villages—Our steamer stops at various places—Amphibious life of the inhabitants of the Danish islands—Their superstitions, tales and songs—King Christian—Beauty of the scene on the Sound—Bluffs of Moën—The obscurity and gloom which hang over the early history of these regions—Approach to Copenhagen—Its appearance—Crowds on the wharf—Our man Matthew—Hotel d'Angleterre.

KIEL is situated on the northwestern side of one of the finest bays in the world. It is an arm of the Baltic, which runs up towards the southwest, to the distance of ten or twelve miles, and in the lower part of its course separates Holstein from Sleswic. This bay is five or six miles wide at its mouth; but it gradually diminishes, in its progress inward, until it is not more than a mile in breadth at Kiel, and soon narrows away to a point above that place. It is deep enough for the largest ships; and it has been computed that all the navies of the world might lie moored in this admirable sheet of water, which is protected by the hills, which environ it, from all storms.

Kiel is a pleasant old German city, of about 13,000 inhabitants. Its population is gradually increasing. It is built much in the style of Hamburg; so that many of the remarks which we made in reference to the streets, the pavements, the houses, and the style of architecture of that

city might be applied to this. The houses are built of brick, three or four stories high, and covered with tiles. The proportion of those which are painted a whitish color is greater than is to be seen at Hamburg. And this is the case both when they are stuccoed and when they are not. The streets, too, are more regular than those of Hamburg, and are very much less dirty. There are a few handsome buildings here, the most remarkable of which is a Royal Palace or Château. There are also fine establishments for sea-bathing. And to the north of the city, and just beyond the Château, is a beautiful public garden, which furnishes a delightful promenade. The environs in other directions are also pleasant.

As we arrived not only on a market-day, but at the hour of full market, we had a fine opportunity of seeing the country people of this part of Holstein in their various costumes. The Place which surrounds the large cathedral church in the centre of the city, is the spot where the market is held. It was filled with the wagons and carts and horses of the country people, who were busy supplying the wants of the citizens. All sorts of vegetables, together with an abundant quantity of flesh and fish, were every where to be seen, and a sufficient number of sellers impatiently waiting to exchange these articles for the ready money. There was nothing different in their dress from what we had seen along the road from Hamburg to this place, excepting in the case of the women from the district called *Probstey*, which lies on the eastern side of the Bay of Kiel, just at its junction with the Baltic. These women wear shoes with high heels and large buckles; white stockings; short jupes or petticoats, generally of a red color, with a wide black border around the skirt, of some six or eight inches in width; a black, or blue, apron; a spencer or jacket, of black, green or blue color, adorned in front with rows of small bullet-shaped, silver-

washed buttons; a large chain of the same materials around the neck; and on the head, in addition to a little cap of various colors, covering the back part, and sustaining the hair, a bell-crowned man's hat, or sometimes only a handkerchief, with two ends tied under the chin, and the other two floating back on the shoulders. Their appearance, though somewhat fantastic, is far from being unprepossessing. They come much to the market of Kiel, being chiefly cultivators of gardens. They inhabit several small villages.

The commerce of Kiel is not very great, notwithstanding all that the government of Denmark has done to draw to it the transit trade of Hamburg and Lübeck, by making an excellent road from Altona to this place, and at the same time obstinately refusing to the Hamburgers and Lübeckers permission to make either a macadamized road or a rail-road between their respective cities. Twice a week steam-boats pass and repass between Kiel and Copenhagen, and another goes once a week to several of the islands of the Danish Archipelago. One steam-boat arrives every Wednesday morning from Copenhagen, and leaves on her return at 6 o'clock on the same evening. The other boat arrives on Saturday morning, and leaves at 7 o'clock on the evening of the same day. Of course Wednesdays and Saturdays are days of no little stir in this quiet little city. On these days strangers arrive in considerable numbers, going to the capital, or returning from it. The hotels are filled. The more distinguished literati of the place receive the passing visits of those who desire to make their acquaintance. But the publicans are probably the only persons who are much benefited.

Kiel is one of the ports which the Danish vessels of war frequently visit in their coasting and exercising voyages. It is also visited from time to time by Russian men-of-war ships, some of which are almost always moving about this

port and others in the western part of the Baltic, like great birds of prey, looking for some plunder. In fact, the Russians, it is thought by those who are not over friendly to them, would not be averse to making the Baltic a great Russian lake! And who knows but that they may do so, some day or other? We found two large vessels of war, belonging to that nation, lying at anchor in the bay, opposite to the city; their sails furled, as if for a considerable repose, their Moojeek* sailors, in great numbers, leisurely looking over the ship's sides, or nestling in the round-tops, or hanging in the shrouds and other parts of the rigging, surveying the scene which the departure of a steam-boat was occasioning.

At some distance to the north of this city, the canal of Holstein-Sleswic joins the Gulf of Kiel. This canal extends from the Gulf of Kiel to Rendsburg on the Eyder, a river which rises in Holstein and flows into the North Sea. The length of this canal, which is the greatest internal improvement of the sort in the kingdom, is somewhat more than twenty^a English miles. Its width at the surface is ninety-five feet, and at the bottom fifty-two. Its depth is nine feet and a half. Its greatest elevation above the level of the Baltic is twenty-four feet. It admits vessels of one hundred and twenty tons. Its locks and bridges are well made, and are considered fine specimens of that sort of work. This canal was commenced in 1777, and finished in 1784. It is the property of the government of Denmark. By this canal much of the coasting trade of the Baltic and North sea passes, and so avoids the circuit of the peninsula of Jutland, and the perils of the Cattegat and Skagerack seas. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that this canal is far less useful than it would be if its dimensions were as great as they should be.

* An epithet which is applied to the Russian serfs or slaves, and by which they are commonly called.

Kiel possesses a University, which is reckoned among those of Germany, inasmuch as it was established for the benefit of Holstein and Sleswic, whose population is German, and which therefore belong to that wide-spread country, all whose inhabitants speak the German language, though it is divided into some 38 states, without counting the Free Cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

This University was established in 1665, by Christian Albert, duke of Holstein; hence its name, Christina Albertina. At this institution, not a few of the young men from the Germanic portions of the kingdom of Denmark have been educated. Its present number of students is about 260, who are divided among the four Faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy. The Professors of this University are ranged as follows: In Theology, Ordinary Professors 4, Extraordinary 1; in Law, Ordinary Professors 4, Extraordinary 2; in Medicine, Ordinary Professors 5, Extraordinary 2; in Philosophy, Ordinary Professors 7, Extraordinary 3:—in all 28. Besides these, there is one private lecturer in Theology, two in Law, three in Medicine, six in Philosophy; and three teachers of modern languages,—Icelandic, French, and English. So that the whole number of the Professors, Lecturers, and Teachers employed in giving instruction in the proper studies of this University, is 43; without counting the teachers of practical mechanics, music, and riding. The number of volumes in the library of the University is about 60,000. And the philosophical and chemical apparatus is sufficient.

The Faculty of the University is very respectable, though enjoying less celebrity than those of some of the larger Universities of Germany. In the Theological department, the Rev. Drs. Pelt, Mau, Dormer, and Thomsen, as well as Professor Lüdemann, are all known in

Germany as authors of valuable works on some branches of theological science. They conduct a journal, devoted to criticism and theological knowledge in general. In Law, all the professors are accounted men of ability. In Medicine, Professor C. H. Pfaff is one of the most renowned chemists in Europe. Whilst in Philosophy, Nitzsch is excelled by no one for knowledge of the Greek language and Greek literature. Many of the other professors have also attained to a very considerable celebrity.

In most of the universities of Germany, the professors, ordinary and extraordinary, receive certain fixed salaries, which are not usually very large, from the government of the country, or from funds belonging to the institution, for which they deliver, each, a series of public lectures, which, of course, are gratuitous. But besides these, they deliver what are termed private lectures, for which the students pay each, a small fee, per term, for each series which he may choose to attend. This fee differs in different universities. At Kiel, it is about a dollar of our money, for a series of one lecture per week for the term of six months. It is most usual to count by hours in this matter. For example, if a professor delivers a lecture of an hour in length, (which is the usual length of a lecture) five times a week, which is attended by thirty students who pay him each one dollar for each series of lectures of one hour per week, during six months, he will receive one hundred and fifty dollars for that period, or at the rate of three hundred dollars per annum. If he has more than thirty students attending his private lectures, or delivers private lectures more than five hours per week, he will receive a proportionably greater amount. That this mode of sustaining a university or college has some advantages, no one can deny. But that it is attended also with very great evils, which counterbalance them, might be easily

shown. One thing, however, we ought in candor to say; it is, that this plan, however unfavorably it may strike our minds—as we are not accustomed to any such thing in our country—has almost universal prevalence in the universities of Germany to support it. It would thus seem to have operated usefully, or one would suppose that its adoption would not have become so general, nor its continuance so long. We will only add, that the University of Kiel derives about 60,000 Danish dollars, or somewhat more than 30,000 of our money, annually, from the national treasury.

Having spent the day chiefly in the company of the excellent Pastor H****—one of the most distinguished preachers of the Gospel in Germany—and that of Professors W*** and D*****, we prepared to leave Kiel in the good steam-boat Frederick VI., whose whole aspect seemed like that of an old friend, for we had made, in 1836, in this boat, the voyage which we were now about to repeat. From being rainy and unpleasant in the former part of the day, the weather became agreeable towards evening, and with the setting of the sun, was mild and serene. Before the hour fixed for sailing, we were on board, prepared to contemplate the interesting scene which such an occasion presents. But we will let our friend M. Marmier do the *hyperbolique*, as well of the arrival of the steam-boat at Kiel, as of its departure thence.

“There is one day in each week which forms an epoch in the lives of the inhabitants of the little city of Kiel. It is Saturday. On that day, the steam-boat arrives from Copenhagen at four o'clock in the morning, and sets off again at seven o'clock in the evening.* On that day are

* As we have already stated, there is now a steam-boat which arrives on Wednesday morning and sets off to return at 6 o'clock

seen in the streets of this peaceable city, faces which nobody knows, and idioms of speech are heard which the most intrepid philologists of the University might essay in vain to understand. On that day, the women of *Próbstey* love to come to the market; for they can carry back some news to their neighbors. As to the citizens of Kiel, they rise two hours earlier than common that day, and have not a moment to lose. From early morning, the keeper of the hotel, *City-of-Hamburg*, puts on his best great-coat, and his wife prepares an enormous roast of veal. The Professor, clad in his robe de chambre, awaits, with a grave air, the letters of recommendation and the visits, which never fail to come to him on every arrival of the steamboat. The merchant looks out of his window and curses his lot, which, during such joyous occasions, ties him, without commiseration, to his counter. The editor of the *Wochenblatt* (weekly newspaper) employs the minds of two fellow-laborers to write out distinctly, the names of those who debark and of those who depart. And porters, who have need of augmented force, drink three times as much brandy as ordinary.

“At two o'clock, when the German families sit down to dinner, long conversations take place respecting this one and that one, respecting this *lady* whom they have seen passing in the streets with flat sleeves, or that *gentleman* who carried a gold-headed cane and a diamond breast-pin. But should there be found among the passengers some personage of importance, a groom of some prince, for example, or an aulic-councillor, or a baron, I leave you to think what may be the commentaries which are made upon him, upon his journey, upon the people whom he has seen ;

in the evening, so that now the inhabitants of Kiel have more than one important epoch per week, in their lives.

upon the country whence he came, and the object which he may be supposed to have in view.

“ The whole day thus passes in happy agitation. Every hour brings its news, and each item of news so arranged as to last a long time. But lo ! the evening comes. The moment of departure approaches. Already the smoke ascends from the steam-engine, and the Danish flag floats in the air. The inhabitants of Kiel assemble at the harbor, and arrange themselves in long rows on the quay ; they look, and they listen. It becomes them to have, in this last moment, the eye open, and the ear attentive. Soon every thing will have disappeared, and nothing remain of this rich and eventful day, save the remembrance of it.

“ The clock strikes seven. The cannon salutes the city. The vessel heaves round. Many white pocket-handkerchiefs are waved in token of adieu ; many blue eyes shed sweet tears, which one might desire to collect in a cup of gold, so beautiful are they to the sight, falling, like pearls, on rosy cheeks. Alas ! happy still are they who weep ! He who is far from his country weeps not. He quits, without regret, a land of strangers. Not one friend is there to press, for him, for the last time, the hand, or to say to him the last adieu. His friends are elsewhere, and who knows whether, at this moment, they think of him ?

“ But the machine of industry is in motion ; the waves are tossed from its wheels ; the boat flies over the waters, with the rapidity of a bird ; and soon, one will have a glimpse of nothing more of Kiel than its steeples and the tops of its houses.”

But enough of M. Marmier. We bade farewell with reluctance to Kiel and the agreeable friends whom we had made there, and heard the adieus of those who remained, and of those who departed with us for the distant capital.

Soon our steam-boat turned and prepared to march away with dignity, like some great living thing. Our course was to the north, down one of the most beautiful bays which we have ever seen. Sweet hills, covered with green pasture-grounds, or with fields of ripening wheat and rye, and gently sloping up from the water's edge, adorned its shores. On our left hand, at the distance of two or three miles from the city, a fine dark forest skirted, for a mile or two, the shore of this beautiful sheet of water. The declining sun of a long summer's day was pouring a flood of mild rays. All nature, having been washed and refreshed by the showers of the earlier part of the day, was adorned with beauty and freshness. On each hand, at no distant intervals, were seen very pleasant country-seats, which seemed as if they might be the abodes of ease, and we would fain believe of contentment too, if we did not know that contentment, like perfect purity, has ceased to be a tenant of this earth, even in its best and brightest scenes.

In less than two hours, and before the light of day had entirely departed, we found ourselves on the bosom of that broad gulf, or expansion of the Baltic, which is called the Gulf of Kiel, and were making our way northward to the beautiful cluster of islands which form what is called the Danish Archipelago. The number of the islands which compose this group, we do not know with precision. The larger ones are Zealand, Fionia or Funen, Langeland, Laaland, Falster, Alsen, Baage, Moën, Amak, &c. Besides these, there are many islets, which are either scattered through the Great and Little Belts, and other channels which separate the islands from each other, or lie close beside some of the larger ones, as if seeking protection from the violence of the seas. They are almost all inhabited.

These islands form, as a whole, one of the most beautiful groups in all the insular world. They do not rise to

a great height above the water. On the contrary they are generally low, and appear to be but a few feet above the water, when seen in the distance. There are, however, some hills of considerable elevation in the western part of Funen, which give quite an agreeable variety to the landscapes of that finely cultivated island. The island of Moën has high chalky cliffs on its eastern side, which are a very prominent object to the mariners as they approach the Sound, in their voyage from the upper parts of the Baltic. Nor are any of these islands very flat and level. Their surface is rather undulating; gentle elevations and depressions succeed each other by the most easy-sloping ascents and descents. Everywhere one sees successions of fields of wheat, and rye, and barley, and oats, and potatoes, interspersed with meadows. In some places one sees hedges which separate the fields; but in general there is, as in France, and so many other countries on the continent, but few fences or hedges. The fields of wheat and other grain stand in juxtaposition with the pasture lands on which herds of cattle are feeding, under the conduct of a herdsman with his dog.

But what renders these islands so beautiful is the fact that the mantling green which covers them seems to run down to the very water's edge. And this is so at all seasons of the year, except when they are covered with snow; for, owing to the great humidity of the atmosphere, vegetation continues in these islands throughout a far greater proportion of the year than one would expect from their position. Add to this, that in many places, where the elevations of the ground approach to the character of hills, the eminences are covered with little forests of beech, which is the national tree of Denmark, at least of the insular portion of the kingdom. The birch, the oak of various species, the ash, the maple, are also found in this country, and in some places they predominate over the beech. Pine is

also found in Jutland, and some other parts of the kingdom. On most of the islands the quantity of the forest is but very limited. The sight, however, even of a little nursery, as it were, of forest trees on the hill-tops, adds great beauty to the scene. A good deal is now done to keep up these little forests by planting young trees in all corners and spots which are not susceptible of profitable or easy cultivation.

Numerous villages are to be seen scattered over these islands. And, what always interests an intelligent traveler, they have almost invariably an air of neatness, comfort and order, that seems to indicate a good degree of cultivation, industry and general virtue among the inhabitants, however humble they may be. Here and there one sees the country-seat of some wealthy nobleman, or of some commoner who devotes himself to the superintendence of his estates. In addition to the great quantities of grain which these islands, in common with the continental part of the kingdom, produce, and which forms a chief article of exportation to Sweden and Norway, in exchange for timber and boards, they are also covered with orchards, which produce an abundance of apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, &c. All sorts of garden vegetables grow finely on these islands. We have never seen finer strawberries, both as it regards their size and their flavor, than we have seen in Denmark. Honey, of the finest kind, is an abundant article of home production, from very numerous swarms of bees which are everywhere to be seen. Indeed, no country in Europe has more advantages than this kingdom, whether the fertility of its soil, the number and variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, or the facilities which exist for interior and exterior commerce, be considered.

About midnight we began to pass Laaland, which lay on our right hand, and Langeland, which lay on our left,

and soon afterwards we entered the inner sea of this island group, having stopped only a few moments at Taars (or Törs, as the Danes pronounce it), a pleasant little port on Laaland, where we landed a few passengers, and received others. In the early morning we passed along between Falster, on our right, and a small corner of Zealand, Baage, (pronounced Bogé,) and Moën, on our left. About ten o'clock, having emerged from this labyrinth of islands, we entered once more the clear and extended expanse of the Baltic; when, turning our course to the north, and passing by the lofty and far-seen cliffs of the last named island, which much excel in height those of Dover, we pursued our course directly northward to Copenhagen.

Nothing can exceed, we think, the beauty of the scene through which we passed. The air was bland and transparent. The shores of the various islands along which we passed, sometimes quite near, and at other times at the distance of a mile or two, or more, were covered with fields of ripening wheat and verdant pastures, and studded with the cottages of fishermen, along the water's edge, each with its nice little garden, and surrounded with a few fruit trees. Whilst higher on the shore, and more remote from the water, stood, at distant intervals, the mansions of the rich proprietors, which were almost invariably white, and adorned with beautiful gardens of vegetables, and flowers, and shrubbery, with not a few fruit or forest trees. We passed many villages, which were almost concealed behind the numerous trees planted in and around them, and which serve to give an agreeable temperature to the air in the heat of summer, as well as to protect from the rude storms of winter, and over whose verdant tops the brown-colored chimney, and the lofty church-spire were peering. Our steam-boat stopped off several of these towns, to land or to receive passengers. In addition

to others, we well remember the charming villages of Vordingborg and Grönsund on our left hand, and Gaa-bense and Stubbeljöbing on our right.

From these and other landing-places on our route, we received very agreeable accessions to the number of our passengers, from the several islands by which we coasted. Some of these were persons of distinction, and gave us a very pleasing impression of Danish manners and character. Few countries in Europe possess a finer-looking population than Denmark. Of a middle-size, or rather somewhat above it, well-formed, and not too heavy for easy and graceful movement, they are certainly a good-looking people. Their complexion is almost always fair, their hair generally blond, and their eyes blue. The chief drawback in their appearance is too great a blondness of hair. Neither flaxen hair, nor red, has great attractions, we believe, for the most of connoisseurs in beauty; and both are only tolerable when united to great beauty of face and of person. But enough of this *personal* criticism. We only add, that the remarks which we have just made are much more applicable to the true *Danish* part of the population of the kingdom,—that is, to the people of the Danish Archipelago and Jutland,—than to the *Germanic* part of it; viz., the inhabitants of Sleswic, Holstein, and Lauenburg.

Amongst the higher and better educated classes of the Danes, the manners and dress are the same as those of the French, the English, and the Germans of the same classes. It is only among the lower classes, as they are commonly called, and such as have never traveled far from their native spot, that one sees in Denmark, as in other countries on the continent, those varieties of costume which no time seems able to change, and those manners which are called primitive, because they may be said to be coeval with the people, and peculiar to them. There is considerable variety

in the dress of the peasants on the islands, but far more in that of the same class in the different provinces of Jutland.

With the exception of Copenhagen and a few other large cities and towns, the entire population of Denmark may be said to be either engaged in agricultural pursuits, or in fishing and commerce. Indeed, so great is the proximity of a large portion of the inhabitants of this country, whether living on the islands or the mainland, that it may be said that almost, if not quite a majority of the people are occupied in both sorts of life. The dwellers along the coast, especially the poorer classes, have their small craft anchored in some creek or cove, or hauled up on the shore, what time the few acres of ground, hard by their neat little cottages, demand their care, or whilst the weather does not permit their being out on the deep. But no sooner are the labors of their fields over for a short season, or until the coming spring, than they betake themselves to their sloops and other sailing vessels, and sally forth on the bays and sounds, or the vaster deep, in pursuit of the fish which so abundantly frequent their waters, or to carry the productions of one part of the country to another. To so great an extent is this alternation of life, this amphibious existence, pursued by the entire coast-population, that it is hard to tell whether they are most at home on the land or on the sea. Tens of thousands of Denmark's population may say, with Childe Harold,

“ And I have loved thee, Ocean! and my joy
Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be
Borne, like thy bubbles, onward: from a boy
I wanton'd with thy breakers—they to me
Were a delight; and if the freshening sea
Made them a terror—'twas a pleasing fear,
For I was, as it were, a child of thee,
And trusted to thy billows far and near,
And laid my hand upon thy mane—as I do here!”

Such a life must form a race of brave seamen. Accordingly we find that no country has, in proportion to its population, so large a number of expert, bold, and hardy seamen as Denmark possesses. They may be somewhat slower in their movements than the English and American sailors, but they are more cautious and steady. They, too, however; we must add, for the last twenty or thirty years, have been suffering from the attacks of that most insidious and most dangerous enemy of the sailor of almost every clime—alcohol.

It may be readily supposed that this varied life must exert a vast influence on the ideas, the feelings and the character of the people. At one while they are away off on the water, in their tiny boats, fishing under the full radiance of a summer's sun, and pass the live-long day on the still and almost waveless waters. Naught but the cries of the sea-fowl breaks upon the silence which reigns around them. At another, they are overtaken by a violent and sudden tempest, and are driven, they scarcely know, for a while, whither, by the irresistible winds. With great difficulty, it may be, they reach their homes, and drag their vessels on the foaming beach. The tempest howls around their little tenements, and threatens at every instant to sweep them away. The night passes in this gloomy manner. Perhaps several days and nights of such weather succeed each other. And this is especially the case when the sun has passed in autumn, the tropic, and inverts the year. Then cloudy, dark, lowering days crowd upon one another, and announce the near approach of winter. It is then that the fisherman stays about his little home, attending to such little affairs as can be done at such times. The long nights of autumn and winter are whiled away around the blazeless fire of the slow burning peat, the women and children busy with their various toils, and the men occupied in such works as befit

the occasion. Meanwhile tale succeeds to tale, of shipwrecks and of narrow escapes, of witches and of ghosts.

The Danes themselves, as well as travelers, have remarked the wonderful fondness of their peasants for story-telling. One of their authors has made quite a voluminous collection of the tales which are current throughout the entire country-population of the kingdom. As might be expected, not a little superstition is blended with these stories; indeed it forms their chief basis. All sea-faring men are superstitious. Their very mode of life renders them peculiarly so. In the midst of the roar of the storm, the gleaming of the lightning, and the unnatural,—if we may so say,—appearance which the heavens and the waters then assume, the sailor would be more than mortal if his imagination was not excited to the very highest pitch. It is not wonderful that at such a moment he is ready to imagine that he hears, in the moaning or whistling of the winds, the roaring of the billows, and even in the creaking of his bark, the voices of unknown and supernatural beings. Every thing becomes instinct with life. And the little vessel which has carried him through storms which no tongue can describe, becomes the object of his first regard, his affectionate attachment, and even his veneration. It is his friend and companion, and at length he comes to consider it a sort of living thing. Another circumstance in Danish life concurs to make this people fond of legends and stories. They have no large manufacturing establishments. Every family, among the laboring people, endeavors to make for itself those things which it has need of, to as great an extent as possible. This is done in the primitive way. The spinning-wheel and the loom, as well as the old-fashioned wool-cards, form a portion of the furniture of every cottage that is in a thriving state. This gives great domesticity to their lives, and leads to the formation of innumerable little circles of neighborhood-

friends. Each of these is a school for all sorts of gossip, and as amusements cannot be numerous under such circumstances, story and song must supply the means of passing away in an agreeable manner the social hours.

As to the stories which circulate on such occasions, they are chiefly such as relate to the marvellous. A church was built somewhere, and to the astonishment of the people, a vast crevice appeared in its walls. As often as it was filled, it reappeared, until a black cat was thrown in, when it closed at once and for ever ! A rich and pious old lady built a church, and asked God that her life might last as long as her church should stand. Alas ! she forgot to ask for perpetual youth. Death cut off generation after generation, and yet she lived. But at length she became so feeble that she ordered an oak coffin to be made, herself to be placed in it, and then to be laid in the church. Once every year she awoke—on Christmas,—and for an hour regarded the scene. And when approached by the priest, she regularly asked, “Does my church stand yet ?” And when told that it did, she fell back into her coffin, exclaiming “Would to God that it were destroyed,” and with a groan went to sleep for another year ! In a certain part of Zealand, (in the neighborhood of Vordingborg) the inhabitants of some villages hear the neighing of the horses and barking of the dogs of Valdemar Atterdag, coursing through the air at the return of a fixed epoch, when the nights are dark as pitch ; and with due care they place some oats and meat in dishes at their doors.

Several of these national stories have been used by Danish poets as the themes of dramatic or other poems. One of these is beautifully told by Oehlenschläger. It is not, however, a legend ; it is a tale from real life. A poor fisherman lost his son in a storm, and became deranged by the affliction. Every day he would embark in his little boat and go out into the wide ocean. There he would



RUINS OF VALDEMAR'S CASTLE

This Castle is in the immediate vicinity of Vordingborg, in the south part of the island of Zealand. It was built by Valdemar I, and rebuilt by Valdemar IV, (Atterdag) and was one of his favorite residences.

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beat a drum, with heavy blows, and call upon his son with a loud voice. "Come," he would say, "come from thy retreat; swim to me; I will place thee by my side in my boat. And if thou art dead, I will give thee a tomb in the churchyard, a tomb amid flowers and shrubs. Thou wilt sleep better there than in the midst of the waves." But he calls in vain; he looks in vain. When night comes, he returns to his home, saying, "I will go further to-morrow; my poor son has not heard me."

As to popular ballads, no country abounds more in them than Denmark. Their number is very great, and many of them are very beautiful. One of them, "KING CHRISTIAN,"* written by Evald, holds the same place among Danish songs, that "Rule Britannia" does among those of England. The first stanza is as follows:—

" King Christian stood by the high mast,
 'Mid smoke and spray,
 His fierce artillery flashed so fast,
 That Swedish wrecks were round him cast,
 And lost each hostile stern and mast,
 'Mid smoke and spray.
 Fly, Sweden, fly! nor hope to win
 Where Christian dauntless mingles in
 The fray!"

Were it necessary, we might quote portions of others, which are equally beautiful, if not quite as popular.

We were not born poets, nor have we ever felt, at any period of our lives, the divine afflatus of the Muses; and if we had, a steam-boat, with its noisy machinery, its clattering wheels, and its volumes of black smoke rolling away from its chimneys, is surely not a place very likely to excite to verses. But we have never yet visited these northern regions without feeling a melancholy interest in look-

* Christian IV., in some respects the greatest of Denmark's kings, at least since the days of Valdemar I. Of his history, as well as of this national song, we have spoken in another place.

ing upon them as the land of the Scandinavian Scalds and Saga-men, of poets and warriors. The islands, as well as the continental portions of Denmark, form a portion of this vast Scandinavian region—which comprehended, as we have already stated, the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Over this entire region what an impenetrable veil hides from our view the transactions of many of the ages which preceded, as well as many of those which succeeded, the Christian epoch! All is buried in the profoundness of midnight darkness. We have only traditions, few, obscure, and unsatisfactory, in relation to these ages of barbarism. We only know that this entire extent of countries, greatly diversified in physical character, was peopled by tribes and nations which spoke essentially the same language, which worshipped the same gods, and employed in that worship the same bloody rites. But who were their most renowned chieftains, what examples did they, or their subjects, ever give, of noble virtue and goodness, as well as of noble daring; what, in detail, their manner of life,—these, and a hundred similar inquiries, which our hearts prompt us to make, are all made in vain; for interrogated antiquity answers not. The silence of the tomb reigns over the early history of all this region.

There is something so mysterious in the gloom which hangs over the distant past of these countries, that one almost approaches them with awe. We know something, but not enough to give us satisfaction. The little that we do know is filled with horrible scenes, obscurely described, in the imperfect remains of Scandinavian legends—for of literature there is nothing relating to this early period,—and by consequence but faintly and obscurely conceived by our minds. We would go further; we would penetrate into those scenes of the dark past; we would satisfy our excited desires by having a full vision of all its events; but alas, we are repelled from the dark barriers which se-

parate us from this unfathomable past, and we are compelled, in despair, to remain in our present ignorance. And Odin and Thor, and the obscure traditions relating to their bloody religion, must be classed with those things which we hardly know whether to believe or not, and which, if we believe them, we cannot embody in conception.

The physical character of the entire Scandinavian region, its innumerable islands belting the coasts, the innumerable lakes which are to be found in each of its great sub-divisions, its bays and fiords, would lead us to suppose that its inhabitants would early become addicted to a nautical, and, considering the state of the world at that day, a piratical life. And such History, from the moment she begins to speak, assures us was the fact. When in the lapse of centuries, their population had become sufficiently augmented, they commenced those fearful descents upon more southern Europe; they ravaged the coasts, burned the cities, and then, at the approach of winter, they betook themselves again to their prows, and retired to their northern abodes, until pressing want, or the lust of conquest, impelled them to another campaign. Then, with another fell swoop, they would come down upon the coasts of distant and feeble nations. They conquered and took possession of a large portion of England. They carried their victorious arms into the heart of France, and chose Normandy, its fairest province, for their abode. And they even extended their rapacity to Spain and distant Italy! Wonderful people! What energy of character, what enterprise possessed them! But these ages have long since passed away, and given place to others more enlightened, and not less interesting. But it is time to return to our voyage.

After having issued from the cluster of islands, our course was almost due north. The white cliffs of Moën

were on our left, and for a long time were a prominent object in the scene in that direction. For hours we passed along off the coast of Zealand, the largest of the Danish Archipelago. The sun shone beautifully. A gentle breeze sprung up from the west, which softened the ardor of the air, and scarcely a wave was perceptible on the bosom of the sea. Time passed pleasantly, in reading or in conversation, under the boat's refreshing canopy. At length the distant shores of Sweden began to appear on the right. The white sails of the many vessels which were passing to and fro, gave life to a scene of surpassing interest. In this way we passed over the waves of the dark Baltic, and entered the Sound. At length the steeples of Copenhagen began to appear in the distance. The site of this city is so little above the sea, and the ramparts are so high, that it makes but a poor appearance when seen from the water—and yet the finest view of it from the water is obtained as one approaches it from the south.

At length, our steam-boat, having passed beyond the city—to get into the deep channel which leads into the harbor—turned round the low fortress of the *Trekroner*, and entered the port, leaving the large fortress, or citadel (as it is commonly called,) of *Frederikshavn* on the right; and soon she made her way down among the vessels which lay thickly strown in the narrow harbor, when, casting anchor, she came to her rest. We took immediately one of the many small boats which swarmed around, and went ashore, near to the Custom-House. Hundreds of well-dressed and respectable-looking people lined the wharf where we landed, many attracted thither, doubtless, by the expectation of meeting friends who had come in the steam-boat, and others by mere curiosity.

After the formality of a hasty examination of our passports, and a cursory look into our luggage—done in the most civil manner—the custom-house officers permitted us

to pass on in quest of a hotel. Nor had we to search long. The welcome face of our colored friend, Matthew—a St. Croix negro, whom we had met with when here four years ago, and who then acted as our guide—was soon distinguished among the crowd. The next moment found us following him to our old Hotel d'Angleterre; and in less than half an hour from the time the steam-boat cast anchor, we found ourselves quietly and pleasantly seated at a window, looking out, in the decline of a sweet summer's day, on *Kongens-Nye-Torv*, or King's New Market, (a large Place, almost in the centre of the city,) its equestrian statue of Christian V., and the vast numbers of people who were walking in this thoroughfare of Copenhagen.

CHAPTER IX.

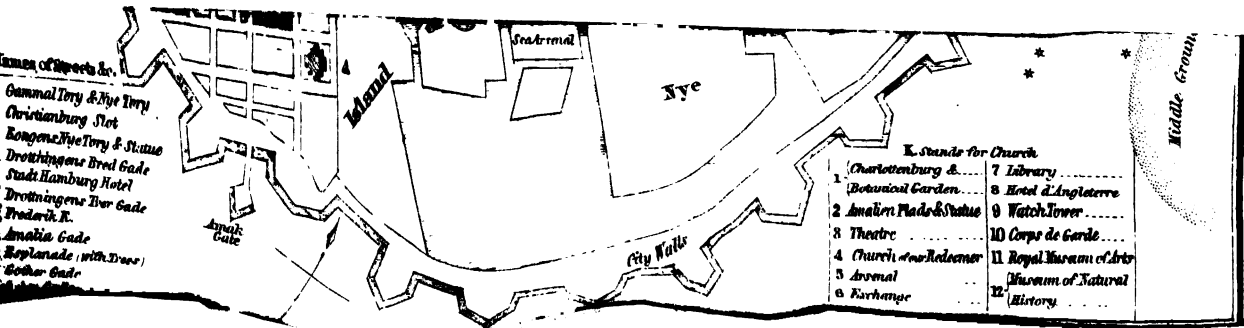
COPENHAGEN.

Geographical position of Copenhagen—Its fine port—Its advantages for being a Free City—Royal Navy Yard—Lord Molesworth's opinion of the advantages of the site of Copenhagen—History of Copenhagen—Origin of the name—The calamities with which this city has been visited—Description of the City, its streets, its ramparts—Important places in Copenhagen—Kongens-Nye Torv—Statue of Christian V.—Hotels on this Place—Palace of Charlottenburg—Academy of Arts—Thorvaldsen and his history—His finest works—Royal High Military School—Amalien Plads—Statue of Frederick V.—Marble Church, a ruin—Palace of Christiansborg—Its former greatness and splendor—Its present state—Thorvaldsen-Gallery—Exchange—Höjer's painting of Christian IV., and Tycho Brahé—The University—The Observatory—City Hall.

THE geographical position of Copenhagen is in north latitude $55^{\circ} 41'$, and longitude $12^{\circ} 35'$ east of Greenwich. Its situation is on the eastern side of the island of Zealand, and on a frith or narrow sound which separates that island from the smaller one of Amager, or Amak, as it is usually called by foreigners. From the position of this latter island, the arm of the sea which separates them runs from northeast to southwest. The main portion of the city, or rather the portion which is strictly called Copenhagen, lies on the island of Zealand; and as many of its most important streets run out at right angles to the narrow sheet of water which separates it from Christianshavn, or the portion of the city which stands on the island of Amager, and others are parallel to it, it is obvious that the main part of the city may be said to face the southeast.

No situation could be finer than that of Copenhagen for commerce. The harbor, which is in the northern

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portion of the sheet of water which separates the island of Amager from Zealand, is long and narrow, but is deep and safe. It can be entered by large vessels only from the northern end. The southern portion, or, to speak with more accuracy, the southwestern portion of this channel, is not deep enough to allow anything more than small vessels to pass through it. A drawbridge reaches from the northern or upper point of the island of Amager, over to the island of Zealand, and closes, as it were, the harbor, or rather forms the *inner* harbor, where five hundred vessels of the largest size may lie in safety at all times. Another bridge farther down, where the channel is narrowest, unites the portion of Copenhagen which stands on the island of Zealand to Christianshavn, or the portion which stands on the island of Amager. Whilst a third, called the Long Bridge, passes the channel farther still to the south or southwest, and near where it expands into the bay which lies in that direction.

What is called the outer harbor lies along the shore of Zealand, just outside of the first-named bridge, and is bounded on the east by a sand-bar, or shoal, which runs up from the northern point of the island of Amager, which is invisible to the eye, but which renders the water very shallow in that direction. At the extremity of that hidden sand-bar stands the strong fortress of the Tre Kroner, or Three Crowns. So that all vessels of any considerable draught of water, must, in entering even the outer harbor, pass between that fortress and the shore of the island of Zealand, on which stands, not opposite, however, but lower down, the strong fortress called the Citadel of Frederikshavn. Nor is the entrance for large ships wide, though it is not difficult under the conduct of a skilful pilot.

The Royal Navy Yard is on the upper end of the island of Amager and in face of the city. It is one of the

best in the north of Europe, and is abundantly supplied with covered stocks on which ships may be built, and large magazines of timber, and store-houses abundantly supplied with ship-stores, all in the best order. Whilst in front, within the inner harbor, lie a number of large ships of the line and frigates, dismantled, but in such a state that they could soon be made ready for sea.

Merchant-vessels which arrive with cargoes, or which require repairs, enter the inner harbor, and discharge along the wharfs on either side of the harbor, or pass to the common ship-yards, which also lie on the island of Amager. The small coasting vessels, after entering into the inner harbor, pass into the canals which lead almost into the heart of the city.

We trust that we have said enough to give the reader some idea of the nature and advantages of this city, considered with reference to commerce. Lord Molesworth, in his work on Denmark, written about one hundred and fifty years ago, says of this city: "Its situation for trade is one of the best in the world, because of the excellency of its port; so that, without doubt, were Copenhagen a free city, it would be the mart and staple of all the traffic of the Baltic. The port is enclosed by the bulwarks of the town, the entrance into it being so narrow that but one ship can pass at a time. This entrance is every night shut up with a strong boom.* The harbor is capacious enough to hold five hundred sail, where neither wind nor enemies can do them the least mischief. The road without is very good and safe, being fenced from the sea by a large sand-bank, on the points of which float always a couple of buoys to direct all ships that come in or go out.

* This was the case at that day. But at present a bridge with a draw occupies the place where the boom once was. The reader will observe that Lord M. speaks of what is really the inner harbor.

Here are no tides to fear, but always a sufficient depth of water. Sometimes, indeed, according as the wind blows into or out of the Baltic, there sets a current, but it is not frequent nor dangerous. To conclude, this port may justly be reckoned in all respects one of the best in the whole world."

This statement of his lordship must be pronounced to be strictly accurate. And there is not the least reason in the world to doubt that if Copenhagen were made a Free City—that is, a port in which all sorts of merchandise might enter free of duty, and be deposited there,—the whole trade of the countries which border on the Baltic would centre here, and the merchants of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Northern Prussia, and Mecklenburg, instead of receiving their foreign merchandise direct from England, France, the Mediterranean, the East Indies and America, would receive it from this city, and save a vast deal of time and risk in the early spring and late autumn. As it is now, it is extremely difficult for a ship to make two voyages during the season in which the Baltic is navigable, between St. Petersburg and the West Indies. But if Copenhagen were a Free City, where vast stores were accumulated, cargoes could be transported from this place to even the remotest port on the Baltic some six or eight or ten times a season, from the opening of the navigation in April or May, until its close in November. What life would, by this activity of commerce, be infused into the present dead state of things in this kingdom, we need not undertake to describe.

What is now called Copenhagen was for ages called the *Haven*, and was only a fishing village, a place of retreat for the small craft of those days, which often sought protection against the violence of the storms, as well as from the Wendish and other pirates, by which the Baltic was for centuries infested. This appellation was retained even

after a castle had been built for the defence of the harbor, and the village had gradually risen to the consequence of a town. In process of time, as it became a place for commerce, and merchants began to establish themselves there, it was called in the Danish language, *Kiöbmændhavn*, the Haven of Merchants. The natives of Iceland at present call it *Kaupmannahöfn*, and the Scotch formerly termed it Coupman-Haven. By degrees, the word *Kiöbmændhavn*, through rapidity of utterance, came to be pronounced *Kiöbenhavn*, which is the modern Danish pronunciation, and from which we have in English the word *Copenhagen*.

Valdemar the First, or Valdemar the Great, as he is commonly called, made a present of this place, together with a considerable district around it, to his friend and favorite Bishop Absalom. This Bishop, who figures to such advantage in the annals of Denmark, was originally called Axel Hvide, but agreeably to the usages of those times, he gave a Latin form to his name, and was ever afterwards called Absalom. This distinguished man, who knew how to use with equal dexterity the crosier and the sword, built here a castle in the year 1168, which he called Axel-house. It was built for the purpose of keeping the pirates in awe, and stood on the spot where now stands the vast palace of Christiansborg. And we may remark that in Danish poetry this city is, until this day, often called *Axelstad*, or the city of Axel, from the circumstances which we have just stated.

Bishop Absalom, some time before his death, made a present of Copenhagen, which had attained the dignity of a town, to the bishop and chapter of Roeskilde, and their successors. For more than two centuries, the king of Denmark endeavored in vain to recover this town—or city, as it had become before the termination of that period,—from the bishops of Roeskilde, and reduce it under the un-

controlled authority of the crown. It was reserved to the first king of Denmark of the Oldenburg family (Christian I.) to succeed in accomplishing that object. From him the bishop and chapter of Roeskilde received such a remuneration as they themselves admitted to be ample. The predecessor of Christian I., Christopher III., had already chosen Copenhagen for his residence and the capital of the kingdom, and such it has continued during a period of nearly four hundred years.

The finest view of this city which one can have, when approaching by water, is had when coming from the south. As seen over the low intervening island of Amak, it seems to be considerably elevated, and the palace of Christiansborg, the steeples of a few churches, the observatory, &c., have an agreeable appearance; whilst the wooded hill, on which stands the country palace of Frederiksberg, nearly two miles west of the city, forms a fine addition to the picture.

The present population of Copenhagen may be stated to be 120,000. It has been steadily but slowly increasing for the last quarter of a century. The reader, without doubt, will be surprised to find that it is not greater. But he will cease to wonder at the comparative smallness of the population when he considers that few cities have suffered more from fire, and from the attacks of enemies, than this has done. The plague also threatened several times to lay it waste, and actually carried off, in 1711, thirty thousand of its inhabitants. In the year 1728, sixteen hundred houses were burnt down. In 1794, the gorgeous palace of Christiansborg was consumed by the flames; and in the year following 943 houses, together with the church of St. Nicholas, fell a prey to the same devouring element. In the year 1658-60, this city sustained, and finally repelled, a furious siege from the Swedes. In the year 1700 it was besieged and captured by the Swedes, under Charles

XII. It was also besieged at a far earlier day by the confederate forces of the Hanseatic Cities. The celebrated battle of the Baltic was fought just outside of the harbor in 1801. And in 1807 it suffered dreadfully from the bombardment and capture which it sustained from the English forces under Lords Gambier and Cathcart. By that catastrophe more than 400 houses were destroyed, including the church of St. Mary, and many lives were lost. And what was worse than all, the large and beautiful fleet, lying moored in their harbor, and vast naval stores, were rapaciously taken and transported to England, and were never returned. This was a fatal blow to Denmark's prosperity, and needed only to be followed by the loss of Norway, to reduce her to a state bordering on perfect impotency.

The city stands, as we have said, on the two islands of Zealand and Amager, the main part being on the former. The part which stands on the island of Zealand, and which is properly called Copenhagen, is divided into two parts by a canal which runs up to the Kongens-Nye-Torv, or Royal New Market, and by a street called Gøther Gade, which continues in the line of the canal out to the opposite or northwestern side of the city. The southern part is called the Old Town, whilst the northern portion is called the New Town, as well as Frederikstad, in the official papers of the government. In the former, are found the Kongens-Nye-Torv, or Royal New Market; the old palace of Charlottenburg, and the Botanical Garden adjoining; the Exchange; the Mint; the Royal Museum of Natural History; the Frue Kirke, (or Notre Dame;) Trinity Church, and the University. In the latter, are the Amalien Plads (or Amalian Place,) and the four Palaces which surround it; the Royal Museum; the Hospital, and the Rosenberg Château and Garden. Whilst in Christianshavn,

on the island of Amager, are the Arsenal, the Penitentiary, the Royal Navy Yard, and the Naval Magazines.

The entire city is surrounded by a high and wide rampart, with numerous bastions, and with a deep and wide fossé or moat beyond it. The rampart is now converted into one of the most beautiful promenades which we have ever seen. It is nearly four miles in circuit. Rows of trees are growing on it; and on the bastions are fine grass-plats, and all is arranged with the very best taste. Several wind-mills, placed on these bastions, with their great arms, give something of the picturesque to the scene. There are but four gates through which one may enter the city, from the land side; one of which is on the island of Amager, and the other three are on Zealand. The entrance into the harbor is defended by two fortresses, one of which is called the Trekrøner (the Three Crowns), which stands on a small artificial island, which is in a line with the northern point of the island of Amager, and at a considerable distance from it; the other is on the island of Zealand, but not opposite to the Trekrøner, (being near to the city,) and is called the citadel of Frederikshavn. Both of these fortresses are well built, and are capable, by their position as well as their strength, of dealing dreadful destruction upon an enemy who might have the boldness to attack them. The Trekrøner is considered a fine specimen of the art of fortification. It is a hexagon in shape, and its walls are reckoned impregnable. Its powder magazines and its barracks are considered particularly fine. Neither of these fortresses possesses a great elevation, nor is it necessary they should. The Danes have learned from the painful experience of 1801 and 1807, the necessity of having their city well protected by fortifications.

Copenhagen is deservedly considered to be one of the finest cities in northern Europe. The New Town, espe-

cially, is very well built. The streets are regular and sufficiently wide. The Old Town is less regular, but its streets are generally of a good width, and the architecture of its houses presents a contrast with those of the New Town which is not unpleasant. For, whilst in the latter, the more simple and chaste style prevails which one now sees in the newest portions of all the well-built cities of Europe, the semi-Gothic, with its gable-ends, its circularly-arched windows, and its large and showy door-ways, still reign to a great extent. In all parts of the city the houses are built of brick, and are from three to four stories. The greater part of them are stuccoed, and painted white, or lead color. But what shall we say of the streets? As to the middle parts of them, or portions for carriages, they may do well enough. They are paved with round stones, of moderate size, and, though rough, they are solid and durable. But as to the side-ways, how shall we speak of them? They are, in many of the streets, not deficient in width; varying usually from five to ten feet. But they are paved with hard round stones, like the middle of the streets, and bordered on the outer side by a continuous line of blocks of granite. Never in our lives have we found it so hard to walk about in any other city. Even the streets in the old parts of Paris are better than this. For, besides the round, uncomfortable shape of the stones which form the side-way, there is an endless pushing of persons off the narrow granite curb-stone; for, being about twelve inches in width, and perfectly smooth in its surface, all the world seek to walk on it, and resemble persons walking on a log. Thus the comers and goers are in constant conflict, and it is nothing but a ceaseless dodging to and fro, which is wearisome in the extreme. However, there is a prospect that this uncomfortable state of the streets will not last always; for some persons are

essaying to introduce the bituminous pavements, which have lately been tried with success in Paris.*

At Copenhagen, as at Hamburg, many of the houses, in the streets where much business is done, have cellars which are partially subterranean. These cellars are occupied sometimes as grocery stores, hardware-stores, milliners' shops, apothecaries' shops, shoe-stores, &c. But often, too, as places where not only wine, but all sorts of ardent spirits are retailed. There is no mistaking these shops. The pictures of bottles, black and yellow, on the window-shutters, or on a sign-board placed conspicuously on the wall, above the entrance, sufficiently indicate their nature, without the suspended keg, or the inscription *Vin Handel en gros et en detail* : Commerce in wine, wholesale and retail.

But it is time that we give some notices of the most important localities, public-buildings, &c., of this city, which is certainly to be ranked among the finest capitals of Northern Europe.

The best streets of Copenhagen are : Gothersgade and Nyhavn, Bredgade, Store Kongensgade, Amaliegade, Frederiksgade, Kronprindsessegade, Østergade, Dronningstvergade, and those which border Holmens Canal. The most remarkable Places† are : Kongens-Nye-Torv, (or

* We might remark, in passing, that if Paris were paved as Copenhagen is, we have no doubt that a very numerous class of the gentlemen of that city of vaunted politeness—but the masses of whose inhabitants really know as little about the first elements of this great *social virtue*, as M. Talleyrand would call it, as any that can be found in the civilized world—would pursue a course just the opposite of that which they now almost invariably pursue ; that is, they would keep to the outside of the trottoir, or side-walk, and force the ladies to walk next to the houses. Whereas, at present, they, with singular perseverance, keep to the innerside of the pavement, or trottoir, and compel the ladies to take the outer, we suppose, to protect themselves against the mud !

† We wish the reader to bear in mind what we have already said respecting the word *Place*.

New Royal Market,) Amalienborg, (or Amalien-Plads, as it is more frequently called,) Gammel-Torv, and Amager-Torv; all of which are indicated on the accompanying plan of the city.

Kongens-Nye-Torv is in the central part of the city. It is a large, irregular-shaped space of ground, which we hardly know how to describe. It is neither square, oblong, nor round; nor is it a triangle; although that figure comes nearest to it. The extent of this place cannot be much less than three or four acres. When we were here in 1836, it was in a wretched state, for the pavement had become so broken up by the wagons and carriages which continually traversed it, that it was almost impossible to walk across it with any comfort. M. Marmier says that the wags of Copenhagen called it the *Danish Switzerland*, when he was here! At present it is undergoing a thorough repaving, and will become a comparatively handsome spot. It would be infinitely more beautiful if it were converted into a public garden, like Washington Square, in Philadelphia, and surrounded with an iron fence, or palisade. Laid out in fine gravel-walks, amid flowers and shrubbery, it would form a delightful promenade for the citizens, and would be greatly frequented.

In the centre of this Place there is an equestrian statue erected in honor of King Christian V. Take it all in all, it is the most contemptible thing of the sort which we have ever seen. It is of lead, and really it is a *heavy* affair in all respects. It was erected in 1688, and was the production of a French sculptor of the name of Amoreux. What the figures at the base of the pedestal were intended to symbolize we will not attempt to say, lest we should commit a mistake. Belzoni, the celebrated Italian traveler, remarked, when he first saw this wonderful production, that the only animation about the work is to be found in the horse's tail! To which sage criticism we add our

entire concurrence. An iron palisade is now making around this statue—an honor which it does not merit.

No less than thirteen streets run out from this place, in different directions, some of which are the most important in the city,—as for instance, the Gothersgade to the north, Store Kongensgade and Dronningensgade to the East, Ostergade (which has been called the Bond street of Copenhagen) and Lille Kongensgade to the west ; and Holmens Canal, with the two streets which border it, to the southeast. The most of the buildings which surround this Place are the residences of private individuals. The hôtel du Nord, and the hôtel d'Angleterre, which are the best known of all the hotels of the city, stand on the north side of this Place. On the southeastern side of this Place stands the old dingy-looking-brick palace of Charlottenburg, in the rear of which is the pleasant Botanical Garden of the Academy of Arts. This palace was given up to the Academy in 1778. Besides containing the collections of this institution, and its library and schools of art, this palace contains the apartments of several of the professors. Here, too, are some of the finest works of Thorvaldsen, who is, without doubt, at this moment, the first sculptor in the world. Among these works are copies of his Hebe ; Ganymede holding a cup to an eagle ; Mars, and Cupid at his side ; and a lion ; all of which, as well as others, which we pass over, are extremely beautiful. The eagle and Ganymede are an exquisite group. We had no conception that the plumage of a bird could be so perfectly represented in marble as it is here. Here, too, we found Thorvaldsen himself, at work in his atelier, or shop, moulding some models for the bas-reliefs which he is continuing to make for the Frue Kirke or Notre Dame, which has been already so enriched by his chisel. We were received by him in the kindest manner. He is a plain modest man, short, and stoutly-formed, with a fine

hale, ruddy face, and blond hair. For a long time, he has confined himself to modelling and finishing ; his pupils do the rest. He told us that he does not know how many statues and pieces of sculpture he has made, not having kept any account of them,—but he said they greatly exceed a thousand. He is to return to Rome shortly, and as a tribute of honor, he is to be sent thither in a Danish frigate, which is to be despatched expressly for that purpose. He will carry with him many models, in plaster, which he has prepared, and will cause the sculpturing of the objects of which they are the patterns, to be made at Rome. Among the pupils in this establishment, we found a very agreeable-looking young female artiste, working away with her moulding tools, and forming a bas-relief,—the subject we forget. She told us that she had already spent four years in acquiring the art, and that she expected to go to Rome to attain further perfection in it. She showed us a number of things which she had made, which displayed much capacity and skill. And Mr. Thorvaldsen spoke highly of her and of her talents.

Albert Thorvaldsen, the prince of modern sculptors, and the true Danish Phidias, is descended from Icelandic parents. He was born in Copenhagen, but the day and the year of his birth are unknown to him and his friends. He is supposed to be about 71 or 72 years of age at the date of our writing this notice of him, July, 1840. He was brought up at Copenhagen, and early displayed a taste for the art in which he has since gained such celebrity. In the Academy of Arts he gained every prize for which he contended. He was sent to Rome in 1796, at the expense of the crown, to prosecute his studies in the midst of the noble specimens of art which Italy and its capital alone afford. The voyage was made in the *Thetis*, a Danish frigate. For many years he labored at his business, in Rome, with great assiduity, but without having arrested

public attention. Just at the time when he was on the point of being compelled to return to his native country, on account of the termination of the period for which the royal stipend was granted, he had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Hope, an English gentleman of fortune and taste, who not only engaged him to make what turned out to be his famous *Jason*, victoriously bringing back the golden fleece from Colchis, but also assisted him with funds until his works brought him ample means of living. In 1819, Thorvaldsen made a visit to his native land, where, so great had his fame become, that persons of all ranks, from the king on the throne to the humblest citizen, hastened to show honor to the man whose talents had shed so much renown on his country. He was received every where with marks of the greatest enthusiasm.

On this occasion he remained about a year in Denmark, laboring most diligently in the old palace of Charlottenburg, where he had worked at his profession in his youth. In 1820 he returned to Rome, taking Warsaw in the way, where the Emperor Alexander had requested him to meet him on the subject of erecting an equestrian statue of Prince Poniatowsky. He continued at Rome until 1838, if we remember rightly, when he returned, with the statues which compose his group of Christ and his Apostles, in a frigate which the Danish government had sent expressly to bring him. He has now been here, on this second visit, two years. It was his expectation to return to Rome this autumn; but it is now quite certain that he will not be able to do so before next spring.

Thorvaldsen has never been married. He has, however, adopted a young lady, whom he brought up as his child, and to whom he is much attached. Although more than 70 years of age, he has scarcely the appearance of having passed sixty. What gives such a charm to him

and to all his conversation is his modesty, which is, indeed, equal to his merit. He labors every day with great diligence. By extreme simplicity, regularity, and virtue, he has, under God's blessing, preserved a robust health and a vigorous constitution.

As we have already stated, the productions of Thorvaldsen are very numerous. We cannot attempt to indicate even all the most celebrated of them. Among those which are most known are his Jason, Venus Victorious, Hebe, Cupid and the Graces, Ganymede and the Eagle, Shepherd's Boy and Dog, Cupid and Psyche, Dancing Girl, Mars, Christ and his Apostles. Among his bas-reliefs may be mentioned as most celebrated, Alexander's Entry into Babylon, History of Christ, (at Munich,) Priam begging the body of Hector from Achilles, and Brisëis led away from Achilles by Agamemnon's heralds (both of these belong to the Duke of Bedford,) Charity, Night and Day, Vulcan forging arrows for Venus, Hector reproaching Paris for cowardice, the Muses dancing around the Graces, Christ giving the Keys to Peter, the Baptism of Christ, the Lord's Supper. He has also made many models for statues to be executed in bronze, one of which was that of Guttemberg, at Mayence. As to busts, the number which he has made is great.

In speaking with Thorvaldsen respecting his finest statues which represent the human form, we learned a fact which somewhat surprised us. Not only did he assure us that he literally made his models after living forms, but that he had usually to engage several persons to serve as his living models, and according to which he made his models in plaster, in order to make a fine statue. He said that he never had seen the person who was perfectly beautiful in every limb, feature, &c. He had therefore to take the face from one, the neck from another, the shoulders from a third, the arm from a fourth, &c. And whilst he admitted that there might be persons in the

world who are perfectly formed throughout, he thought it would be extremely difficult to find them, and that therefore the only course which a sculptor can pursue, who wishes to come up to the perfect *beau-idéal*, is to seek that model in as many of the most finely formed persons as he can find.

In the preceding notice of Thorvaldsen, we have followed the best Danish authorities which we have met with, in addition to what we learned in conversation from the illustrious subject himself. Since writing the above, however, we have met with many details respecting his youthful days, and his trials at Rome from want of sufficient pecuniary resources, in his earlier residence there. But as we do not know what credit to attach to these details, we think that it is not worth while to trouble the reader with them. We will only state, that it is said by some authors that Thorvaldsen was born the 19th of November, 1770; that his grandfather was a pastor of a church in Iceland; that his father came in his youth to Copenhagen, where he married the daughter of a Danish minister of the gospel; and that he maintained his family by making ornaments in sculpture, and sometimes occupied himself in making figure-heads for ships; and that his son derived his first inspirations for the art by which he has gained such wide-spread fame, from seeing the rude efforts of his poor but worthy father.

On the western side of this Place stands the Theatre, which is no great affair in its external appearance; of its interior we know nothing. Between the theatre and the old palace, of which we have spoken in the preceding paragraphs, stands the Royal High Military School; and on the opposite side of the Place, and hard by the Hôtel d'Angleterre, is the chief station of the Corps-de-Garde, having a small court or yard in front, surrounded by an iron palisade, where three brass cannons direct their start-

ling mouths upon the Place, and whence the guards of the city are despatched at intervals, day and night, to all points of the city. The shrill voice of the officer who calls them out for this service, at frequent intervals, and marshals them to the music of the drum, will not soon be forgotten by us, for it has often enough interrupted our slumbers.

AMALIEN-PLADS, or AMALIENBORG, as it is also called.— This Place is in the eastern or new portion of the city, and is not far from the harbor. It is circular in its form, and is intersected at right angles by two streets, and is thus divided into four segments. It is altogether a very beautiful spot. Four palaces surround it, two of which are occupied by the king, and the other two by some of the branches of the royal family. One was formerly used for the Naval School, which is now established in a neighboring street.* These palaces are of good proportions, of chaste architecture, and altogether of a simple and agreeable exterior.

It was in one of these palaces that we had the honor of being presented to the late king, Frederick VI., in the month of June, 1836. We found the aged monarch very emaciated, and very feeble in appearance. His conversation, however, was not wanting in vivacity. His counte-

* This school was visited by Lord Nelson, after the celebrated attack which he made on the Danish fleet and the fortresses guarding the harbor, in 1801, and highly complimented for the skill and bravery which those who had been its pupils had displayed in the battle; particularly a Lieutenant Villemoes, a young man who had recently left the Academy, and who had commanded a gun-boat in the battle, and directed a most destructive fire on Nelson's flag-ship. This promising young officer was killed in 1808, on board the Prince Christian Frederick, ship of the line, when that vessel was captured by two British sixty-fours, the Stately and the Nassau. Lord Nelson presented to the Academy, on the occasion of his visit, some medals which had been struck in honor of the victory of the Nile.

nance bore the deep furrows which care and anxiety had made upon it. Few sovereigns have ever lived who experienced more sorrows than did this venerable monarch, who, although he seemed not to have known the consolation which religion gives in the hour of adversity, nor to have regulated his life in all respects according to the demands of a rigid morality, was, nevertheless, greatly beloved by his people. The true secret of this was to be found in his humanity, kindness, and condescending manners.

In another of these palaces we also had the honor of being presented to their Majesties, the present King and Queen of Denmark. The king is plain and affable in his manners, and evidently a very well informed man. The queen is a very beautiful woman, of a most dignified and graceful deportment; and her heart, we are assured, is as noble as her person. Withal, and better than all, she is an humble and sincere Christian. The interest which she takes in the schools, orphan asylums, and other institutions of beneficence, as indicated by the frequent visits which she makes to them, as well as in other ways, has greatly endeared her to the people.

In the centre of the Amalien-Plads stands an equestrian statue of Frederick V. It is of bronze, standing on a large pedestal of whitish Italian marble. The entire height is thirty-six feet. It is enclosed by an iron palisade, and that again by chains stretching from one marble post to another. This statue is considered to be one of the finest of the sort in the north of Europe. It is, unquestionably, a noble monument of respect and affection, erected to the memory of a monarch who certainly deserved it, for his virtues, and for the great encouragement which he gave to literature and the arts. It was erected in 1768, at the expense of the Danish Asiatic Company. The inscription in front is simple and appropriate. It is:

FREDERICO QUINTO.

.CLEMENTI

. PACIFICO

ARTIUM TUTORI

AETAS

GRATA FELIX.*

The street which crosses this Place, running from the harbor to the west, is terminated by the ruins, or rather the unfinished structure, of what is called the Marble Church, which was commenced in the time of Frederick V., but for some reason or other—probably the want of money—it never advanced beyond the height of some thirty or forty feet. The walls, inside and out, were to be built wholly of Norwegian marble, highly polished, and the whole was to be finished in the most magnificent style. The dome was to have had an elevation of 264 feet above the level of the ground, and the Corinthian pillars in front would have been about ninety feet in length, pedestal and capital included. Alas, that this structure, which was designed to surpass everything of the sort in the North, has only added another to the instances of the folly of “attempting to build a tower,” without having first ascertained how much it would cost, and whether the means to finish were possessed by him who undertook to build.

6 GAMMAL TORV lies in the southwestern part of the city, and is used for a market. It is adorned with a fountain of water. Amager Torv is also on the western part of the city, and is near to the palace of Christiansborg, and deserves no special notice. It takes its name from its being the market-place for vegetables, which are chiefly raised by the people of Amager Island, and sold here.

* A Grateful and Happy Age—to Frederick Fifth, Clement, Peaceful, and the Protector of the Arts.



A Woman from the island of Amager. — A Danish Peasant Woman of the neighbourhood of Copenhagen

PALACE OF CHRISTIANSBORG.—This is the most splendid palace in Denmark. It stands on what is called Slotsholm, or Castle-Island, and is situated in the western or old portion of the city. The island on which it stands is formed by a wide and deep canal, which is connected with the harbor by another canal. Coasting vessels enter these canals, as they do the one which runs up from the harbor to the Kongens-Nye-Torv; and it is no uncommon thing to see these artificial basins filled with small, one-masted sloops from the Danish Archipelago, or from the coasts of Jutland, Sleswic and Holstein. On Castle-Island there stand, besides the palace of Christiansborg, several large buildings, which are quite in the immediate vicinity, in one of which is the Royal Library, and in another the Royal Chancery. The Exchange also stands on this island.

The Palace of Christiansborg was originally built by Christian VI. Seven years were required for its construction. It was occupied for the first time, Nov. 26th, 1740, on which occasion a medal was struck, bearing an inscription which imported that it had been raised solely at the expense of the monarch—*proprio sumptu, nec uno quidem obolo oculis civium expresso, &c.*—which Sir John Carr, in his Travels, translates, “Out of his majesty’s own private purse, without pinching his subjects.” An inscription, in golden letters, over the principal entrance from the westward, stated the same fact by the words *absque subditorum onere*:—without burdening his subjects.

The dimensions of this palace were great. It formed nearly a square, the front of which was 370 feet, and the sides 390. The height was 114. But including the buildings which connected the palace on one hand with the Chapel, and on the other with the Chancery, the entire

east front was 680 feet. It had three high and three low stories. The court—on the west side—was 460 feet in length, and 380 in width, surrounded by other buildings symmetrically arranged, and two wings of piazzas, 12 feet in depth. On each side were stables for horses, sufficient to accommodate 200.

The splendor of the interior of this palace was surpassingly great. The Knights' Hall was one of the finest rooms of the sort in Europe. It was 128 feet in length, 62 in width, and 48 in height. A gallery ran around it, supported by 44 Corinthian columns, of gilt marble, as Mr. Steenbloch says, but according to Sir John Carr, of cinnamon wood, "the bases and capitals of which were richly gilded." The walls were hung with tapestry, representing the history of Telemachus, and were also adorned with paintings from subjects chosen from Danish annals. These paintings were made by Abildgaard. This hall also contained several statues executed by Wiedewelt. It was lighted by immense chandeliers and candelabras, and the expense of lighting was estimated at about \$500 per night!

We may add, that the cost of this immense and splendid palace has been estimated at about \$7,500,000! A vast sum, truly, to be expended for the seat of royalty in so small and poor a kingdom as Denmark has long been. It is to be hoped that better ideas of what constitutes the true dignity of royalty prevail now-a-days in this kingdom.

We have stated elsewhere that this gorgeous palace became a prey to the flames in 1794. Nothing escaped but the buildings in the rear, including the stables. It has been since rebuilt, but in a more chaste and appropriate style. The number of the stories is four instead of six. It is built of brick, and stuccoed. Some travelers have spoken of it as being built of stone; but this is not true, except in

the sense in which this word is used in the North of Europe, viz., to designate all houses that are built of brick, as well as those which are built of stone, properly so called. The basement story only of this palace is of stone; and a very unsuitable sort it is for the purpose for which it is employed, owing to its soft, or rather its very brittle texture.

But a small portion of the interior of this magnificent and imposing-looking palace is yet furnished. The finances of Denmark are not equal, in these days, to the splendor contemplated by the founder of this grand edifice, nor even to the more moderate notions of him who undertook to rebuild it. It has never been inhabited by the royal family since 1794. The Royal Picture Gallery and the Museum of Northern Antiquities are both placed in this palace; the former fills the entire highest story of the main building, whilst the latter is in the lowest story of the right wing. In the lower rooms, also, of the same wing, is the collection of nearly all the models, in plaster, which Thorvaldsen has made. They fill many rooms, and are only temporarily placed there, until the hall which is erecting expressly for the works of this great man, shall have been completed. It is building in the rear of the chapel, and on the north side of the palace. It is to be called the Thorvaldsen Gallery. It is erecting at the expense of the crown, we believe, and is certainly a monument to genius of which both the person so honored and the nation have good reason to be proud. We spent much time in surveying these models. There are, however, in this collection some exquisite things in marble, copies of some of Thorvaldsen's great productions. Some of these are full statues, some are busts, and some are bas-reliefs. Among the last named is his Triumphant Entry of Alexander into Babylon. This is one of the finest specimens of sculpture which we have ever seen.

The various heroes, conquerors or captives, in their respective costumes, the beasts of different countries, such as the horse, the camel, the elephant, the lion, are all in their places in the procession; and the effect of the whole is wonderful. The original of this group was commenced by order of Napoleon, and was intended to grace a triumphal arch at Milan. But that great conqueror had been compelled to leave his princely throne for a desolate island in the midst of the sea, before the work was achieved. There are several copies of this work, two of which are in Italy, and one in Bavaria.

In one room there is a very considerable collection of antiques and other curiosities, which Mr. Thorvaldsen made when in Italy, the greater part of which were presents from distinguished men.

THE EXCHANGE.—This edifice also stands on Castle Island, and at but a short distance from the Palace of Christiansborg. It is a long narrow building, of two stories, and in the semi-Gothic style of architecture. The Bourse, or Exchange, properly so called, occupies only the northern end of the upper story. It is a large square room, of few pretensions to beauty that we are aware of. There is, however, a large picture in it, representing Christian IV. in the act of presenting to Tycho Brahé a gold chain and other ornaments, when he visited the exiled astronomer at Prague, in Germany. This painting was made by Höjer, at the expense of the merchants of Copenhagen. It is greatly admired, but we confess that we think it hardly worthy of the commendation which it has received. It is a good painting, without doubt, but not extraordinary. The subject of it is interesting, as every thing which concerns Tycho Brahé must be. But we would rather see a good picture representing Christian IV. receiving the persecuted and expatriated philosopher, re-

turning in triumph to his native land, and rewarding him according to his merits. This would have been an act worthy of a magnanimous king, and a friend of the "heavenly science." The action which the artist has chosen for his subject was, in our opinion, an insult, rather than an honor to the illustrious exile. The other portions of the upper story of this building are occupied by small shops, or stores, where almost all descriptions of wares are sold. They form, in fact, a sort of bazaar. The lower story is filled with molasses, fish-oil, hides, turpentine, sugars, coffee, &c., and emits odors of great variety, although, it must be confessed, they are not all very savory, especially in the goodly hot days of June and July.

The most striking thing about this building is the very singular spire which crowns its tower, which is formed of three immense dragons, in bronze, resting on their fore feet and heads (if we may speak of *fore* feet in the case of an animal which is represented to have only two), whilst their tails are twisted together up in the air, and taper away to a point. It is altogether such a fancy in architecture as might be expected of the age—that of Christian IV.—when it was built. The sides, windows, and, indeed, every part of the exterior of this queer edifice, display the same semi-barbaric style.

THE UNIVERSITY.—In the old part of the city, and facing one of the sides of the Place on which stands the Frue Kirke, we find the University. The buildings are neat and convenient, and quite modern. They are of brick and stuccoed, and of a lead color. The rooms for lectures, and for philosophical and chemical experiments and illustrations, are every way such as they should be. The inscription over the principal door is as follows:—CŒLESTEM ASPICIT LUCEM. And above the central window is the name of the

renovator. **FREDERICUS SIXTUS INSTAURAVIT, A. D., MDCCCXXXVI.** The Observatory is not attached to the University, but is the tower of Trinity Church, at no great distance from the University. We shall speak of it in another place.

The *Raadhuus*, or City Hall, is also in the neighborhood of the University and the Frue Kirke. It is a fine building, and displays good taste. It contains one of the largest rooms in Europe.



FRUE KIRKE.

The Frue Kirke, or Church of St. Mary, may be called the Cathedral of Copenhagen. It is a beautiful structure, and displays much chasteness of style. It was nearly destroyed in the bombardment of the city in 1807, but it has been rebuilt, according to a more simple and appropriate architecture.

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CHAPTER X.

COPENHAGEN.

St. Mary's Church—Thorvaldsen's group of John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness—The interior of this church beautiful—Thorvaldsen's group of Christ and his Apostles—Criticisms on this group—The Baptismal Font—The Gymnasium in the rear of this church—The view from the tower of the Frue Kirke or the St. Mary's—Trinity church and its Round Tower, used as an Observatory—The feat of Peter the Great—The globe of Tycho Brahé,—Monument of Corfitz Ulfeld, and his History—Palace of Rosenberg, its contents and its garden—Sword of Gustavus Adolphus—Sword of Charles XII. of Sweden—Oldenburg Drinking Horn—Seamen's Barracks—Royal Navy Yard—The church of the Redeemer—Holmen's Kirke—Tombs of Niles Juel and Tordenskiold—History of the latter—His untimely and foolish end—Royal Museum of Arts—Museum of Northern Antiquities—Royal Museum of Natural History—Royal Gallery of Paintings—Jonah preaching to the Ninevites—Professor Lund's great painting—The Royal Library—Its History—Professor Werlauff, its present Keeper—Count Griffenfeld—His vast attainments—His mournful fate—Library of the University—The Classen Library—The Athenæum—Prisons—Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb—Establishment for the Blind.

ST. MARY'S.—Hard by the University, and indeed occupying the centre of the fine Place, or Square, on which that institution stands, is the Frue Kirke, which would be called in Italy the church of the Madonna, in France Notre Dame, and in English, the church of Our Lady, that is, of the Virgin Mary. The simplest title by which to translate the Danish name of this church is the Church of St. Mary. It is called the Cathedral church of Copenhagen. In the bombardment of 1807 it was nearly destroyed. It has, however, been rebuilt in a more simple and chaste style. The tower is not so high as it formerly was. The entire edifice is of brick, stuccoed, and of rather a yellowish color. We do not know when we have seen a church whose exterior pleased us more. The front is

of the Doric order of architecture. Six large pillars, of just proportions, adorn it. Above the entablature there is a group of figures in basso-relievo, made by Thorvaldsen. They are of stucco, of a particular composition, and of a reddish or copper color. They represent John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness. The expression of face, and the variety of attitude, indicating various degrees of attention, which the artist has contrived to give to the individuals who compose this group,—containing, in all, sixteen human figures of full size—are really wonderful, and constitute a fine triumph of art. We have never seen any thing of the sort that was finer.

But let us enter and see the interior. Here every thing displays good taste. The arch of the ceiling is particularly beautiful, and well proportioned. The nave of the church is occupied by forty-eight seats of pews. The galleries are filled with seats, one of which, opposite to the pulpit (which is on one side of the church, as is almost always the case in the great churches on the continent) is fitted up in gorgeous style, for the royal family. But though this church is a very large one, yet it is obvious that it has not accommodations for even fifteen hundred persons. We do not believe that one thousand people can find seats in it. And we are sorry to add that on neither of the two Sabbaths, on which we attended the morning service, was it half filled, though the weather was as fine as it could be.

The chief attraction which strangers find in this church is the celebrated group of Christ and his Apostles, which Thorvaldsen presented to it, and which was brought from Rome in the national frigate which carried him back to his own country two years ago. This group is made of fine Italian marble, from the quarries of Carrara. It is more than twenty years since the sculptor commenced this great task. The twelve apostles are arranged along

the sides of the body, or nave of the church, six on each side, each one being placed against one of the pillars which support the galleries. This gives them a fine position for being seen. Each one stands on a pedestal four or five feet high. The statue of the Saviour stands above the altar, at the upper end of the church.

We have said that all these statues are made of marble. But this is not quite correct. Two of them, those of Judas, son of Thaddeus, and Andrew, brother of Peter, are still in plaster. But the statues of these two apostles, in marble, are finished at Rome, and will soon be brought to Copenhagen. It is the intention of the government to have them brought in the ship which is to carry Thorvaldsen back to Italy.

In making this group, the artist has substituted St. Paul for Judas. Taken as a whole, this is one of the most remarkable groups in the world. The value of the donation which Thorvaldsen has thus made to the Cathedral of his native city is immense. We suppose, however, that we must find fault with something in this group, otherwise it will be thought that we have no taste for sculpture, or knowledge of the art. We would then say, that whilst we consider the face and person of the Saviour to be admirable, we are inclined to think that the artist has given too great an air of sadness, or pensiveness, to the countenance, instead of *sympathy*, which is the expression that befits the words which it is intended to have Him utter at the moment,—“Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” It seems to us that the artist had too much in the eye of his imagination the countenance which Da Vinci gives to the Saviour, in his celebrated Last Supper, where he is represented as saying, “Verily I say unto you, this night one of you shall betray me!” We may remark, in passing, that the original of this picture of Da Vinci contains the only repre-

sentation of the Saviour's face which we have ever loved to contemplate. There is truth in the expression of some one who has said, that if ever the face of Emmanuel be properly painted, the Holy Ghost must be the painter! But the countenance which Thorvaldsen gives to his Christ, in this group, is a noble one. It finely expresses the dignity and compassion of Him who, though the Son of God, became the Man of Sorrows! The arms and bust may, perhaps, be found fault with, as being too heavy.

Standing in front of the altar, and looking down the church from the platform on which the altar stands, you have the statue of St. Paul on your right, and that of St. Peter on your left. It is fit that the statues of these great men should be placed nearest to that of their Master. These statues are every way remarkable. Certainly these courageous heralds of salvation were never better represented by the chisel. Their faces seem animated with the most heroic fortitude, and the noblest devotion to the cause to which they had consecrated their lives. Great firmness beams from the countenance of Peter; while that of St. Paul bears the traces of profound intellect. Several of the others are scarcely less excellent. Indeed, there is not one which would not be pronounced a fine statue. But what shall we say of that of St. John, which stands next after that of Peter, on the left hand of the Saviour? It is certainly a most beautiful statue. But the face is altogether too feminine, in our opinion. It is a sort of St. Cecilia-face, which, though charming, has not enough of the manly about it, to agree with the character of even the disciple whom Jesus loved. But here our criticism must end. It is a wonderful group, and is sufficient of itself to immortalize the sculptor.

We must confess our ignorance, for we really do not know by what authority that can be depended on, painters and sculptors have represented each apostle to be accou-

tred, or rather accompanied, with certain instruments and weapons. We must suppose them to be such as tradition teaches us that they used, or such as are symbolical of their character and work. Thorvaldsen has followed those who preceded him in this respect. And as he made his statues at Rome itself, the very focus where all old traditions concentrate, and are preserved with the most laborious care, we must take it for granted that he is exact in this matter. Paul he represents as holding a sword in his left hand; whilst his right is elevated and points towards the heavens. This is all well. Peter, of course, has the *keys*, which he holds in his right hand, whilst his left is hid in the folds of his garments. John sustains a book on his left hand, and writes in it with his right, with his face turned upwards to the heavens, as if he was in the act of receiving the heavenly message, and committing it to writing. An eagle stands by his side,—which, with all due respect for tradition, we think ought to be placed by the side of *Dr. Paul*, as he would be entitled, perhaps, if he lived in our times. Thomas rests his chin on his right hand, and holds what the carpenters call a *square* over his left shoulder. Judas, or Thaddeus, son of Alpheus, holds his hands clasped together in devotion, whilst a halberd rests against his left breast. Andrew rests his left arm between the upper portions of a cross, whilst his right hand is slightly elevated. Simon Zelotes holds a saw, which he is contemplating. Bartholomew holds a knife in his hand. James, brother of John, holds a long spear, with the head uppermost, in his left hand, whilst his right is folded in his garment; his hat is suspended on his shoulders, just as Apollo is represented as carrying his quiver. Matthew holds a book against his right thigh with his left hand, and has a style or pen in his right; a winged cherub stands at his right side. James, son of Alpheus, supports his hands on a long staff. Philip holds a cross in his right hand.

We ought to add that immediately in front of the altar there is a most beautiful *morçeau* or group; also made by Thorvaldsen. It is a veiled angel kneeling, and holding a large shell, which contains the water used for baptisms. This piece is made of the purest white marble. It is really exquisite. The face of the angel is beautiful and pure beyond description. The wings, too, have a finish which is scarcely exceeded by those of the eagle in the Ganymede group.

In some side-rooms of this church we were shown the models of a group, representing the going of our Saviour to the place of crucifixion. The figures are in *basso-relievo*. When executed in marble this group will be placed over the altar, immediately above the statue of the Saviour. The conception and execution of this group, so far as displayed in the models, are most happy.

In the rear of this church, and at no great distance from it, stands a fine commodious Grammar school, over the chief door of which stands this appropriate motto, in large characters: *DISCIPLINA SOLERTI FINGITUR INGENIUM*—By skilful instruction the mind is formed.

From the tower or steeple of this beautiful church, as well as from that of Trinity church, there is one of the finest views which we have ever enjoyed. Beneath, all around, spreads out the city, with its brown roofs, its streets, and its public Places. To the south stretches out the island of Amager, with its flat and fertile meadows and fields. To the east, lies the Sound, covered with sails of ships passing to and fro; and beyond it, in the distance, are the shores of Sweden, and the towns of Malmö, Lund, and Landsrona, distinctly visible in fine weather. To the north and west, lie the finely cultivated fields and charming country-seats of Zealand. The Palace of Frederiksberg, on a fine rising ground, at the distance of about two miles to the west of the city, with its white walls ris-

ing through the green foliage of the forest which surrounds it, is a most beautiful feature in the scene. Whilst the innumerable country-houses, sprinkled over the green plain which encircles the city in that direction, enclosing in its expanse some large ponds of water, constitute a prospect of surpassing loveliness. The whole prospect, indeed, on what side soever contemplated, is extremely beautiful.

TRINITY CHURCH.—This church stands in the same quarter of the city in which St. Mary's stands. There is nothing remarkable about this church, save its high round tower, which serves for an Observatory for the University, and has long been used as such. The ascent to the top is within, by an inclined spiral brick way, wide enough for a carriage. Up this path-way or road, Peter the Great, when on a visit to Copenhagen, drove a carriage and four horses, as the story is, (though we apprehend that two were as many as he really had) to the top, and then turned round and drove down again. This he did to please the Czarina, his wife. The thing was doubtless done, and no man was more likely to do it, or more capable of such an achievement. This tower is well supplied with astronomical instruments, and observations are regularly made by the Professor of Astronomy in the University, who has charge of it. We observed many Runic stones lying strewed along the sides of the inclined road which leads up to the top of this tower.

In the upper part of this church is the library of the University, which is one of the best for the purpose for which it was established, that can be found on the continent of Europe. It contains more than 80,000 volumes, selected with great care. It contains also many valuable manuscripts, particularly in the Icelandic and other Northern languages. The globe which Tycho Brahé constructed and used was formerly kept in this library; but it was destroyed, as well as the major part of all his other astro-

nomical instruments and machinery, by the fire of 1728. By the way, it is amusing to see how travelers repeat what those who have preceded them have said, without taking the least trouble to inquire into the matter. We know not how many travelers have published in their books that the globe of Tycho Brahe is still in existence. Even as late as 1838, an English traveler asserted that it is to be found in the Royal Library. A French writer says it is in the University Library. But the fact is, it is nowhere in existence, if the keepers of these libraries and other well-informed men, with whom we conversed, know anything about the matter.

MONUMENT OF CORFITZ ULFELD.—In a small market-place, at no great distance from St. Mary's Church, amidst butchers' stalls, there is a singular monument, consisting of several blocks of granite, rudely hewn, and surmounted by a piece of the same material which tapers away to a



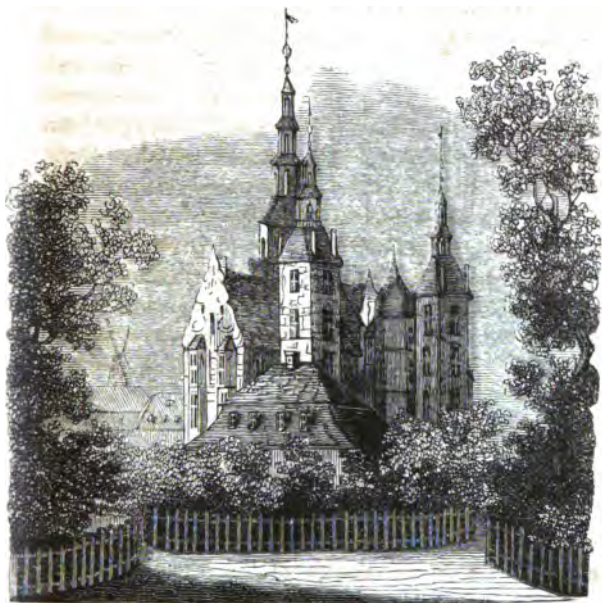
Monument of Corfitz Ulfeld.

point. This monument was erected to the *dishonor* of a Dane who was reckoned a traitor to his country, and to whose memory a curse is engraved in rude characters upon these stones. The man who attained this unenviable immortality was a Count Corfitz (or Cornifix) Ulfeld, son of a Danish Minister of State. He was a favorite of Christian IV., whose natural daughter, the celebrated Elenora, he married. During the reign of that monarch Ulfeld held several posts of great honor, and visited Germany and Holland, where he was treated with distinction. Upon the death of Christian IV., finding that his situation was not comfortable under the reign of Frederick III., who was his brother-in-law and enemy, he retired to Sweden. Upon his return to Copenhagen on a visit, he was charged with treasonable designs, and was compelled to fly from the country. Soon afterwards his estates were confiscated, his house torn down, and this monument erected, we believe, on the same spot. The inscriptions on the several sides are in these words:—*Til aevig Spott, Skam og Skjendsel Forraæderen Cor. Ulfeld:—To the everlasting contempt, shame, and reprobation of the traitor, Corfitz Ulfeld.* As to Ulfeld, he wandered about in various places. He spent some years in Sweden, exciting the Swedes to a war against Denmark. For a while he lived in disguise at Basle in Switzerland; being discovered, he undertook to descend the Rhine, but was taken ill and died on the voyage, in the year 1664. His body was buried on the bank of that river. Such was the end of a man who had long enjoyed the greatest prosperity—only one of ten thousand instances which teach us not to put confidence in man,—no, not even in princes. The history, we will add, of this Corfitz Ulfeld, is given with great fulness by the Danish historian, Suhm. It is admitted now, we believe, that it is far from being clear that he was guilty of all the charges preferred against him. At any

rate, it does no good to retain such an odious monument as this in the heart of the city. It is high time that it disappeared. So the people have thought; and not long since they assembled in great numbers, and were going to pull it down—but the police, with its armed force, interfered and dispersed them.

PALACE OF ROSENBERG.—In the Eastern, or new part of the city, stands the Palace or Château of Rosenberg, with its extensive and beautifully-laid-out garden. This garden is open to the public, and is to Copenhagen what the Gardens of the Tuileries and of the Luxembourg are to Paris. Hither the inhabitants resort in great numbers to promenade in the fine summer evenings. It was formerly filled with arbors and summer-houses. But at present only one fountain and one pavilion remain. There is here a bronze group of Hercules, tearing open the mouth of a lion, said to be by Barotti. It is a work of merit; and so is another group in bronze, representing a lion tearing to pieces a horse, which is admired by many.

The Palace of Rosenberg is an irregularly-shaped building in the Gothic style, with a high pointed roof, from which ascend four towers of unequal dimensions and height. This palace was built by Christian IV., and was his favorite place of residence. It is not inhabited at present, but is filled with valuable articles of various kinds, collected by the monarch who built it, and by those who have succeeded him. To describe its contents, however, would require a volume. Here are the crown jewels, and the throne of the king—a very fantastic affair—and that of the queen, which is of massive gold, both used at the coronation of the sovereigns. Here are extensive collections of swords, of drinking-horns, of goblets, of antique and costly boxes, &c. Here is one of the richest cabinets of medals and coins that exist in the world. The keeper assured us that there are eighty thousand specimens.



PALACE OF ROSENBERG.

This Palace was built by Christian IV, after the designs of Inigo Jones, an English architect. It was the favorite residence of the monarch who was its founder.

Here is the celebrated drinking-horn of Oldenburg; an old iron sword of Christian II., on the hilt of which is inscribed the motto *vim vi repellere licet*, and with which he perpetrated those excesses which the Swedes charge him with. Here is a sword which once belonged to Gustavus Adolphus, and another which Charles XII. of Sweden wielded. Here are the vessels which are used at the baptism of the children of the royal family, and which are very precious. Here is a collection of glass and China ware, presented to Christian IV. by the Republic of Venice. Here, too, is his hammock, and here are his clothes, his saddle, his portrait, and those of his wives and mistresses. Here is a famous bathing-room covered with mirrors, and sundry other articles, as the auctioneers say, too tedious to mention. Take it all in all, it is the greatest collection of royal and precious old stuff which we have ever seen, unless, indeed, it be surpassed by the Electoral Palace at Dresden, of which we have some doubts.

SEAMEN'S BARRACKS.—A large quarter in the eastern part of the city is occupied by the quarters of the Royal Marines. It consists of many streets of low one-story houses, each calculated to hold a family. Here the seamen of the royal navy reside. Here they leave their families in comfortable habitations, when the service of their country calls them from home. At present their number is not great, for the navy of Denmark is but the shadow of what it was before the disastrous attack of the English upon Copenhagen in 1807, when their fine fleet, which lay moored in the inner harbor, was either carried away or destroyed, by Lord Gambier.

ROYAL NAVY YARD.—The Navy Yard on Amager island is well worthy of a visit. Several ships of war, of the largest class, lie at anchor in the inner harbor; whilst opposite to them are the dockyards and the magazines. Every convenience exists here for building, and fitting for

sea, ships of war of all classes. A large quantity of ship's stores are constantly kept ready here. Every thing is on a scale of greatness which no longer befits the reduced state of the navy of this little kingdom.

THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER (Vor Frelfers Kirke,) on the island of Amager, has a tower of considerable height, which is ascended by an external spiral stairway of a remarkable construction. It is after the manner of the Chiesa della Sapienza at Rome. The organ of this church is reckoned the finest in Copenhagen.

HOLMENS KIRKE—This is the Church which is maintained ostensibly for the religious instruction of the seamen of the Royal Navy; but it is in fact the church of a large parish, and is attended by the citizens as well as by seamen. It stands almost in front of the Christiansborg Palace. As an edifice there is nothing remarkable about it. It is built in the shape of a Roman cross; and is quite capacious. But it is interesting as being the place where are the tombs, or rather the sarcophagi, of two of the greatest naval heroes whom Denmark has ever produced. One of these is Niels Juel; the other is Tordenskiold. Both became admirals in the service of their country, and both did much to raise the navy of Denmark to a very high point of glory. But the latter was the real Nelson of Denmark. A brief sketch of his history may not be uninteresting to our readers. We give it with the greater pleasure, because it shows to what distinction a man may rise by his merits, from the most humble situation in life.

Peter Vessel,—the original name of him who was afterwards called Admiral Tordenskiold,—was born at Trondheim in Norway, in the year 1691; and from being a tailor's apprentice in his 14th year, he rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral before he was twenty-eight. He had even previously to this been raised to the nobility, by the title

of Tordenskiold, which signifies in English *Thunder-shield*. This title he received from his impetuous and irresistible bravery, in attacking the enemy under almost all circumstances, and nobly defending his country against every assault. In his title, as well as his actions, he greatly resembled the British naval hero whom we have just named, and upon whom a title of a similar meaning—Duke of Bronte—was conferred by the King of the two Sicilies. Like Nelson, Vessel began his career in the merchant service, and made two voyages to the East and West Indies. War breaking out between Denmark and Sweden in 1710, he entered the royal navy as a midshipman, at the age of eighteen. Soon he obtained the command of a small vessel of four guns, with which he performed such feats of successful daring that he was immediately raised to the rank of lieutenant. From his small vessel of four guns he soon became commander of one of thirty, called the *White Eagle*,—which he had taken from the enemy. Step by step he rose rapidly in the service, being a great favorite with the king, Frederick VI., notwithstanding he had many enemies at the court, who envied him his good fortune. Some of his achievements display the most remarkable courage and presence of mind, and in some cases a degree of rashness, which nothing but his amazing intrepidity could have prevented from effecting his ruin. Such for instance was his resisting a Swedish sloop of war, carrying 16 guns and 60 men, with a small prize-vessel, carrying only two three-pounders and 19 hands. Notwithstanding the inequality of force, he succeeded in beating the enemy off, and escaped being captured. His attempt to enter the harbor of Gottenburg, and destroy the Swedish ships which were there, during a dark night, was another instance of his astonishing boldness, and of his happy success.

The death of Charles XII., king of Sweden, brought at

length an end to a war between Denmark and Sweden, which had lasted ten years. On this occasion, Tordenskiold, with the consent of his sovereign, set out to travel, intending to visit his great benefactor, General Lövendahl, who then resided at Dresden. He proceeded to Hanover, where he waited on George the First, who was on the point of leaving his German dominions, to which he had made a visit, for England. Whilst there, Tordenskiold unfortunately had a quarrel with a Swede of the name of Stahl, who was consul for his country at Hamburg. The cause of the quarrel was this: A friend of Tordenskiold, of the name of Lehn, who accompanied him, had visited the house of Stahl at Hamburg, to see a snake which was reported to have seven heads. The story was evidently circulated for the purpose of enticing the unwary. There he fell into the hands of gamblers, who won all his money, and even a bond for 25,000 dollars more. When Tordenskiold heard of this he was very indignant, and meeting with Stahl at Hanover, he gave him a severe beating. This led to a duel, in which the parties fought with swords. The result was, that Tordenskiold was run through by his adversary, and died "as a fool dieth," on the 20th of November, 1720, having just entered the 30th year of his age. His untimely fate excited great regret among his countrymen. "Fortune," as Holberg expresses it in his Latin epitaph on Tordenskiold, "thus forsook him in private strife, whom she never forsook in public combat." Stahl, his murderer, afterwards fell by the hands of a Danish officer.

MUSEUMS, LIBRARIES, CABINETS.

Few cities are more rich than Copenhagen in those collections by which the Arts and Sciences may be promoted, or which are subservient to the study of nature.

ROYAL MUSEUM OF ARTS, in Drottningens Tver Gade.—

This is one of the best collections of antiquities—Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and especially Northern—which exists in the world. The Roman antiquities were discovered near Tunis by the Danish consul, who was stationed in that city. They consist of urns, vases, a torso of a female figure, &c. The antiquities of the North have all been found in Denmark or Norway. They are very numerous and exceedingly interesting; consisting of clubs, knives, axes, monumental urns, swords, daggers, war-trumpets, gold and silver rings cut in two, for the purpose of being used as money, before coinage was known; drums covered with magic figures, and used by the heathen Laplanders. Here, too, are many antiquities, relating to the ancient Roman Catholic worship in Denmark, consisting of crucifixes, calendars, relics, vessels of the middle ages, dresses, drinking-horns, goblets. Here is the armor of chivalry, coats of mail, helmets, swords, shields, spurs. Here are air-guns, and various other instruments of war. But no portion of this museum is richer than the department of things made of ivory and amber. The number of those made of ivory is almost incredible. There are also some fine specimens of small figures in steel. There are many articles of Chinese, Japanese, and Turkish dress. But it is not our intention to go into many details in our notices of these collections, and therefore this cursory notice of this important and extensive Museum must suffice.

MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES.—This collection occupies several rooms in one of the wings of the Christiansborg Palace. It is by far the richest collection of Scandinavian antiquities which exists. It is admirably arranged, and kept in the finest condition, through the efforts of Professor Thomsen. Beginning with the earliest times, before the use of iron was known, you advance, in examining this collection, through the antiquities of the succeeding ages. The number of specimens amounts to

many thousands. It is curious to study here the progress of the arts, or we may say, of civilization itself, from the rude stone axe, or hatchet, up through the successive improvements, until the present enlightened days. We were exceedingly struck with the similarity which exists between the various rude instruments of the earliest ages, which we saw in this museum, and those which we have seen in our own country. But this fact proves nothing in regard to a community of origin between the primitive inhabitants of the Scandinavian countries and those of North America; for mankind, in the earliest ages, used similar instruments in all parts of the world. Runic remains, stones, &c., form an interesting portion of this museum. A drinking-horn of the Dithmarschen, obtained when subdued by the Danes, is interesting as a relic of a people who may be said to be now extinct. The rude articles relating to domestic life and its usages, which belong to the earliest periods, as well as those which belong to times of greater advance in the arts, are extremely interesting. Here one sees, in one room, a thousand domestic utensils of the earliest manufacture; and in another, those which were employed for ornament, consisting of gold, silver, iron, ivory. There are also, in this collection, some things which relate to the middle countries of Europe, though, taken as a whole, it may be justly called a Museum of Northern Antiquities. The specimens of the swords, spears, shields, battle-axes, and other instruments of war employed by the Scandinavians, are very numerous and complete. Many of the articles contained in this Museum were found in the mounds which so much abound in Denmark.

In conclusion we would state, that we have visited this Museum several times, and always with increased gratification. Strangers are greatly indebted to Professor Thomsen and his assistants, for the interest which they take in explaining every thing. The professor is quite an enthu-

siast on the subject of Scandinavian antiquities, and discusses an old rusty hatchet or coin, or a piece of a household millstone, with as much eloquence, and far more zeal, than many professors lecture on things of infinitely greater moment.

ROYAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.—This museum is in the Sturm Gade, and not far from the Christiansborg Palace. It is rich in shells from all parts of the world. It possesses also a great variety of birds, both European and American. The department of comparative anatomy is very complete. There is here a mass of silver obtained from the Kongsberg mine, in Norway, which is six feet long, two feet broad, and eight inches thick. Its weight is five hundred pounds. It is supposed to be the largest natural mass in the world. It is almost wholly of pure silver. Several other specimens are still more pure, but they are not so large.

The Museum of Natural History, (belonging to the University,) called the **MOLK COLLECTION**, is quite respectable and valuable for the purpose for which it was made. It was chiefly the gift of the distinguished friend of science whose name it bears.

The private collection of his present Majesty contains, we have been told, some curious specimens. We did not find time to see it.

ROYAL GALLERY OF PAINTINGS.—This collection of pictures occupies the highest story of the main building in the Christiansborg Palace. It consists of upwards of 1,100 paintings, by artists of various nations. The Flemish and Dutch portions of the collection are the most numerous and the best. There are, we are assured, 200 of the former school, and 350 of the latter. There are some of the Italian school, bearing the names of Michael Angelo, Salvator Rosa, Raphael, Corregio, Leonardo Da Vinci, &c.

This collection, it seems to us, neither merits the ex-

cessive eulogy bestowed upon it by some Danish writers, nor the contempt which it has received from some foreigners. "These truly splendid national treasures," says Professor Thaarupa, "constitute, in reality, one of the most distinguished collections in Europe. Although it cannot compete with the largest and most celebrated European galleries in works of the Italian, French, and German schools, on the other hand it excels the majority of them in pictures of the Flemish, and particularly in those of the Dutch school, of which last it possesses such a rich array as surprises every lover of the art." This praise may be patriotic, but it is a little too exaggerated. Nevertheless, it would be exceedingly unjust to deny that, together with many paintings of moderate merit, this gallery contains some of great excellence.

Jonah preaching to the Ninevites, by Salvator Rosa, is a wonderful painting. The holy prophet stands on the steps of the portico of a temple, elevated above his hearers. He is represented as addressing to the people his fearful message—"Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." The eye, the lips, the entire countenance and posture of the prophet show the intense feeling with which his soul is agitated. Horror, mingled with indignation at the wickedness of the city, gives an earnestness to his countenance and attitude, which is most striking. We have never seen a painting which gave us so just an idea of the nature and effect of the divine inspiration on the human soul, and through it, upon the human frame. There is nothing here of the insane ravings of a lying priestess of Apollo, no frantic exaggeration, no theatric effort. All is solemn, grand, awful. The appearance of the seer befits his high mission and his awful subject.

Besides the prophet, there are fifteen other figures in this painting, all as large as life, and yet at first sight one would not suppose that there are more than six or eight.

Two female figures are represented at the feet of Jonah, one prostrate on the ground, and the other kneeling in the foreground of the picture, with her arms extended, and her hair dishevelled and floating in the wind. The former exhibits the softness and grace of some of Carlo Dolci's Madonnas; whilst the white drapery of the latter, flowing in rich folds, reminds one of the pencil of Annibal Caracci. The king of Nineveh also lies prostrate before the prophet, overwhelmed with the threatened danger, and yet displaying resignation and reverence. He wears on his head a crown of the most ancient and simple form. The light from the white dress of one of the females falls upon the temple and bald crown of his head, and renders the outlines still more prominent. All the costumes in this picture remarkably besit the subject, and concur to heighten the effect of the whole. The drapery is principally brown, whilst both white and green are introduced in the very best manner. The walls and pillars, too, of the old temple, display the rude but massive architecture of the age to which they belonged. In a word, this entire painting exhibits a justness of conception, and an accuracy of execution, which characterize the works of a master. Those who have seen only the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, can form only an imperfect idea of his transcendent genius. It is only in his Jonah and his Catiline, that the fullness of his powers as a painter develop themselves.

Besides the above-mentioned picture, which was made expressly for the king of Denmark, there is another by Salvator Rosa. The subject of it is Cadmus, who, having killed the Dragon, is ordered by Minerva to attack the Giants. This picture is also executed in a masterly style, and displays finely the characteristic fancy of the artist.

This gallery has some fine landscapes, by Rubens, Claude Lorraine, Ruysdael, Lint, Hackert, Wynants, and Wouwermann. A painting by the last named artist,

entitled *The Humors of the Carnival, on the Pont Neuf, at Paris*, is one of the most striking pictures in the collection. It is both rich in composition, and full of spirit.

Among the Danish paintings in this collection—which exceed one hundred—are some by Lund and Dahl, (who are believed to be the best of the modern painters of this country,) which have, unquestionably, much merit. That of Professor Lund, for instance, which represents the Introduction of Christianity into Denmark, by Ansgar, who is preaching to the people, whilst they are listening in attentive groups around him, is a work of surpassing excellence, and would do honor to any collection. It is said to have cost the artist six years of labor. Several of those of Dahl are very fine.

There are some private collections of paintings in this city which are quite extensive, and highly respectable. One of these is owned by the present king, who has displayed much taste in the selection which he has made. The Molk Gallery, which was formerly a private collection, is now open at certain times to the public.

THE ROYAL LIBRARY.—This library is one of the largest in the world. The royal library of Paris and that of Berlin rank before it. The imperial library at St. Petersburg may have a greater number of books, though it is unquestionably inferior in point of value.

This library was founded by Frederick III. in 1663, and owes much to his munificence and that of succeeding sovereigns. The present number of volumes, as we were assured by one of the chief keepers, exceeds 400,000, besides a very large collection of manuscripts, and prints. Much as this library is indebted to royal munificence, it is also under great obligations to individual liberality. The historian Suhm bequeathed to it his library of 100,000 volumes, in consideration of an annual pension, for himself and his wife, of 3000 rix dollars, or something

more than 1,500 dollars of our money. As he died within less than two years from the time of making this compact, and his wife not long afterwards, the library came into possession of an immense addition upon very easy terms. Some years before this bequest of Mr. Suhm, the library had been augmented by the purchase of about 50,000 volumes, which was made at the sale of the great library of Count Thott. That gentleman, it is said, had accumulated a library of 120,000 volumes.

This nobleman also bequeathed to the library his collection of manuscripts, and such of his books as had been printed before the year 1530. By this splendid donation it has been rendered rich in what are called the *EDITIONES PRINCIPES*, or the earliest editions of the classics and other works, printed in the course of the 15th and the first part of the 16th century. We have been informed that the number of volumes of this sort, which the count bequeathed to the library, was at least twenty thousand!

This library is remarkably rich, for a continental one, in works relating to English history, and even to English literature in general. But its greatest value consists in its extensive collection of books which illustrate the history and literature of the northern nations. This department of it is so complete that it is said to be almost impossible to name a work of any value relating to this subject which is not to be found in it. By a law of Denmark, two copies of every book published in the kingdom, one of which must be on large paper, are required to be deposited in this library. In this way, the department of Danish literature is made to increase with regularity and even considerable rapidity.

The collection of manuscripts in all languages is of great extent and value. Among them are many in the Icelandic language, which are considered exceedingly precious, such as the two Eddas. There are also 20,000

Oriental manuscripts, which were collected by Niebuhr, Rask and Fuglesang, in their travels. Count Thott bequeathed to it 4,154 manuscripts. Many manuscripts were obtained with Mr. Suhm's library, including those of Mr. Reiske. Mr. Uldall's sons presented to it 536 volumes which had belonged to their father. Besides these, this library possesses the manuscripts of Tycho Rothe, and many others, purchased at the sales of the libraries of Lüxdorph and others.

The collections of prints in this library are very considerable ; but the number we do not know. It exceeded eighty thousand copies, many years ago, which were bound up in 212 large volumes. It has been, however, greatly increased within the last few years. This library is open several hours every day for all who wish to consult any book which it contains. Under certain conditions, which secure the worth of the books, any work, save those of extraordinary value and the manuscripts, may be taken out of the library and read at the home of the borrower.

The king gives from his private purse 6,500 rix dollars to the maintenance of this library ; the government gives about 2,000, making its annual income 8,500 rix dollars, or nearly \$4,500 of our money. Of this sum 3,750 rix dollars are appropriated to the payment of the salaries of those who are employed in taking care of the library, viz. 800 to the chief librarian, 900 to the second librarian, 1,100 to a third, 400 to a clerk, 300 to a servant, and 250 to a copyist. The remainder of the income is appropriated to the augmentation of the library and the binding of the books.

This library occupies a large brick building hard by the Christiansborg Palace, on the eastern side of it. In fact it adjoins the palace by means of a gallery which runs from the palace to it, over the large gateway on that side. The principal room in this building is about 290

English feet in length and 40 in width. There are two other rooms, each more than 60 feet long and 36 wide. Besides these large rooms, which are well filled with books, the long gallery, which connects the library with the palace, is also occupied by books and manuscripts. This extensive building was erected by Christian IV., but for another purpose. It was nigh being consumed when the palace was burned in the year 1794.

The present chief keeper of this library is Professor Werlauff, a very learned man, to whom the world is indebted for the editing of several Icelandic works, and for several Dissertations on the Scandinavian Antiquities. He has also published a valuable history of this library. In his office of chief librarian he has been preceded by many distinguished men. Among them we may indicate, especially, the celebrated Schumacher, or Count Griffenfeld, as he is more commonly called. The fate of this great man, whose case somewhat resembles that of Lord Bacon, is extremely interesting. His rise to the highest pinnacle of power was rapid; but his fall, into abject misery and deep disgrace, was even more rapid.

This eminent man was born in Copenhagen in the year 1625. He was the son of a wine merchant. Even in childhood he displayed most remarkable talents. At the age of nine years he was selected to pronounce the theses in the University, on the occasion of the conferring of a doctorate in divinity. This he did in elegant Latin. Struck with his astonishing precocity, Bishop Brockmand took him to his house, where he resided until he completed his academical studies. It was there that he attracted the notice of Frederick III., when he happened once to sup with the Bishop, by the explanation which he gave of a passage in the Scriptures, and in doing which he displayed a remarkable knowledge of the Hebrew language. The king immediately offered him an annual traveling stipend

of 300 dollars, and promised to continue it during six years. Upon this, young Schumacher set out, and spent ten years in visiting Germany, Holland, England, France, Spain and Italy. Every where he availed himself of all the means within his reach for increasing his knowledge. He spent some time in Oxford, where his portrait is to be seen at the present day, in the Bodleian library. Upon his return to Denmark, he rose from one station to another. For a while he was chief keeper of the Royal Library, and was often consulted by the king, (Frederick III.), even then, on the affairs of state, as well as those of science. And eventually, at the age of forty-six, he was raised to the honors of the nobility, and exchanged the name of Schumacher, (which signifies shoemaker), for the title of Count Griffenfeld, and with it received an estate in Norway. In the year 1673 he was advanced to the office of Lord Chancellor, in preference to all the other privy councillors. He was also appointed Chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, and at the same time created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. He had now reached the highest rank in the kingdom, subordinate to the king. But alas! how sudden was his fall! Within two years he was hurled from this proud pre-eminence down to the lowest degradation.

As might be supposed, his rapid elevation and his commanding talents excited the envy and the hatred of the nobility, and especially of the courtiers, by whom it is the inevitable fate of an absolute monarchy ever to be infested. He was accused of extortion, simony, perjury, and high treason; and on being tried, he was sentenced to forfeit his estates, titles, and life. When conducted to the place of execution, he displayed a degree of fortitude and pious resignation which excited the sympathy of every one. Just at the moment when he was about to be executed, a commutation of his punishment was pronounced.

He was sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Munkholm, near to Trondheim in Norway. No pardon was granted him, though there never was a more noble opportunity for the exercise of the grace of the sovereign. He had rendered the greatest services to the state. It was he who consolidated the government in the reign of Frederick III., by whom, until his dying day, he was greatly beloved. He was the author of the celebrated code of laws, in the reign of Christian V., (the son and successor of Frederick III.,) upon which Lord Molesworth, in his work on Denmark, bestows such unqualified and merited encomiums. And there was, in addition to all, good reason to doubt the validity and honesty of the evidence upon which he was condemned. But no: all these claims upon the royal mercy were of no avail. The infamous wretches who had gained the monarch to their side, took good care to prevent any favor being shown him. He languished twenty-two years in prison, and was then allowed to take up his residence in the city of Trondheim, where he shortly afterwards died, carrying with him to the grave the consolation of having felt a deep sense of religion in prosperity as well as adversity.

In the Historical Calendar for 1817, Professor Jens Möller has given a most interesting account of this truly great but unfortunate man, who was condemned, there is much reason for believing, for crimes which he never had committed, or for what, if rightly viewed, did not deserve the name of crimes, and who was undoubtedly the greatest statesman Denmark has ever possessed. If he resembled Lord Bacon in his fall from the greatest elevation, he still more resembled Richelieu in the vast talent which he possessed for managing the most difficult affairs of state.

THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY.—This library, as we have already stated, is kept in the upper part of Tri-

nity Church. It consists of more than 80,000 volumes of well selected works. Few libraries are more valuable than this, in proportion to its size.

THE CLASSEN LIBRARY.—This is a very interesting collection of books, containing an unusually large number of voyages, and books on mathematics, history and geography. It was formed by General Classen, who, in bequeathing it to the city of Copenhagen, bequeathed at the same time a considerable sum of money for its increase from year to year. Such acts of munificence do honor alike to their authors and the countries which they inhabit. It is greatly to be desired that such examples as that which General Classen has given to the world, should be imitated by men of wealth and public spirit in all countries.

THE ATHENÆUM.—This institution is situated in Oster-Gade, and nearly in the centre of the city. It was founded in 1825. The number of subscribers is about seven hundred. Each member contributes 14 rix dollars, or seven dollars of our money per annum. The rooms which this association occupies are convenient and well kept. Besides a great number of journals in various languages, and belonging to various countries, this establishment contains a library of 12,000 volumes, which, as well as the journals, are for the use of the members during every day, from eight in the morning until ten or eleven at night. It is one of the best regulated and most useful institutions of the kind which we have ever seen. Strangers can be admitted to it through the influence of a member.

PRISONS AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

There are three prisons, including one for the military, in Copenhagen. But we had only time to visit the most important establishment of the kind, that on the island of

Amager, but which is within the walls of the city. It occupies two buildings, quite separate from each other. One is for males; the other for females. Through the kindness of Mr. Braestrup, the director of the police, we were allowed every facility for seeing every part of this extensive prison. We found the males occupied in various ways, large numbers working together, under the eye of a superintendent. In many of the rooms the number appeared to us to be quite too great for a due attention to health. Indeed it is manifest that the buildings which are occupied are very far from being either large enough or convenient for the purpose. A new building, constructed on a right plan, is exceedingly needed; and this building should not be in the city. There is no need of having such establishments within the walls of a fortified town, or indeed within the densely occupied limits of any city.

Raspings logwood, carding, and spinning, and weaving woollen and cotton cloth, are the chief occupations of the inmates of this prison. The first-named species of labor is, of course, performed only by men. And, indeed, it is that which is considered as the heaviest labor-punishment to which a convict can be subjected. The kitchen establishment is extensive, but too low and damp, as it seemed to us.

The number of females in this prison is more than 200. Many of them seemed to be very young. But in general, they had a far less hardened look than the male portion of the convicts. Many of them were subjected to the punishment which they were undergoing for theft. As to the men, the majority seemed to us to be uncommonly large and strong. We have noticed in all the prisons which we have ever examined, that those men who had committed the greatest crimes, such as murder, piracy, rape, were generally larger, or at least more robust men than the others. It was so in relation to this prison. Those

who were confined in an isolated building in the yard, and who had all committed crimes for which they were sentenced either for life, or for a very long period of time, were the stoutest criminals that we have ever seen. Never in our lives have we seen the *animal* so strongly developed, and so manifestly triumphant over the moral and intellectual part of human nature, as in the persons and countenances of these men. We were exceedingly struck, in inquiring into the cases of very many of the prisoners, to find that the punishment which they were doomed to undergo was so generally excessive, and entirely disproportionate to the crimes which they had committed. There is something shocking in shutting men up some 15 or 20 years for theft, or for crimes for which even a few months' confinement at hard labor, under proper religious instruction, ought to suffice.

And here we are bound to say, that from all that we can learn, this prison is in a deplorable condition in regard to the subject of moral and religious instruction. Such instruction is undoubtedly given. But how scanty, and we have reason to fear, how heartless! Here is precisely the point in which most prisons in all countries fail—the want of sufficient, well-adapted, faithful, scriptural instruction. There is nothing but true religion that can renew and purify the depraved hearts of men, and this can do it effectually. But it must be fairly and adequately applied.

The annual expense of this prison is about 60,000 rix dollars, or somewhat more than 30,000 dollars of our money. The avails of the labor of the convicts are about 36,000 rix dollars, or a little more than 18,000 American.

We left this prison, upon the whole, with heavy hearts. Denmark needs a good Prison Discipline Society.

ASYLUM FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.—This Institution

stands without the city, to the north, in the level and rich country which stretches beyond the citadel. It is at the distance of more than a mile beyond the walls, and is not far from the Sound. The country around is low, and is chiefly covered with large gardens, or fields, in which vegetables are cultivated. The building is a new and commodious one of brick, and contained, when we visited it, 91 pupils. We were struck with the fact that they were mostly very young, the majority of them being children of from eight to fifteen years. A portion of their time is devoted to study, and a portion to labor. The superintendent appeared to be a very pleasant and capable man. The expenses are between thirteen and fourteen thousand six dollars, of which the government gives 4,000 ; the remainder is furnished by benevolent individuals and by the parents of the pupils.

This asylum is for the benefit of the deaf and dumb youth of Jutland and the Islands, or in other words, for that part of the kingdom in which the Danish language is spoken and read. There is another at Sleswic, for the Germanic portion of the kingdom, in which there are about 100 pupils.

ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND.— We visited this institution with much interest. But we were made sad by being informed that this asylum, or rather school, for the instruction of the blind, has only 36 pupils ; and yet it is the only one in the kingdom ! It occupies a portion of a house in the southwestern part of the city, and not far from the University. Of the thirty-six youth who belong to this institution, thirty remain continually in the house, and six are day-scholars. The expense of the establishment is defrayed by a benevolent society. This institution is in a state of infancy. But little is done for the instruction of the pupils beyond cultivating their memories. They hear instruction ; but they

are not taught to read. Nothing has yet been printed in Denmark for the blind. The children seemed happy, engaged in repeating what they had heard, or in working. Their chief employment is to knit. Several of them seemed to have considerable taste for music. And they all joined in singing a few sweet hymns for us, whilst one or two played on the violin. And surely it would be difficult to find a scene on this earth more touching to the heart of a man who has any degree of feeling, than that of thirty or forty blind children, ranged around a room, singing with much earnestness and apparent happiness, and whose sightless eyeballs indicate to every spectator the great privation which they have suffered. It is a scene which we need often to behold, and which can never be witnessed by a good man without making him both more benevolent and more grateful.

CHAPTER XI.

ENVIRONS OF COPENHAGEN.

The more distant environs of Copenhagen beautiful—Interesting localities in the immediate vicinity—Scene of the Battle of the Baltic—Fortifications on Amager Island—The Trekroner—The Citadel—The position of the Danish fleet in the Battle of the Baltic—The position of Nelson's fleet—His arrangements—Dreadful slaughter—Sir Hyde Parker makes signals for Nelson's retreat—His refusal to obey—The fate of Riou—The termination of the battle—The consideration of the question whether Nelson gained a victory—The Truce—Nelson lands and visits the Crown Prince—The Armistice—The burial of the slain Danes—The spot where they repose—The Cemetery—The Column of Liberty—The present condition of the peasants of Denmark—The Palace of Frederiksberg and its garden—An account of the second attack upon Copenhagen by the English, under Lords Gambier and Cathcart.

If there is much in the city of Copenhagen to interest an intelligent stranger, there is scarcely less in its environs. On the one side is the Sound, which is a fine sheet of water, and on which, in the season of navigation, many a white sail is to be seen, moving northward or southward, or approaching Copenhagen, or bearing away from it; whilst a level, or rather a gently undulating country, of exuberant fertility, encircles the city in another direction, and stretches far away to the north, the south, and the west. Every where one sees, in the summer season, either fields covered with the growing or ripening grain, or extensive orchards and innumerable gardens. The whole scene, in this direction, is studded with noble villas, clustering villages, or neat and isolated cottages. And every where, the almost ceaseless movements of the arms of many wind-mills, give an air of animation which it is not easy to describe.

On the south lies the island of Amager, which is almost perfectly level. It is covered with vegetable gardens and rich meadows, and is cultivated by frugal and industrious peasants, who supply the markets of the city, to a great extent, with vegetables and fruits. We have already alluded to their peculiar costume. They are of Flemish origin, their ancestors having removed hither some three centuries ago.

BATTLE OF THE BALTIC.—But, turning away from the view of the wider and more remote scene, let us fix our attention on some particular spots, in the immediate vicinity of this city, which are invested with a peculiar interest. And first, let us contemplate the scene of the great battle which Nelson here fought, on the 2d of April, 1801. A brief notice of this battle, the hardest which that celebrated hero ever fought, may not be unacceptable. All have read more or less respecting this dreadful engagement; but few, we apprehend, have any clear idea of the scene in which it occurred, of the respective positions of the Danish and English forces, or of the precise truth as to the question of the victory. As to the first and second of these points, we hope to give the reader some definite conceptions, by means of the Plan of Copenhagen which he will find in this work; and as to the last, we shall leave him to form his own opinions from the brief and impartial history of this battle which we subjoin.

And now, as to the scene of the battle, and the position of the respective parties who were engaged in it, let the reader mark well what we say, and trace out every thing on the Plan just referred to. On the eastern side of that Plan, or rather what represents the eastern part of the scene, he will notice the island of Amager, or the upper portion of it, between which and the main body of the city, lies the inner harbor. He will notice the position of the Danish Royal Navy Yard, which is on the inner side

of the north part of that island. This end of that island, and the outer side of it, for a mile or two south of the point, has long been strongly fortified. Low, but very impregnable, batteries line the shore throughout this distance, and make an approach in that direction extremely dangerous.

At the distance of a mile, or a mile and a half, due north from the upper end of the island of Amager, stands, in an isolated position, the strong fortress called the Trekroner, of which we have spoken in Chapter IX. From the upper end of the island of Amager to the Trekroner, there runs a shoal, only a few feet beneath the surface of the water, over which it is not possible for ships of very great draught to pass. In fact, the Trekroner stands on what might be called the most northern point of that shoal or hidden sand-bar. The site of it, we believe, is wholly artificial, or if there were originally two or three little islands there, they were scarcely visible, and have been united by vast labor, so as to form the foundation of an exceedingly strong fortress. The entrance into the harbor, for large vessels, lies between the Trekroner and the island of Zealand, on which the chief part of Copenhagen stands.

On the island of Zealand, and just at the northeast corner of the city, stands the large and very strong fortress called the citadel of Frederikshavn. Like the Trekroner, it is not very high. But its walls and its bastions of brick and of earth, covered with the green sward, are so thick as to bid absolute defiance to balls of any description. The area of the citadel is far greater than that of the Trekroner. Of course, it would require many more troops to man it completely. At present, there are so many trees on the ramparts of this citadel, and about them, that its appearance, as seen from the Sound, is not imposing, and gives a very inadequate idea of its strength.

The reader will remark with care the true position of the citadel. It is not opposite to the Trekroner, but stands more to the south, and is almost exactly in face of the open space lying between the Trekroner and the upper end of the island of Amager. Its heavy guns could sweep every vessel which might attempt to cross the shallow water lying between those two points. On the other hand, its guns could play most effectually on any vessel endeavoring to pass down the deep channel and entrance into the port, which lies between the Trekroner and the island of Zealand. And although it is certain that none of these fortifications which we have now indicated were as strong in the year 1801 as they are now, yet it is equally true that they were then very formidable.

From the description which we have just given of the position of the fortifications on the northern extremity of the island of Amager, and of the fortresses of the Trekroner and the citadel, it is obvious that if the Danish fleet had lain in the inner or proper harbor, it could not have been attacked by Lord Nelson. Indeed the English fleet could not by any possibility have thrown a single solid shot into it. But the Danish navy, which was at Copenhagen at the time of Lord Nelson's visit, did not lie in the harbor at all. For, in that case, it could not have contributed to the defence of the city. On the contrary it was brought out of the harbor, and the greater part of it was stationed in a line on the outer verge of the shoal which we have spoken of, as extending from the upper end of the island of Amager to the fortress of the Trekroner. The position of the ships and other vessels of war which the Danes placed between those two points, is indicated on the plan or map of Copenhagen, which we have given, by a line of asterisks. These vessels were of all descriptions,—ships of the line, frigates, sloops, and gun-boats.

But few of them were of much value. Many of them were very old. Several were mere hulks, fitted up for the emergency. Almost all were without masts, or at least were unrigged. Several of the temporary vessels which were stationed in this line consisted of mere rafts of beams, covered with boards, on which cannons were placed. A wooden breastwork of several feet in height bounded each side, pierced with a sufficient number of port-holes. Some of these floats carried ten and fifteen guns. One of them had, according to the English account, twenty-four guns, and a hundred and twenty men,—which seems rather incredible.

Between the Trekroner and the island of Zealand were placed four ships of the line, to guard the entrance into the harbor in that direction, the only way, as we have already remarked, by which large vessels could enter it.

We have only further to advertise the reader, that there is a deep channel lying along in front of Copenhagen, just outside of the position of that portion of the Danish fleet which lay between the island of Amager and the Trekroner, and that channel runs up parallel with the coast of Zealand for several miles to the north, and down, parallel to that of the island of Amager, to the south. But this channel is not wide. For beyond it, to the east,—that is towards the centre of the Sound,—lies what is called the Middle Ground, which is a shoal, long and wide, over which large ships cannot pass. The western verge of this shoal is about three-quarters of a mile from the shores of the islands of Amager and Zealand, and much less than that distance from the Trekroner. Of course, all large vessels which would enter the harbor of Copenhagen, or even come near to the city in front, must either go down that channel from the north, or they must come up it from the south, and passing along near to the position which the main portion of the Danish fleet occupied on

the occasion referred to, they must go up round the Trekroner, and thus enter into the harbor. We must beg the reader to keep this fact in mind. The western outline of the shoal (the Middle Ground) just described, is indicated slightly on the map of the city, but space is wanting to represent it at large.

We have now described the localities which had any reference to this great battle, and we have placed the Danish fleet in the position which it occupied on that occasion. It is now time that we go to bring up the English, and assign them their positions, as well as state the circumstances which occasioned this battle.

Owing to the difficulties which grew out of the long continued war between England and France, occasioned by the Revolution of 1789, in the latter, the four northern powers of Europe, Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Prussia, formed, by a convention concluded at St. Petersburg on the 16th and 18th of December, 1800, what was called the Northern Confederation, or the second Armed Neutrality. The object of this confederation was to protect the commerce of the powers concerned in it, against the right of visitation and search which England had long maintained, and had, during the last two or three years, enforced against some Danish, Swedish and Prussian ships. The English, suspecting that this confederacy, though ostensibly formed to protect a neutral commerce against the encroachments of either of the belligerent parties, might soon be turned against them, and in favor of the French—to whom the Emperor Paul of Russia had suddenly become extremely favorable,—resolved at once to break it up. They had, indeed, great need to do something; for the power of France had become overwhelming on the continent; and if the navies of the northern powers had been put into her hands, or brought under her control and direction, there is no telling how disastrous might have

been the result to England. The Danish navy, at this time, consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, with about thirty-one frigates and smaller vessels, exclusive of guard-ships. The Swedes had eighteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates and sloops, seventy-four galleys and smaller vessels, besides gun-boats; and this force was supposed to be in a far better state of equipment than the Danish. The Russians had eighty-two sail of the line and forty frigates. Of these forty-seven sail of the line were at Cronstadt, Revel, and Archangel. But the Russian fleet was ill-manned, ill-officered, and ill-equipped.

In these circumstances, England acted with vast energy. She laid an embargo on all the vessels of the confederated powers, which were in her ports, and prepared at once to strike a heavy blow wherever it was practicable, without waiting to declare war in a formal manner. She despatched a fleet of fifty-one sail of various descriptions, of which sixteen were of the line, four were frigates, and the others were sloops, bomb-vessels, &c. The command of this force was assigned to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, whilst Nelson, fresh from the glories of the Nile, was second in authority. The fleet sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, 1801, carrying Mr. Vansittart, (now Lord Bexley) as a plenipotentiary, to endeavor to effect an arrangement by negotiation. On the arrival of the fleet in the Cattogat, several days were lost in waiting for the result of the negotiation of Mr. Vansittart, (who had preceded the fleet from the Skaw,) and in debating whether to attempt to reach Copenhagen by the Sound or by the Belts. It was finally decided to attempt the passage of the Sound, in defiance of the castle of Cronberg. And on the morning of the 30th the entire fleet passed in safety that fortress, till then considered so formidable. The Sound at that point is only about three miles wide. But by keeping very near to the Swedish shore, the ships passed beyond the reach of

the Danish guns, and those of the Swedes were silent. The only men whom the English lost were killed by the bursting of a gun, which they had uselessly attempted to fire in return to the equally useless cannonade of the enemy.

About mid-day the whole fleet anchored between the island of Huen and Copenhagen. A council of war was held that afternoon. Nelson offered to lead the attack, and asked for that service ten ships of the line, and all the smaller craft. Sir Hyde Parker gave him two ships of the line more than he asked. That night and the day succeeding were occupied in taking soundings, and ascertaining the channel, for the Danes had removed all the buoys and other marks which indicated the shoals. On the 1st of April, Nelson sailed down the Sound and took a position to the south of Copenhagen, with the intention of running up the narrow channel, which we have already described as lying close along in front of the main portion of the Danish fleet, should the wind change to the right quarter. The fleet of Sir Hyde Parker also anchored within six miles of the city, and at the upper end of the shoal called the Middle Ground. During the afternoon and night, Nelson was occupied in taking soundings, and in arranging the order of the battle. Meanwhile the wind was gradually shifting round to the south. Shortly after midnight it had become almost entirely fair. In the morning it was fully so; and he lost no time in endeavoring to bring his ships into position.* This was no easy task, owing to the ignorance and timidity of his pilots.

About ten o'clock the battle began. Great difficulties were encountered by the English vessels at the very outset. Of the twelve ships of the line which Nelson had

* The position of Nelson's ships is indicated on the map referred to, by a line of asterisks on the right, and near to the shoal—immediately in front of the Danish line.

with him, one, the *Agamemnon*, could not leave her anchorage, and of course was too distant to render any aid. Two others, the *Russell* and the *Bellona*, got aground on the shoal to the starboard, which we have already described. But they were near enough to render some service. And of the smaller vessels, only two or three could get into such a position as enabled them to do much service. Only two of the bomb-vessels were able to take their stations on the Middle Ground or shoal, whence they threw bombs over both fleets into the citadel. The heavy ships which were to have advanced to attack the fortress of the *Trekroner*, or Crown Batteries, as they are called in the English account of the battle, failed of reaching their stations. Consequently that fortress, so far from being silenced, was but little injured. Captain Riou with two frigates, two sloops, and two fire-ships, endeavored indeed, but in vain, to supply the place of the three ships of the line which had been appointed to attack that fortress. His vessels were too light for the desperate service.

By half past eleven the battle became general. Dreadful, indeed, was the conflict. A thousand guns and more, from each side, poured death "from their adamant lips," along a line of less than a mile and a half. The Danes maintained the struggle in a manner worthy of their ancient fame. They had long lived in peace, and, for almost a hundred years, had seen no very severe service. But it would seem that they had lost none of that bravery which had rendered their ancestors so celebrated for feats of noble daring and unconquerable valor. The interval of a few days which elapsed between the arrival of the English fleet in the *Cattegat* and its appearance off their capital, had been well employed. Day and night they labored at the defences, and nothing that they could do was left unattempted to render them as strong as possible.

The greatest enthusiasm prevailed among the men.

Amidst the incessant labor which took place day and night, the favorite national songs were everywhere heard. A popular actor, of the name of Knudsen, who was a good singer, went daily on board the different vessels of the line, singing, and distributing among the crews, the naval songs of Evald and other poets. In another place we gave the first stanza of the famous song, entitled "KING CHRISTIAN." We will here give it entire, inasmuch as it is one of the great national songs of Denmark.

King Christian stood by the high mast,
 Mid smoke and spray ;
 His fierce artillery flashed so fast,
 That Swedish wrecks were round him cast,
 And lost each hostile stern and mast,
 Mid smoke and spray.
 Fly, Sweden, fly ! nor hope to win
 Where Christian dauntless mingles in
 The fray !

Nils Yule beheld the tempest grow ;
 " The day is right ! "
 Aloft he bade the red flag glow,
 And shot for shot he dealt the foe.
 They shout, whilst fiercest perils grow,
 " The day is right ! "
 Fly, Swedes, in safest refuge hide !
 What arm shall stand 'gainst Denmark's pride
 In fight !

O North Sea, Vessel's* thunders light
 Thy murky sky !
 His foemen shrink with strange affright,
 For death and terror round him fight :
 Sad Gothland hears the bolts that light
 Thy murky sky.

* The family name of Tordenskiold, one of Denmark's bravest admirals, whose history we have given in the last chapter.

He gleams, proud Denmark's shaft of war,
The foe must own his brighter star;
They fly!

Thou road for Danes to power and praise,
Dark-heaving wave!
Receive my friend, by valor's rays
Led through thy wild and boisterous ways!
Guide the bold youth to power and praise,
Dark-heaving wave!
And free through storm and tempest, through
Dangers and glory, waft him to
His grave!

Their beloved Crown Prince was present everywhere, superintending and urging forward everything. Men volunteered in thousands, from every rank, for their country's defence. Twelve hundred young men, from the University, offered their services, and took the most exposed situations. The garrison of the city was composed of 10,000 brave troops, who were ready to march to any point where they might be needed. And as fast as one set of men was mowed down by the murderous fire of their enemies, another set was ready to take their place. Some of the gun-boats and floats, as well as the larger vessels, were supplied with two or three crews in the course of the battle. At an early stage of the battle, Captain Thura, of *Indfødsretten*, fell, and all his officers, except one lieutenant and one marine officer, were either killed or wounded. The Prince, learning the state of things on board that ship, turned to those about him, and said, "Gentlemen, Thura is killed; who of you will take the command?" Schroedersee, a captain who had resigned on account of ill health, offered his service, repaired on board, assumed the command of the few men who survived, but was, in a few minutes, struck by a ball. A lieutenant, who had accompanied him, then took the com-

mand and continued to fight the ship. A youth of the name of Villemoes, of only seventeen years of age, displayed astonishing bravery and coolness. He commanded a floating battery. With this he got under the stern of the Elephant, Nelson's flag-ship, and continued to fight there, below the reach of the Elephant's stern-chasers, but exposed to a heavy fire of small arms, until the truce was announced. His skill and courage excited Nelson's highest admiration.

Dreadful was the loss on both sides. The Bellona lost seventy-five men; the Iris, one hundred and ten; and the Monarch two hundred and ten. The last named ship was exposed to the fire of two Danish ships of the line, and also to that of the great battery. The whole loss of the English was reported at 1,200; whilst that of the Danes, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about 6,000.

Between one and two o'clock, the fire along the Danish line of ships began to slacken; and by two o'clock almost all the vessels of every description, were either taken, destroyed, or silenced. But the cannon from the Trekroner and the island of Amager not only harassed the English in their attempts to take possession of the surrendered vessels, but also poured a very destructive fire into their ships. In these circumstances, Nelson sent a flag of truce to the Crown Prince, and proposed a cessation of the firing, stating that if it should be refused, he would be under the necessity of destroying his prizes, in which event the lives of those who were in them would be sacrificed. This threat had the desired effect, and the firing at length ceased about half past two o'clock, more than four hours after the battle had commenced.

The English authors, who have treated of this battle, have told us that it was humanity that prompted Nelson to do this. They say that he was deeply affected to see how the Danes who were in the prizes were destroyed

by the cross-fire from the Trekroner and the batteries on the island of Amager. It is possible this was so. Every truly brave man is considered to be generous and humane. At least, this is the opinion of all the world. For ourselves, we have many doubts respecting the humanity of such men as Nelson, Napoleon and all that class. If indeed Nelson was a truly humane man, why did he threaten to destroy the prizes, and with them the men who were in them? This does not look much like humanity. No; there was, we suspect, a very different motive which led to the proposition for a truce. Nelson had destroyed or silenced, or very nearly so, all the Danish vessels which lay in the line from the island of Amager to the Trekroner. The four ships of the line which lay between the Trekroner and the shore of Zealand had not been touched. And as to the Trekroner and the batteries on the island of Amager, they were far from being silenced. And then, the guns of the citadel, which had done nothing, and could do nothing, because the Danish fleet lay right between that powerful fortress and Nelson's fleet, were ready to pour their tempest of balls upon the enemy, as soon as their own vessels were out of the way. And full well Lord Nelson knew that though he had destroyed the Danish ships which were opposite to him, there was not the slightest prospect that he could save his fleet from the fire of the fortresses and batteries just named. Many of his ships were dreadfully shattered, and two were fast aground; and in order to extricate himself from his forlorn position, he sends a flag of truce, and demands a cessation of the battle on the score of humanity! The Crown Prince, though entreated by his officers not to do it, accepted the proposition for a truce. His ablest officers, and especially one of his brave admirals, it is said, begged in the most earnest manner, that he would reject the proposal. But the Prince pitied the fate of his countrymen

and subjects, who were exposed in the prizes to the most imminent danger, and who were mowed down by every gun that the enemy fired, and often even by those of his own men. Under these circumstances, he ordered the fortresses to cease their fire, which had never been more effective than at that moment. No one can doubt that it was humanity which moved *his* heart, and prompted the course which he pursued. But as to Lord Nelson, we commend his wisdom or rather his prudence and skill, in this affair; but we do not think that his humanity was particularly illustrated in it. And his course was the more prudent, if it be true, as we have been assured by very well-informed English naval officers, that his ammunition was so nearly exhausted that he had not enough to last half an hour longer.

Taking every thing into consideration, whilst it is certain that his action displayed in the fullest manner the consummate bravery, coolness, and ability of the great English naval commander, it is hard to see exactly upon what ground it should be called a victory. He destroyed a fleet, it is true, but was himself, with his entire squadron of ships, saved from destruction, or capture, only by a stratagem, skilful indeed, but hardly deserving the high appellation of humane.

During the battle, Sir Hyde Parker became extremely concerned for its issue. And about one o'clock, fearing that the engagement would not be favorable, he made signals for Nelson to draw off his fleet. This Nelson refused to do; and turning to the captain of his ship, he said: "I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes:"—and then putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal." The captains of the ships of the line, seeing that Nelson did not obey the signal, continued to fight on. It was not so, however, with the brave Riou. He drew off his small squadron

from the unequal conflict with the *Trekroner*. But just as he was beginning to retire, he was cut in two by a ball from the enemy, and fell, greatly lamented, for he was a man of distinguished promise.

The second day after the battle, Nelson went ashore and saw the Crown Prince. During the repast, of which he partook with the prince, he commended in the highest terms the bravery of the Danes, as displayed in that dreadful battle, and said that he had been in one hundred and five engagements, but that this was the most tremendous of them all. In the course of a few days, it was concluded that the armistice should continue fourteen weeks. Before the expiration of that period events occurred—one of which was the death of the Emperor Paul—which led to peace between England and all the four northern powers.

But mournful was the effect of this battle to the people of Copenhagen. Almost every family had lost a member. The wounded were distributed throughout the city. All were ready to do everything that they could for these unfortunate but brave men. A gloom rested on the city for a long time. And yet there was no despondency. The very bravery of their men consoled the inhabitants for the loss which the country had sustained. Indeed, they could hardly feel that they were defeated; though they mourned over the loss of so many of their countrymen.

MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF THE DANES WHO FELL IN THE BATTLE OF THE BALTIC.—The slain were buried in a spot which lies to the north of the city, and not far from it. It is to the left of the road which leads, through the northeastern gate, to that direction. It is a very pleasant spot, and is a favorite place of resort. A mound, covered with shrubbery and flowers, marks the spot where the bodies of these brave defenders of their country were all entombed together. A very simple

column of Norwegian marble, bearing an appropriate inscription, and stating that they fell for their country, April 2d, 1801, stands on the mound, and is almost hidden by the bushes and small trees which surround it. On the anniversary of this disastrous battle, thousands of people walk in procession to this interesting spot, and renew, by this visit of gratitude and affection, the remembrance of the courage and self-devotion of the dead.

THE CEMETERY.—At some distance beyond the northern, or rather the northwestern gate, is the beautiful cemetery of the city. It is quite extensive, and resembles a garden more than a cemetery. It is divided into small parallelograms and squares, each large enough for one family. The walks are gravelled, and bordered by rows of trees, which are not suffered to become too large, whilst the abodes of the dead are adorned with flowers in the most agreeable manner which one can conceive. Most commonly, a sweet border of some evergreen shrubbery surrounds the grave, whilst a delightful tuft of flowers grows on the top. In many cases, no monumental marble marks the head and the foot of the grave. The tombs of many, however, are what might be called small mausolea. Everywhere good taste prevails. A sepulchral urn, with a brief inscription respecting the life and merits of him who rests beneath, is here a very common memorial of the dead, whilst many of the slabs of marble contain nothing more, in addition to the name, than the words *föd* (born) and *död* (died), with perhaps a text of Scripture.

Such simplicity is befitting the repose of the dead. During life men may assume the meretricious ornaments with which vanity would clothe herself; but death comes to take them away, and to reduce all to the one common level of the tomb. How disgusting, then, is gaudy show or idle panegyric in such a place!

This cemetery is a favorite place of resort to all classes.



THE GRAVE OF O. J. SAMSOE.

This engraving represents the grave and monument of O. J. Samsøe in the beautiful cemetery in the vicinity of Copenhagen.

of the citizens of Copenhagen. Here the children and youth come to deck with flowers the borders of the grave of a parent, or brother, or sister, or friend. Here the more advanced in life come often, it is to be hoped, to reflect upon the uncertainty of its prospects, and the nearness of its end. "It was only towards the close of the last century," says Professor Nyerup, "that a man of singular virtue and probity was able by his example to put an end to that superstitious and pestilential practice of burying beneath the churches, and thus infecting the living with the mephitic exhalations of the tomb. On the brink of eternity he felt conscious that he had wrought no ill to his fellow-men in his life, and he could not bear the thought that after death his mortal remains should poison the air they breathed: his dying wish was to rest beneath the free heaven. He was buried here A. D. 1785, and a plain marble tablet bears the initials,—J. S. A.,—of his name, with the words *benè vixit qui benè latuit*. From that time this place has rapidly extended, until it has become the garden of the departed, where they repose in peace beneath their flowery covering. It is a holy and solemn place, where the wanderer is awakened to deep and sincere devotion, and memory consecrates her offering of a tear to departed friends."

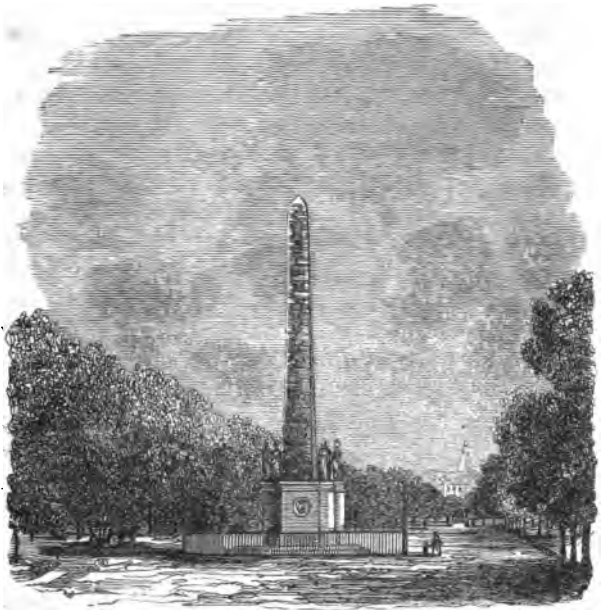
We visited this spot often, and never without being deeply affected. There is something in its stillness, its tender associations, and its abundance of sweet flowers, which is extremely soothing and calming to the feelings of irritation and vexation which we permit the cares and trials of life too often to excite. We have spent hours here in the beautiful season of Spring, when all nature had but just put on her livery of green. And we have spent hours here when Autumn had assumed the sere and yellow leaf, and every plant, every leaf, seemed to announce not only

its own decay, but ours also. It is a place where one may go to learn both how to live and how to die.

The accompanying engraving of the monument of Mr. Samsøe, will give the reader some idea of the taste and beauty which prevail in this cemetery.

COLUMN OF LIBERTY.—Another object of interest in the environs of Copenhagen is the plain and simple monument called the *Column of Liberty*, situated in the centre of the road, and surrounded by an iron palisade, immediately beyond the west-gate of the city. It was erected in commemoration of the abolition of feudal servitude in 1788, during the reign of Christian VII. The material of this column is Bornholm free-stone, of a reddish color. The pedestal is of greyish marble. It is 48 feet in height. It bears on its four sides suitable inscriptions. On the east side there is, in basso-relievo, the figure of a slave in the act of bursting his feudal fetters; whilst on the west side, the goddess of Justice is represented, also in basso-relievo. At the four corners of the base are four emblematical figures in white marble, of Fidelity, Agriculture, Valor, and Patriotism. The expense of erecting this monument was defrayed by subscription. The late king, Frederick VI., then Crown Prince, has had the chief reputation of having accomplished this great measure of justice. But much is due, in the estimation of those who know, to Counts Stolberg and Bernstorff, who took the deepest interest in the matter. They had been for many years endeavoring to accomplish this humane and just measure.

The advantages which have resulted to the peasants are immense, as any one will perceive, who considers what was their former state and what their present. Formerly the peasants were considered as appertaining to the soil, and were sold with it. They enjoyed but few rights, and were in fact not considered as differing much from the brute creation. They were called upon to render ser-



COLUMN OF FREEDOM.

The Column of Liberty, or Freedom, was erected to commemorate the emancipation of the peasants of Denmark. This great measure of justice was commenced in 1766, when Christian VII freed the peasants of the royal domains; it was completed when, during the nominal reign of the same king, his son, the Crown Prince, in the year 1787, by the advice of the younger Bernstorff, gave to all the peasants of the kingdom their liberty.

vices of the most unreasonable kind. If the sovereign chose to go a-hunting in the time of harvest, not only did he traverse, with his dogs and horses, and many attendants, their fields ready for the sickle, and trample down their grain and their hay, but even demanded the aid of the peasants themselves, to beat the bushes and drive up the game. Sometimes a fortnight was thus spent; in the meanwhile their harvest went to ruin. Nothing was done to promote education among them. They had no encouragement to work, no stimulus to endeavor to elevate themselves in society. Now it is far otherwise. They feel that they are freemen. What property they possess is respected, and they know that it is their own. They are allowed to purchase lands, and do purchase them. They are the small farmers of Denmark. Some of them are becoming rich. They have fine horses, cows, sheep, &c. Those who own no land rent from a rich proprietor. Their children are universally sent to school some portion of the year; and they are now a happy people.

PALACE OF FREDERIKSBERG.—At the distance of nearly two English miles from the Column of Liberty, and on the road which runs due west from Copenhagen to the interior of the island of Zealand, stands the Royal Summer Palace of Frederiksberg. The site of this palace is exceedingly fine. It stands on a hill of considerable elevation, but of the most gentle and easy ascent. Neither the exterior nor the interior of this edifice is worthy of particular notice; but the garden which surrounds it is quite extensive, and very beautiful. Ponds of water and verdant lawns are every where interspersed through the noble forest, whose trees, during the season of summer, almost conceal the white walls of the palace. The view from the towers of this château is perfectly enchanting.

This palace was made the head-quarters of the com-

mander-in-chief of the English army, in the infamous attack which they made on Copenhagen, in the year 1807. Posterity will find it difficult to believe, that a country claiming for itself the high civilization and the wide-spread influence of Christianity which England does, could be capable of the atrocious act to which we here refer. A very slight notice of this whole affair may be neither uninteresting, nor unprofitable, to those of our readers who are not familiar with its history.

For several years after the attack of Lord Nelson, in 1801, the government of Denmark very wisely pursued a strictly neutral course. During that period of repose, her commerce became quite extensive, for her merchants had a very large share of the carrying trade of Europe. By this means the resources of the nation rapidly augmented, and the wealth of the people increased to an unparalleled degree. It was in this moment of her greatest prosperity that she was destined to see her capital visited by another British armament, and laid in ruins by it.

The alleged cause of this severe and most unjustifiable measure was this : Buonaparte, by the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 9th of July, 1807, had brought all his continental enemies not only to peace, but in a sense to a state of subjection to his influence, and even control. The English believed, or professed to do so, that by a secret article of that treaty, (of the existence of which not a particle of evidence has ever been produced,) it was stipulated that Buonaparte should overrun and occupy Denmark with his troops, for the double purpose of closing the Sound and the Belts against the British ships, and thus to exclude British commerce from the Baltic ; and also for getting possession, by persuasion or by force, of the Danish fleet, which had become large, and was considered a remarkably fine one, for the purpose of augment-

ing his marine, and, perchance, of effecting a descent upon England.

It was upon these grounds that the English government got ready, with the greatest despatch and secrecy, a powerful armament, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, and about ninety other vessels of various descriptions. This vast fleet carried a military force of 12,000 men from England, which was augmented by 8,000 Hanoverians, who had been in Pomerania, assisting Gustavus IV., king of Sweden, in his unequal and unfortunate contest with the French. Lord Gambier commanded the fleet, and Lord Cathcart the army, having under him Sir Arthur Wellesley, (now the Duke of Wellington,) Sir Home Popham, and Colonel (now Sir George) Murray. A division of the fleet, under Commodore Keats, entered the Great Belt, and cut off all communication between the island of Zealand and the other parts of the kingdom. The rest of the fleet found no difficulty in passing the Castle of Cronberg, for its precise object was as unknown as it was unexpected.

The land forces were debarked at the distance of a few miles north of Copenhagen, on the 16th of August, and, having been joined by those from Pomerania, they invested at once the Danish capital. Lord Cathcart made the palace of Frederiksberg his head-quarters. Between that point and the city, as well as at other positions around the city on the land side, he planted his batteries, whilst the bomb and mortar vessels took their station beyond the harbor. On the 2d of September, a tremendous fire was opened upon the city. The bombardment lasted, with some brief intervals, until the morning of the 5th, when the commanding general, Peymann, proposed a truce for twenty-four hours, to allow time for negotiating a capitulation, and for communicating with the king and his son, the Crown Prince, who were at Nyborg in Funen.

By this bold and successful attack, the city of Copenhagen was greatly injured. More than four hundred edifices were destroyed by fire, or by the balls of the English, including one or two of the best churches, and two thousand persons were killed or wounded. To this day, cannon-balls may be seen half-buried in the walls of some of the houses. And what was almost the ruin of Denmark, the whole of her large fleet, which was lying in her docks, in a fine state of preservation, but unequipped, including vast naval stores of all descriptions, fell into the hands of the English commanders, who at their leisure got the vessels ready for sea, and in a few weeks departed, carrying away nineteen Danish sail of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-nine gun-boats. Many of these ships are still in existence, and carry the flag of Great Britain. It was one of them, the Little Belt, which came into conflict with one of our own ships of war, some years before our last war with England—a conflict which occasioned no little noise at the time.

The English plead the necessity of the case in justification of this cruel measure. They say that it was to keep the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French. If such had been their grand object, they could have done it by taking possession of the Sound and the Belts, with their fleets, and this would have effectually excluded the French forces from the Danish Archipelago, and also kept the Baltic open to English commerce. But the latter object they failed to secure, inasmuch as they abandoned the whole scene in six weeks, carrying their booty to England, and leaving the Danes, their implacable enemies, in possession of the keys of the Baltic.

The English also lay much stress on the fact that they offered to the Danish government, before they made the attack, the alternative of surrendering their fleet to the government of England, under the engagement that it

should be returned when peace should be made with France. But this was an option which no high-minded and brave people, who were conscious of having aimed at a strict neutrality, and who would have as soon resisted the unreasonable demands of France as of England, could possibly make, and the English government must have known it. And besides, if the French had gotten possession of this fleet, England had in reality but little cause to fear, for she was far more powerful on the sea than France could have been, even with the addition of two or three such fleets.

Take it all in all, it was an affair for which the character of England has greatly suffered, and will suffer in all coming time. Might does not constitute right; and the day of retribution, however late, must certainly come to nations as well as to individuals. We ought to add, that the preliminary negotiation in this business, on the part of the English, seems to have been entrusted to a man (Mr. Jackson), whose want of good-temper, to say nothing more, rendered him about as unfit for the very difficult and very delicate task which was committed to him, as it was possible for a man to be.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION IN DENMARK.

The Danes a well-educated people—The elements of a common education widely diffused—Present system of Primary Schools dates from 1814.—The influence of the practice of making their first communion at an early age, on the education of the Danes—Parishes required to maintain schools.—The schools greatly under the influence of the Pastors—Catechisms taught in the schools—The Gymnasia—The Normal Schools—The Universities of Copenhagen and Kiel—Superabundance of literary men.

THE time of our sojourn at Copenhagen, during our present visit, has passed very pleasantly away. Our letters of introduction have made us acquainted with several literary and other gentlemen of distinction, with whom many hours have almost daily been spent; and in whose society, when fatigued with the labors of sight-seeing (and sight-seeing is really a laborious occupation in this city of wretched side-walks,) or disinclined to read or to write, we found an unfailing source of enjoyment. It was in this way especially that our evenings were passed. The Athenæum, too, furnished ample opportunities, not only of recreation, but also of information, in its extensive saloons, where are to be found the most valuable political and scientific journals of almost every country in the world.

But there is one way of employing his leisure hours, which we would advise every one who reads these pages to pursue, if he should ever visit Copenhagen, or, indeed, any other important city in a foreign land—and that is, to visit the schools and other establishments of education, and see how they are conducted. He will find no difficulty

in gaining admittance to them, and he cannot fail to obtain some information which will interest him. It is certainly pleasant, and profitable too, to see and examine with care the material objects of interest—public buildings of all descriptions, monuments, painting, sculpture—but it ought to be far more important to learn the intellectual and moral state of the cities which one visits, and to see what are the means which are in existence among them of elevating and improving the understandings and the hearts of the people. To one who takes an interest in such subjects, Copenhagen furnishes much that is worthy of his attention. Its schools are numerous and well-conducted. They are furnished, in general, with admirable text-books and apparatus. And the teachers, we should judge, are well-qualified for their work. At least, this is the case with those whom we saw. The Latin schools are excellent.

The Danes are, in general, a well-educated nation. Probably in no country in Europe, out of Germany, are the people so universally able to read. For a long period the government has encouraged education. But the present excellent state of things, as it regards Primary Schools, dates from 1814, when the late monarch directed that more systematic measures than had ever before been adopted, should be employed to secure the instruction of all classes of the people. To such an extent do the elements, at least, of a common education exist in this country, that it is very rare indeed to find a native Dane who cannot read. Many persons, of great respectability, have assured us, that they never have seen an adult person who was not so far educated as to be capable of reading, and but few who cannot write.

The universal prevalence of the Lutheran church in Denmark has been a most powerful means of promoting the instruction of the people, at least to a certain extent.

In that church it is the practice to receive to the First Communion all the youth, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years, who are deemed fit to be confirmed and to come to that ordinance. And such is the extent and the influence of custom, that it is necessary to have made at least his first communion before a young man can gain any respectable employment. In most cases, even apprentices must have made their first communion before they can enter into service. If they have not done it, the master is obliged to allow them a certain portion of time every week, in which to receive instruction from the pastor of the parish, until they are prepared to receive the communion. This fact makes the masters unwilling to receive, as apprentices, those who have not been confirmed. A person cannot marry, unless he has been confirmed. This is almost universally the case in all the Protestant countries in the north of Europe—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland—in which the Lutheran church may be said to be almost the only, if not the exclusive denomination of Christians. It would be rare, we apprehend, to find a pastor in any of those countries willing to receive a person to the first communion who had not previously undergone a course of preparatory instruction, and who could not read sufficiently well to be able to peruse the sacred scriptures. And as the overwhelming mass of the people—one may say, rather, the entire mass, save, perhaps, a few in the large towns—consider that they would be heathen, if they did not, at the ordinary age, receive confirmation, it happens that it is rare to find a person of adult age who has not made his first communion. This fact being universal, or nearly so, it is easy to see how great its influence must be in promoting the elementary part of an education. Certainly many persons read very imperfectly; but still it is sufficient to comply with the custom, or rather the law, which prevails in reference to this subject. There

is a sort of disgrace in not belonging to the church, which has operated very powerfully to make parents instruct their children themselves, or send them to school, in order that they may not be prevented, by not being able to read, from enjoying what is considered so great a privilege. We state this fact fully here, because it has so great a bearing on the subject of education in all the northern countries of Europe, in which the Protestant religion prevails, and especially that branch of the Protestant church which is called the Lutheran, or the church of the Augsburg Confession, under which denomination it is better known.

Primary Schools are established by law, all over Denmark, and are maintained by the parishes. Each parish is obliged to furnish the means of sustaining, within its limits, as many schools as are needed to give all the children within those limits an education. The parishes must erect, or hire, and keep in repair, suitable school-houses. And the stranger who journeys in this country cannot avoid being struck with the great number of schools which he sees as he passes from village to village.

The parishes are required to pay the salaries of the teachers. This is done in a variety of ways. In the first place, almost every school-house has adjoining to it, or at least not far from it, the house of the teacher, together with a few acres of ground which belong to it, and of which the teacher has the occupancy, as a part of his wages. In the next place, he receives a certain quantity of grain, and other productions, from the parish, also as part of his salary. In the third place, he receives some money, but in general not a very considerable sum; for the wages of teachers are low in this country, where living is cheap, and where salaries of all kinds are not great. All things considered, perhaps teachers are as well, or as sufficiently paid as they are in any other country in Europe, save Prussia. As a general thing, they pursue

the business for life ; and certainly no men render more important services to the state than those of them who are capable and faithful.

In all the primary schools in Denmark the children are instructed in the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism. In very many schools grammar, history and geography, are also taught.

As the primary schools are maintained by the parishes, they are emphatically under the supervision of the pastor of the parish, who is required to see that suitable religious instruction be daily given to the children. For this purpose, as we have just said, the catechism, or rather two catechisms, and a history of the Bible are not only read, but committed to memory. The first catechism that is learned is what is called Luther's minor catechism. The second catechism is that of Bishop Ballé. The history of the Bible is a short and excellent one written by the Rev. Mr. Birch, a Danish clergyman, who died some forty years since.

Normal schools, where teachers are educated, exist in different parts of the kingdom, and greatly contribute to elevate their qualifications and their characters, and thus improve the instruction which is given in the primary schools of the kingdom.

As we ascend in the scale, we next come to the Grammar or High Schools of the kingdom. Of these there are in all fourteen. They are situated in the chief cities and towns. They are well endowed in general—almost too much so ; for until lately, they have been able not only to give free instruction to all who choose to attend, but also to give them a small premium for attending. At present, the pupils who can afford it, are required to pay something, but the sum is wholly inconsiderable. In these fourteen Grammar Schools we have not included a very celebrated and richly endowed school or academy at Sorøe,

which is far more elevated in its character than any of the fourteen of which we have just spoken. In all these schools or academies, the Latin, Greek, French and German languages are taught, besides the Mathematics, the Grammar of the Danish language, History, Natural Philosophy.

There are also public schools of a high order for the education of girls—but we believe that, with few exceptions, the best schools for the education of females are sustained at private expense, as with us. There are private schools in all the cities and large towns for the youth of both sexes.

Nor must we omit to mention that there are two schools established at Copenhagen, which the philanthropic traveler will not fail to visit if he can possibly do so; one is the school for the Deaf and Dumb; the other for the Blind. That for the Deaf and Dumb has just become established in a large and commodious building, which has been erected expressly for it. There is an asylum for the Deaf and Dumb of the Germanic portion of the kingdom at Sleswic, as we have stated elsewhere.

We come now to the Universities, and having spoken in another place of that of Kiel, we confine our present remarks to the University of Copenhagen, which is the great institution for instruction, in the highest branches of education, for those subjects of the kingdom who speak the Danish language, as that at Kiel is for those who speak the German.

The University of Copenhagen was founded by Christian I., the first sovereign of the Oldenburg dynasty, in the year 1478. But this prince was very poor, and could not do much for this or any other important object. So limited were the resources of this monarch, or rather of the kingdom, that when he gave his daughter in marriage, to James III. of Scotland, he was compelled to give the Ork-

ney and Shetland Islands as pledges for the payment of her dowry. And their possession never returned to Denmark.

During the first sixty years the university of Copenhagen languished, and but little is known of its history. But when the Reformation entered Denmark, it received a new impulse. Christian III. enriched it with the possessions which he took from the Roman Catholic clergy, and gave it a new code of statutes in the year 1539. Christian VII., in 1788, augmented the number of professors, and reformed its statutes, which have remained the same, with some modifications, until this day.

The number of students at the present time, in actual attendance, is between seven and eight hundred, (the number on the books exceeds one thousand ;) of whom more than four hundred are students in theology, and more than two hundred receive stipends from the funds given by different sovereigns of Denmark, or by individual benefactors. In 1596 Frederick II. made provision for the gratuitous lodging and board of one hundred students, and gave them a cloister and lands in the islands of Zealand and Falster. In 1623 Christian IV. founded the *College of the Regency*, for one hundred students, which still exists. These one hundred students lodge in the College of the Regency, but do not board there. To pay their board they receive, sixty of them, a stipend of a dollar (species) per week : forty of them receive a dollar and a half per week. There are thirty more who receive two dollars per week. The revenue of the university amounts each year to about \$62,000 of our money : the expenditures are \$72,000. The deficiency is supplied from the interest accruing from funds, granted by Frederick II. to establish the community of one hundred students, which we have already mentioned.

Besides these royal foundations, there are others estab-

lished by individuals, which educate sixteen young men, by giving them lodgings and from fifty to sixty dollars per annum.

Holberg, the poet, left a legacy to the university. He also bequeathed the income of a certain fund, to be given in dowries to the daughters of the professors !

The government of the university is administered by a *Senatus Academicus*, composed of sixteen ordinary professors ; viz., three from the Faculty of Theology, three from that of Law, three from that of Medicine, and seven from that of Philosophy. The youngest of the sixteen performs the functions of Secretary. And all the members of the *Senatus Academicus* enter that body by seniority. The Rector is chosen annually, from the ordinary professors of the four Faculties in rotation, so that each Faculty furnishes a Rector once in four years.

There are, in the university of Copenhagen, in the Faculty of Theology, three Ordinary and two Extraordinary Professors ; in the Faculty of Law, four Ordinary Professors and one Extraordinary ; in the Faculty of Medicine, three Ordinary and two Extraordinary Professors ; and in the Faculty of Philosophy nine Ordinary and twelve Extraordinary Professors ;—in all thirty-six Professors. Besides these there are three *Docentes*, or private teachers, and three teachers of modern languages, viz., French, English and German.

Besides the course of public lectures which he is required to give, each professor gives private courses, after the manner which we described in speaking of the university of Kiel. The professors of Copenhagen, however, receive much more for their private lectures than do those of Kiel ; some of them receiving as much as two or three, and even four dollars from each person who attends, for a series of lectures of one hour per week, during the term of six months.

The administration of the funds of the university is by a Questor and two members of the *Senatus Academicus*, called Inspectors. The general administration of the universities, as well as that of the schools of the kingdom, is entrusted to a Direction, composed of three members, who transmit their reports directly to the King.

Attached to the university there is a Polytechnic Institute, in which there are six professors, and a superintendent of a work-shop. These professors give courses of lectures on all the branches of mathematics; on Practical Chemistry; on Physics; on Mechanics; on Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology; and on Drawing, both geometrical and mechanical. The course lasts two years. This Institute dates from 1829. It owes its existence to the zealous and enlightened exertions of Professor Oersted, its director. It has already done much good.

The university library contains about 80,000 volumes, and is one of the best selected libraries in Europe. It contains a large collection of manuscripts in the Icelandic and other northern languages. This library dates from 1728. The former library was totally lost in the great fire of that year. The munificence of the Crown, united with that of individuals, among whom the name of Arne Magnussen is conspicuous, soon more than repaired the loss.

The university of Copenhagen has had many distinguished men among its professors, in former times. Tycho Brahé here delivered a course of lectures on Astronomy, Holberg on Literature, Bertolin on Medicine. Among the present professors are several of eminent merit in respect to talent; such for example are Clausen, Oersted, Madvig, Molbeck, Ehlenschläger, and several others.

It is a misfortune that whilst some countries have too few learned men in proportion to the extent of their population, Denmark has too many. The posts which literary

men can fill are all occupied, and those that pass through the university, have often to wait several years before they can obtain a place suited to their attainments.

We close this chapter by remarking that the young men of Denmark who spend well their six years in the gymnasium, and four in the university, come forth very mature scholars.

CHAPTER XIII.

LITERATURE OF DENMARK.

The literature of Denmark is modern—Its commencement during the reign of the Valdemars—Saxo Grammaticus—The revival of letters in the reign of Christian I.—Printing introduced into Denmark in the reign of John—Learning and education encouraged by Frederick I., as well as by Christian III. and Frederick II.—Christian IV. did much for learning—Frederick III. encouraged learning, but his son and successor, Christian V., neglected it—Little encouragement of literature in the reigns of Frederick IV. and Christian VI.—Reigns of Christian VII. and Frederick VI.—Literature flourishes—Its present state—Many distinguished scholars in Denmark.

THERE are many literary men residing in Copenhagen. Indeed we do not know where a city, of the same population, could be found where there are so many authors of distinction. It was our privilege to make the acquaintance of some of them; and we must say of them, that more agreeable men we have never seen. It may be asserted with truth, that in all countries the commonwealth of letters is a very pleasant one. With but few exceptions, the distinguished scholars in Europe, who are an ornament to their respective countries, are not only easy of access, but most urbane in their manners. We have found it so every where. And it should be so. Learning should ever be associated with true magnanimity, and an efficient generosity.

The literature of Denmark, like that of all the rest of Europe, excepting Italy and Greece, is modern. In the latter part of the twelfth century, and the first part of the thirteenth,—during the reigns of the Valdemars—there was a very considerable amount of learning in Denmark.

Saxo Grammaticus and many others endeavored to promote knowledge among their countrymen, and by their writings contributed much to that effect. A long interval of ignorance and barbarism succeeded. But in the fifteenth century letters began to revive, under the reign of Christian I., the first king of the present dynasty—that of the house of Oldenburg,—by whom the University of Copenhagen was established in 1478. In the reign of his son, John, the art of printing was introduced into the kingdom. Christian II. reformed the schools, and did much to prepare the way for the Reformation, which was accomplished in the reign of his son and successor, Frederick I., when the doctrines of Luther became established throughout the country.

Christian III. and Frederick II. did much to promote the education of their subjects. But it is to the son of the latter, Christian IV., that Denmark is indebted for the foundation of much of her literary establishments. It was he who led the country to depend on its own resources, instead of receiving everything from Germany. He was himself a literary man, fond of Mathematics, and well skilled in German, Latin, and Italian, besides his native tongue. His example had much influence on the nobles of the kingdom. Many of them learned the Latin language well. Dr. Niels Hemmingsen lived in that period, and was celebrated as a fine Latinist. During the reign of Christian IV., the University was renovated and re-established on better principles. But this monarch, who at all times displayed the most generous zeal for the diffusion of knowledge, was often thwarted by the cabals of the aristocracy, and the bigotry of the clergy. He was not able to recall Tycho Brahé, who had been compelled to leave his native land, during the regency which governed in his minority. He succeeded, however, in exciting a most commendable spirit for writing in Danish, among the literary

men of the kingdom, and history, especially that of Denmark, called forth no inconsiderable talent. Arild Hvitfelt, Niels Krag, Olaus Wormius and Stephanus Stephanus distinguished themselves in this branch of writing.

But Christian IV. did not content himself with exciting and fostering native talent. He invited Meursius and Pontanus from Holland, and enlisted them also in the work of writing the History of Denmark. He endeavored even to induce Grotius to come and live in his kingdom; and for that purpose he went to meet him at Glückstadt, during the sojourn of that great man at Hamburg. He also encouraged the literature of Norway, a part of the kingdom which he visited more than fifty times, and in whose prosperity he took a deep interest. During his reign, works on the Geography and Statistics of Denmark were written by Stephanus, Wormius, Lyschander, and Arngrim Johnson of Iceland. Caspar Bartolin and Olaus Wormius wrote on medicine; Christian Longomontanus, the friend and pupil of Tycho Brahé, on mathematics and astronomy. Anders Arreboe, the father of Danish poetry, lived during this period, and enjoyed to an eminent degree the patronage of the king. The drama may be said to have commenced in Denmark during his reign.

The son and successor of Christian IV. was Frederick III. He encouraged literature, and was himself a literary man. He attended the lectures of learned professors, even after he had ascended the throne. He encouraged the Icelandic literature, and was the patron and intimate friend of the famous Torfaeus of that island. It is to this monarch that both the Royal Museum and the Royal Library of Copenhagen owe their origin. On the contrary, his son and successor, Christian V., cared nothing for literature and science. Hunting and war were his favorite pursuits. The change in the government—from that of a limited monarchy to that of an unlimited one—which occurred in

1660, was very unfavorable to the literature of the country. Everything of this sort languished. Men did not dare to oppose the government. Ole Rosenkrants incurred a fine of 20,000 rix dollars for publishing his "Apology for the Danish Nobility," and advocating the doctrine of election, in opposition to absolute monarchy. Professor Nold was turned out of his Chair of Divinity for ten years, for maintaining that *elected rulers are better than hereditary ones*, (*eligi quàm nasci meliores principes.*)

During the period from 1648 till 1700, few distinguished literary men flourished in Denmark. Peder Resen was professor of law in the University of Copenhagen from 1662 till 1688. He wrote several codes of Danish, Norwegian, and Jutlandish Laws, and left in manuscript his *Atlas Danicus*. Count Griffenfeld, who was Chancellor of the University of Copenhagen during three years, did much for his country, having drawn up a code of laws, of great excellence, for the kingdom. But he was succeeded by ignorant ministers, under whose sway discussion on the subjects of law, divinity, and politics, was considered treason. But the physical sciences received much attention from Olaus Borch, the Bartolins, and Olaus Roemer. During this reign a Danish Grammar was prepared by the Rev. Peter Syv, and a Dictionary was commenced by Counsellor Moth, or under his auspices rather, which has never been published. These efforts led to the improvement of the Danish language.*

* In speaking of the period to which there is reference in the text—that of 1648 until 1700—Lord Molesworth, in his work on Denmark, uses the following language: "Denmark has formerly produced very learned men, such as the famous mathematician Tycho Brahé, the Bartolins for physic and anatomy, Borrichius, who died lately, and bequeathed a considerable legacy to the University of Copenhagen. But at present learning is there at a very low ebb; yet Latin is more commonly spoken by the clergy than with us."

During the reign of Frederick IV., from 1700 to 1730, little progress was made in the study of divinity, law, and philosophy. The physical sciences and medicine greatly declined. Holberg was the only writer on law of this reign. His work on the Law of Nature and Nations was long and highly approved. He wrote still better on History. Arnas Magnaeus, Professor of Danish Antiquities, flourished at this period. He was from Iceland. Albert Thura wrote on the History of Danish Literature during this period. Holberg was the most distinguished poet of that day.

In the reign of Christian VI., who was no great encourager of letters, lived Langebek, Pontoppidan, and Gram, all men of merit, who chiefly wrote on History. Andrew Höjer was a distinguished historian of this day. Tyge Hofman was a biographer. At this period, pulpit oratory greatly advanced. In this department Peter Hersele, Bishop of Zealand, excelled all others.

Christian VI. was succeeded by Frederick V. in 1746. During his reign literature made great progress. Oeder, Reverdil, Bishop Pontoppidan, Carsten Niebuhr, Rev. Hans Ström, the Lutkens, Jens Kraft, Bishop Gunnerus, Eilschov, Kofod Anker, Suhm, A. G. Carstens, L. Thörn,

The books that come out in print are very few, and those only some dull treatises of controversy against the Papists and Calvinists. The *belles lettres*, or genteel learning, are very much strangers here, and will hardly be introduced till a greater influence among the gentry makes way for them. It is said that necessity is the mother of invention; which may be true in some degree; but I am sure that too much necessity depresses the spirits.

“Every year, on the king's birthday, they have a kind of act in the University of Copenhagen. The king honors them with his presence, and the *Rector Magnificus* harangues him in a Latin speech, full of as fulsome flattery as if Louis le Grand were the monarch to be entertained, and a fawning Jesuit the orator. At certain periods, there are a few Danish verses sung by the ordinary singing boys, to very indifferent music; and so the farce ends.”

Lüxdorph, Jens Höysgaard, Tyge Rothe, Jacob Baden, Sneedorff, Evald, Tullin, Stenertsen, added much to the growing literary stores of Denmark.

During the long reign of Christian VII., much was done by the ministers of the king to promote knowledge. It was then that Denmark began to adopt the noble plan of sending, at the public expense, men of talents abroad to other lands to cultivate their minds, and to bring back to the country whatever of science or art might be usefully transplanted to Denmark. The University of Copenhagen was still further improved. Schools for educating schoolmasters began to be established, and Latin schools, of a higher character than usual, were opened. Liberty of the press was granted, through the influence of the famous and unfortunate Struensee, in 1770, in the fullest sense,—even more fully than Sneedorff and the Lutkens had hoped for during the former reign. During this reign the vassalage of the Danish peasantry, and the Danish slave-trade, were abolished. The liberty of the press did not long continue in Denmark. After various vicissitudes, it was brought under such restraints that it may be said to have been annihilated in 1799.

Politics have never formed the subject of much writing in Denmark. In 1785, however, Professor Rahbek and Mr. Pram, commenced the publication of a monthly magazine, called the *Minerva*, which continued until 1809. A vast deal of talent was displayed in that periodical. Almost all the eminent literary men of that day wrote for it. Politics occupied a large space in it. Abrahamson, Tyge Rothe, Pram, Rev. Mr. Birckner, and M. de Hennings—a court chamberlain—furnished excellent treatises for the *Minerva*, in favor of the liberty of the press.* Mr.

* Mr. Birckner published a book on the Liberty of the Press and its Laws, in the year 1797. This book made a great sensation, and was read with vast interest—several editions were published the first year after it was issued.

Samoe, and the Rev. Mr. Birckner, attacked the order of the nobility;—so that not a little courage was shown in this work. But no work during that period produced such excitement as Count Schmettou's little volume on Standing Armies. That the fearless course of this band of advocates of reform had a good effect upon the government, is unquestionable. But no change of great moment has yet taken place on the points which they discussed.

Few Danish writers are better known in the literary world than Heiberg, the dramatic poet and general scholar, and Malte-Brun, the geographer. Both were banished from the country—the former in 1800, and the latter some time afterward—for political opinions, strongly expressed in some works which they had published. Both went to France, where their talents secured to them much distinction.

Professor Jens Möller, Professor P. E. Muller, Professor Heiberg and Mr. Seidelin, were popular prose writers in the early part of this century, and Thaarup and Baggésen are well-known poets of that period.

Niebuhr, the historian and traveler, wrote his valuable works in the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present. The greatest poet which Denmark possesses at the present day is Œhlenschläger, who is reckoned among the first of living poets. He has written much. Among the most distinguished writers of this kingdom in our day, we must also reckon Finn Magnussen, who has written on Mythology; Œrsted, Schlegel, and Rosenvinge, who have written on Law; Grundtvig, a sweet religious poet, of a very original genius; Rask, who has written on Languages; Müller, who has written on the Scandinavian antiquities; and Werlauff, Engelstoft, and Œrsted, who have written on various subjects; the Rev. Dr. Clausen, of the Theological Faculty in the University of Copenhagen, who has written on the spirit of

Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and various other works relative to the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and to Ecclesiastical History; Dr. Madvig, who is distinguished for his knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and is the editor of Cicero de Finibus, and author of other works; Professor Molbech, author of a Danish Dictionary, and various other works illustrative of the language and literature of Denmark; Dr. Bromsted, Professor of Greek, and author of Travels in Greece, a work which has been translated into French and other languages; and the late Dr. Mönster, Bishop of Zealand, a very eminent preacher, and author of various collections of sermons and other books, partly of a religious and partly of a literary nature. In 1833, he published his "Considerations on the Doctrines of the Christian Faith," in 2 vols. 12mo., a work full of excellent views, and displaying a profound acquaintance with the mysteries of the human heart.

This catalogue might be greatly enlarged if it were necessary to do so. Few countries of the same extent of population have so many literary men, or so considerable a literature as Denmark. And it certainly must be nothing more nor less than pure love of literature and science, for their own sakes, which can induce a man to write a valuable and extended work in the Danish language, which is a language wholly unknown to the literati of the world at large, and which is probably not read by a population—in Denmark and Norway—of more than two millions and a half; for it must be remembered that Holstein and Sleswic, two very important provinces of the kingdom of Denmark, speak the German, and not the Danish. It can hardly be the love of fame which operates on the Danish savant, inducing him to write tomes of learning. Nor can it be the love of money, for surely very little can be obtained in that way, as the demand for such books in that

language cannot be so considerable as to enable publishers in Copenhagen to give Danish authors any thing like the intrinsic value of their works.

Denmark is rich in scientific and literary journals,* but she is not rich in newspaper literature of a political character. Not that there are no newspapers in Denmark. On the contrary they are tolerably numerous. But the censorship of the press is rigid, and by consequence, the political journals, if the newspapers of Denmark deserve that name, are exceedingly tame, and contain nothing but summaries of domestic and foreign intelligence, with the omission of every thing which might have a bearing on the government of the country, directly or indirectly. Not only so, but there are other countries respecting which an editor of a newspaper must speak very cautiously, or he will soon find himself in trouble. If anything be said against Russia, or Prussia, or Austria, he will soon have the ministers of those governments, resident at Copenhagen, thundering away at his door, or rather the Danish govern-

* The following is a list of the most important of these periodical works. In *Theology*: *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Christelig Theologi* (Northern Journal of Christian Theology); *Theologisk Tidsskrift* (Theological Journal); *Tidsskrift for Udenlandisk Theologisk Literatur* (Journal of Foreign Theological Literature.) In *Law*: *Juridisk Tidsskrift* (Law Journal) by Messrs. Kolderup, Rosenwinge, P. Bang, and A. L. Casse. In *Medicine*: *Bibliothek for Læger* (Library for Physicians.) On other subjects: *Orion—Historisk—Geographisk Maanedskrift* (a monthly work on Astronomy, History and Geography.)—*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndigh* (Northern Journal of Antiquities.)—*Tidsskrift for Literatur og Kritik* (Journal of Literature and Criticism)—*Naturistisk Tidsskrift* (Journal of Natural History.) *Tidsskrift for Landøkonomie* (Journal of Agriculture.) *Archiv for Søvesenet* (Seamen's Journal.) *Militært Repertorium* (Military Repertory.) *Have-Tidende* (Horticulture.) Besides these there might be enumerated among the periodical literature of the country, the Annual Reports of several of the Literary and Scientific Bodies. There are also other periodical publications of less note, which we deem it unnecessary to mention.

ment officers through their instigation. This restricted policy fetters the newspaper press and renders it wholly lifeless and inefficient. The consequence is that newspapers are not much read, or esteemed in Denmark, save for the general intelligence which they contain of what is passing in the world, and still more, for the *prices current*, which they give of the state of the exchange at Hamburg, at London, and at St. Petersburg. Certainly the newspaper press may be greatly abused, and made an engine of evil. But even some abuse of it is to be preferred to this total inefficiency. The day has come when the world is moved, not by large volumes, however well written they may be, but by the periodical sheet, by the newspaper skilfully conducted. Such a journal contains in the course of the year a vast amount of valuable information, not only of a political, but also of a moral and literary nature. The power of the newspaper press is just beginning to be felt in the world at large. But to this day, that influence has scarcely reached Denmark, nor can it do so, as long as the restrictions which shackle it are suffered to continue.

CHAPTER XIV.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF DENMARK.

The Danes an amiable people—The higher classes distinguished for refined and accomplished manners—The agricultural and village population generally honest, simple-hearted, and virtuous—The peasantry of the continental provinces more virtuous than those of the Islands—The people of the capital and other cities less virtuous than the inhabitants of the rural districts—The Religion of Denmark almost wholly Protestant—The Lutheran Church the Established Church of Denmark—The number of the Roman Catholics and Jews—The number of the Dioceses and Superintendencies, Deans, and Pastors—The patronage of the Crown—Character of the Danish Clergy—Supply of the Scriptures—Want of convenient religious books—Intolerance in Denmark—Persecution of the Baptists.

THE intercourse which we have had with the Danes, of all classes, has very favorably impressed us. We have seen a good deal of them, in almost all circumstances. We have mingled with the inhabitants of the cities, and we have seen those of the country, and of almost every district of it. We have met them at the social dinner-party, and in the *soirée*. We have traveled with them in steam-boats, and in stages, and in wagons. And we must say, that we think them, taken as a nation, an amiable people.

Amongst the higher classes, whether nobles or commoners, one finds a great degree of cultivation and a large amount of intelligence. The best educated people, and especially the people of considerable wealth—in other words, the people who are in what are called easy circumstances—may be called a very refined people. More agreeable manners, more courteous manners, are not to be seen in any country in Europe. We have been perfectly charmed with the accomplished and graceful deportment, and the winning address and intonation of not a few Danish gentlemen and ladies with whom we have met, not

only in the capital, but in all parts of the kingdom which we have visited. A stranger cannot but remark the great civility which the people of all classes display in their intercourse with each other. It is not only seen in the shop-keeper, who is solicitous to please his customers in order to sell his goods, nor in the wealthy citizen, who takes a pride in a generous hospitality, but also in the poorest mechanic, the most ignorant laborer, whether of the city or the country. We do not remember that we ever received an unkind word or deed from any one during both our visits to this country.

We are convinced, from all that we have heard, as well as from all that we have seen, that the people of this kingdom, taken as a whole, will compare well with those of any other in regard to the virtue of honesty. In all the dealings which we have had with them, we have never met with an instance of an attempt to overreach or impose. It has been far otherwise in most countries which we have visited. The fact that a man is a foreigner, and especially if he speaks and comprehends but imperfectly, the language of the country, too often furnishes an occasion which is seized with avidity to take advantage of him in a bargain. In some countries on the continent the state of morals is such, that falsehood and dishonesty in dealing, especially where a stranger is concerned, are not only not reckoned sinful, but not even disreputable. We are sorry to say, that we have too many amongst ourselves of those people of "seven principles," as Mr. John Randolph used to call them, who always go for the "five loaves and two fishes," and the only motive and rule of whose conduct is, an undiluted selfishness. The Danish character is, in this respect, very much like that of the Germans. There is a great amount of simplicity, honesty, and justice in their character, and in their dealings with their fellow-men. We speak of course of them as a whole. Individuals there are, without doubt, of a very different descrip-

tion ; for there is rascality in all countries. Taken as a nation, the Danes must be pronounced, we are confident, a remarkably honest people. And this is especially true of the peasantry, or country population. We have everywhere heard that portion of the people spoken of as distinguished for their honesty and trust-worthiness. The character of the servants, especially those from the country, is, in general, excellent.

The agricultural and village population of Denmark may be called a virtuous one. At least, it will compare well with that of any other country on the continent. The manners of this portion of the people are characterized by great simplicity and kindliness.

We would sum up all that we have to say on this subject by stating, that it is the testimony of all well-informed and good men in this country, with whom we have conversed, that there is a large degree of morality among the middle and lower classes of the people. In this respect these classes unquestionably excel the higher classes of society, as they are called, including the most wealthy people as well as the very numerous nobility. The peasantry of the entire kingdom sustain an excellent reputation. Those of the continental portions of it, and especially those of Jutland, are believed to excel in virtue those of Zealand and the other islands. The character of the latter has been injuriously affected by too near an intercourse with the capital, which, though far from being the worst city in Europe, has many temptations and sources of corruption, against which the inexperienced youth, who come directly from the country, are not always as well fortified as they should be. The vice of licentiousness, though too prevalent in all parts of Denmark, is far from being as widespread as it is in some other countries in Europe. In this respect the character of the Danish peasantry is highly respectable, particularly on the continental provinces. As to intemperance, it is the testimony of all men with

whom we have conversed, that it is decidedly on the decrease. The Director of the Police, Mr. Braestrup, has assured us that he has decisive proof of this fact. No man can have better advantages than he for forming a correct opinion on this subject. We have not a doubt of the truth of this statement, as it regards the middle and higher classes of society. But we fear, from all that we have learned, that it is otherwise in relation to the lowest classes. We have reason to believe that there is not a little drunkenness among them. The number of grog-shops, of wine-shops, and of grocery-stores in Copenhagen, where intoxicating liquors are sold, is very great. It is also great in Elsinour, Kiel, and other considerable towns throughout the kingdom. We have not been able to obtain the statistics of this momentous subject; but we have reason to believe that when the truth comes to be known, it will be found that this dreadful vice has far greater prevalence in this kingdom than was formerly supposed. It gives us pleasure, however, to be able to state that some philanthropic gentlemen in the capital have interested themselves in the subject of Temperance Societies, and are now occupied in making known to their countrymen the objects and the nature of these societies, and in endeavoring to promote their formation throughout the kingdom. In this good work no man has taken a more lively interest than Mr. Braestrup, the Director of the Police, of whom we have already made mention. Through his efforts, mainly, it is that a history of the Temperance Societies of our own country, and of other lands, has been translated into Danish, and published at Copenhagen within the present year.

RELIGION.—Denmark is emphatically a Protestant country. There are not more than four or five thousand Roman Catholics in the entire kingdom; and they are to be found chiefly in Copenhagen, Glückstadt, Fredericia and

Altona. In each of these places there is a priest, with the exception of the last named, where there are two. Whilst of Jews the number may be as great as seven or eight thousand. They have synagogues at Copenhagen and Altona.

With the exceptions just mentioned, all the rest of the population of the Danish kingdom, including its foreign possessions, are Protestants. The established church is Lutheran. Its government and order are Episcopal. To that denomination belongs the entire of the population, with the exception of two churches of the Reformed, or Calvinistic body, as it is called in Copenhagen, and perhaps as many as two or three others in other places; together with two small congregations of Moravians, one at the capital, and the other at Altona, and two inconsiderable Reformed French churches, one in Copenhagen, and the other at Fredericia, a small town in Jutland.

The Lutheran Church is organized in the following manner; there are nine bishopricks and three superintendencies:—

1. The Diocese of Zealand has 33 deans, and 313 Parish pastors.
2. The Diocese of Funen has 14 deans, and 144 Parish pastors.
3. The Diocese Als and Alsoe has 3 deans and 18 Parish pastors.
4. The Diocese of Laaland and Falster has 4 deans and 62 Parish pastors.
5. The Diocese of Aalberg has 16 deans and 103 Parish pastors.
6. The Diocese of Wyborg has 4 deans and 94 Parish pastors.
7. The Diocese of Aarhus has 12 deans and 187 Parish pastors.
8. The Diocese of Ribé has 10 deans and 169 Parish pastors.

9. The Diocese of Iceland has 19 deans and 163 Parish pastors.

1. The Duchy of Sleswic has one General Superintendent, 11 deans, and 241 Parish pastors.

2. The Duchy of Holstein has one General Superintendent, 12 deans, and 187 Parish pastors.

3. The Duchy of Lauenburg has one General Superintendent, and 30 deacons and pastors.

The whole number of the clergy belonging to the Danish Established Church, including the Bishops, is at present eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

The clergy of Denmark are, in ecclesiastical as well as temporal affairs, subordinate to the Royal Chancery. The king appoints the bishops; and, with but few exceptions, all the livings are in the gift of the crown. The salaries of the clergy are raised from tithes—paid in money or in kind—from permanent local funds, from perquisites, &c. All things considered, the clergy of this kingdom are probably as well supported as are the Protestant ministers of the Gospel in any other country on the continent of Europe. They are also very well educated, as a body. There are among them not a few men of distinguished talents and learning. Among those whom we had the pleasure to become acquainted with at Copenhagen, we might mention Drs. Münter and Grundtvig. The former is pastor of Holmens Kirke, and is a gentleman of distinguished talents and much knowledge; and the latter is a zealous preacher, as well as a sweet poet, of quite an original cast of mind. He has published a number of poems, of various lengths, as well as some works in prose. He is a veteran, also, in controversy, having occupied himself in that sort of employment, off and on, almost every year from his youth to his present advanced age. In the Germanic part of the kingdom, probably no man surpasses Dr. Harms, of Kiel, either in zeal for the truth, or

in the number of works, of various sizes, which he has published.

There is a great want of churches in some, if not all, of the principal cities in this kingdom. For instance, Copenhagen, with a population of 120,000 souls, has not more than ten or eleven churches, including the Roman Catholic church, and the inconsiderable French Reformed place of worship. Besides these, there are three or four chapels in the Hospitals and the Penitentiaries. But a moment's reflection will satisfy any one that these churches, and other places of worship, must be wholly insufficient for the population, if they had, in mass, a desire to hear the Gospel. Take a few facts. The parish of Trinity Church contains 36,000 inhabitants, and has some three or four pastors, and only one church edifice. That edifice is large, but what is one church for so great a number of souls? The Holm Kirke is the only church in a parish which has a population of 24,000 souls. It has three pastors. But what is one church among so large a population? Better far would it be to have twice or three times as many churches, each furnished with its own pastor, than to have a few large churches, with three or four pastors to each.

It is believed that the Rationalism of Germany has spread much in Denmark. But it is also believed that the Doctrines of the Reformation are regaining the ground, slowly but decidedly, which they had lost. Not a few of the younger pastors are known to be truly evangelical in their doctrines, and zealous in preaching them. The number of such pastors is increasing in the continental provinces of the kingdom, as well as in the insular parts of it. There are several excellent young men in the central portion of Zealand, and the number of such is increasing in the other islands. The number of evangelical pastors in Copenhagen, we are sorry to say it, is small. But, taking the kingdom as a whole, the truth is slowly, but surely, gaining ground.

In reply to an inquiry of ours respecting the state and prospects of true religion, in the kingdom generally, we received, from one of the most distinguished and faithful pastors in Denmark, this answer: *Fides orthodoxa crescit; Rationalismus decrescit.**

It is supposed that the kingdom of Denmark is better supplied with the Scriptures than any other country on the continent. It may be so. The Bible Societies have put into circulation several hundred thousand copies within the last quarter of a century. But much remains still to be done. From all we can learn, we are confident that there is a great want of a religious literature, adapted to the present age. There is a want of good books, written in an engaging style. Many of the best books on practical religion in this country are too large, and were written during the Reformation, or in the age which immediately succeeded. In respect to convenient and interesting works, designed to apply Christianity to all the relations and duties of daily life, this kingdom is far behind England, our own country, Germany, and Holland.

We bring to a conclusion what we have to say respecting the state of religion in Denmark, by stating, that there is a degree of intolerance in this interesting country which is most deplorable. It appears that there are old laws in existence in this kingdom, made against the Anabaptists of the times of the fanatical John of Leyden. Within the last two or three years, some little Baptist Societies have been organized in different parts of the realm, by the exertions of a zealous preacher of that communion, at Hamburg. One of these little societies had sprung up at Copenhagen. It embraced some sixty or eighty people, mostly of the middle classes, and the number was constantly increasing. Their meetings were orderly, and most devout. No complaint could be made against them on this or any other

* The orthodox faith increases—Rationalism decreases.

valid ground. Two brothers, of excellent character—one an engraver, and the other a former student of Philosophy in the University—were the conductors of their meetings. But the government has determined to break up all such meetings throughout the kingdom. The two excellent men to whom we have just referred have been both thrown into prison, and the meeting which they held has been abolished; and the singular and mournful spectacle is presented, in the nineteenth century, of a government persecuting some of its subjects, for no other crime than that of endeavoring to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences! And what makes this conduct the more extraordinary, is the fact, that it has taken place in a kingdom, which, when the East India Company ordered Carey, Ward, and Marshman, and other Baptists, out of their Indian empire, gave them an asylum in its little possession of Serampore, near Calcutta, where they were permitted to prosecute their benevolent and Christian labors!

The day has been when the churches in Denmark did not a little for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen. Their missions on the burning plains of India, and on the inhospitable coasts of Greenland, are known to all who take an interest in such matters. But the subject of missions does not now have that place in the hearts of Danish Christians, it is to be feared, that it once did. There are, however, missionary associations in some of the churches, and money is raised for the object, and sent chiefly to the Missionary Society at Basle, in Switzerland. The government, too, does something in this cause, and actually supports some five or six missionaries in Greenland, and in the islands in the West Indies which belong to Denmark. It has long done so. But this is not a work which civil governments are likely to manage very well; and we fear that the state-missionaries of Denmark are not very efficient or zealous men.

CHAPTER XV.

TOUR IN THE INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND OF ZEALAND.

Projected tour into the interior of Zealand—Matthew's preparations for it—Early departure—Fine weather—Appearance of the country-people, hastening to the market of the capital—Their horses and vehicles—The Zealand summer-stages or omnibuses—The appearance of the country—Kløge Bay—Town of Kløge—Valløe Castle and its Nunnery—Vemmetofte Nunnery—Village of Vordingborg and the ruins of Valdemar's Castle—Herlufsholm School—Sorøe and its Gymnasium—Former journey hence, by way of Corsør, over to Funen, and thence into Sleswic and Holstein, with notices of Odensee, Sleswic, Flensburg, &c.—Journey from Sorøe into the north of Zealand—Roeakilde—Its former size and importance—Its Cathedral, the Westminster Abbey of Denmark—Bishop William—His conduct towards King Svend—Monuments in the Cathedral—Leiré and its Hospital—Jægerspris, its old chateau, its grove, and its monuments—Frederiksværk—Palace of Frederiksborg—Palace of Fredensborg—Scenery of Lake Esrom—Interesting villages in the northeastern part of Zealand—Slangerup, Blaustærød, Söllerød, Overød, Nye Mølle, Brede, Jægersborg—Park, Sorgenfrie, Frederiksdal, Gjentofte, Evald's Hill, Charlottenlund—Return to the Capital.

WE had been meditating for days, a tour into the interior of the beautiful island of Zealand; and our friend Matthew, who has fulfilled the important functions of cicerone, servant, and almost every thing else, had been duly attentive to making the necessary arrangements. At length the eventful day arrived. And at an early hour, of a most beautiful summer's morning, we issued forth from the court of our hôtel d'Angleterre, where there was a crowd of country-wagons, filled with the market-people, and of stages, or diligence-wagons, which were about to set off for various places on the island.

As we could not reach all the places which we wished to visit by going in the common stages of the country, Matthew had hired a horse, and a small but pleasant wagon,

in which we soon rattled over the rough streets, to the no little danger of breaking some bones, and cleared the western gate. In a few moments more we passed the Column of Freedom, and took the road which leads almost due west to Corsör, and to the island of Funen. And having traversed the village which lies in that direction, at a short distance beyond the walls of the city, we soon came to the Palace of Frederiksborg, which we left, with its beautiful garden, on our right hand.

By this time the sun began to show his glowing face, and to scatter his golden beams over the dewy fields. All the world seemed to be in motion, as well as we. The road was covered with country people, hastening to the market, some in wagons of various dimensions and of various fashions, some on horseback, and some on foot. Their countenances and their whole appearance indicated health, energy and cheerfulness. They are obviously people of a character very different from that of their ancestors of the middle and latter part of the last century ; and although they are called *bonder*, in their own language, till this day, they are not bondsmen, but are in every sense freemen. Their dress, their appearance, and their vehicles and horses demonstrated that they have mounted rapidly on the ladder of civilization.

Ever and anon, a stage or diligence came rattling along, passed our humble carriage, and soon left us far behind. This was exceedingly annoying to Matthew's patience, and his Ethiopic countenance, we noticed, always wore for a time, a darker look than usual after such a vexatious misfortune. These Zealand summer stages, or omnibuses, or whatever else they may be called, are very different from anything which we have ever seen in our own country. They are entirely open, that is, uncovered. The sides of their bodies are formed of wicker-work, which gives them the appearance of long, huge baskets, which rest on high

springs, and these again on four wheels of a height, as it seemed to us, exceeding those of our stages. Not less than four or five rows of seats were placed cross-wise in these elevated vehicles, and generally they were filled with gaily-attired passengers, gentlemen and ladies, who seemed to enjoy greatly their high and airy position, and the rapidity with which they were whirled along.

We were much struck with the handsome appearance of the horses which we saw along all the route, as well as with the superior breeds of cattle and sheep which were grazing in the fields. The country, too, which is not exactly level, but every where gently undulating, was extremely well cultivated. The soil is very fertile, and the fields and meadows were covered with abundant crops of grain and grass. In fact, this whole island, and the same thing is true of the entire Danish Archipelago, has the appearance of a garden.

On our left hand, and at no great distance, lay Kiøge Bay, a fine sheet of water, which, in times long gone by, was the scene of some of Denmark's most brilliant naval exploits. It was there that she many a time met and nobly fought her fierce enemies, the Norwegians and the Swedes.

We passed, in our course, several villages; but none of them merits a particular notice. Each possessed, however, its ancient church, built of brick; with a huge tower, that is out of all proper proportion to the size of the church itself. The most of these churches were built several centuries ago, and were long used by the Roman Catholics before the Reformation visited the kingdom.

By deviating from the direct road which leads from the capital to Corsør,—which stands on the western side of the island,—and turning to the left, one may pass through a number of places of interest in the southern part of Zealand. We will notice a few of them.

And first, when the traveler has passed the town of

Kiøge, situated on the bay of that name—to which we have referred in a preceding paragraph,—a very pleasant road will conduct him to VALLÖE CASTLE. The beauty of the situation, the character of the building, and the purpose to which it is applied, render it well worthy of a visit. It is a sort of Protestant nunnery for ladies of noble birth, where, in consideration of the payment of a certain sum of money, they have most comfortable apartments and board, and are supplied with every comfort and even with not a few luxuries. Besides this, they draw a certain sum annually from the funds of the institution, for supplying themselves with clothing, &c. As fast as vacancies are created—by death, marriage or removal for any cause—they are filled up out of the numerous applicants who eagerly seek for a place in this happy retreat, where they may pass their time in reading, and such other employments as may suit their taste. This establishment is reckoned the finest of the kind in all Denmark. It is under the direction of an abbess, who must be a princess, and a sort of vice-abbess, who must be a countess. There is another establishment—but not equal to this—at Vemmetofte, which has, however, a fine library of several thousand volumes, in various languages, and a good collection of paintings.

From Vemmetofte, the traveler should make an excursion to the ruins of King Valdemar's Castle, near Vordingborg. These ruins have defied the ravages of more than seven centuries, and are still in a good condition. The castle was a favorite residence of the old Danish Kings, and was built by Valdemar I., in the year 1166, and subsequently enlarged by Valdemar Atterdag, who became as much attached to this, his southern place of residence, as he was to that of Gurré, which was his northern. The most conspicuous part of the ruins is the Goose-tower, so called from having been the place where Valdemar confined the

prisoners whom he took from the Hanseatic Towns, whose inhabitants he scoffingly called geese. In those days the adjoining town of Vordingborg was a place of much importance. Its port was filled with ships, and the streets swarmed with merchants and sailors, as we are assured by the Danish historians. The town lay embosomed in oak and beech forests, which, with the castle, gave no little beauty and magnificence to the scene. At present it has only a little coasting and fishing commerce.

Of the public establishments in the south part of Zealand, the school of Herlufsholm is perhaps the most worthy of notice. It is a monument of the patriotism and benevolence of Admiral Herluf Trolle, who was killed in a naval engagement in the year 1565. Many distinguished men have been educated here. The institution has a library of about 14,000 volumes, and an extensive museum. A black poplar, planted at the time when the school was founded, has attained the height of more than 100 feet, and a circumference of two-and-twenty, and has long been an object of no inconsiderable importance to the beauty of the scene.

Returning from this deviation to the southern part of Zealand, the traveler comes to the pleasant little town of Sorøe, which stands on the great macadamized road leading from Copenhagen to Corsør, and of which we have already spoken. Sorøe is, in a literary point of view, one of the most interesting spots in Denmark. It is the burial-place of two of the greatest men whom this kingdom has ever produced—Archbishop Absalom and Holberg. The monastery which Absalom's father founded for the Cistercian monks, in the 12th century, was, after the Reformation, converted into a Free School for thirty noble and thirty plebeian youths. Christian IV. raised it to the rank of a University. During his time it flourished; but his successor, Frederick III., who had occasion for the reve-

nues, reduced it to a small Grammar School. Since that period the institution has existed under various forms, and passed through many vicissitudes. At present it is a sort of College or High School, where some sixty pupils are pursuing their studies. It is the best institution of the sort in the kingdom, and is very richly endowed.

If the traveler desires to visit Funen, and then to pass over to the continent and travel through the provinces there, he will pursue the straight and noble road from Sorøe to Corsør, and thence pass over the Great Belt in a steam-boat, to Nyborg in Funen. We, ourselves, on another occasion, did so, and passing through Odensee to Assens, we took a steam-boat and crossed the Little Belt to the shores of Sleswic. Thence we passed through Apenrade, Sleswic, Flensburg, and other pleasant towns, on our way to Hamburg. It was a delightful journey, and performed during the agreeable season of autumn.

This route leads through the very pleasant little city of Odensee, the capital of Funen, which has a population of 7,000 souls, is the seat of a bishoprick, and has a literary society, a lyceum, a fine cathedral, and two public libraries. By pursuing this route, the traveler will have an opportunity of seeing the city of Sleswic, situated at the head of a long and fine bay, and which is one of the most pleasant places which we have ever seen. It is the capital of the united Duchies of Sleswic and Holstein, and the seat of their governor. The population exceeds 16,000 souls. The town has considerable commerce. The royal château of Gottorp, near to this place, is a fine palace, and the residence of the governor of Sleswic-Holstein. There is here also an excellent institution for the Deaf and Dumb of the Germanic part of the kingdom; and a well-conducted asylum for the Insane of the same portions of the realm.

But as we did not take this journey over Funen to the

Duchies of Sleswic and Holstein during the tour which we have commenced describing, we would call back the attention of the reader from this digression to Sorøe, and beg him to turn his face northward, and prepare himself to accompany us in that direction.

The distance is not great from Sorøe to Roeskilde, a place not a little celebrated, but which does not stand on the direct road from Copenhagen to Corsør, which we have repeatedly spoken of, and which the reader will find on the map. It stands a little to the north of it.

And we may as well remark here, that we noticed in every part of Zealand which we visited, a vast number of mounds, or tumuli, which have been suffered to remain from the earliest ages, and which exactly resemble those which we have seen in the state of Ohio. These mounds are found in great numbers on all the Danish islands, and also on the peninsula of Jutland. There are literally thousands of them, we should think, forming very prominent objects in the scene. They contain burial chambers, in which have been found a vast portion of the antiquities which fill the museums of Copenhagen. Many, however, remain unexplored until this day.

Roeskilde stands at the head of an arm of what is called the Fjord of Roeskilde, a sheet of water which lies almost in the centre of the island of Zealand, and which is connected with the Cattegat on the north. It is about sixteen miles west of Copenhagen. It is a small, but very ancient city. It was the capital of the kingdom of Denmark from the beginning of the tenth until the middle of the fifteenth century. During that period it was a large city, and had twenty-seven churches, besides monasteries and other ecclesiastical edifices, of which the Cathedral and St. Mary's Church only now remain. The present population scarcely exceeds 1,500 souls.

Roeskilde derives its name from *Roe*, a king, who led a

peaceable life in this place in the sixth century, and *kilde*, the Danish word for a well or spring.

The chief object of attraction in Roeskilde, to a stranger, is its celebrated Cathedral, which may be called the Westminster Abbey of Denmark. It is here that her kings, members of the royal family, and many other distinguished individuals have been buried. It is a simple and majestic pile of brick, of the Gothic order of architecture. Its founder was Bishop William, the chancellor and confessor of Canute the Great, who was an Englishman, and was nominated to this see through the influence of the Archbishop of Bremen. This cathedral was a long time in process of erection, nor was it finished when Bishop William died, in 1074.

At that period, a considerable number of the clergy of Denmark were English, or rather Anglo-Saxon;—a fact which is to be accounted for by the relations which subsisted between the Danes, then a powerful and conquering people, and the English, a conquered nation, subject to the former.

This Bishop William was no common man. On a certain occasion, the monarch, Svend, the nephew of Canute the Great, ordered some of his courtiers, who, whilst heated with wine, had spoken disrespectfully of him, even at the royal table, to be assassinated, whilst engaged in their devotions, in one of the churches of Roeskilde. On the following day, the king attempted to enter the church, whilst the bishop was engaged in the service of the mass. But he was met by the worthy prelate at the threshold, who put his crosier across the door, and forbade him to enter the sanctuary which he had defiled with sacrilegious blood; “calling him not king, but homicide,” and commanding him to retire. Some of the royal attendants drew their swords in indignation, but the smitten king commanded them to sheathe them again. Retiring to the



CATHEDRAL OF ROESKILDE.

This engraving gives a very good idea of this fine old Cathedral, which may be called the Westminster Abbey, or the Church of St. Denis, of Denmark. The view is taken from the north, that is, from the Fjord or Frith of Roskilde.

palace, he laid aside his kingly robes, and put on those of a penitent, and then repaired to the church, and threw himself on the ground in front of it, supplicating forgiveness. The service had commenced; the "Kyrie eleison" had been chanted, and the "Gloria" was about to be sung, when the bishop, hearing of the distress of the king, left the altar, went out to him, and, raising him from the ground, absolved him, gave him the kiss of peace, pronounced his benediction upon him, and desired him to assume his royal habiliments. At the end of three days, the monarch returned to the church, resumed his usual seat, publicly confessed his sin, and received from the prelate plenary indulgence. By way of further expiation, he endowed the cathedral of the worthy bishop with one of the royal domains in Zealand.

The bishop loved the king; and when he heard that the monarch had died of a fever in Jutland, he hastened to prepare two tombs, one for the king and the other for himself. And when the royal remains were brought to the church, to be deposited in the tomb, Bishop William, kneeling in front of the coffin, with his hands clasped in earnest prayer, died, and was buried by the side of the sovereign. So saith, at any rate, the history of this cathedral,* from which this story is extracted.

The architectural ornaments of the interior of this church cannot bear a comparison with those of similar structures in England. The altar-piece, which represents the passion of our Saviour, in carved wood, is considered a noble performance. It did not strike us very favorably. It was a gift to the church from Christian IV. We admired the imposing pillars, and the beautiful Gothic arches, much more than we did anything else. But the beautiful simplicity of the ceiling, which was once its greatest ornament, has

* Grundrids til Roeskilde Domkirkes og dens Monumenters Historie og Beskrivelse ved H. Behrmann, Kiöbenhavn, 1815.

been spoiled by some ignorant painter, who has covered it with flowers in yellow and green, and given it the appearance, as some one has very justly said, of a Dutch tavern!

The greater part of the coffins, or sarcophagi, of the kings and other distinguished personages who have been placed here for their last repose, lie in the large vaults beneath the church. Several, however, are placed in chapels built along the sides of the church for that purpose. One of these chapels may be termed the splendid mausoleum of Frederick II. and Christian III., which Christian IV. erected to the memory of his father and grandfather; whilst his own simple coffin, in bronze, with his sword rusting upon it, lies in a vault below! The beautiful coffin, in bronze also, and highly gilded, of the late sovereign, who died in the winter of 1839-40, lies in one of the chapels. His mother's remains are not here, but in Zell, in Hanover, the British government not having acceded to the filial wish of her son to have them placed here. No less than five or six of his children, who died in early life, lie in the vaults underneath the church.

A flat stone in the floor of one of the aisles marks the spot where lie the remains of Saxo Grammaticus, a name more to be honored than that of many a sovereign who rests here, in that pomp which is the last dream of pride. It is he who may be said to be the Father of literature in Denmark; for he labored six centuries ago, and more, to call the attention of his countrymen to letters. Here, too, lie the remains of Queen Margaret, the Semiramis of the North.

We will only add, that the great size of this cathedral, and its lofty towers, make it a conspicuous object, as seen from afar, over the plains of Zealand.

Not far from Roskilde is the village of Leiré, remarkable for having been the residence of the kings of Denmark from the first until the tenth century. In the same vicini-

ty is Bidstrupgard, where is a hospital for aged people, for the blind, and for the insane. The portion of this institution which is assigned to the insane is celebrated for the philanthropic and ingenious methods which are employed to effect the cure of the patients.

From Roeskilde, let the traveler who wishes to know something of the most pleasant and interesting spots in the island of Zealand, proceed northward, along the western shore of the Bay or Fiörd of Roeskilde. At the distance of some fifteen miles from the ancient city of Roeskilde, he will come to Jægerspriis: This was a favorite place of resort of Christian V. as well as other sovereigns of Denmark, who were fond of field sports. Here is an old royal château, which does not, however, merit special notice. But what is interesting here is the fine old grove which stands near this place, and which contains some trees of enormous size and great age. For instance, a hollow oak, six yards high and sixteen in circumference, with large branches, is pointed out as an object of much interest. It is supposed to be a thousand years old. Four peasants on horseback at one time found room in its cavity, and eighteen men on foot at another. There is also a large beech, whose boughs, bent down to the ground, have formed an arbor which is almost impenetrable to rain and heat. It is said to have accommodated a king and eighty courtiers at dinner.

But the most interesting objects in these groves are the monuments, in Norwegian marble, which the late Prince Frederick of Denmark, caused to be made after the designs of Wiedewelt, and erected to the honor of the Danes, Norwegians and Holsteiners, who were considered benefactors and ornaments to their country. The idea was a happy one: but it was not well carried into execution. Whilst monuments have been erected to the memories of many great men, not a few have been here erected to

men of little merit. Time, too, is rapidly reducing these monuments to dust, the material of which they are made not being sufficiently durable. Among those whose memories are honored here, we may designate Luther, Hans Egede, the excellent Danish missionary to Greenland, Tycho Brahé, Magnus Heinesen (who, like Tycho Brahé, was forced by persecution to leave his country,) Griffenfeld, the Bartolins, Olaus Roemer, Tordenskiold, Bishop Absalom, (who is here ranked among the *generals* of Denmark, and in fact he was both a general and a bishop) Iver Lykke, Daniel Ranzau (one of Denmark's greatest and best generals,) Holberg, the great comic poet and fine prose writer, Suhm, the historian, and Evald, the dramatic poet. Some of these monuments are highly appropriate. That of Luther is in the form of an obelisk, surmounted by a gilded star, and resting on a pedestal shaped like a rock. The body of the obelisk simply contains the name of the great reformer, "MARTIN LUTHER."* Above the name is a reference to Dan. xii. chap. 3d verse; whilst on the pedestal Matt. xvi. chap. 18th verse is referred to. The words are not given, but they are as follows:— "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars, for ever and ever."—"And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The monument of Hans Egede, besides containing the names of that excellent man and his wife, bears also a map of Greenland. That of Tycho Brahé consists of a plain, square and rather short pillar, surmounted by a globe. But enough of Jægerspriis, its old château, its grove, and its monuments.

* Luther was not a Dane, as all know, but his monument is admitted here because of the blessings which his doctrines have conferred on this kingdom.

From the finely wooded isthmus of Jægerspriis, the traveler, who loves the picturesque and the beautiful, should cross over the Fiord of Roeskilde, to Frederiksværk. The environs of this place are charming, and the view of the sea from it is very pleasant. This village is celebrated in Denmark for the manufacture of fire-arms, of Congreve-rockets, and for its powder-magazines.

From Frederiksværk the distance is not great to the Palace of Frederiksborg, though the road is none of the best. This palace is beautifully situated on an isthmus which projects into Lake Esrom; and is surrounded by dark forests and by the beautiful waters of the lake. Its position is romantic and charming to the highest degree. The palace was built by Christian IV., who pulled down one that his father, Frederick II., had built, in order to make room for it. It is an interesting structure, and has a fine appearance, as seen from the water. But it is not our intention to speak of it in detail. The finest part of the whole is the chapel, which is royal enough. It is truly a splendid one. Many of the apartments in this château are handsome; and there is here a large collection of paintings. But many of the best which were once here are now in the Picture Gallery in the Palace of Christiansborg at Copenhagen.

In some of the rooms of this palace the attendants show the initials, or the names in full, of several royal personages not now living, which were inscribed by their own hands—not a very royal work, one should think, but royal folks are just like other people, and act like them too. On a pane of glass, in one of the windows, the unfortunate Queen Caroline Matilda inscribed the following words:—“O keep me innocent, make others great.” Among the paintings which are in this palace there is a portrait of Henrietta, daughter of Charles I., of England, and wife of the brother of Louis XIV. One cannot, whilst contem-

plating it, avoid shuddering at the thought of her tragic death.

There is another pleasant royal palace on the borders of Lake Esrom, which is well worthy of a visit. It is the *château* of Fredensborg. It was built by Frederick IV., and received its name, Castle of Peace, from the fact that a treaty of peace was signed there in 1720, between Denmark and Sweden; which led to a long period of uninterrupted tranquillity. There are many things in and about this palace which will interest an intelligent traveler.

If, after having seen the palaces of Frederiksborg and Fredensborg, and the scenery of the beautiful Lake Esrom, the traveler would return at his leisure, and by a zigzag course, to the capital, he may pass through many very pleasant places, which our limits only allow us to name. They are Slangstrup, Blausterød, Söllerød, Overød (where Suhm, the historian, had his villa, and where Lüxdorph also resided,) Nye Mølle, Bredé, Jægersborg-Park, Sorgenfrie (where is the favorite residence of the present king, who has a sweet little palace there,) distant some six miles from Copenhagen, Frederiksdal, Gjentofte, Evald's Hill and Charlottenlund. In taking the two last named places on his route, the traveler will pass along the shore of the Sound, immediately north of Copenhagen, and through some of the finest scenery in the world. But we have neither time nor room for a minute description of it.

At length we reached the capital again, not a little gratified with our excursion into the interior of this fine island, and to the no small gratification of Matthew, who prefers a city-life to all the charms of the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON DENMARK.

The great change effected in the Government of Denmark by the Revolution of 1660—Denmark an absolute monarchy in theory, but limited in its action by circumstances—Provincial Legislatures instituted in 1834—Their nature and powers—The administration of justice excellent in Denmark—Courts of Arbitration—Evils in the Public Administration—Too many military men appointed to civil offices—Public Functionaries too numerous—Mr. Laing's statements incorrect in several particulars—Population of Denmark—The Navy—The Army—Unjust mode of its formation—Public revenue and expenditure—Encouragement of the Arts and Sciences by the Government—Injurious restrictions on trade—Trades' Corporations—Need of reform.

UNDER the above title we mean to take notice of several topics in relation to Denmark, which we cannot discuss in separate chapters, and which have all more or less relation to the structure and action of the government.

1. THE GOVERNMENT.

It is a remarkable fact that Denmark, after having enjoyed a very considerable amount of civil liberty, during several centuries, under written compacts between the sovereigns, on the one part, and the people, as represented by the States-General, that is, by the nobles, the citizens of the towns, (or burghesses,) and the clergy, on the other, should renounce, as she did, in 1660, even the shadow of a Constitution, and invest her sovereigns with full and absolute power to make and execute laws, without the slightest check upon their absolute authority. This astonishing revolution was brought about by the other orders of the kingdom (the burghesses and the clergy,)

conspiring to overthrow the insupportable tyranny of the nobles. So wearied out had the people become by the insolent and domineering spirit of this order of society, that they were willing to bear the yoke of one master, in order to get clear of that of many.* The effect, in theory, of this surrender of all authority into the hands of the sovereign, was to put every thing at his disposal. By one fatal blow all power was cut down, save that of the throne alone. The power of the nobles being humbled in the dust, there was none whatever to take its place. It was this state of things in Denmark which led Lord Molesworth, who was ambassador for several years from the court of St. James to that of Copenhagen, to remark, in his work on that country, written in 1692, "that in the Roman Catholic religion there is a resisting principle to absolute civil power, from the division of authority with the head of the church at Rome; but in the north, the Lutheran church is entirely subservient to the civil power, and the whole of the northern people of Protestant countries have lost their liberties, ever since they changed their religion for a better. The blind obedience which is destructive to national liberty, is more firmly established in the northern kingdoms, by the entire and sole dependence of the clergy upon the prince, without the interference of any spiritual superior, as that of the Pope among the Romanists, than in the countries which remained Catholic."

* The Danes have been not a little ridiculed for this pusillanimous course. Lord Molesworth, who wrote his work on Denmark thirty-two years after this event, uses the following cutting language in reference to this subject:—"I verily believe the *Danes* do now really love servitude; and, like the *Cappadocians* of old, could not make use of liberty if it were offered to them; but would throw it away if they had it, and resume their chains. Possibly they would wish them less weighty; but chains they could not live without. If there be one or two among so many thousands who are of contrary sentiments, they dare not so much as mutter them to their own children; nor would they be heard with patience, if they did."

There is a good deal of truth, intermixed with not a little error, in this view of the subject. The sum of the matter is this: The Protestant countries may have one form of tyranny; that is, the civil power may exceed its just limits, and become oppressive. But those countries in which the Roman Catholic church is strong enough to rival and check the civil authority, have two tyrannies instead of one to endure. This is the real state of the case. These tyrannies may be much opposed to each other, but they are coincident in their practical oppression of the people. There is no safety but in having a well-balanced distribution of the powers of government between the legislative, judicial, and executive branches, which compose it. It is essential to this form of government, that the people should have at least the election of the legislative branch.

- It is remarkable that absolute power in Denmark has been very much modified, and even controlled by circumstances; and has, in general, been paternal, rather than arbitrary and severe. When Frederick III. obtained absolute power, in 1660, he established five departments, or colleges for the public business, the presidents of which were the ministers of state for each department. This system remains essentially the same at this time; and its effect has been to exercise a great and salutary influence upon the will of the monarch. Enlightened men at the heads of these departments are absolutely necessary to the proper conduct of public affairs; and such men must, in the nature of the case, have great influence in the councils of the king. As these men are chosen on account of their capacity, they are not selected from any particular class. The majority are not generally from the order of the nobles. They represent, therefore, in some sense, the people. All state affairs, every thing relating to the administration of the government, is considered in these

colleges ; and the king does nothing without consulting the college, or department, through its president, to which the particular business belongs. Direct action—action irrespective of these colleges—on the part of the king, is what never occurs. It would at once lead to abandonment of office, and great difficulty in carrying on the government. In this way, during the 180 years which have elapsed since the revolution, as it is called, of 1660, there has grown up a power by the side of the throne, which has great influence on the affairs of the nation. It is in this way that Denmark, which is in theory one of the most absolute governments in Europe, has long enjoyed a very mild and paternal administration, and has made great progress in all the arts and institutions of a highly civilized state.

In 1834, the late king, Frederick VI., established a form of representative government, which has not been without utility, although it comes far short of such a measure of influence in the legislation of the kingdom as its enlightened population are fairly entitled to. This change in the form of government seems to have been wholly a fruit of the enlightened spirit of the times, and the spontaneous act of the sovereign ; and owes not its existence to any expressed discontent or violent proceeding on the part of the people. According to this law, the kingdom is divided into four districts :—1. The Islands ; 2. Jutland ; 3. Sleswic ; 4. Holstein ; each of which has its provincial assembly, which meets once in two years—the assemblies of two districts meeting one year, and those of the other two districts the year following ; and so in the same order of alternation. In the district composed of the islands, the legislative body consists of 66 members, of whom Copenhagen elects 12, the other towns 11, the landholders 17, the peasants 20, and the rest are nominated by the king. As to the other districts, Jutland has 55, Sleswic 44, and

Holstein 48 deputies. The number of representatives for the entire kingdom is from 209 to 217, and each receives four rix dollars, (about two dollars of our money,) per day, besides having their traveling expenses defrayed from the treasury. No minister of state, or high official person is eligible. The communication between the sovereign and the assembly is through a royal commissioner, who has the privilege of speaking, but not of voting. But this form of government is rather advisory than legislative. These bodies can only deliberate on the questions which are submitted to them, and these are wholly of a local or provincial nature, and seldom involve national interests; and their decision is not valid without the sanction of the king's approbation. It hardly needs to be added that this form of legislation is far from corresponding with the wants or the wishes of the nation. From its very nature it can do no more than advise the king. It is good as a medium through which the sovereign may consult the nation. But it is nothing more than this, and in no sense can it be called a true representative form of government.

2. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

There is probably no country in Europe, or the world entire, where the laws are better administered than they are in Denmark. The independence of the Judges, especially those of the Supreme Court, or Court of ultimate appeal, forms a striking contrast with the servility and venality of the courts in some other countries on the continent. The Danish Judges have often not hesitated to decide against the government, even in cases where it was known that the royal family, or some portions of it, have desired, very earnestly, an opposite decision. A case of this kind occurred but a few days before our first visit to Copenhagen, in the year 1836. The Supreme Court acquitted one of the professors of the University, in case

of a charge preferred against him for an article of a political nature which he had published. In this case the government was known to have exerted itself strongly against the accused. And yet the Court did not for a moment hesitate to acquit him.

In the administration of justice there is a regular gradation of courts, beginning with those of a local nature, and reaching upward, through the district courts, to that which is the Supreme Court, or tribunal of last appeal, which holds its sessions in the capital. There is one striking peculiarity in Danish judicial proceedings, which might be well imitated in other countries. It is this: the proceedings of the inferior courts are reviewed by the higher, and their decisions, if not found to be just, are reversed, whether there has been an appeal taken from them by one of the parties in the suit or not. This review is taken on the records which the inferior courts are required to make of each case, and transmit to the next higher. This is an admirable provision, and often secures justice to the oppressed, who have not the means, or the courage, to make an appeal.

One of the most important acts of the late sovereign was the establishment of Courts of Arbitration, in which all civil actions must be entered, and in which arbiters decide between the parties in the first instance. This decision is not binding; it is only advisory. But in a majority of cases it prevents further litigation, the parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the arbiters. This is certainly one of the most important measures of modern times for promoting justice among men, as well as of preventing useless law-suits. There is a Court of Arbitration appointed in every parish throughout the kingdom. The cities and larger towns have similar courts, but organized in a manner somewhat different, though the same in nature and object. In this particular, also, Denmark has set an example which merits universal imitation.

3. EVILS IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

One of the greatest evils in the administration of public affairs in Denmark, is the appointment of too many military men to civil offices. This is bad in every respect. It results from having too large a number of military men in the kingdom, who must be provided for in some way or other. It disaffects the people. It makes them believe that the government relies too much on the army and those connected with it, instead of depending on the affections of the citizens. In this way jealousies and suspicions are engendered and fostered. Military men, as a general thing, are not the most capable men for the performance of civil duties. There is no special reason why they should be post-masters, or attached to a custom-house, or perform any of the administrative functions of justice.

Another evil is, the employment of too many persons, considering the work that is to be performed. The number of public functionaries in this kingdom is exceedingly great for its small population. The salaries of public men in Denmark are small; yet nothing is gained by having a greater number than is needed.

In reference to this subject, we meet with the following statement in a very valuable work* written by Mr. Laing, an intelligent Scotchman, who has visited extensively the

* A Tour in Sweden in 1838; comprising Observations upon the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation, by Samuel Laing, Esq., author of "A Journal of a Residence in Norway." Mr. Laing has written two valuable works, which abound in facts of a most important character, and in remarks which display great acuteness of mind, and most extensive observation. He is, however, a decided radical in his political opinions; and withal a Utilitarian of the very first stamp in his views of political economy. And his ultra opinions on these points give a certain tone and character to his books which we, republican though we be, think erroneous and even mischievous.

Scandinavian countries: "The population of Denmark is 1,223,807 individuals, of whom 6,960 individuals are civil functionaries, supporting by their salaries 23,058 persons in their families; 4,424 are priests, supporting 21,125 persons; 933 are military officers, supporting 2,850 persons; 190 are naval officers, supporting 747 persons; 6,987 are non-commissioned officers and soldiers, supporting 3,088 persons in their families; 1,867 are navy sailors, supporting 4,169 persons; 43,576 individuals are paupers supported by poor-rates, and 1,470 are slaves or condemned convicts, also supported by the public—the value of their labor not maintaining them. The total thus supported by a public of 1,223,807 individuals is 121,444 persons; or every ten individuals have to support one who is not engaged in any productive industry, but is a public functionary, or a pauper living upon their productive industry. There is one clergyman to every 276.6 of the population; one public civil functionary to every 176. If to these perpetual drains upon the earnings of the industrious in the middle and lower classes be added the enormous waste of the capital and time of the country, in palaces, gardens, shows, military duties, and such objects as reproduce nothing, it is not extraordinary that the people are sunk in poverty and sloth, although occupying the richest soil, and most advantageous situation in the north of Europe." This statement is remarkable in many particulars. It is erroneous in a twofold manner. In the first place, if Mr. Laing intended to consider all persons as constituting a portion of the public burden who are not actually engaged in creating *material* productions—which seems to be his idea of what he calls *productive industry*—then he should have included all the physicians, all the lawyers, and all the teachers of every description. This would have increased very considerably the number of those who live on the "productive industry" of the rest of

the nation. But can anything be more absurd? Are there in reality any men living on the "productive industry" of a country except the paupers, the sick, and the imprisoned, who can do nothing for their own support? To this number may be added the supernumerary soldiers and seamen who may be in the service of the country, but who are not needed for the defence of it and its interests. But as for the physician who heals the sick, the lawyer who enables men to possess in security their property and their character, the teacher who trains the faculties of the young, and gives them the capacity for acquiring the knowledge, and the skill necessary to render "industry productive," and the minister of religion, whose province it is to render men good and virtuous, and consequently industrious, economical, benevolent, kind to their fellow men, and every way useful members of society,—are these men pursuing no "productive" employment? Are they a portion of the public burden, and to be ranked with convicts and paupers? Verily on no subject has so much nonsense ever been written as on that of political economy. What is health? what is the possession of right? what is education? what is morality and religion? but the most important blessings, and a species of wealth which is not to be estimated by material riches, or in other words, by dollars and cents. Knowledge is no longer power, or to be considered as of any value in comparison with the labors of a steam-engine or a cotton-gin, or a spinning-jenny, although it was knowledge that brought all these sources of material wealth into existence! The maintenance of religion is a burden, although it is to the pulpit, more than to all other means, that a truly Christian and civilized country owes its tranquillity, its general morality, and its freedom from crime! It is this *material* and worldly estimation of everything, this reckoning of everything by the measure of pecuniary wealth, that degrades the

science of political economy, and which, if it should universally prevail, would reduce the civilized world to paganism and barbarism.

But Mr. Laing makes another mistake, in over-estimating the number of those who are not pursuing any "productive industry." He estimates, for instance, the Danish clergy at 4,424 persons, or "priests." Now it is certain that the number of ministers of the gospel, of all sects, in Denmark does not amount to 1,900. And how Mr. Laing can make up the number to 4,424, we are at a loss to consider, unless, as he does when treating of Sweden, he considers the clerks or precentors of the churches, and the bell-ringers and grave-diggers, as a part of the clergy of the kingdom, and living on the industry of the rest of the nation! But upon what principle of justice can he do so? Apart from the fact that they are not a portion of the clergy, these men have, all of them, other pursuits, and receive but a small portion of their means of living from their employments as clerks, bell-ringers and grave-diggers.

But one of the most unaccountable errors in Mr. Laing's statement consists in giving the population of what is only that portion of the kingdom whose inhabitants speak the Danish language, and which is about 1,223,807 souls, instead of the population of the entire kingdom, which is 2,125,000 at the lowest estimate. Why did he give the population of a portion of the kingdom, and form upon it his calculations of the proportion which the productive classes bear to those which are unproductive? If he will consider the population of the entire kingdom (for he speaks of the burdens of the entire kingdom) at 2,125,000 souls, and reduce his number of the clergy from 4,424 to less than 1,900, he will find the state of the case to be very considerably different from what he has represented it to be.

Nor is there any propriety in representing the Danish people as "sunk in poverty and sloth." They may not

have an extensive commerce, and their industry may not be well developed, and they may have a larger navy and army than they really need; but this does not reduce them exactly to a state of "poverty and sloth." On the contrary, the masses of people in Denmark live comfortably and happily, so far as we have been able to learn. Although not a rich nation, they cannot be called exactly poor. In few countries in Europe are the people of all classes living more at their ease. The public burdens might, however, be greatly diminished, industry might be rendered more free and unembarrassed, the number of public functionaries might be greatly reduced, and the army and navy—the former of which is much greater than Mr. Laing estimates it—might be diminished by one-half at least, and in this way means might be found to discharge the national debt, which is now about 64 millions of American dollars, and which is a great burden for so small a kingdom. On this subject, the history of Norway, a country which Mr. Laing justly extols, presents a striking contrast with that of Denmark, during the last 25 years. The one has become vivified, and regenerated by the action of the principles of freedom, whilst the other has remained almost stationary, so far as it relates to national prosperity.

4 POPULATION.

There is decisive proof that the population of Denmark is increasing with considerable rapidity—a fact which shows the blessedness of peace, and a wise administration of the laws. In 1769, the population of Denmark, exclusive of its foreign dependencies, amounted to 1,243,031. In 1828 the population of the entire kingdom was rated at 1,992,729. It has since increased, as is believed, to 2,125,000, which is the number that Mr. Balbi gives, and we have no doubt correctly. The foreign possessions

of Denmark are 1. Iceland, with a population of between 50,000 and 60,000; 2. The Farøe Islands, whose population is not 6,000; 3. St. Croix and one or two other islands, in the West Indies; 4. Greenland; 5. Some small possessions, such as Serampore and Tranquebar, in the East Indies.

5. THE NAVY.

The navy of Denmark consisted, in 1835, of six ships of the line, six frigates, and four corvets, five brigs, and forty gun-boats—in all sixty vessels, of all descriptions.

6. THE ARMY.

The army of Denmark, upon what is called the Peace Establishment, is estimated to consist of 32,781 men, of whom 12,016 are on daily duty, and the remainder are only called into service during the season of annual manœuvre. The number of horses employed upon the peace establishment is 6,330. The war establishment is fixed at 67,287 men, and 18,057 horses. In this estimate, however, train-drivers are not included, nor are the troops which are in the island of Bornholm, nor those which are in the West Indies. Comprehending all these, the war establishment of Denmark would be 72,000 men.* The contingent of troops for the Germanic portions of the kingdom represented in the Diet (the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg) is 3,600 men.

All the young men who belong to the agricultural portions of the population of the kingdom are liable to be drawn as soldiers. For this purpose they are enrolled at 22 years of age. Those who are drawn are bound to serve eight years. But they are only required to do military duty constantly during the first two years. During

* See Captain Roeder's work on the organization of the Danish army, published at Copenhagen in 1839.

the remaining six they pursue their common labors, excepting for a few weeks in the autumn, when they must rejoin their regiments for practice. When they have completed the eight years for which they were drawn, they are exempt from further service, unless the exigencies of war should demand their aid.

We need not remark on the cruel injustice of the mode of raising the Danish army, in composing it of the agricultural and village population, whilst the city and town population is exempt. It is obvious that this must sometimes be exceedingly injurious to the best interests of the nation. This evil has arisen out of another—that of the *corporations of trades*, of which we shall speak presently.

The pay of the officers of the Danish army is not great. It is not easy, however, to give a perfectly accurate statement on this subject, for there are perquisites attached to certain stations which cannot be very well stated, without going into minute details which are inconsistent with the nature of this work. We can only say, generally, that a colonel has 2,700 rix-banco dollars; a lieutenant-colonel 1,400; a major 1,010; captain of the 1st. class 870; a captain of the 2d class 430; a lieutenant 290; and an ensign 260.*

7. THE PUBLIC REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

The public revenue of Denmark is about seven millions and a half of our dollars, of which upwards of a million (some say nearly two millions) are derived from the duties paid on foreign ships for passing through the Sound, and the remainder from customs, from taxes on houses and lands, taxes on lotteries, stamps, and income from public lands, &c. The expenditures are about the same, including \$2,652,775 as interest upon the national debt.

* A Danish rix-banco dollar is equal to about half of a Spanish dollar, or 50 cents of our currency.

8. COMMERCE.

The exports of Denmark consist of grain, cheese, wool, tallow, hides, feathers, fish, salted provisions and fabrics of domestic manufacture, such as hosiery, lace, and cotton stuffs: the imports are sugar, coffee, rice, logwood, tobacco, salt, rum, wine, fruits, and various other luxuries of colonial or European growth. The value of the former a few years ago was near \$6,455,000; that of the latter rather more.

There is a National Bank at Copenhagen, formerly called the Royal Bank or *Rigsbank*. It issues notes of 1, 5, 10, 50, and 100 rigs dollars, which are used in the general business of the country. There is also an exchange and loan bank at Copenhagen; and at Altona there is an exchange, loan, and discount bank.

9. ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

In no respect has the Danish government deserved more praise than for the great encouragement which it has for a long time, and especially during the last fifty years, extended to learning of every kind, and to both the useful and the ornamental arts. We believe that it was the first to set the example of sending men of talents, and especially young men, at the public expense, for the purpose of exploring other countries, and of bringing back whatever of science or of art they might deem deserving of being introduced into Denmark. In our account of the literature of this country we have briefly alluded to this fact. But we here revert to it, for the purpose of holding up this liberal and truly wise and patriotic measure as an example to our own country. Some idea of the extent to which this mode of advancing the civilization and prosperity of this little kingdom has been carried within the last two reigns, may be gathered from the fact that, during the

former and the commencement of the latter of these reigns, the following enterprises of this sort were accomplished, to the vast augmentation of the knowledge of the country. —In order to prosecute critical researches Messrs. Adler, Birch, Hviid, and Münter proceeded to Rome; Messrs. Moldenhawer and Tychsen went to Spain; Professor Thorkelin set off for Britain, where he stayed several years; Messrs. Kolfod Anker, and John Finsen traveled in Sweden; and Mr. Schow went to Vienna. With a view to the improvement of Danish agriculture, Professors Olufsen and Begtrup visited England and other countries. Messrs. Oehlenschläger, Baggesen, and Rahbek traveled to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, England, and France, for objects exclusively connected with their favorite studies, the Belles Lettres. Messrs. Stephens, Esmarch, and Petersen went abroad to make researches in natural history and metallurgy. In order to ascertain the merits of foreign systems of education, Messrs. Riber, Ström, and Castberg were sent into different parts of Europe. The Physicians, Saxtof, Tode, Abildgaard, and Callisen also traveled abroad at the public expense; and that privilege was granted to many other persons for various scientific and other literary purposes.

Various magnificent works, as the result of this literary encouragement, were written, and were published at the public expense, such as the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* by Langebek; The Description of the Royal Cabinet of Coins; The Edition of the Gospel in Greek, by Brich; The Dictionary of the Danish Language; and The *Flora Danica*, besides many other works. Botanic Gardens and Museums were established and opened to the public; seminaries for training schoolmasters were instituted, and liberal grants made to literary societies and learned individuals; the University of Copenhagen and the Grammar Schools were reformed; maps and charts were published

at the public expense; and the public libraries received large additions.*

The same liberal course is pursued by the government until this day. Every year some young men are sent forth to travel at the public expense, for the acquisition of useful knowledge. One of these men, Mr. Peter Becker, we had the pleasure of meeting in Sweden, and again in Holland. He spent two or three years abroad, visiting not only the countries named, but also Germany, France and England, for the purpose of learning from the archives of those countries such facts as have a bearing on the history of Denmark, and especially such as relate to Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence. Having finished his task he has settled in a very pleasant parish, in the island of Zealand, near 50 miles from Copenhagen, where he is most usefully and honorably engaged in the duties of his vocation. Another of these young men lately spent a year or two in the United States, and was probably known to some of our readers. He was sent to this country for the purpose of examining our *Flour Mills*, and of reporting any improvements which he might find in the machinery which we employ in our processes for grinding wheat and other grain, and for making and packing flour. Having accomplished the object for which he had been sent to our country, he returned to his own and made a report of what he had seen.

10. INJURIOUS RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE.

But whilst the Danish government displays such a laudable zeal for the promotion of literature and the arts,

* See "DENMARK DELINEATED," or Sketches of the Present State of that Country, by A. Andersen Feldborg, of the University of Copenhagen—a highly interesting work, to which we are indebted for much of the information which we give in this work in relation to the Literature of Denmark.

it is surprising that it still tolerates the existence of the *Trades' Corporations*, which are a relic of the middle ages, and which, however they may have been useful when the arts needed all the protection which could be given them, in order to cause them to exist, much more to flourish, are now not only unnecessary, but in the highest degree injurious. Throughout the entire kingdom of Denmark, we believe, as throughout Sweden, many parts of Germany, and some other portions of the continent, those who pursue the various trades form corporations or societies, to which each one of that particular trade belongs, and which have various privileges and immunities. Thus the bakers have their corporation or company, or guild, (for all these terms are used to designate the same thing), which has its place for the regular and extraordinary meetings of the members, and a treasurer who takes charge of the general fund which the corporation accumulates by fines, and by such annual contributions as it chooses to levy upon those who belong to it, and which it applies in various ways to aid its members or their families. The butchers have theirs, the tailors theirs, the millers theirs, the hatters theirs; and so of all the other trades and professions. Now, if these corporations existed only for charitable purposes, such as assisting the widows and children of deceased members, or for aiding those who have fallen into reduced circumstances by sickness or other adverse causes, they would be not only useful, but altogether unobjectionable. But the case is far otherwise. These corporations exert an influence which is altogether hostile to freedom of trade, and that competition which is the life of business. For instance, if any corporation thinks that there are persons enough engaged in the trade or business which it pursues, considering the wants of the town or city in which it is established, it has it in its power to prevent any one coming into that town or city to pursue the same

business. In this way a species of monopoly is created, which often keeps up the price of articles, and prevents their being made of superior quality. Let us take a case: the hatters of a certain city or town may determine that they are already sufficiently numerous, and that they will not admit a new-comer. The civil authorities follow their advice. The new-comer must retire. They have the business to themselves. They determine what shall be the prices of the hats which they make. All must agree to sell at the prices fixed by the corporation; and woe to the man who undertakes to sell below these prices! He will have the whole corporation against him. They will cast him out of their synagogue, and he may prepare to remove as soon as possible. Could anything be devised more fatal to business, and to the attainment of skill in any trade than this? Upon such a plan as this, great skilfulness will never be attained! Young men may, as they do here, and still more in Germany, spend two or three years after they have finished an ordinary apprenticeship, in visiting other places, for the purpose of learning every thing that is new in their trade; and during their sojourn in any strange city or town they will be aided, if need be, by the funds of the corresponding trades' corporation in that town or city; but they will learn nothing from this vagabond life in comparison with what they could in shops in their own town or city, if an active competition existed. A striking proof of the evil of this system is to be found in the fact, that in almost every trade or art the mechanics of Denmark and of every other country where such restrictions exist, are inferior in skill to those of the same trade or art in England, France, and the United States.

We will give the reader some idea of the extent to which this system of restriction, by the influence of trades' corporations, is carried, by informing him, that if we should go into the streets of the city of Copenhagen—as a friend of

ours did the very day on which we write these words—and induce a farmer who had come to market to carry us in his wagon to Roeskilde, or any other place in the country which we might wish to see, we should thereby expose him to a fine of 10 rix-banco thalers, or five dollars of our money. And why? Because, forsooth, he would be interfering with the rights and privileges of the owners of hackney-coaches! Could anything be more absurd? One great cause of the depressed state of things in this country is, that the government governs too much; it meddles with every thing. The mind of the people is fettered and embarrassed with too many regulations, and their industry is not permitted to work out channels for itself. The old tread-mill system of ages past is still continued; and this people, who have skill and energy enough, or would soon have, if they had an opportunity, are kept, to an unnecessary degree, in a depressed and unhappy state.

END OF VOL. I.