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THE
CIVIL AND MILITARY
HISTORY OF GERMANY,

FROM THE
LANDING OF GUSTAVUS
TO THE
CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.



BY THE LATE
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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HISTORY OF GERMANY.

CHAP. X.

Gustavus's motives for invading Germany. His preparations for that important enterprise. He submits his plan to the consideration of the Swedish nation. Richelieu offers him a subsidy, which is rejected with disdain.—Gustavus negotiates with the Protestant powers.—Congress at Lubec.—Gustavus takes leave of his people in a farewell speech. Embarks at Elssnaben, and lands in Pomerania; occupies Stetin, and concludes a treaty with Bogislaus.—Consequences produced by the arrival of the Swedes. Their rapid progress, no less owing to the coincidence of favourable circumstances than to the transcendent talents of their sovereign.—Gustavus enters Mecklenberg.—Magdeburg declares in his favour. Impolitic conduct of Ferdinand.—Fruitless attempt of Saxony.—Colberg and Griffenhagen taken.

AFTER the unavailing efforts of the Danish monarch to prescribe bounds to the tyranny of the imperial court had failed through that monarch's incapacity, Gustavus Adolphus was the only sovereign to whom the protestants of Germany could reasonably look for protection. Various causes, derived from the most active principles that can rouse all the energies of the human heart, combined to render him the inveterate enemy of Ferdinand. An unshaken attachment to the opinions of Luther, to which he owed the possession of the Swedish crown, an enthusiasm for liberty, that characteristic passion of exalted souls, resentment excited by personal injuries, and the ardent desire of military renown, stimulated his ambition to the arduous undertaking of reducing that power which had gradually become the bane and terror of Europe. It was an

achievement worthy of heroic courage, and, if crowned with success, might eventually civilize the semi-barbarous people which he governed. By taking a leading part in the politics of Germany the rude virtues of the Swedes would be brought in contact with the habits of a nation, among whom the arts and comforts of polished society had made no contemptible progress. The admiration of manners more refined than their own, was calculated to awaken a spirit of emulation, which might civilize the rude inhabitants of Dalecarlia. Thus policy, keeping pace with ambition, impelled him to the execution of that arduous enterprise which had been long the favourite object of his meditations; for little doubt can be entertained, that even at a very early period of life, he anticipated the glory of becoming the champion of protestantism.*

Previously to the commencement of the troubles in Bohemia, at a time when the members of the reformed church were not only living in perfect security, but were daily acquiring such additional strength as might render them formidable to the partisans of Rome, † he wrote to the leaders of the protestant party, expressing his zeal and attachment for their favourite tenets, and assuring them that in every emergency they might rely securely on his assistance. ‡ In 1620 he renewed the offer, but still with no better success; as either the hero's character was too little known to inspire confidence; or pride, or economy, or some other motive, equally contemptible, opposed an insuperable obstacle to his wishes.§

* Puffendorf, ii. 1.

† The letter bears date the 2d of March, 1615.—Schmidt, v. 1.

‡ Puffendorf, *ibid.* Sattler geschichte von Württemberg, vi. 28.

§ Puffendorf, ii. 2.

These repeated repulses, however disheartening, were far from cooling his ardour. Whatever were the occupations in which he was engaged, his thoughts were fixed with steady attention on the transactions of Germany, as the only theatre where his transcendent talents could be displayed with appropriate lustre. The humiliation of Austria was alike the subject of his sleeping and of his waking dreams; it accompanied him to his pillow at night, and returned again with the dawning day, refreshed and invigorated by repose.

The reader is acquainted with the event of the negociation carried on in 1625, between Gustavus Adolphus and the English cabinet, and with the folly of the allies in giving a mercantile preference to the cheaper talents of Christian. The sagacity of the Swede anticipated the danger to which the treachery of his confederates, or the uncertain issue of a campaign, might expose him, unless put in possession of Wismar or Dantzic, or some other port, which secured a communication with his hereditary dominions: but, unfortunately for the world, he had to do with men, some of whom either wanted penetration to discover, or honesty to acknowledge, the propriety of the demand; while others would have preferred the loss of independence to that of a single commercial vessel, and might possibly have felt less repugnance at returning under the pontifical yoke, than in opening a new and unfrequented channel to the natural productions of Sweden.

No sooner, however, was the contest with Sigismund concluded, through the mediation of France, than Gustavus directed his undivided attention toward accomplishing his favourite project; and,

luckily for Europe, the convention with Poland was signed at a moment when the distress of the protestants had silenced every scruple that distrust or vanity had formerly inspired, and induced them to implore the protection of Sweden as their last and only resource.*

Notwithstanding the justice and necessity of the struggle in which he was about to engage (for necessary and just in reality it was, provided any war can merit that appellation, not expressly undertaken to repel an invader), the prospect which opened before the Swedish monarch was far from alluring. The gigantic strength of Austria, the valour of her troops, and the skill of her commanders, appeared to raise around her a formidable rampart, which it would be the height of temerity to assail; and so universal was the terror which accompanied her arms, that a genius less enterprizing than that of Gustavus, would have shrunk from the conflict, overwhelmed by the sentiment of conscious inferiority. But, instead of suffering himself to be intimidated by the difficulty of the undertaking, his courage kept pace with the danger, while his penetrating discernment discovered some weak and vulnerable parts, which might have escaped a less accurate observer. Circumstantially informed of the minutest occurrence which took place in every German court, he knew that the emperor was no less detested than feared, and that the indignation of the

* Schmidt, v. 1.—En effet, il est probable que c'eut été fait du parti protestant; et peut-être de la religion Lutherienne en Allemagne, si la fortune laisse de servir les vastes desseins de Ferdinand; ou plutôt si la Providence par un jugement secret dont il faut adorer la profondeur, n'avait alors suscité le plus redoutable ennemi que l'empire eut jamais eu dans la personne de Gustave Adolphe roi de Suède.—Bougeant, i. 150.
A curious confession for a Jesuit!

protestants, compressed by tyranny, was ready to explode; he was sensible that victory would confirm the wavering minds of the timid, and by augmenting the number of his adherents, open fresh resources for the prosecution of the contest; while every league of country, rescued from the oppressive dominion of Ferdinand, would cripple his resources, and circumscribe the sphere of extortions.

An accurate examination of those resources tended materially to diminish the dread which they inspired. When calculated according to the military returns, the force of her armies appeared tremendous; but it was not by the fallacy of official reports that the courage of Gustavus could be appalled. The wealth collected by plunder had rendered many of the imperial generals proud, dissolute, and inattentive to duty; while the troops were consumed by various maladies, the fruit of libertinism, and of unwholesome nourishment. Differing no less from each other in language and manners than in the fashion of their accoutrements and the use of their arms, they were neither animated by the spirit of national glory, nor by the more potent charm of religion.*

The troops of the League were unquestionably maintained upon a better footing. More regularly paid, more warmly clothed, and supplied more abundantly with all the necessaries of life, they felt that attachment for their native land, which nothing can extirpate out of the human heart, except wanton

* *Exercitus est ei omnium gentium colluvie mixtus, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis; alius habitus, alia arma, alia sacra, alii prope dii sunt.*—Forstner, i. 295.

oppression, excessive taxation, or the infernal precepts of modern philosophy. The intrigues of Richelieu had, however, greatly diminished the peril which might have resulted from the cordial co-operation of all the catholic states; hopes even were entertained that they might be induced to preserve the strictest neutrality, provided no attempt should be made to alter the national worship.*

The discontent, which till then had fermented in secret, was no longer concealed from public notice. With the interests which originally gave birth to the contest, the spirit of hostility had subsided; and many, even among those who had formerly shewn themselves the most inveterate enemies of the Palatine, were become strenuous advocates for a general pacification. A due regard to personal safety conduced also to render the Duke of Bavaria more jealous than ever of Austria; for he knew that Ferdinand attributed entirely to his opposition his recent disappointment at the diet of Ratisbonne; and that his resentment was kindled to such a degree, that he would probably attempt to punish his ingratitude, were he not deterred by the dread of Gustavus.†

Neither were the catholic princes in a situation to maintain their numerous armies, without the aid of fresh contributions. Determined to adopt a different system, and, by a vigorous discipline, to restrain the licentiousness too natural to a victorious army, Gustavus felt secure, if successful, of being universally hailed by the enthusiastic acclamations of gratitude and admiration as a tutelary deity.

* Schmidt, i. 295.

† Ibid.

It was not, however, to the resources of his own comprehensive genius, unbounded as they were, nor to those which he foresaw must inevitably arise at every step, that he trusted entirely for a prosperous issue: prudence pointed out the necessity of foreign alliances; he endeavoured to secure the co-operation of every state, which jealousy or fear rendered hostile to Austria; though he looked to their exertions with the diffidence of a man who had traced, in the eventful pages of history, the imbecility, the selfishness, and the duplicity of courtiers: but while he guarded against the fatal effects of credulity, he was aware that dangers no less destructive may arise from the opposite extreme. A judgment less penetrating might have led him to question the sincerity of France, from the inability to conceive that the persecutor of the protestants in Languedoc might become their strenuous champion in Saxony: but the King of Sweden was aware, that in the estimation of Richelieu, though decorated with the splendour of the Roman purple, the prosperity of the church was a secondary consideration, and that the ambitious cardinal would prefer the reputation of an enlightened minister to the remoter honours of the calendar.

Supposing even that the event should prove less propitious than the sanguine monarch expected, the sea would afford him a secure retreat, and the rocks and shoals, by which his dominions were surrounded, presented insuperable obstacles to an invader.

Convinced, however, that it was scarcely possible for any war to succeed, that should be waged in contradiction to the national feeling, the king post-

poned his final decision till he had collected the sentiments of his people. Disdaining the paltry arts of intrigues, so efficacious in influencing popular debates, and unwilling to meet with a public affront in the senate, he privately convened his ablest statesmen and most experienced generals, to consult with them respecting the practicability and policy of the undertaking, before he ventured to submit it to the national suffrage. The counselors being assembled, Gustavus complained, in an artful speech, of the injuries he had sustained from the emperor, but which it is unnecessary to enumerate on the present occasion, because they have been fully detailed in his memorial to the diet. The subsidiary offers from France and England were next explained, with the assurance that he wished to avail himself of his confidential friends before he entered into any specific agreements. The necessity of asserting the dignity of his crown he considered to be no longer a doubtful question, but to have been decided by the arrogance of Austria. He conjured them, however, seriously to deliberate on the plan to be pursued in conducting the contest; whether it would be most conducive to the interest of Sweden to confine themselves entirely to a defensive system, or boldly to penetrate into the heart of the empire, and endeavour to strike a decisive blow, before the enemy was aware of the peril.*

The impossibility of continuing an amicable intercourse with a prince so ambitious as Ferdinand, was admitted without the smallest hesitation; but

* 1630. Puffendorf, ii. 4. Gualdo, i. 5.

the same unanimity did not prevail respecting the mode of conducting hostilities. In the estimation of some, and among their number we find the distinguished name of Oxenstiern, the resources of Sweden were deemed inadequate to the undertaking. The united armies of Ferdinand and the League were calculated at upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men; a force three times more numerous than what the king's utmost exertions could bring into the field, though he should drain his dominions of men and money. They accordingly suggested, that the wisest policy would be to concentrate his troops in Polish Prussia, a country abounding in strong military position, and easily defended against superior numbers. For the internal security of the kingdom there was nothing, they thought, to apprehend, because the want of a navy must prevent the emperor from extending his conquests beyond the shores of the Baltic. Another argument adduced in support of this opinion, was the impoverished condition of the northern provinces of Germany, so completely exhausted by the rapacity of the imperialists, as to be totally unable to furnish supplies for the Swedish army.*

Whether these arguments were the result of serious meditation, or offered merely with the view of affording an opportunity for displaying the superior sagacity of Gustavus, it is immaterial now to inquire. Far from being intimidated at the alarming picture presented by the advocates of defensive operations, the king asserted, that his

* Puffendorf, ii. 4.

only motive for wishing to avoid the impending conflict was derived from the impulse of humanity. "The power of Austria," he said, "did not alarm him: but when he contemplated the miseries occasioned by war, his bosom panted for peace. To have diminished the burthens so long endured by his faithful people, with exemplary patience, would have afforded to his heart more exquisite satisfaction than the proudest triumphs could bestow. But once admitting the necessity of commencing hostilities, he was decidedly of opinion, that they ought to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour in Germany." The danger, he contended, was more than compensated by the advantages. A defeat would be attended with more disastrous consequences, if sustained in defending their land, than in invading that of the enemy. In one case, it would expose their wives and daughters to the brutality of undisciplined barbarians; in the other, the loss, however severe, might be shortly and easily repaired. It ought also to be considered, that notwithstanding his solemn professions of amity, the King of Poland would be ready to break the truce, whenever he could do it with safety; he would, of course, be ready to avail himself of the first reverse of fortune to unite with the enemies of Sweden. The impolicy of maintaining an army in Prussia was clearly illustrated; because the famine, which actually afflicted that unhappy country, must necessarily prevent it from becoming the theatre of hostilities. "The event of the contest," he said, "must depend upon the energy with which it was commenced; it would be far better never to unsheath the sword, unless they resolved at once to penetrate into Pomerania, and

pushing forward with unabating activity, to endeavour at once to transport the seat of war into the hereditary dominions of Austria. The possession of Stralsund would not only secure the sovereignty of the Baltic, and keep the coasts of Germany in continual alarm, but would preserve a safe and easy communication with Sweden.”*

Arguments like these, when enforced by the charms of royal eloquence, were calculated to produce the most enthusiastic effects on minds not insensible to the seductions of glory, and attached to a young and heroic sovereign by the united impulse of love and admiration.† Having thus convinced the understandings of the leading members the king no longer hesitated to submit his plans to the consideration of the senate. In a numerous assembly, many of which were of course unconnected with the court, some difference of sentiment might be expected, and we accordingly find that a considerable number expressed a decided preference for a negociation. It was urged in support of a pacific system, that the national revenues were so completely exhausted by the Polish war, as to be utterly incapable of affording supplies for a foreign expedition. Adverting to the arguments which they expected to hear from the partisans of energetic measures, they observed that economy held a prominent station among the most sacred duties of a sovereign. “In a country like Sweden, where the comforts and refinements of civilized life had never penetrated, it was not they said by the lustre of military renown that a monarch ought to aim at

* Harte, i. 124.

† Puffendorf. *Selecti ad mentum regis censebant*, ii. 4.

immortality ; the path which conducted to the temple of fame was far more straight and accessible : let him aspire to glory by directing his attention to the establishment of manufactures, the improvements of agriculture, the extension of commerce, and the encouragement of the arts and sciences."

The idea of hazarding the happiness and prosperity of the nation in a contest in which the honour of the king, or the safety of the states were not immediately implicated, was treated as chivalrous and romantic. "The preservation and extension of the protestant faith depended," they said, "upon the will of the Almighty. He had hitherto nursed it with paternal solicitude, and would never suffer it to perish by human perversity." Admitting that the Dukes of Mecklenburg had been unjustly deposed, and that it was highly desirable to rescue their dominions from the rapacity of Austria, they strenuously contended that this might be effected with greater facility by an amicable discussion, than with the sword, or the firelock. The idea of an invasion was treated with merited contempt, as they would never admit that a country virtually enjoying the blessing of insular security, could have any thing to dread from the threats of an enemy, completely destitute of maritime resources.*

It cannot be denied that this mode of reasoning was both plausible and popular ; the arguments adduced were upon a level with the meanest understanding, and accorded with the practice of ordinary statesmen in common times. But there sometimes occurs in political affairs an alarming crisis, which baffles all precedent. In such situa-

* Puffendorf, ii. 16. Burgus, 26.

tions, transcendent genius, disdaining the trammels of pedantry, explores new paths of action, encountering the difficulties with which it is surrounded, not with official documents, or logical deductions, but with a spirit and capacity commensurate with the danger. Such was now the case with Gustavus; and the energy which he had communicated to men capable of appreciating the wisdom of his projects, was displayed in the arguments with which they supported his measures. "It was difficult," they said, "impartially to examine the emperor's proceedings, and still to retain the smallest doubt respecting the nature and extent of his designs. The subjugation of Germany, so nearly completed, must unavoidably lead to the total depression of protestantism; because, with the prosperity and independence of the northern nations, its destiny was indissolubly connected. They must flourish or fall together. Wherever the imperial armies had penetrated, every vestige of freedom was abolished. The hereditary states of Austria were already despoiled of all their privileges; those of the empire were gradually undermined. The ambitious schemes, entertained by the cabinet of Vienna, were no longer concealed under the veil of mystery, but blazoned forth with presumptuous arrogance. A plan was in agitation for the maintenance of four separate armies for the purpose of awing the surrounding nations, and preventing them from interfering in favour of any people, whom Austria wished to enslave. The first stationed in Hungary, was intended to guard the eastern frontiers against the Ottoman cohorts; the second was destined to intimidate the Venetians, and repress the levity of all the Italian po-

tentates; the third was to occupy the banks of the Rhine, and the fourth to be encamped on the shores of the Baltic. The objects contemplated required no farther illustration, nor could they be counteracted, except by a general confederacy of all the protestant powers."

So much stress had been laid by the opposite party on the internal security of Sweden, that it became requisite to canvass that important question, under all its various bearings. According to the opinion of the advocates for peace, nature had erected so formidable a barrier in the surrounding rocks, that all fears of invasion were nugatory, provided a warlike people would condescend to skulk in inglorious safety behind that insurmountable rampart. "But is this," they asked, "an attitude becoming a martial nation? Is it even consistent with their interest to assume it? we may possibly escape the sword of the enemy, but it will be by abandoning every thing that gives value to existence. Our commerce will be annihilated, our character impeached, and we shall be no longer regarded as occupying a place among the independent nations of Europe."

"It has been urged," continued they, "by the opposite party, that Austria has lately assumed a tone less presumptuously offensive. The fact is admitted, but the inference which our opponents have attempted to draw is completely erroneous. It is a change of language, but not of principle. It is the effect of hypocrisy, and not of moderation; for while the tide of victory swept all before it, the arrogance of her commanders was insupportable. Various causes have combined to excite her fears, and the apprehension of danger renders her anx-

ious to weaken the general abhorrence, which the insolence of despotism has created. The strength of Stralsund has hitherto baffled her efforts; the treasures of America, captured by the Dutch on their passage to Europe, have crippled the exertions of Spain; and the fall of Rochelle has enabled France exclusively to dedicate her immense resources to the Mantuan war. These are circumstances which have given a different aspect to affairs; these were the motives to which Denmark was indebted for the recovery of Holstein, and which now prescribe the necessity of a temporary compromise with Sweden. Let us not be deceived by professions contradicted by uniform practice. With peace in her mouth, she not only continues to fortify her ports on the Baltic, but is busily occupied in creating a navy. In the empire her proceedings are equally arbitrary; state after state is subjected to her dominion, so that every vestige of independence will be shortly effaced."

After minutely dwelling upon every incident which could tend to elucidate the tyranny of Ferdinand, they proceeded to examine the interests, the resources, and the political connexions of the other European powers. The views and principles of the Spanish government coinciding exactly with those of Austria, Spain must ever be regarded as the decided enemy of freedom. Discord and timidity, the fruit of corruption, combined to render the fertile provinces of Italy no less weak than contemptible. Three powers, they insisted, and only three, possessed the strength and courage requisite to resist the overwhelming torrent, France, Holland, and Sweden. Of the danger resulting from such a confederacy, the cabinet

of Vienna was perfectly aware, and was exerting every artifice to impede their union, from the conviction that such an alliance could alone uphold the liberties of Europe. Could Sweden and Holland be lulled into security, Austria might employ her undivided force for the humiliation of France. This would pave the way for the subjugation of Holland; and that accomplished, the fall of Sweden could not long be retarded: for what could she expect, except to be abandoned by all the world, if she forsook her friends in their distress?

Having once undertaken the protection of Stralsund it would be disgraceful to leave it to the mercy of an indignant conqueror. The possession of Wismar, and of the Isle of Rugen was sufficiently important to justify temerity; because, if they were once in the occupation of Sweden, the imperialists must be compelled to abandon their positions on the coasts of the Baltic. In valour and discipline, and the patient endurance of every fatigue, the Swedes were exceeded by no nation in Europe; and these were virtues which in great measure compensated for numerical inferiority. But it was not alone to the national resources that they might confidently look for success. Let our victorious monarch once set his foot in Germany, and his standard will be joined by those veteran bands, who have lately been dismissed from the Austrian service; and as the army proceeds, it will be rapidly augmented by the hatred of those whom the tyranny of Ferdinand has driven to despair.*

The ardour of the nation being now in unison with the wishes of the king, preparations were

* 1630. Puffendorf, ii. 16. Loccenii Hist. Suec. 563.

carried on with unabating activity in all the ports and arsenals of Sweden ; though through a tender regard for the weakness of those who supported a contrary opinion, a declaration was made on the part of Gustavus, that notwithstanding the warlike attitude which it was thought expedient to assume, he would never reject an offer of peace on fair and honourable conditions.* This however being an event which the most sanguine dared not expect, every exertion was made to recruit the army, both at home and abroad. A fleet was equipped, military stores were collected, and transports procured, in hopes of being ready to take the field before the emperor could unite his scattered forces.†

This unusual activity, unquestionably proclaiming the object in contemplation, Charnace was directed to renew his offers, as Richelieu was persuaded, that the difficulties with which he was surrounded, would induce Gustavus to subscribe with alacrity to any condition which Louis might deign to accord. But the tone of superiority, or rather of protection, which, with the characteristic arrogance of his nation, the French plenipotentiary affected to assume, proving highly offensive to the Swedish monarch, and the proposals made being totally inadequate to his expectations, he disdained to barter unfettered freedom for a miserable stipend.‡

The spirit with which Gustavus in every situation asserted the dignity of an independent crown,

* Puffendorf, ii. 17.

† Ibid. Gualdo, l. 5.

‡ It appears from the best authorities, that in return for a subsidy of 1,200,000 livres (about £50,000) the King of Sweden was required to maintain in Germany an army of six and thirty thousand men, and positively to engage to continue the war during six years.—Harte, i. 126.

was no less consistent with the dictates of prudence than with the most romantic notions of honour. Had he condescended at the commencement of this glorious career to become the pensioner of France, and bound himself to reject all pacific overtures during a limited period, he would not only have been degraded in his own estimation, but must have excited similar sentiments in the minds of those whose friendship he most studied to conciliate. Yet though he declined for the present any specific engagements, he had sufficiently penetrated the intentions of Richelieu, to be secure of the future co-operation of France whenever he chose to accept it: and, being anxious to cultivate a good understanding with the most powerful monarch in Europe, he sent a confidential minister to Paris,* with instructions to obliterate any unfavourable impression which the departure of Charnace might have occasioned; and to insinuate to the cardinal, if an opportunity should occur, that notwithstanding his refusal of the former proposals, his master would not object to enter into a subsidiary treaty, provided the conditions were neither inconsistent with his personal honour, nor injurious to the interests of his people. It does not appear that any conversation was actually signed by Nicholäi, during his residence in the capital of France; but if we give credit to Locenius, a contemporary historian, there is reason to believe, that an agreement was entered into between the two nations, respecting the amount of the subsidy to be granted by Louis, and the service to be performed by Gustavus; though some accustomed formalities might pos-

* Nicholai. *Harte*, i. 126.

sibly have been wanting to give official validity to the treaty.*

It would indeed have been totally inconsistent with the dictates of prudence, for Gustavus to have adventured his army in the heart of Germany, unless he had been assured of the co-operation of Louis. Every transaction of his life at this critical period evinces the earnest desire of ascertaining correctly, how far he might rely upon the assistance of every power apparently interested in the humiliation of Austria; it is therefore highly improbable that he should have neglected that, whose decision was of the greatest importance. Unwilling to deprive himself of a single ally, whose friendship could be secured by negotiation, he dispatched Sadler upon a mission to the Helvetic diet, at that time sitting at Baden, with directions to explain with unreserved frankness the motives of his undertaking, and the extent of his resources; persuaded that the ancient spirit of the Swiss would revive at the prospect of humbling a monarch, whose claims to supremacy had never been formally surrendered. The terror inspired by the depredations of Wallenstein, however, completely silenced

* This conjecture, according to Harte, is confirmed in a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to Lord Dorchester, in which he regrets that no pecuniary aid had been granted by England to Sweden, because, "De Charnace, the French ambassador, had made some offers to that purpose." This appears to be copied from a MS. letter, dated Feb. 26, 1630.—Harte, i. 143.

In another MS. letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, at that time resident in Holland, dated May 17, 1630, he observes, that "De Charnace had offered Gustavus an annual subsidy of £50,000, and that he was empowered to add £17,000 more.—Ibid.—The published correspondence of Carlton extends only to the end of the year 1620. The account given by Locenius, p. 555, corresponds very nearly with the foregoing statement.

every other feeling, so that they preferred the enjoyment of precarious freedom to the perils incidental to a renovated contest.*

Meanwhile Falkenberg had been sent to Holland for the purpose of raising three additional regiments, and in order to concert with the Dutch government a general plan of operations. In his way thither, he was directed to stop at Copenhagen, in order to sound the intentions of Christian, and, if possible, to secure his neutrality. Though envy excited by the transcendent talents of Gustavus was the predominant passion in Christian's breast, he was constrained for the present to stifle his personal feelings, because he plainly foresaw that he could not openly attempt to embarrass his projects, without incurring the indignation of protestant Europe: but, while he dealt in professions of unbounded amity, he secretly resolved, by clandestine intrigues, to frustrate the plans of his rival; and, in order to effect it with greater facility, he offered his mediation to accommodate the differences actually subsisting between the courts of Vienna and Stockholm. This proposal coinciding with the timid policy of the sovereigns of Brandenburg and Pomerania, they joined in recommending a pacific system from motives equally selfish.†

Though resolutely bent upon chastising the temerity of Sweden, when the favourable moment should arrive, Ferdinand was delighted at the idea of postponing the conflict till he should have ter-

* *Mercur Suisse*, 9.—This curious work was published in 1634, without the name of the author; but it has since been attributed, and I believe with justice to Spanheim, to whom the world is indebted for *les Mémoires de Louise Juliane*.

† *Bougeant*, i. 154. *Burgus*, 35. *Barro*, ix. 509.

minated hostilities in Italy. To the pressing solicitations of his treacherous friends it was impossible for Gustavus to object without exposing himself to the censures of an ungenerous world, too prone to attribute to interested motives the most exalted efforts of virtue. However insidious the conduct of the imperial court, or insincere the professions of Christian, one important advantage accrued to Gustavus from the congress at Dantzic, because it manifested his unwillingness to resort to arms, till every hope of accommodation was frustrated. Neither did it escape the penetration of that sagacious monarch, that in the course of the negotiation various circumstances must occur to elucidate the secret views of the Austrian cabinet, as well as to ascertain the real intentions of Richelieu. In both these objects he completely succeeded. The duplicity of Ferdinand was demonstrated in colours too clear to be defended, even by the partial sophistry of friendship; while the efforts of Charnace to impede the treaty, effaced every suspicion of insincerity.*

* Too prudent to expect any favourable results from a negotiation conducted under similar auspices, the King of Sweden had never relaxed in his preparations, fully determined to commence hostilities the moment his forces should be in readiness. During the conferences at Lubec, a clandestine correspondence was opened with the Germanic confederacy, desirous of bursting the galling fetters which the despotism of Austria had imposed. While the selfish policy of the protestant electors tempted

* Puffendorf, i. 19.

them to submit to every indignity rather than resort to the hazard of arms, the Langrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Mecklenberg and Luneberg, and the administrator of Magdeburg, gave positive assurances, that they would openly declare in favour of Sweden, whenever it could be done with impunity. The wealthy merchants of Lubec and Hamburg engaged also to advance a considerable loan, and consented to accept the copper of Dalecarlia for its gradual liquidation.*

Nothing now remained for Gustavus except to provide for the government of the kingdom during his absence: the danger of the contest in which he was about to engage gave peculiar importance to the measure; the states were convened at Stockholm, and never perhaps did any assembly meet under circumstances more awful and impressive.

The executive authority was vested in a council, and the department of the finances entrusted to John Casimir Count Palatine, who had married a Swedish princess; for, notwithstanding his tender affection for the queen, her want of capacity for political affairs afforded a powerful motive for her exclusion.

Having thus regulated the internal administration of government, Gustavus presented to the diet his infant daughter,* as their future sovereign, exacting from them a solemn oath, that in the event of his death, they would preserve their fidelity to Christina. He simultaneously delivered to them a manuscript, supposed to have been written by him-

* Schiller, ii.

† Christina, then only four years old, so conspicuous in the sequel for her follies and vices. This ceremony took place on the 20th of May, 1630.

self, with the advice and assistance of Oxensteirn, containing regulations to be observed by the council of state under every possible emergency. Nothing seems to have been omitted, which a mind anticipating its melancholy destiny was able to provide,* either respecting the happiness of the nation, or the safety of his daughter.

The solemnity of his manner, which clearly indicated that he believed himself addressing them for the last time, drew tears from all the spectators; the feelings of the monarch were in unison with those of his people—his voice faltered, and it was some time before he could conquer his sensations sufficiently to continue: "It is not from thirst after military renown that I am about to plunge my country in a war. I call Heaven to witness, that the contest on my part has not been voluntary. I have been publicly insulted in the person of my ambassador by the Emperor of Germany; he has assisted my enemies, oppressed my friends, persecuted my religion, and even attempted to deprive me of that exalted dignity to which the bounty of Providence has elevated me. Groaning under the yoke of the most grievous tyranny, the protestants in despair implore my succour; and, by the blessing of the Almighty, I will avenge their injuries.

"It is, I confess, an undertaking replete with danger; but, in proportion to the difficulty, the

* Mr. Harte informs us, that he was once in possession of a MS. copy, taken, as he supposes, immediately after the ratification of the senate. "This great work," says the author whom I have just mentioned, "may be considered as the reduction of contingencies to one uniform system." The original packet had the following inscription from the hand of the chancellor. *Regiminis Suecici constitutio; quam rex invictissimus Gustavus secundus et magnus ultimæ voluntatis instar, regno populisque suis statione hæc mortali functus exhibendum voluit.* l. 145.

glory will increase. I am unconscious of ever having shrunk from my duty, and whatever may be my future destiny, I am prepared to encounter it with fortitude and resignation. The protecting arm of Heaven has hitherto shielded me in the day of battle; and should I be designed to accomplish the mighty work, it will no doubt continue to preserve me. But should I be doomed to fall in defence of the Lutheran faith, I shall have fulfilled my part right nobly. Continue with firmness to perform your duty; be just and honest; be obedient to the laws, and faithful to your sovereign; and should we meet no more in the present world, we shall be certainly united in a better."

After pausing an instant to conceal his tears, he resumed his discourse, directing it successively to the different orders of his subjects. "To you, who are members of the executive government, I earnestly recommend the care of my people. May the grace of God enlighten your understandings, and enable you to execute the arduous task allotted to your charge, with wisdom, equity, and moderation."

Turning next to the nobility, he thus continued, "accept the thanks of your grateful sovereign, illustrious nobles, for all your services: may the admiration of the world, and the delightful feeling of conscientious integrity, reward you for them! Be true to my daughter, whom I entrust with confidence to your protection. Be to her, what you have ever shewn yourselves to me; remember, that you are the descendants of those heroic Goths, by whom the Roman eagle was humbled!

"To you, servants of the Most High" (looking stedfastly at the ministers of the Gospel), I recom-

mend candour, unanimity, and forbearance. Be living examples of those exalted virtues which it is your peculiar province to inculcate; but, above all, beware of abusing the influence, which your profession gives you, from the desire of riches, or the love of domination."

"Deputies of the towns and provinces, may the Almighty prosper all your undertakings; crown with prosperity your honest industry; and make you long enjoy the blessings and comforts which are inseparable from morality."

Having thus emphatically exhorted all the different classes steadily to persevere in the peculiar duties of their respective stations, he terminated this short and pathetic harangue with a fervent petition for the happiness of his people, concluding in the following words: "My heart is too full for utterance. My prayers, my blessings will ever attend you. Farewel! perhaps for ever."*

Gustavus having thus fulfilled an obligation nearest his heart as a tender father and an affectionate sovereign, his thoughts were directed with unremitting attention to the final equipment of the armament. The troops were embarked at Elfsnaben, amid the tears and supplications of innumerable spectators, attracted by the novelty and magnificence of the spectacle, or impelled by the tenderest affections of nature. Admiration and wonder, veneration and sympathy, prevailed alternately, as they successively contemplated the magnitude of the preparations, the danger of the enterprise, or the heroic character of its leader, who

* Schiller, ii.—Puffendorf touches only slightly upon the business agitated in this assembly. ii. 23.

appeared in the midst of surrounding warriors, no less conspicuous for the manly beauty of his person, than for the commanding dignity of his station. He was attended by his generals, whom he had trained to the fatigues of a military life; for there was not one among them, with the exception of Oxensteirn, who was not younger than himself.*

Toward the latter end of May, the fleet weighed anchor, but was prevented from sailing by contrary winds, so that it did not reach the coast of Pomerania till the twenty-fourth of June, 1630. The number of the forces, with which Gustavus undertook to humble Austria, was little calculated to excite the fears of his enemies, or to inspire confidence to his partisans; as, according to the most authentic documents, they amounted to no more than twelve thousand five hundred infantry, and two thousand cavalry. To these which accompanied the king must be added the garrison of Stralsund, comprehending nearly six thousand men, and about as many more which served in Prussia, under the command of Oxensteirn. † What an enormous disproportion to the resources of Ferdinand! The forces of the League, consisting of between thirty and forty thousand men, were stationed in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, under the orders of Tilly and Pappenheim. An Austrian army, scarcely less numerous, was employed in Italy, under Gallas, Aldringer, and Colalto; but, the moment peace was concluded with France, it would be ready to enter Germany. Montecuculi and Ossa at the head

* The names of Gustavus Horn, of the Count of Thurn, of Barner, of Teufel of Tott, of Falkenberg, and of Kniphausen, will often occur in the following pages.

† Puffendorf, §. 24. Grimoard, i. 458.

of ten thousand veteran troops dictated laws to Suabia and Alsace; while the Spaniards, in nearly equal strength, repressed the discontents which the tyranny of the emperor had excited in the Palatinates. Eight thousand in the pay of the ecclesiastical electors, were deemed sufficient for the safety of their own territories: thus an uninterrupted line of defence extended from the Alps to the Baltic. The eastern provinces, though less strongly guarded, were by no means destitute of protection. Three regiments under Baltazar di Marradas, were more than adequate to repress every murmur in Bohemia, where the spirit of the inhabitants was so entirely subdued, that they had abandoned every hope of emancipation; while Tieffenbach, with nearly an equal force, kept Silesia in subjection.

From this sketch it appears, that the only vulnerable point was in the northern frontier, though even there the rapacity of Torquato Conti, seconded by sixteen thousand veterans, had reduced the country to a desert, and the miserable inhabitants to a state of slavery, so abject and hopeless, that they hardly dared to indulge the flattering expectation of finding a deliverer in Gustavus.*

The sun was rapidly sinking beneath the horizon when the Swedish fleet entered the harbour of Pennemond, in the Isle of Usedom. After superintending the preparations, for disembarking his troops in flat-bottomed boats, each capable of containing two hundred men, and two small pieces of artillery, the king leaped on shore, and falling upon his knees, implored the God of Hosts to favour an

* Harte, i. 150.

enterprise,* undertaken in defence of religion and liberty. This pious duty being fulfilled, he seized a pickaxe, and, with the activity of a pioneer, began to throw up an intrenchment. The example of their sovereign kindling the emulation of all his officers, stimulated them to labour with such indefatigable zeal, that, before the dawn of day, a breast-work was completed, affording security against any sudden attack. †

Conscious that in a situation so highly critical, the first impression is frequently decisive, the king issued an order enjoining the strictest discipline, and menacing with the severest punishment whoever should venture to infringe it. This salutary precaution was no less consistent with his natural humanity than with the wisest policy, since it was highly important to his future success to convince the natives, that he came not with an intention to augment their sufferings, but to rescue them from the rapacity of their plunderers. †

At a period of the world, when the human understanding was not sufficiently illumined by the ray of philosophy to reject the mysteries of divination, it was almost universally regarded by his soldiers as a certain presage of future victory, that the

* Lotichius, 786. Puffendorf, ii. 25. Burgus, 64.

† Ibid. Bougeant's account is curious from its absurdity. *A peine-eut-il mis pied a terre, qu'on vit ce prince par son sentiment de religion qu'on ne saurait s'empêcher de louer même dans ceux que le malheur de leur naissance a engagés dans l'erreur, se prosterner humblement à terre, &c.*

‡ "Nempe deus hominem utili in milites severitate, in incolis comitate, in omnes justitia imbuerat; qui catholicos aliquatenus peccantes castigaret."—Burgus 71. And again, speaking of the Swedes, he says, "miles in adversis constans et patiens; in pugna impiger et strenuus, cum colonis et hospitibus modestus et affabilis." What praise is this from the pen of an enemy!

first intelligence which greeted his arrival was that of a conquest.

The local importance of the Isle of Rugen, separated from Stralsund only by a narrow channel, had not escaped the attention of the imperialists, who, as a necessary precaution, had erected three small fortresses at the most accessible points, which, while they gave them apparent security, enabled them to interrupt the traffic of Stralsund.

With a mercantile people, the most important consideration is usually the facility of commercial intercourse. It therefore appeared highly probable to the Austrians, that an offer of neutrality would be eagerly caught at by this wealthy republic, without considering the disadvantages which must eventually accrue to their generous protector. Fortunately, however, Lesly, who commanded the Swedish garrison, was too alert and too sagacious to be deceived. Not content with rejecting the insidious proposal, he meditated in secret a decisive blow, which proved highly injurious to Austria. Having received information that a plan was in agitation for selling the island, which formed part of the Pomeranian territory, to the King of Denmark, and aware that the treaty, if carried into effect, must either deprive his master of a strong military station, or involve him in hostilities with Christian, he resolved to stop the negociation by a vigorous attack. A select body of veterans being secretly embarked, before the imperialists had the smallest intimation of their design, the enemy was driven with little difficulty from all their posts, and compelled to evacuate the island.*

* Puffendorf, li. 22. Burgus, 37. Swedish Intelligencer, i. 48.

As it was no longer possible for the Austrians to entertain a doubt, that the first operations of the Swedish army would be directed against Pomerania, Torquato Conti proposed to the duke to undertake the defence of his dominions, provided he would allow him to garrison Stetin. Bogislaus was too prudent to consent, foreseeing that a measure so decidedly hostile could not fail to expose him to the resentment of Gustavus. Timid and irresolute, no less from the weakness of character than from the indecision natural to age, Bogislaus was reduced to a most distressing dilemma, because it was impossible for him to avoid offending one of the belligerent powers, and by no means improbable that he might give umbrage to both. But as the Austrians were already masters of the greater part of the duchy, the danger that was nearest appeared the most alarming; and he accordingly dispatched a confidential agent to the King of Sweden, who was still detained by contrary winds, to endeavour, if possible, to deprecate his resentment. Gustavus received the messenger with his wonted benignity, but positively refused either to suspend his operations, or to admit the neutrality of Bogislaus. This harsh declaration, however, was tempered by the assurance, that in case he should experience no opposition in landing, he would be ready to enter into a treaty with the duke, and to take his dominions under his protection.*

No sooner had Gustavus, by rendering himself master of the mouth of the Oder, secured a communication with Sweden, than crossing the narrow frith, which separates Usedom from the continent,

* Puffendorf, ii. 24.

he invested Cammin, by the capture of which he procured an abundant supply of provisions and ammunition.*

This rapid success, obtained without the loss of a single man, by adding to the lustre of the Swedish arms, encouraged their secret adherents; and, in proportion as it augmented the fame of Gustavus, it contributed to efface the impression of terror which the cruelty of Torquato had inspired. The presumption of Ferdinand, in disdaining to employ the most common precautions against an enemy whom he affected to despise, which, in the event of success, would have been attributed by flattery to wisdom and magnanimity, now exposed him to ridicule and contempt. Aware, when too late, of the fatal mistake which vanity had induced him to commit, and resolving if possible by vigorous measures to repair it, the emperor sent orders to Torquato Conti, who commanded in Pomerania, to endeavour to retard the progress of the invaders, till a more formidable force could be assembled. Tilly at the same time received directions to advance into Misnia, and occupy the country between the Saal and the Elbe, from whence he might watch the motions of the Swedes, and secure by his presence the precarious fidelity of Brandenburg and Saxony, both of whom were ready to shake off their fetters.

Having disarmed the Pomeranians, whose vengeance he dreaded, and called in his scattered detachments, Torquato divided his little army † into two separate bodies; and, having left one in a strong camp near Anclam, he advanced toward Stetin at

* Puffendorf, ii. 25. Gualdo, i. 9.

† Amounting, as had been already stated, to sixteen thousand men.

the head of the other, hoping by his activity to intimidate Bogislaus, whose behaviour had excited his suspicions. Foreseeing, also, that Gustavus would leave nothing unattempted to render himself master of the Oder, he threw a bridge across the river, to preserve a communication between the corps encamped on the opposite banks, and with the view of disputing the passage.* The plan of the Austrians, if their force had been larger, would have confined the Swedes within a narrow tract, where it would have been difficult for them to procure supplies, and would likewise have covered Francfort, an important fortress, and the key of Silesia, while Torquato was at liberty to regulate his operations as circumstances would require.†

The King of Sweden was too well aware of the advantages arising from vigorous exertion, to allow the smallest respite to the enemy, and he resolved in consequence to endeavour to penetrate into the heart of the empire, before the catholics should have recovered from their consternation. This plan, however, could not be effected without previously liberating the navigation of the Oder, and occupying Stetin, the metropolis of Pomerania. The insolent treatment which Bogislaus had received from the court of Vienna, combined with the misery to which his subjects were exposed, from the depredations committed by the imperial troops, left little doubt in the mind of Gustavus, that the hearts of the natives were universally favourable to his enterprise; though the feeble character of their sovereign precluded every hope of

* Lotichius, i. 787.

† Ibid.

his acting with decision, while the event of the contest was doubtful. Gustavus, therefore, resolved no longer to temporize, but to secure the fidelity of Bogislaus, by placing a Swedish garrison in his capital. The possession of that strong and populous city would afford a commodious asylum for his magazines, as well as a place of safety to which he might retire, in case of any sudden reverse. Besides, it would have been highly imprudent to have adventured his army at a distance from the coast, while the fate of Stetin was undecided; because nothing would have been easier, during the absence of the Swedes, than for the Austrians, by blockading Stralsund, to have obstructed their communication with the fleet. Such an event must have immediately compelled the king to suspend his operations, though marching forward in the full career of victory. These considerations having been deemed conclusive, Gustavus embarked his troops at the close of day,* and taking advantage of a favourable breeze, arrived in a few hours before the walls of Stetin. The army was instantly landed, and preparations made for investing the city; when a trumpeter arrived, to inquire the cause of this hostile appearance, and to caution the soldiers not to approach within reach of the batteries. The messenger being conducted to the royal presence, Gustavus demanded by whom he was sent; and being told that he came by order of Damitz, the governor, he commanded him to return, and inform his general, that it had never been customary for the King of Sweden to negotiate with

* 1630. On the 20th of July.

persons of inferior rank, through the intervention of an interpreter.

Terrified at the apprehension of having offended a sovereign who asserted his dignity with so much firmness, Damnitz hastened to the camp, and substituting humility in the place of arrogance, submissively requested that his master might be permitted to continue neuter. He was proceeding to explain the distressed situation to which the Pomeranians were reduced, and their inability to engage in a war, when he was suddenly interrupted by the king—"I treat with none except principals," said Gustavus indignantly, "and will either visit the duke in his palace, or meet him here in the open plain."

The magistrates and citizens, whom curiosity had attracted to the Swedish camp, were delighted with the affability of Gustavus, who addressed his conversation to all who approached him, with freedom, and even familiarity. To the burgomaster he was particularly attentive, assuring him that he entertained no hostile designs against the German nation, and would prove his sincerity by his actions.*

Bogislaus, being made acquainted with the answer of Gustavus, thought it prudent to comply with his inclinations, and immediately set out, with a few attendants, for the royal pavilion. The Swedish monarch hastened to meet him, and addressed the duke with the characteristic frankness of a soldier. "In approaching your capital, good cousin," said the king, as he saluted the sovereign of Pomerania, "I come with the olive branch in

* Harte, l. 189. Lotichius, *ibid.* Puffendorf, ii. 26.

my hand ; for I am an enemy to none, except the enemies of freedom ; of course, we are destined to be friends, and as a convincing proof that I speak the language of truth, I will deliver you from the despotism of Austria. In order, however, to render my alliance essentially serviceable, it is indispensably necessary for me to secure Stetin against the dangers to which it might be exposed, while my troops are engaged in distant conquests. A Swedish garrison shall protect it for the present ; and, upon the word of a king, I promise to restore it when the success of my arms, or the conclusion of peace, shall enable me to do it with prudence."

Bogislaus, confounded at this unexpected demand, or more probably affecting surprise, reiterated the prayer which he had formerly made by the mouth of a delegate, that he might be permitted to abstain from acts of hostility toward either of the belligerent powers. To this Gustavus laconically replied, in the language of scripture, "He that is not for us is against us."*

Observing the palace windows to be crowded with ladies, (for the conference took place just under the walls) and desirous of giving a less serious turn to the conversation, Gustavus said, with a smile, "I think it would be difficult for those fair champions to resist the impetuosity of my Dalecarlian infantry."†

The good humour and gallantry of the king inducing Bogislaus to make another attempt, he

* Swedish Intelligencer. A work no less scarce than estimable for its accuracy, for which I am indebted to Marquis Wellesley.

† Harte, l. 190, upon the authority of Chemnitz, an invaluable history, of which I have never been able to procure a copy.

began to expatiate, with the prolixity of age, upon the danger which awaited him from the implacable resentment of Ferdinand. Gustavus, however, soon dispelled his hopes, by declaring, in a firm and solemn voice, "That he should deem himself unworthy to command the bravest troops which ever faced an enemy, if he suffered himself to be diverted from the path of prudence by any arguments." This declaration was too plain to be misunderstood; and Bogislaus, convinced of his inability to resist; or, what is still more probable, persuaded that he had done enough to secure himself from the imputation of treachery toward the imperial throne, contented himself with adding, in the tone of humility, "Then nothing remains but to submit."

The negotiation being concluded, the duke prepared to return to his palace, under pretext of making the necessary arrangements for the reception of his visitors. A guard of honour was ready to escort him, commanded by Lord Rea, who, as he entered the town, secured the gates, in conformity to his secret instructions. The fate of Stetin being thus decided, the garrison, consisting of about twelve hundred men, enrolled themselves under the banners of Sweden.*

The king's principal object being to conciliate the affections of the Germans, by proving to them that their own happiness and security was inseparably connected with his success, he directed both officers and soldiers to pitch their tents upon the ramparts, in order that the citizens might not sus-

* Swedish Intelligencer, i. 63.

tain the smallest inconvenience by lodging them. And as it was his invariable custom to partake the hardships which necessity compelled him to impose, he preferred passing the night on board one of his vessels to a magnificent apartment prepared for his reception in the ducal palace, declaring to the courtiers, who pressed him to accept a more comfortable lodging, that a fur cloak for a general, and a truss of straw for a soldier, made excellent beds, when their king was contented with a hammock.*

The vicinity of the imperialists rendered it necessary to provide against any sudden attack; cannon were accordingly planted on the ramparts, and every precaution was employed which could tend to preserve the city against a nocturnal surprise. On the following day a convention was signed, by which the ancient compact, concluded in 1570, between the predecessor of Bogislaus and the crown of Sweden, was formally renewed, and an alliance concluded for the mutual protection of their respective dominions. In compliment to the weakness of an infirm old man, it was expressly declared, by a separate article, that this treaty implied no hostile designs toward the chief of the empire, or any of its members, but was intended solely to preserve the fundamental principles of the Germanic constitution in all their original pu-

† Harte, i. 192.—The day after his landing, being Sunday, notwithstanding the pressure of important business, he thrice heard divine service, and was each time accompanied by a great number of officers. Hearing some of them complain, that this excessive devotion prevented them from attending to more urgent concerns, he rebuked them for their levity, saying, that “though war might be their amusement, religion was a duty from which nothing could dispense them.”—Ibid.

rity. This clause, however, was perfectly illusory, as Bogislaus engaged to employ all the resources with which Providence had entrusted him, in order to obtain complete redress for the various insults offered to his authority, in direct violation of the legitimate privileges of an independent sovereign. Gustavus, on the other hand, solemnly covenanted to restore all the towns and fortresses belonging to the duke, which he might eventually occupy; but in case Bogislaus should die without male issue before the conclusion of peace (an event by no means improbable), then his dominions were to remain in the hands of the Swedes, till the Elector of Brandenburg, the presumptive heir, should ratify all the articles of the present treaty, and indemnify Gustavus for every expense incurred in defending Pomerania. No specific term was assigned for the duration of this alliance, but it was expressly stipulated, that it could not be abrogated, except by mutual agreement. By an additional clause, Bogislaus engaged not to enter into any negotiation without the permission of Gustavus.*

The extreme facility with which the duke had consented to every proposal, created a suspicion that there was more of artifice than of sincerity in his opposition. Many even believed, that all the articles of the treaty had been previously settled.†

* Dumont, v. p. 2. 606. Puffendorf, ii. 27. Swed. Intell. i. 55.

† Puffendorf, *ibid.* Barro, ix. 601.—Burgus expresses his opinion in still clearer terms. "Adventum regis Bogislaus et Stetinenses primo ægre se ferre simularunt, clausisque portis quasi, se defensuri, ad regem legatos misere, qui ipsum allocuti, retulerunt, cupere illum, ut dux sui copiam faceret, quo coram quid vellet esset expositurus; neque illum adire *palam* dux abnuit, cum quo jam *clandestinum* transegerat," 73.

Neither was this impression in the least weakened by the subsequent conduct of Bogislaus, who, in a justificatory letter, addressed to Ferdinand, endeavoured to vindicate his behaviour, by shewing that any attempt to resist the Swedes must inevitably have completed the ruin of Pomerania, without retarding the progress of the invaders; because the Austrian general had disarmed the inhabitants, and left the coasts of the Baltic unprotected.* “What then,” he asked, “was the proceeding which prudence would dictate, when his capital was invested by a force too powerful to be withstood? Was it not to endeavour to avert the storm by submission?”

The possession of Stetin appeared to Gustavus so essential to the prosperity of his future designs, that he lost not a moment in repairing the walls, and strengthening them by additional fortifications; and this laborious task was completed in a few days by the diligence and activity of his soldiers.* The king, during the interval, received deputies from many of the adjacent towns, desirous to deprecate the horrors of a siege by early marks of attachment.

It is unavailing to follow the victorious monarch, with circumstantial minuteness, through all his career of glory, or accurately to enumerate all the towns and fortresses, with uncouth names, which were successively subjugated. For, however im-

* Harte, 193.

† Quatuor dierum spatium, quod vix credibile, mira Suecorum alacritate, civitas fossa et lorica circumdata, atque propugnaculis insuper ad justam defensionem munita.—Burgus, 78. The praise of an enemy is never suspicious.

portant the operations of an army may appear to contemporary politicians, the results alone can interest the curiosity of posterity. It is not to the numerical returns of killed and wounded that an enlightened understanding resorts for information, but to the changes produced by the event of a campaign in the relative situation of the belligerents. From the mutilated carcasses which strew the field of battle, humanity turns away in disgust, to inquire how far the carnage may have been favourable to the extension of commerce, to the pursuits of science, and to the general welfare of mankind. These are the most useful lessons that history can impart; and it is only by inculcating the precepts of virtue, encouraging the practice of rational piety, and kindling the flame of enlightened patriotism, that the task of the historian becomes delightful.

Eager to avail himself of the confusion into which his activity had thrown the imperialists, he extended his conquests on the left bank of the Oder, while Marshal Horn, who had lately arrived with reinforcements from Livonia, was occupied in reducing the eastern provinces of Pomerania. Dam, Stargard, Camin, Beerwald,* and Wolgast,

* L'Ingenieur Schildknecht rapporte ce qui lui est arrivé avec Gustave. Il dit, que le monarque Suedois etant au camp de Beerwalde avait projeté de s'emparer d'un defilé pour surprendre les imperiaux dans leur camp. Mais comme il ne se fiait jamais aux cartes gravées, et comme il etait impossible d'aller reconnoitre le terrain puisque l'ennemi l'occupoit, cet ingenieur en fit le plan d'après le rapport des habitans, et le presenta au roi qui dirigea sa marche en consequence. Mais l'armée avant d'arriver au defilé se trouva tout d'un coup vis-a-vis d'un marais qui n'était pas marqué dans le plan de l'ingenieur. Ce marais pouvait etre defendu par l'ennemi, et couter beaucoup de monde aux Suedois. Le roi rebroussa chemin, et traita fort mal le pauvre Schildknecht, qui assura S. M. que le plan avait été fait sur le rapport d'un vieux gentilhomme et d'un ecclésiastique du lieu, " Et bien," dit le roi en plaisantant, " suivés ces braves

fell successively into the hands of the Swedes, though the two former were defended by the eminent talents of Piccolomini.*

The invasion of Germany, however much it might excite the fears, or stimulate the hopes, of those who were placed contiguous to the scene of action, was far from exciting a similar sensation at Vienna. It would have been derogating from the presumptuous arrogance of Austria, not to have treated with contempt the menaces of a sovereign who, from an obscure corner of the north, provoked the resentment of a mighty monarch, whose gigantic power threatened Europe with fetters. Neither were the former exploits of this warlike barbarian (for so the flatterers of Ferdinand denominated Gustavus) less an object of derision, because his military fame was supposed to have arisen, not from the transcendent powers of genius, but from having contended against adversaries more ignorant and weak than himself.* The humiliating picture which Wallenstein drew of the tactics and resources of Sweden, contributed to cherish this fatal delusion: it was natural for pride to contemplate with scorn the pretended achievements of a pigmy hero, whom the presumptuous Friedland confidently boasted he could repel with a scourge. Even his uninterrupted triumphs in Pomerania were unable to open the eyes of Ferdinand. Gustavus was called, in derision, a *king of snow*, whose strength must dissolve in the warmer regions of southern Germany, though it preserved

gens, et faites vous montrer ce marais pour n'en pas tromper d'autres."—Francheville, 306.

* Harte, 196.

† Ibid, i. 227.

its solidity amid the northern forests. This strange infatuation, which blinded the emperor, obscured also the intellects of the electors, who, flattering their chief with the servility of slaves, refused the regal title to the only monarch, whose talents did honour to a sceptre. But while Gustavus was satirized at Vienna and Ratisbonne, he was diligently employed in laying the foundation of his future glory, and had actually made himself master of the greater part of Mecklenberg and Pomerania.*

The imperial generals endeavoured to compensate, by energetic measures, for the supineness of the court; and as rigour and activity are synonymous terms in the despot's vocabulary, they indulged the soldiers in the most wanton excesses of lust and rapacity. Under pretext of distressing the Swedish army, the country was plundered with remorseless barbarity; many towns and villages being reduced to ashes, lest they might afford an asylum to the invaders. These enormities, however, so far from being attended with essential benefit to the Austrians, contributed to render the emperor's name more odious, if possible, than ever, while the Swedish monarch, regularly paid for every article delivered to the commissaries, and never indulged his troops in the smallest excesses. The consequences, arising from the different behaviour of the belligerent armies were such as might naturally be expected; for, while the Swedes were welcomed with grateful acclamations, as men delegated by Heaven to rescue an impoverished country from the tyranny of its oppressors, the imperialists

* 1630. Schiller, ii.

were exposed to the fury of the exasperated peasants, and, when found in parties too weak to resist, were massacred without the smallest compassion.*

Torquato Conti, being unwilling to risk the event of a battle, before all his reinforcements were arrived, intrenched himself in a strong position near Garz, where he completely covered the contiguous provinces, and was ready for an attempt upon the capital of Pomerania, should an opportunity offer to attack it. Bogislaus was fully sensible of the danger which threatened him, during the absence of his gallant defender; and he accordingly implored him not to abandon Stetin, till he had compelled the enemy to retire. The difficulty of an undertaking was never a reason with the Swedish monarch for declining it; but being convinced, that nothing could induce the Austrians to quit their intrenchments, he resolved to endeavour to get possession of Garz, which covered the enemy's flank. The attempt, if successful, would give lustre to his arms, and compel them to change their position; neither could the failure be attended with important results. At the close of day, the Swedish detachment began its march, and arrived, without interruption, in the vicinity of Garz. The dead silence which prevailed inspiring confidence, the scaling ladders were applied to the walls; but no sooner had the men began to ascend, than the enemy, having obtained previous intimation of their design, attacked them with the most resolute

* Lotichius, 791.—Cæsariani ob perfidiam Stetinensibus irati.—Burgus, 80. I should be sorry to submit this passage to an Irish commentator.

bravery. Undismayed at the danger, the Swedish commander collected his forces, and having cut a passage through the enemy rejoined the army. Delighted with his success, he presented himself before the king; and, laying at his feet two Austrian standards, as irrefragable proofs of superior prowess, expected to receive his highest reward, a hero's commendation. But how severe was his disappointment when, instead of approving his desperate courage, Gustavus, who suspected that the failure had arisen from his inadvertence, said, with a look of reproach, "Though no man admires a gallant action more than myself, I can never regard it as a satisfactory atonement for want of discretion."*

The same generous spirit which animated the bosom of the Swedish monarch, was far less conspicuous in the behaviour of the Austrians. The old Latin adage† was considered by Torquato as a satisfactory excuse for the greatest atrocities. Treachery and assassination were alternately employed by the crafty Italian; and had they succeeded in delivering his master from an enemy too formidable to be defeated in honourable warfare, he would probably have been extolled both at Vienna and Madrid as the most perfect of heroes.

Quintio Aligheri (or del Ponte, as he is more frequently called), under pretext of having received a signal affront, went over to Gustavus with a determination to destroy him by poison, or assassination, in case he should fail in his infamous plan of de-

* Harte, i. 203.

† Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat.

livering him a prisoner into the hands of Torquato. A mind equally depraved having designated a captain in the Swedish service as a fit accomplice, it was resolved between them that the most probable means of effecting their purpose would be, for Quintio to endeavour to acquire the confidence of his master. Being gifted by nature with a quick understanding, an undaunted courage, and a constitution equal to the severest fatigue, he soon attracted the notice of a monarch, who was never backward to recompense merit; and, being rapidly promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was consulted by Gustavus upon various occasions. The king being desirous of reconnoitring in person the Austrian lines, selected the Italian as a companion; because he naturally concluded from his former situation that he must be thoroughly acquainted with the adjacent country. Quitting the camp in the evening, with an escort of only seventy horse, he left part of them at the entrance of a defile, in order to secure a retreat. Aligheri, having undertaken to explore the environs, rode full speed to the imperial camp, and informed the general that the fortunate moment was at length arrived; and, that if he would entrust him with the command of five hundred horse, it would be impossible for Gustavus to escape. Unsuspicious of treachery, and attributing to accident the protracted absence of his friend, the king was surrounded on his return. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, he disdained to yield; so that the perfidious Italian, despairing of being able to take him alive, resolved to effect his hellish purpose by murder. He is said, however, to have confessed in the sequel, that at the moment he pointed his pistol against the

Swedish hero, he was impressed with a kind of supernatural awe, which prevented his drawing the trigger. Falling at length with his wounded horse, the king was seized by the enemy, who were conducting him a prisoner to the imperial camp, when the party which had been left behind arrived unexpectedly to his succour. The officer, who commanded it, alarmed for the safety of a beloved sovereign, advanced to meet him; and hearing the report of fire-arms, hastened to the spot from whence it proceeded. A violent charge overturned the Austrian horse, and gave liberty to the illustrious captive. The intimacy, which had prevailed between Aligheri and the man whom he had chosen for his confederate,* having rendered the latter an object of suspicion, his papers were examined, and proofs being found to substantiate his guilt, he was condemned to the gallows by a military tribunal.†

Not many days elapsed before a monk in disguise was arrested in the Swedish camp; and, being interrogated respecting the motive of his appearing under a fictitious character, he confessed that he had undertaken to assassinate the king. Such were the methods employed by Austria, and such the nefarious policy of the Jesuits.‡

Being equally deficient in money and in men, Torquato resolved that nothing should induce him to hazard a battle till the arrival of Tilly. No sooner however was he assured that Gustavus was advancing into Mecklenberg, by hasty marches,

* He is called Giovanni Battista, but those are both baptismal names, that of his family being no where mentioned.

† Puffendorf, ii, 28. Lotichius, i, 792. Burgus, 93. Swed. Intel. 59.

‡ Harte, 203, upon the authority of Loccenus.

than he made an effort for the recovery of Stetin. But the enemy was too vigilant to be taken by surprize; so that the reception he met with was by no means calculated to make him, eager to renew the attempt.*

Allowing all to genius which it is able to accomplish, it is still fair to acknowledge, that every thing combined to favour the operations of Gustavus; and though Torquato is usually accused of incapacity, it might not have proved easy for a more experienced general to have supported his reputation under similar circumstances. Exposed by the neglect or imbecility of the Austrian ministers to extreme pecuniary distress, placed at the head of an army diminishing rapidly by the ravages of disease, and entrusted with the defence of a country so entirely drained by the exactions of his predecessors, and his own insatiable rapacity,† as to be utterly incapable of furnishing additional supplies, he seems to have adopted the only method by which total destruction could have been avoided. Compelled to subsist upon the precarious produce of plunder, the soldiers ceased to respect the orders of their superiors, who no longer dared to punish those, whom they were equally unable either to feed or to pay.‡ Desertion, the natural consequence of distress, contributed no less than sickness and famine to thin the Austrian bat-

* Lotichius, 794. Burgus, 90.

† Puffendorf draws an affecting picture of the atrocities committed by Savelli, who was second in command. "Ejusviri" (meaning Savelli) "foedum sordidæ avariciæ specimen ferebatur, quod cum post abrepta in tributum cætera, equis demum rusticorum manum injecisset, nec qui vel redimerit, vel emeret, strigosa jumenta inveniretur, eandem denum carnifici addixerit, exiguum sibi corû pretium stipulatus, lili. 6.

‡ Lotichius, 791.

talions. In this trying situation, Torquato proposed an armistice as his only resource, under pretext that it was inconsistent with the principles of humanity to keep the field in a season so uncommonly rigid. The offer however was rejected with disdain. "My troops," said Gustavus, "have been accustomed from their cradles to a colder climate, and can subsist without oppressing the natives. The imperialist's are at liberty to retire into winter quarters, but they must not expect to be left in repose."^{*}

A campaign, conducted with such manifest disadvantage on the side of the Austrians, could hardly fail to terminate unsuccessfully. True to his promise, the king perpetually harassed them by desultory attacks; and the greater part of Pomerania being now subjected by his victorious cohorts, he resolved no longer to defer an enterprize, which would manifest to the world his future intentions in language too clear to be misinterpreted. The duchy of Mecklenburg had been treated by Wallenstein with greater lenity than any other province of Germany; and he appears from the commencement of his military career to have regarded it with the partial eye of a parent, as the seat of his future dominion. Various motives therefore combined to influence the Swedish monarch, in directing thither his triumphant career. It was alleged in his manifesto, that he entered Germany for the purpose of reinstating the legitimate sovereigns of Mecklenburg, to whom he was allied by ties of consanguinity, as well as by treaties; nor could he longer postpone the honourable effort,

* Schiller, ii.

without material injury to his reputation. Thus far he was prompted by glory, and interest asserted even a stronger claim, were it possible for interest, in a hero's estimation, to be distinct from glory. In proportion as he advanced, he was secure of finding more abundant supplies; and every progressive step brought him nearer to the dominions of the Landgrave of Hesse Casel, who was ready to join the Swedish army with eight thousand well disciplined troops. To dislodge the imperialists from Wismar and Rostock was likewise an object of infinite moment; because the occupation of those commanding stations enabled them to carry on a piratical war in the Baltic, extremely injurious to the commerce of Sweden. Both Lubec and Hamburg had promised reinforcements, in addition to a pecuniary subsidy, and he was aware that the proximity of a victorious army would operate more effectually for the encouragement of religious zeal, than the most fervent exhortations from the pulpit. He felt also the impolicy of abandoning Magdeburg, which a premature declaration in favour of the Swedes had exposed to the resentment of Austria. But, above all, he hoped by his presence to encourage the Elector of Brandenburg to declare against Ferdinand, whom he equally feared and detested.*

As the troops he expected were not yet arrived from Livonia, he could spare no more than twelve thousand men† for this important expedition; the remainder being requisite for the defence of Pome-

* Gualdo, i. 14.

† Burgus reduces them to six thousand, but I prefer following the accuracy of Harte, i. 206.

rania, a small squadron was directed to cruise on the coast, to second the operations of the land forces, and to supply them, if necessary, with provisions.*

Damgarten and Ribnitz being taken by storm, the garrison of the former was put to the sword in retaliation for the atrocities committed by the imperialists, after the capture of Passewalk; † that of the latter, being for the most part composed of mercenaries, wanted little inducement to enrol. ‡

Gustavus having thus by his rapid conquests secured the keys of Mecklenburg, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them, that his only object in invading the duchy was to restore the authority of their legitimate sovereigns, § unjustly deposed by a tyrannical decree. All faithful subjects were in consequence exhorted to assist in expelling the partisans of the usurper, for so the Duke of Friedland was called. To the zeal of the well affected an adequate recompense was promised, while against those who should adhere to the adverse party, the severest punishment was denounced. ||

This was of course the proper moment for the Dukes of Mecklenburg to declare themselves, because the only chance that remained of recovering

* Puffendorf, ii. 32.

† Excusebant Succum hanc sœvitiam exemplo sibi a Cæsarianis Pasbaldæ dato, ubi Succorum nemo in captivitate servatus fuerat.—Burgus, 101. The Swedish Intelligencer gives a horrid narrative of this shocking transaction, i. 50.

‡ Puffendorf, ii. 33.

§ Adolphus Frederic, and John Albert.

|| Sic ut omnes et singulos Fridlandi ministros, tanquam dei et religionis hostes, patriæque et libertatis persecutores, cædatis, ejiciatisque. Lotichius, i. 793.

their dominions was by the assistance of Sweden. To the generosity of the emperor they had ineffectually resorted, after having repeatedly appealed to his equity. They had likewise tried the effects of submission, had employed the mediation of powerful friends, and even secretly offered to prove unfaithful to Gustavus. But the resentment of Ferdinand was implacable; he had resolved to reduce every member of the empire to the most abject state of dependance, and hoped by the severity with which he punished his opponents more effectually to accomplish his purpose.

The general detestation in which the Austrians were held, leaving little doubt that the natives would return with alacrity under the more lenient government of their ancient sovereigns, Savelli was sent to oppose the invaders: but as little hope could be entertained of a prosperous campaign, without the possession of Rostock, and as the inhabitants were supposed to be warmly attached to the ducal party, he endeavoured to get possession of it by the following stratagem:—Having obtained permission from the magistrates for an Austrian detachment to traverse the town, they seized the gates, disarmed the guard, planted cannon on the walls, and prepared for a regular defence.*

This treacherous action, which the imperial general attempted to justify upon the plea of expediency, impeded for a while the operations of Gustavus, and obliged him to advance with greater caution. Determined, however, that nothing should be left to the caprice of fortune, he strengthened

* 1630. Burgos, 102. Puffendorf, ii. 33. Lotichius, i. 793.

Ribnitz and Dambgarten by additional fortifications ; for, notwithstanding he had been joined by large bodies of deserters from the Austrian armies, he was still too feeble to undertake the subjugation of Mecklenberg, and at the same time to leave a sufficient force to secure his conquests in Pomerania against the attempts of Torquato.

The only prince, who had openly declared in his favour, was Christian William, administrator of Magdeburg, who had been forcibly deprived of that lucrative see by the injustice of Ferdinand. No sooner was he apprised of the preparations making for the invasion of Germany, than he indulged the hope of recovering his bishopric. Resolved to identify his fortune with that of Gustavus, he visited Stockholm in secret ; and, giving way to the chimeras of a sanguine imagination, he offered, with the assistance of his numerous adherents, to surprise and disarm the Austrian garrison ; and should the undertaking, as he anticipated, be crowned with success, he proposed to levy a considerable force in Lower Saxony, and by desultory enterprizes entirely to occupy the attention of the imperialists. In return, he required a sum of money for completing his military preparations, together with the promise of being reinstated in his former dignity, whenever circumstances should favour his pretensions. This proposal was far too agreeable to Gustavus to be treated with indifference ; but as the zeal of the administrator frequently tempted him to contemplate events through a delusive medium, and might consequently lead him, by a premature declaration, to frustrate a project, which, if conducted with sagacity, could hardly fail to produce essential benefit, the king exhorted

his enterprising friend not to hazard success by temerity; but for the present to confine himself to a clandestine negotiation with the disaffected citizens, preparing them by degrees for a general insurrection, when circumstances might justify the attempt. The plan of operations being thus arranged, Christian William returned into Germany, in order to carry it into execution; and that he might more effectually elude the vigilance of his enemies, he immediately entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand, offering to resign all pretensions to the episcopal revenues, in consideration of an adequate pension.*

The long expected moment being at length arrived, the king sent Stralman, an officer, on whose prudence and fidelity he could perfectly rely, to attend the administrator, under the character of envoy, but in fact to restrain the impetuosity of his temper by cautious counsels. Delighted at the prospect of entering upon a more active career, and having gained admission into Magdeburg in disguise, Christian prepared his adherents for the decisive scene, and then repaired in triumph to the town-house, where the principal burghers were assembled.† In a studied oration, he expatiated on the misery produced by the tyranny of Austria; explained, in language well calculated to inflame his auditors, the ambitious projects of the imperial court, whom he accused of having formed a deliberate scheme for the total extirpation of the protestant religion, and the destruction of the Germanic constitution. As the only means of escaping

* Puffendorf, ii. 31.

† Lotichius, i. 807.

the impending danger, he recommended an alliance with the King of Sweden, the champion of freedom and religious toleration.* Perceiving that his exhortations were likely to produce the desired effect, he presented Stralman to the assembly, as the confidential minister of Gustavus, and empowered by him to conclude a treaty, upon terms of mutual convenience. Seduced by the prospect of recovering their independence, and the free enjoyment of the Lutheran worship, the citizens and clergy renewed with alacrity the oath of fidelity to Christian, and signed a convention with the representative of Gustavus, by which he obtained the disposal of all their military resources, together with permission for his troops to traverse the city, whenever occasion might require. In return for these advantages, the Swedish monarch solemnly engaged to succour the town, in case it should be besieged by the imperialists, and farther promised never to terminate hostilities with the common enemy, without stipulating for the independence of Magdeburg.†

Notwithstanding the confidence reposed by Gustavus in the bravery and attachment of his soldiers, he could not but foresee that, without the co-operation of the protestant states, no durable impression could be made upon a country so populous, and every where abounding in strongly-fortified cities. No man was more capable of justly estimating the resources of the nation with which he contended; he knew it to be invincible, if firmly united; and was perfectly aware that he ought not to cherish the faintest hope of ultimate success, unless he should

* Gualdo, i. 18. † Lotichius, i. 807. Bougeant, i. 157. Puffendorf, li. 31.

be fortunate enough to arm the discontented members against their tyrannical chief, and thus conquer Germany with the assistance of Germans. Appreciating the feelings of other men by those of his own, he seems scarcely to have entertained the smallest doubt that the enthusiasm of liberty would operate more forcibly than the timid suggestions of fear; and that, in the arduous struggle for religion and independence, every meaner passion would subside. But he quickly discovered that he had calculated entirely upon erroneous principles, in attributing to others those elevated sentiments, which rendered glory the idol of his own adoration. Restrained by the apprehension of inevitable ruin, the unavoidable consequence of a defeat, many of the protestant princes confined themselves entirely to barren vows for the prosperity of an enterprize, in which they were too cautious to engage. The vacillating timidity of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, encouraged by the weakness or the venality of their ministers, prevented them from acting with decision or vigour. Yet so violent was the resentment excited by Austrian despotism, in the bosoms of both, that they were equally incapable of acting with the circumspection necessary to elude suspicion, though fear deterred them from openly declaring in favour of Gustavus. Convinced that nothing could be expected from their voluntary exertions, while the event of the contest remained uncertain, that sagacious monarch embraced the design of overcoming their scruples by coercion, and compelling them to become, like the timid Bogislaus, the unwilling instruments of their own emancipation.

It cannot however be denied, that some occur-

rences had taken place to sanction the indecision of these wavering statesmen, under the specious title of prudence. No sooner had the degraded sovereigns of Mecklenberg embraced the resolution of appealing gallantly to the sword, than they appointed the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg commander of the troops, which he might be able to levy for their service. At a period when commerce and agriculture were equally straitened by the devastations of war, an army was easily collected. The duke had scarcely erected his standard, when he found himself at the head of a force sufficiently formidable to embarrass the operations of Pappenheim. That active general, one of the ablest who figured in the sanguinary contest, was aware of the difficulties which must attend the blockade of Magdeburg, should Lauenburg be suffered to retain possession of several towns, which he had recently occupied in the vicinity of the Elbe, and in particular of Ratzburg, the ancient residence of his family. Feeling that his own reputation must necessarily suffer, unless he put a speedy stop to the incursions of the foe, Pappenheim resolved by one decisive blow to annihilate the resources of his antagonist. Advancing with rapidity, his cannon were planted against the walls of Ratzburg before the Saxon was apprised of his approach. Convinced of the impossibility of defending a town, the inhabitants of which were decidedly hostile, Francis Charles immediately proposed to capitulate; but was told that it was necessary to surrender at discretion, and allowed only a quarter of an hour to decide. Terrified at the idea of being exposed to the resentment of Ferdinand, he resolved to encounter every possible danger, rather than voluntarily subscribe

to such degrading conditions. Embarking on the lake, which separates Ratzburg from Lubec, he sailed from the harbour with the well-founded expectation of being able to reach the latter city in security.

The Austrians, however, being apprised of his intention, fired at the vessel, and killed the pilot; when the murmurs of the crew compelling their leader to regain the shore, he surrendered to Pappenheim, upon receiving a promise that his life should be spared. This condition clearly shews the barbarity of the age, and the little respect then paid by the rulers of civilized nations to the common laws of humanity. Thus terminated an expedition, which notwithstanding its failure, was not wholly destitute of advantage to the Swedish cause, because it prevented the Austrians from drawing reinforcements from Lower Saxony for the defence of Pomerania, but which was calculated nevertheless to afford to timidity a plausible plea for declining the contest.*

Gustavus foreseeing that the moment was approaching when he must be compelled to meet the united forces of Ferdinand and the League, unless their junction could be prevented, preferred, by dividing his own army, to encounter the danger in different quarters, rather than suffer the enemy to consolidate their immense resources for one gigantic effort. For this purpose it became necessary for him to occupy the vast extent of country, which stretches from the confines of Polish Prussia to the frontiers of Holland; by which he not only secured the navigation of the principal rivers which intersect

* Burgus, 104. Lotichius, i. 810. Harte, i. 213.

the northern provinces of Germany, but would oblige the enemy to remove the theatre of hostilities to a distance from the shores of the Baltic. In order to facilitate the execution of this important project, it became requisite to maintain in the field five separate armies. The first, consisting of at least thirty thousand men, and under his own direction, was destined to drive the imperialists out of Mecklenberg; the second, under the command of the gallant Horn, but amounting to little more than half that number, was entrusted with the defence of Pomerania. General Teuffel* with a corps ten thousand strong, was directed to watch the motions of the Austrians on the banks of the Vistula; while the administrator of Magdeburg, reinforced by Falkenberg and six thousand Dutch, guarded the country between the Elbe and the Weser. A fifth army, composed of six thousand Swedes, and of the English auxiliaries which the Marquis of Hamilton was expected to bring, was to extend its operations from the left bank of that river over the whole of the bishopric of Munster.

A plan combined with such consummate skill could hardly fail of producing the most beneficial results; but the difficulty of finding resources commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking appeared to present insuperable obstacles to its execution, as the expenses of the war, even upon the contracted scale to which it had been hitherto confined, far exceeded the revenues of Sweden. The king was therefore compelled to leave much

* Among the most distinguished officers in the Swedish army were the Colonels Teuffel and Tod, whose names gave rise to the following humorous observation, "das Gustav sey mit Tod und Teufel (Death and the Devil) in Deutschland gekommen."—Struvius, Corp. Hist. Germ. 1267.

to the decision of fortune, convinced by the experience of preceding ages that she in general has been partial to those, who by their genius and activity were best entitled to her favours. In proportion as he advanced, he was almost morally certain of procuring new allies, contributions might be raised in the ecclesiastical states, and the subjugated provinces would supply his army with fresh recruits.

Though the rapid progress of the Swedes was far from creating an alarm at Vienna, in any degree commensurate with the extraordinary effects which their conquests were destined to produce; yet it began to excite universal attention in every other part of the empire, awakening the fears and expectations of the different political factions, according as their wishes or their interests suggested. The hopes of the protestants again revived; assemblies were convened, alliances contracted, and armaments levied. No longer confining their timid hopes to the humble enjoyment of personal security, they began to contemplate the recovery of independence as no improbable contingency, and even ventured to talk of retaliation. On the side of the catholics the impression produced was perhaps fainter, because fear is usually less active than hope. But in the estimation of most men, who suffered themselves neither to be warped by the too confident suggestions of pride, nor to be biased by the delusions of party, it became a subject of serious doubt, whether at the commencement of a war it was not highly imprudent in the emperor to disband his veteran regiments, and the only general, in whose capacity the army confided.*

* 1630. Schmidt, v. 2.

Though the cabinet of Vienna still affected to treat the operations of the Swedes with haughty indifference, yet it was easy to infer from the activity which prevailed in the military department, that they were not totally insensible to the danger. Relying too confidently upon the immense resources which the house of Austria could command, they however neglected many precautions to which under similar circumstances more enlightened ministers would have resorted; and thus by their presumption increased the irritation of the public mind, instead of endeavouring by wise and conciliatory expedients to eradicate the seeds of disaffection. Flattering himself that his remonstrances might now be attended with salutary effects, the Elector of Saxony determined to make another effort in favour of the protestants. In a letter to Ferdinand, he strenuously exhorted him, as he valued the peace and prosperity of Germany, to revoke the edict of restitution; because, while that fatal measure, like an impending tempest, was ready to burst over their heads, it was futile to talk of permanent tranquillity. Inflated with the recollection of his former triumphs, and stimulated by the infatuated zeal of the Jesuits, anxious to appropriate the benefices piously rescued from the pollution of heresy, to the use of an order instituted expressly to preserve the purity of the catholic worship, the emperor assured him, in a tone of defiance, that he strangely underrated the ability of Austria, if he supposed it deficient in strength to enforce the edict, and to chastise the temerity of Gustavus. It would, however, he said, conduce essentially to the security of the empire, were the contingents furnished by the different members to

be increased: and he accordingly exhorted both Saxony and Brandenburg to meet the necessity of the times with augmented contributions. Indignant at experiencing insult and disregard, when he looked for praise and attention, John George renewed his exhortations in more energetic language, accusing Ferdinand of beholding with insensibility the many calamities, which his improvidence had occasioned, imputing to him the nefarious design of subverting the liberties of Germany, and upbraiding him with requiting his former services with the blackest ingratitude. As the only means of appeasing the ferment, he proposed the convention of a general assembly, for the termination of all religious disputes, and for securing to the members of the reformed church, the full enjoyment of every privilege to which they were legally entitled.

It is among the greatest misfortunes which have befallen mankind, that according to the present constitution of society, various classes of men derive emolument from the sufferings of their fellow creatures. In the days of Ferdinand superstition and avarice were no less vociferous in their clamours for war, than commercial speculation is at present. And so great was their influence, that this second remonstrance was received at Vienna with no less indifference than the former.*

The affairs of the emperor daily assuming a more unfavourable aspect in the north of Germany, he determined to oppose another commander to the victorious Swede, as his ministers insisted that the conduct of the war, and not the system prescribed,

* 1680. Lotichius, i. 747.

was defective. Torquato Conti was in consequence recalled, and replaced by Schomberg, a brave and experienced officer, who had risen by merit from the lowest rank, and wanted nothing, except genius, to become a great commander.* The miserable situation however, in which he found the army, precluding the possibility of offensive operations, the utmost to which he aspired was to be allowed to pass the approaching winter in inert security; but the activity of Gustavus, and the patient courage of his soldiers, braved the inclemency of a climate, mild in comparison with their native forests; conscious that in proportion to the severity of the season their chance of conquest must augment. Colberg, the depository of Austrian plunder, was accordingly invested by General Kuiphausen, with an army twelve thousand strong, but defended itself till the following year;† and, in the month of December, Gustavus in person laid siege to Griffenhagen. Though Schomberg was encamped in the vicinity, he was too weak to attempt its relief; the garrison therefore, after a desperate resistance, and the loss of their chief, were obliged to evacuate the city. Elate with victory the king appeared before Gartz, in the hope of tempting Schomberg to

* Gualdo. i. 19.

† The following anecdote does so much credit to the bravery of the Scotch that I shall not apologize for inserting it. Colonel Monro being entrusted with the defence of Scheifelbein, a small fortress near Colberg, but deemed incapable of sustaining a regular siege, received orders from Kuiphausen, not to surrender, while a single man remained. The imperialists appeared before it, and Montecucoli, who commanded them, sent a summons to Monro, with offers to treat for a capitulation. Undismayed by the immense disproportion of numbers, the gallant Scot returned for answer, "that the word *treaty* was omitted in his instructions, but that he had powder and balls at his service."—Harte, i. 217. Swed. Intell. 70.

quit his intrenchments; but that wary commander, too prudent to hazard his well-earned reputation in an unequal contest, and apprehensive that Gustavus might assail his camp, retreated to Francfort upon the Oder.*

Too prudent to allow the smallest respite to a flying foe, the Swedish cavalry pursued the imperialists with so much activity, that they threw their rear into confusion, and put a regiment of Croats to the sword, in retaliation for the atrocities which they had committed.†

Large bodies of the imperialists having taken refuge in the march of Brandenburg, that unfortunate country, though subject to a prince who had never offended the emperor, was exposed to plunder and devastation. It is, however, a tribute due to the memory of the gallant Schomberg, distinctly to state, that no exertions on his part were left untried to curb the licentiousness of the soldiery; and, finding that hunger had rendered them deaf to the voice of authority, he offered to resign the command. Too weak to oppose the overwhelming torrent, trembling for the safety of his capital, the elector removed his plate and jewels to Spandau. Courier after courier was dispatched to Vienna to solicit redress, but it was the policy of Ferdinand to exhaust the resources of those whose power he beheld with jealousy, and the sufferings of heretics he always contemplated with the pious insensibility of an inquisitor. Convinced that nothing could be expected either from the justice or the compassion of the imperial court, the elector in despair issued a

* Ferdinand di Capua. † Puffendorf, il. 38. Gualdo, l. 20.

proclamation, authorizing his subjects to take up arms against the violators of their domestic repose, and to employ those means which nature furnishes to all her children, to repress the rapacity of the imperialists. For so deplorable was the condition to which he found himself reduced, that the only expedient which presented itself to his distracted imagination, was to sanction by the sacred authority of law the vengeance of an exasperated people.*

* Schiller, ii. Lotichius, i. 805.

CHAP. XI.

Situation of the Swedes; the imperial minister alarmed at their rapid success; feeling and conduct of Ferdinand.—Character of Arnheim; he exerts his influence over the Elector of Saxony in order to detach him from Austria.—John George aspires to place himself at the head of the Protestant party; communicates his designs to the Elector of Brandenburg, and obtains his concurrence; convenes the States at Torgau, and with their approbation invites all the Protestant princes to an assembly at Leipsic.—Gustavus Adolphus concludes an alliance with France; negotiations for that purpose; his dignified conduct; Articles of the treaty, and the effects produced by them in the opinion of the world.—Tilly marches with the design of giving battle to the Swedes.—Dauin taken.—Cruelty of Tilly at New Brandenburg.—Frankfort upon the Oder carried by assault; generosity of the King of Sweden.—Diet meets at Leipsic; opened by a speech from the Elector of Saxony; a memorial presented to Ferdinand; his reply.—Gustavus proposes a general confederacy for protecting the liberties of Germany.—Timid policy of John George; he rejects the offers of Sweden, but prevails upon the Diet to levy an army for their mutual defence. Some of the members enter into a clandestine correspondence with the King of Sweden. The Emperor issues an edict to annul the proceedings at Leipsic, which are justified by the framers in a spirited reply.—Tilly besieges Magdeburg; efforts of Gustavus to relieve it frustrated by the pusillanimity of Saxony and Brandenburg; fall and destruction of Magdeburg.

THE unvarying success, which had hitherto attended all the operations of Gustavus, began at length to alarm the presumptuous indifference of the imperial court; who beheld with amazement an army which they thought too insignificant to disturb the repose of a monarch, who wielded the colossal sceptre of Austria, so soon augmented to four times its original numbers.* A body of re-

* From 13,000 to more than 50,000 men; viz. 39,400 infantry, and 11,800 cavalry.

serve was also known to be training in Sweden, sufficient to augment the German army to seventy thousand combatants; while exertions were making in every part by additional emoluments to provide against the ravages incidental to war.*

Astonished to see a romantic adventurer (for by that contemptuous appellation the Austrian ministers presumed to designate the greatest warrior that modern Europe has produced,) creating resources by the magic wand of genius, and extending his conquests over the north of Germany, Ferdinand now seriously regretted his folly in having consented to reduce his military establishment, and to deprive himself of the services of the only general, whose talents were calculated to inspire confidence. This fatal error operated to his disadvantage in a two-fold ratio; because age, having been assumed as the fairest criterion, none had been disbanded except veteran soldiers, who, being totally unacquainted with all mechanical professions, were compelled to provide for their future subsistence by enlisting under the banners of Sweden.†

Perseverance and obstinacy are distinguished from each other by such tender shades, that it is not surprising to find them so often confounded in the apprehensions of men, unacquainted with the subtlety of metaphysical distinctions. This mental confusion had so entirely clouded the judgment of Ferdinand, that he would have regarded himself as surrendering the most valuable jewel in the imperial crown, had he consented to annul the unpopular edict which had created such general alarm.

* 1631. Harte, i. 226.

† Ibid. 227.

By a partial compliance with the wishes of those, whose union with Sweden was most to be apprehended, the humiliation of Austria might have been prevented; but such condescension was no less inconsistent with Ferdinand's ideas of royal prerogative, than it was repugnant to his religious prejudices. He accordingly continued with unremitting severity to enforce the edict: the love of power had originally induced him to resort to that improvident act, and both pride and inclination now prompted him to persevere. From the embarrassment excited by arbitrary measures, he attempted to extricate himself by others no less arbitrary and impolitic. Religion and vanity were equally implicated in the result; nor could he retrace his steps, as he absurdly believed, without exposing his authority to universal derision, and failing in duty toward his Creator.*

With no less surprise than indignation the protestant princes beheld the venerable fabric of the Germanic constitution progressively undermined; but as the terror occasioned by the despotism of Ferdinand had in some degree abated, they resolved to avail themselves of the only opportunity that might ever occur, for attempting to recover their independence. The unexampled severity with which the imperial tribunals persecuted the adherents of the Elector Palatine, had greatly irritated a numerous party. According to the established principles of jurisprudence, the confiscated property, so far from reverting to the imperial crown, belonged exclusively to the sovereigns in whose dominions the sequestrated fiefs were situated. Yet, in

* Grimoard, li. 182.

spite of the representations of the different states, Ferdinand not only refused to revoke the powers granted to the commissioners, but even to subject their proceedings to revision.*

Though the Elector of Saxony had viewed with indifference this tyrannical conduct, while his personal interests were untouched; yet, when he discovered, that by the desertion of his ancient allies he had diminished his strength, without establishing a claim to more liberal treatment, disappointment embittered resentment; and, in the excess of his anger, he secretly resolved to assert his dignity by some signal act of revenge.

It is, however, far from improbable, that the natural indolence of a character, degraded by vicious indulgence, † might have prevented him from acting with the necessary vigour, had not his passion been continually fomented by Arnheim, who had recently quitted the Austrian service for that of the elector. Arnheim ‡ had been educated in the school of Wallenstein, to whom he was devotedly attached by the double tie of gratitude and interest. Exasperated at the neglect with which his patron had been treated, he determined to employ the unbounded influence which he had obtained over his weak and irresolute master, in order to detach him

* Grimoard, ii. 182.

† This prince is thus painted by Feuquieres. "Le Duc de Saxe est fier, orgueilleux, grand yvrogne, avare, hai et méprisé de ses sujets . . . , amoureux du repos et du plaisir, incapable des grandes affaires." Beer is said to have been his favourite liquor, with which he intoxicated himself in preference to the most exquisite wines.

‡ Cardinal Richelieu, who hated duplicity in all characters except his own, said in the presence of Grotius, that Arnheim, by devoting himself to the profession of arms, had deprived the see of Rome of one of its most artful intriguers.—Harte, i. 263.

from the Austrian party; that by his assistance he might avenge his own personal wrongs, and those of his ancient benefactor. The invasion of Germany by the Swedes affording an opportunity too favourable to be overlooked, he accordingly seized it with avidity.

Though addicted from habit to the most degrading vices, John George was not totally destitute of ambition. His pride revolted at the idea of having been rendered the dupe of Austrian cunning, and beholding, in return for squandered honour, his son deprived of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and the city of Augsburg stripped of all its privileges, in defiance of his repeated remonstrances.

It did not escape the penetration of Arnheim, that the arms of Gustavus must be rendered invincible, if firmly supported by all the protestant states; but as the ascendancy of Sweden would have defeated his schemes for the exaltation of Wallenstein, he persuaded the elector to embrace a plan of intricate policy, which, if wisely conducted, might have raised his fame and authority to the highest pitch of elevation, while it tended equally to frustrate the ambitious designs of Sweden and Austria. With this view he represented to John George, that he held in his hand the important balance destined to determine on which side the belligerents should preponderate. That nothing could be expected from the generosity of Ferdinand, had been sufficiently manifested by his recent ingratitude; it was, therefore, to his fears that he must in future apply, and from them he had every thing to expect. For this purpose it became necessary to alarm him with the apprehension, that the protestants would unite their interests with

those of Sweden; and, in order to give probability to the report, it was expedient to court the alliance of Gustavus by every external demonstration of amity; but studiously to avoid for the present, at least, to contract any specific obligation that might prevent his ultimately adhering to that party which presented the greatest advantages.*

This project was exactly conformable to the wishes of the elector, though he wanted steadiness and ability to carry it into execution. However anxious he might be to revenge himself on the emperor, still his pride recoiled at the idea of rendering himself dependant upon the bounty of a prince, whom he treated as a semi-barbarian. Though totally destitute of talents to become the head of a great political confederacy, his vanity aspired to pre-eminence; and he accordingly resolved to amuse the Swedes with illusory hopes, in order to awaken the fears of Ferdinand, but cautiously to adhere to the illiberal system which his unworthy favourite recommended.†

The plan of operations being finally settled, was communicated to the Elector of Brandenburg, whose political opinions were in unison with his own, and whose co-operation he considered as essential to the success of this deep-laid scheme of deception. During an interview at Annaberg these princes agreed to avail themselves of the opportunity presented by fortune, for setting bounds to the tyranny of the emperor.‡

These preliminaries being arranged, John George,

* Histoire de Gustavus Adolphe, 290.

† Ibid, 281.

‡ 1631. Lotichius, 810.

in an assembly of the Saxon states, convened at at Torgau, secured the support of the different orders, whose concurrence was requisite to give strength and legality to his intended proceedings. With their approbation he addressed circular letters to all the protestant princes, inviting them to be present at a general convention to be held at Leipsic, in the month of February, for the purpose of taking into serious consideration the degraded state of their religion, and providing a remedy adequate to the danger which threatened the Germanic constitution."*

While John George was thus unintentionally forwarding the views of Gustavus, that sagacious monarch laid the foundation of his future glory, by contracting an alliance with France. The reader is already acquainted with the overtures made the preceding year by the accredited agent of Richelieu; for, in treating of the reign of Louis XIII. it is not to the pusillanimous son of Mary of Medici, but to his enlightened minister, that every transaction ought to be ascribed.

After persuading his master publicly to disavow the proceedings of his minister at Ratisbonne, it became the primary object of the cardinal's policy to conclude a subsidiary treaty with Sweden. The first proposals for that purpose having been conveyed in a tone of protection, the noble soul of Gustavus spurned at the idea of rendering himself tributary to any power, however alluring the advantages presented. He accordingly replied to the French plenipotentiary with cautious reserve,

* Lotichius, 810.

though without positively rejecting his offer. This prudent behaviour contributed essentially to exalt the character of Gustavus in the cardinal's estimation, and proportionably augmented his anxiety to conduct the negotiation to a prosperous issue. Convinced of the impossibility of overreaching a monarch no less conspicuous for judgment than for courage, he directed Charnace to seize the first opportunity to conclude the projected alliance, though he cautioned him to beware of compromising the dignity of the Gallic crown by any unnecessary condescensions.

It would have been equally inconsistent with the prejudices of Louis and the sacerdotal functions of his minister, to have entered into a league with a heretic for the extirpation of the catholic faith; for, whatever may have been the indifference of Richelieu with regard to spiritual affairs, he was too politic to offend the delicate scruples of the clergy by an open avowal of his sentiments. Charnace was accordingly instructed to introduce a clause in favour of the catholics; by which it was stipulated, that in the provinces occupied by the Swedish troops, no innovation should take place in the established worship. Gustavus at first took fire at the proposal, declaring that retaliation was absolutely necessary, in order to compel the imperial commanders to act toward the members of his own communion with greater humanity. To induce him to relax on this important point required consummate address; Charnace however at length succeeded: for, when he found it impossible to convince his understanding, he decided the question by appealing to his magnanimity. "Even supposing Louis less warmly attached to

the papal see," such were the arguments adduced by the plenipotentiary, "it would be impossible for him to have acted otherwise, without injuring his reputation in the estimation of those, whose good opinion it was essential to conciliate. By preserving to the catholics the free exercise of their religion he fulfilled the duties of a faithful son of the church, and must therefore stand acquitted in the eyes of mankind. In a political point of view," he likewise contended, "that the conduct recommended was equally eligible; because, when it should appear to the world that the only object in contemplation was to rescue from oppression the German people, and to renovate their enfeebled constitution, it might not be difficult to detach the moderate catholics from the Austrian party. Besides," added Charnace with delicate flattery, "terror and persecution are the resort of bigotry; but to become the champion and protector of a mighty nation, groaning under the yoke of the most intolerable tyranny, is the noblest exertion of heroism."^{*}

This mode of reasoning was too congenial with the feelings of Gustavus to fail of producing the desired effect: but scarcely had Charnace overcome one obstacle, when he created another by his inadvertence. In drawing up the articles for the intended treaty, he proposed, with the characteristic vanity of a Frenchman, that the clause relative to the subsidy should be worded in terms highly offensive to the dignity of an independent sovereign; as he wished it to be understood, that it was not merely the friendship, but the *protection*

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 284. Le Vassor, ix. 599.

of France that Gustavus was ambitious to obtain. Incensed at an attempt so derogatory to the glory of their master, the Swedish plenipotentiaries,* though on the point of signing, threw down their pens, indignantly exclaiming, "The King of Sweden disdains to ask protection of any except the Almighty. By the favour of Heaven he has hitherto supported himself through every difficulty, and doubts not of being enabled to perform his allotted task without applying to man for protection."

Though foiled in the endeavour to degrade a monarch, as far superior to the degenerate son of Henry IV. as genius and courage are to timidity and superstition, Charnace started fresh difficulties respecting the titles to be given to the only potentate in Europe, whose virtues did honour to a sceptre. "The appellation of *Majesty*," he said, "was never accorded by the court of France to an elective monarch, and as such he affected to consider Gustavus, because the national diet had never formally renounced the right of suffrage.† The French negociator adhering pertinaciously to this ridiculous pretension, the dispute was referred to the king, who instantly declared, "that he disdained to purchase the alliance of France by an act of baseness; and that he had a thousand times rather forego the advantages which her co-operation might afford, than sacrifice the dignity of a crown which he had hitherto worn with unsullied lustre."‡ Besides, a precedent assisted precisely

* Horn and the two Baniers, the one secretary of state, the other a general.—Harte, i. 230. Galetti, 171.

† Hist. de Gust. Adolphe, 284.

‡ Puffendorf, iii. 2.—The author of the History of Gustavus Adolphus inserts the following letter, written by the King of Sweden to Louis:

applicable to the point in question. Gustavus Vasa, the grandfather of Adolphus, had concluded a treaty with Francis I. in which the right of precedence had alternately varied according to the usual forms of diplomacy. This species of argument appeared too conclusive even for official artifice to controvert; and Charnace being now reduced to silence, the convention was signed on the twenty-third of January, 1631, at Beerwald, in Brandenburg.*

This alliance, which was limited to the space of five years, unless peace should be previously restored to Europe, comprehended the following

“ L'ambassade que votre majesté nous a envoyé au mois de juin dernier, nous a été d'autant plus agréable, qu'elle nous était un témoignage de son amitié et bienveillance envers nous, ainsi que de son affection louable et constante pour le bien public. Certes il ne pouvait rien nous arriver, que nous desiderassions avec plus d'ardeur que de voir renouveler cette union, qui a régné pendant tant d'années, entre les rois de l'un et l'autre royaume nos prédécesseurs; de la voir même plus étendue pour la liberté et la sûreté des peuples de nos deux royaumes dans un tems, où l'Europe est dans un état de trouble et d'agitation. C'est à quoi nous sommes portés avec toute sorte d'empressement, comme il auroit été aisé à votre M. de reconnoître. Cependant le Baron de Charnacé n'ayant pas voulu, pour des considérations que nous avons de la peine à comprendre, consentir que nous missions nos titres et nom à l'inscription des patentes de notre traité d'alliance, ainsi qu'ont accoutumé de faire tous les autres rois, nous avons trouvé fort étrange qu'on s'arrêta à une chose de si peu d'importance, qui n'accroît, ni ne diminue en rien l'honneur de l'une, ni de l'autre majesté, Toutefois nous avons cru qu'il était du devoir d'un roi, de ne rien négliger de ce qui concerne sa dignité royale. Nous eussions plutôt souffert la rupture du traité, que de relâcher aucune chose appartenante à cette dignité, que nous avons reçu de Dieu, et de nos ancêtres. Nous ne saurions nous persuader que la conduite du dit ambassadeur, en cette occasion, ait été fondée sur la volonté et commandement de V. M. ayant toujours reçu de bons témoignages de son amitié,.....

“ Que si V. M. juge à propos que cette négociation soit reprise, il sera nécessaire que nos ambassadeurs soient munis à l'avenir de pouvoirs suffisans, afin que le traité ne soit pas retardé par la nécessité d'en demander d'autres.” Hist. de Gust. Ad. 285.

* Le Vassor, ix. 600. Puffendorf, iii. 3. Hist. de Gust. Adolphe, 286.

clauses: "That in consideration of the sum of four hundred thousand crowns,* to be annually furnished in two separate payments, either at Paris or Amsterdam, according to the option of the King of Sweden, that monarch should maintain in Germany an army, consisting of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry." The objects to which this imposing force was to be particularly directed, were distinctly specified: "To protect the allies of the contracting parties against all illegal attacks; to reinstate in their ancient and legitimate prerogatives, those princes who had been dispossessed, either by force of arms or by arbitrary and illegal edicts; to restore the constitution of the German empire to its original purity; to re-establish freedom of commerce in the northern seas; and to procure the demolition of every fortress erected in contradiction to the rights of nations, either upon the shores of the Baltic, or among the mountains of the Valtaline; in a word, to recover the balance of Europe, alarmingly deranged by the overweening ambition of Austria."—"Each of the contracting parties was to enjoy ample permission to recruit in the dominions, or to frequent the ports, of his ally; while vessels belonging to any hostile state were to be rigorously excluded from their harbours. It was farther agreed, that no innovation should be attempted in the national worship, but that it should be left entirely in the same situation under which it existed prior to the commencement of hostilities." By an additional article, protection was offered to the Duke of Bavaria, as well as to the other members of the Catholic League,

* About £50,000.

provided they should abstain from all acts of hostility.*

An effort was made, on the part of France, to prevail upon Gustavus to keep the treaty a secret for the present, lest delicate consciences should take umbrage at an alliance contracted by the advice of a cardinal and the agency of a monk, with the avowed champion of a religion, against which every zealous adherent to the interests of the Vatican professed eternal hostility. The publicity of the transaction, however, was too essential to his reputation for Gustavus to agree to the proposal.† Notwithstanding the outcry of bigotry, whose pious scruples were offended at the encouragement thus openly given to heresy, this alliance unquestionably forms one of the most brilliant features in the administration of Richelieu. Neither did it prove less beneficial to the King of Sweden, who was no longer regarded as a daring adventurer, setting fame and fortune on every cast, and whose chimerical projects a single reverse might overthrow. The opinions of mankind underwent a sudden and decisive revolution; so that the timid prudence of those who adopted prosperity as the criterion of friendship, no longer hesitated to declare in favour of a cause, which they had hitherto trembled to embrace: even the fears of the papists in some measure subsided, when they were convinced that their religion had found a protector powerful enough to check the animosity of the victorious Goth, should

* This treaty may be perused at length in the Appendix to Harte, and in Dumont's valuable collection.

† Le Vassor, ix. 601.

he venture, in the intoxication of zeal and conquest, to transgress the bounds of moderation.*

Though Gustavus allowed his troops a few days repose, in order to recruit their exhausted strength, he was far less indulgent to himself. His active genius was never known to slumber; and, while he considered the proposals of Charnace, he inspected the fortifications of Gartz, and caused a fort to be erected on the right bank of the Oder, in order to render the possession of Custrin less advantageous to the enemy. Already he entertained the most sanguine expectations of compelling them to evacuate Pomerania, by which Lusatia and Saxony would be open to his incursions, where he was sure of procuring abundant supplies, and from whence he might turn his victorious arms as circumstances should require, either against the members of the Catholic League, or the hereditary dominions of Austria. The approach of Tilly, however, suddenly constrained him to suspend the execution of this bold design, and to assume a defensive attitude. Alarmed for the safety of Francfort and Landsberg, the general of Ferdinand having entrusted Pappenheim with the blockade of Magdeburg, proceeded at the head of twenty-two thousand veterans to the defence of those important fortresses. Pursuing his way by hasty marches, in spite of the inclement season, he appeared before Francfort; and being satisfied, from the movements of the Swedish army, that it was in no immediate danger, he increased his strength by draughts from the garrison, and marched away, with the decided resolution of bring-

* Puffendorf, iii. 3. Schmidt, v. 3.

ing the war to a speedy issue, by giving battle immediately to Gustavus. But, in proportion as it appeared advantageous for the Austrian commander to hazard an engagement, it was for the interest of his opponent to decline it. Deeming it highly perilous, in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, to make any attempt upon the adjacent fortresses, the king recrossed the Oder, hoping, by the apparent uncertainty of his plans, to embarrass Tilly. He also foresaw the possibility of inducing him, by a feint, to hurry back for the protection of the blockading army; in the event of which, he proposed to commence the siege of Francfort, so much weakened by the reinforcements afforded to the generalissimo, that he did not absolutely despair of carrying it by assault. At all events, these movements would harass the imperialists, who were obliged to proceed by a circuitous route, while the possession of most of the contiguous towns enabled the Swedes to confine their operations within a narrower circle.*

Tilly no sooner heard that the Swedes had crossed the Oder, than he trembled for the safety of Pappenheim; but, however anxious he might feel to afford him relief, the want of provisions obliged him to continue for several days in the position he occupied, till stores could be collected for the army. Concluding that the efforts of the enemy would be directed against Damin, in order to open a passage to Magdeburg, he sent orders to Savelli to defend the town to the last extremity, promising within the space of three weeks to extricate him from every difficulty.

* 1631. Gualdo, i. 21. Puffendorf, iii. 8.

The apprehensions of Tilly were shortly verified. The Swedes invested Damin with an impetuosity which surprised and confounded the timid Italian, accustomed only to the inert regularity of Austrian tactics. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the strength of the town was greatly impaired by the intenseness of the frost, which rendered pervious the morasses by which it was surrounded, and enabled the assailants to render themselves masters of a fort, which, in a milder season, would have been impregnable. This appears to have been accomplished in a single day; and, on the following morning, while the king was examining the fortifications, the ice gave way, and he fell into the water up to the shoulders. Terrified at his situation, as he was actually within reach of a musket-ball, his aid-de-camps ran to his assistance; but, with unruffled serenity, he forbade them to approach, and being left entirely to his own exertions, soon extricated himself from every peril. The temerity with which he risked his life, having induced the generals in a body to represent to him the loss which the protestant religion would sustain, if deprived of its only defender, the king calmly replied, "that all human events were under the control of a Being who wisely regulated them for the general benefit of mankind. Confiding implicitly in his unerring wisdom, he should continue, as long as he was permitted to live, to perform the task allotted by Providence. Besides," added he with a smile, "I have the vanity to believe, that no observations are taken with so much accuracy, as those which I make myself."*

* Harte, i. 236.

A lodgment having been effected on one of the principal bastions, Savelli took fright, and offered to capitulate. This dastardly resolution was universally attributed to avarice, as the duke was supposed to be far more anxious for the preservation of his ill-gotten wealth, than for that of his military character. Tempted by the importance of the conquest, the king readily permitted the garrison to retire with the honours of war; but the cowardice of the commander was so repugnant to his feelings, that he was utterly unable to conceal his contempt. When Savelli saluted him, he could not refrain from saying, with sarcastic severity, "that he was happy he had abandoned the pleasures of Rome for the laborious profession of arms; but that he would advise him, in future, to renounce an occupation, less suited to his talents than the splendour of a drawing-room." Then, turning to his officers, he added, indignantly, in his native tongue, "Had that coward so dishonoured the Swedish name, he should instantly lose his head; from his present master, however, he has nothing to apprehend; for, unless I totally mistake the emperor's character, he will easily make his peace at Vienna."*

The capture of *Damin* supplied the Swedes with immense magazines, and a numerous train of artillery. Among the baggage belonging to the imperial officers were the valuable effects of *Aligheri*, who formerly attempted to destroy *Gustavus*, as the reader has been already informed, and who had been rewarded for the perfidious act by the rank of colonel in *Savelli's* regiment. Delighted at the prospect of punishing a traitor, the Swedish com-

* Puffendorf, iii. 5. Harte, i. 237. Gualdo, i. 23.

manders represented to the king that the property of an assassin ought not to be sacred. "My word is pledged," said the heroic monarch; "and I had rather suffer twenty such villains to escape with impunity, than expose my veracity to the possibility of a reproach."*

Meanwhile Tilly directed his course through the Electorate of Brandenburg, the only route that remained, without exposing the troops to a thousand hardships, from want of provisions, in an exhausted country, all the fortresses of which were occupied by a vigilant enemy. During the march he was joined by Savelli, who first communicated the intelligence of his now irreparable disgrace. Justly exasperated at an action so truly inglorious to the imperial arms, the indignant veteran loaded him with reproaches, and ordered him immediately to repair to Vienna, to answer for his conduct before a military tribunal. The tribunal assembled, and the complaints of Tilly were fully substantiated; yet, in spite of proofs the most unquestionable of peculation and cowardice, Gustavus's prophecy was completely fulfilled; the illustrious poltroon being not only permitted to escape, but soon afterwards entrusted with an important mission in Italy.*

No sooner was Gustavus assured that the imperial general had fallen into the snare, than he resolved, by the reduction of Francfort, to open a passage into Silesia. Leaving Banner to repair the fortifications of Damin, and watch the imperialists, he hastened to Stettin, to superintend the preparations necessary for the execution of that important

* Harte, i. 237. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 279.

† Puffendorf, iii. 5. Gualdo, i. 23. Harte, i. 236.

design. Meanwhile Colberg surrendered, after a vigorous defence, by which the whole of Pomerania, excepting Grypswald, ineffectually assaulted by the enterprising valour of Banner, was rescued from the oppression of Austria.*

These repeated disasters exasperated Tilly almost to madness, because they not only deranged his future projects, but sullied the glory which that veteran had acquired by long and meritorious services. Uncertain on which side to direct his attention, he at one moment proposed to dispel the cloud by the capture of Magdeburg, and the next determined to meet the youthful hero, whose rising constellation obscured the lustre of his setting sun, and trust the fate of the empire and his own renown to a general engagement. All the movements of the enemy, however, displayed such striking proofs of sagacity, that he could scarcely indulge a rational hope of compelling him to fight to disadvantage. He therefore, at length, resolved to satiate the resentment which rankled in his bosom, by some memorable act of revenge. The castle of Feldsberg being carried by storm, he inhumanly ordered the unresisting soldiers to be put to the sword. Proceeding forward in his sanguinary career, he invested New Brandenburg, defended by Kniphausen, a consummate warrior, at the head of a veteran garrison. The loss of a courier, unfortunately intercepted by the Austrian cavalry, leaving the governor ignorant of his master's intentions that he should evacuate the town if attacked, he resolved to defend it to the last extremity. Baffled in repeated attempts to carry it by assault, Tilly

* 1631. Galotti, 176.

was preparing to abandon the enterprise, when a party of Walloons, impatient for plunder, mounted a breach, which was deemed impracticable by the ablest engineers, and rushing into the streets, put every thing that opposed them to the sword. Except the gallant commander, and the wives and daughters of some of the principal citizens, not a soul escaped; the wretched inhabitants having incurred the resentment of the victors, by submitting to the Swedish dominion, with a facility bordering upon disaffection.*

Incensed at these acts of savage barbarity, the king proclaimed his resolution of behaving in future to the imperial troops exactly as the Swedes should be treated, till he should have taught his adversary to respect the rights of humanity, as practised by civilized nations.

The mystery which enveloped all the schemes of Gustavus continued to puzzle his antagonist. Too proud to tolerate the ascendancy of a warrior, whom he still presumed to treat as a stripling, and panting after an opportunity of ascertaining more minutely the extent of his military talents, Tilly sent Colorado to reconnoitre the position of the Swedes, resolved, if his report should justify the desperate undertaking, to attack them in their intrenchments at Schwedt. The result, however, being in no respect encouraging, the enterprise was abandoned as impracticable.†

The indecision observable in all the operations of the Austrian army, convincing the king that Tilly

* Harte, i. 240. Puffendorf, iii. 8. Lotichius, i. 856. Swed. Intelligencer, i. 87. Burgus, 141.

† Hist. de Gust. Adol. 290.

had been unable to penetrate his designs, he determined no longer to delay his plan for the reduction of Franckfort. Having called in his detachments under Horn and Banner, and embarked his heavy artillery upon the Oder, he appeared unexpectedly before the walls of Franckfort. Upon receiving intimation of the enemy's approach, Tieffenbach, an officer of great reputation, threw himself into the city. With a garrison exceeding eight thousand men, according to the opinion of the ablest tacticians, Tieffenbach ought to have taken post on an eminence, which commanded the Oder, from whence it would have been practicable for him to have embarrassed the operations of the enemy, till Tilly could march to his relief. Tieffenbach, however, was of a different opinion, and retired behind the walls, after causing the houses in the Fauxbourgs to be levelled with the ground; by which he allowed the Swedes to continue their works without molestation. Activity is perhaps the most distinguishing feature in the character of Gustavus, and is the most essential quality a general can possess. He never wasted a moment which could be employed advantageously; and never entrusted to others what he was able personally to perform.

To storm a city, surrounded by well-constructed fortifications, defended by a numerous garrison, was an enterprize no less difficult than dangerous; yet it was hardly possible for Gustavus to cherish a hope of success, if he allowed time for Tilly to arrive.

A tremendous fire having been kept up for several days, a breach was effected, which, after personal inspection, the king resolved to assault. The preparations requisite for this desperate attempt

having occasioned the besiegers to slacken their efforts, the garrison, concluding that Tilly was approaching to effect their delivery, insulted the foe with taunts and reproaches.

*Incensed at becoming an object of derision, when he flattered himself to inspire a different sentiment, a Saxon lieutenant, whose name was Auer, proposed to his comrades to avenge the insult in the blood of the offenders. Perceiving that the suggestion was received with applause, he leaped into the ditch, and placing a scaling ladder against the wall, in utter defiance of a shower of balls, mounted it at the head of his gallant followers. The temerity of the attempt having luckily attracted the attention of Gustavus, he ordered the assailants to be supported by continual reinforcements, till the Austrians, after almost incredible exertions, were compelled to retreat. This success, however brilliant, might have proved only momentary, had not the imperial commanders been culpably remiss in the discharge of their duty; for, while the Swedes were employed in storming the works, they were engaged in the pleasures of the table; and, though alarmed at the tumult, not one of them chose to leave his dinner, that he might ascertain from whence it proceeded. Intelligence, however, at length arriving, that the enemy was actually in possession of the principal streets, Tieffenbach and Montecuculi mounted their horses; and, attending solely to their personal safety, fled precipitately toward Glogau, in Silesia. The gallant Schomberg, on the contrary, forgetting the unmerited treatment which he had received, to remember only the duties of a soldier,

* April 14, 1631.

exposed his life with the temerity of a volunteer. His attention, however, was soon attracted to another quarter, where Lumsdel* and Hepburn, two gallant Scots, after bursting a gate, were pushing forward with resistless impetuosity.† Convinced that no efforts of courage could any longer avail, Schomberg abandoned the city in despair; upon which the soldiers immediately threw down their weapons, imploring quarter. The conquerors, however, proved totally insensible to their intreaties; and, hewing them down with remorseless fury, ex-

* The king was so delighted with the gallantry of Lumsdel, that, on the following day, he told him to ask whatever he pleased, as a reward.—Harte i. 245.

† When the Swedes entered Francfort, Butler (a relation of the Ormond family) was almost the only officer of distinction at his post; but, after a gallant defence, he was grievously wounded and taken prisoner. The imperial generals, however, endeavoured to conceal their own dastardly behaviour, by throwing the blame upon Butler, and, had it not been for the following circumstance, he might have been degraded and dishonoured, as a reward for his meritorious services. All the Swedish generals being invited that night to sup with the king, he declared that he would not taste a morsel till he had seen the brave Irishman who fought so courageously; “and yet,” added he, “I have something to say, that may not be agreeable for him to hear.”

Butler being unable to walk, on account of his wound, was brought in a chair. Gustavus, after viewing him sternly, inquired, in a tone little calculated to inspire confidence, “whether he was the elder or the younger Butler?” Upon his replying, “the latter,” the king exclaimed, in a transport of joy, “I thank God that you are so; for, had you been the elder, I must have passed my sword through your body immediately. But now you shall be attended by my own physician, and want nothing that can possibly contribute to your comfort.”—Harte, i. 248.

This anecdote clearly proves, that the elder Butler must have been guilty of some atrocious action, though history is silent respecting the particulars; because nothing less than a crime of the blackest die could have extorted such a threat from the mouth of a prince, no less conspicuous for clemency than for courage; and, as the man who had excited the indignation of Gustavus was a principal agent in the assassination of Wallenstein, we may safely infer, that there is no atrocity in the dire catalogue of human offences, at which his head, or his heart, would have recoiled.

claimed in derision, "Such quarter shall you have, as you gave at New Brandenburg." In a conflict conducted with such savage barbarity the carnage of course must have been immense; more than three thousand were slain in the streets, besides a considerable number who perished in attempting to swim across the river, when they found the bridge obstructed by baggage. All the efforts of the king to preserve the town from pillage were for a long time ineffectual, and he was even obliged at last to cause several soldiers to be shot, before order and discipline could be restored.* He had, however, the satisfaction to learn, that notwithstanding the excesses in which the victors had indulged, not a woman had been violated, and only one citizen killed, who had provoked his fate by his own imprudence. Being informed that the inhabitants were in want of provisions, he ordered corn and wine to be distributed among them from the imperial magazines, thus subjugating by his generosity those whom his valour had so lately subdued.† This

* Burgus, 157, accuses Gustavus of having connived at their excesses; "Gustavus vero iratum se fingens ob cladem a suis ad novum Brandenburgum acceptam, exercitum eam prædam concedere voluit, ut promptiorem ad reliqua haberet."

† Puffendorf, iii. 11. Lottehius, i. 858. Gualdo, i. 26. Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 292. The following anecdote, taken from Khevenhüller, merits attention, on account of its singularity. The first civil officer in the Swedish army, possessing the rank of general, had fallen accidentally into the hands of the Austrians, a few days previously to the capture of Francfort, and had been entrusted by Schomberg to the care of his steward, with directions to treat him with the utmost attention. But no sooner had the imperial generals fled, than the steward prepared to follow his master on horseback; his prisoner, who accompanied him, being compelled to walk, though entitled, from his age as well as his station, to every indulgence. During the march he was exposed to continual insults, from the bigotry of his companion, who frequently pointed his pistol at his

brilliant exploit, achieved with a facility which

head, with this comfortable salutation, "Heretical dog, I have a great fancy to shoot you!"

The pious sacrifice was, however, not consummated; probably, because some of the fugitive soldiers prevented its execution from the sordid calculations of interest, or from the hope, if overtaken by the Swedish cavalry, that the prisoner from gratitude might intercede in their favour. At length, after a painful journey of sixteen hours, they reached the confines of Silesia; when the captive, being presented to Schonberg, reproached him publicly in the presence of his officers, for having suffered a person of rank, bending under the pressure of age and infirmity, to be exposed to the danger of perishing from want of those common attentions which humanity never refuses. "But if you are dead," said the old man, with honest indignation, "to the voice of compassion, it is astonishing to find you equally blind to the suggestions of interest, and that you should forget that the king my master is able to retaliate with tenfold severity, on thousands actually in his power."

The justness of this reproof was acknowledged by the silence, if not by the confession, of Schonberg. A carriage conducted the prisoner to the castle of Wartemberg, where he met with every accommodation requisite to alleviate his sufferings, if any thing could compensate the loss of liberty. Being rigidly guarded, and lodged in an apartment at the top of the fortress, every attempt to recover it seemed impracticable: besides, all the villages to the east of the Oder were filled with Austrians; and to traverse a wide and rapid stream, presented to a man, between sixty and seventy, obstacles sufficient to have daunted the enterprising courage of youth. The more he reflected upon the difficulty of the undertaking, the less probability he saw of effecting his escape. In this situation he received a visit from an inhabitant of the adjacent town, who came to offer every assistance which it might be in his power to afford. The candour which reigned in the tradesman's countenance reviving the prisoner's hopes, he imparted to him his design, promising him a considerable recompence if, on the following night, he would wait for him under the walls of the castle, and conduct him in safety to the banks of the Oder. The honest burgher pledged his word and retired. At the appointed hour the Swede, by the help of his sheets, dropped from the window, and before break of day arrived at the river. At sight of the perils which now awaited him, his spirits drooped. It was more than thirty years since he had attempted to swim, and he felt that he wanted both strength and activity to struggle against the impetuous current. The love of freedom, however, at length prevailed: he took off his clothes; and, fastening a shirt upon his back, committed himself boldly to the protection of Providence. After contending long and manfully against the rapidity of the stream, his powers were so nearly exhausted, that he looked forward to death as inevitable, when to his inexpressible joy his foot struck against

astonished the world,* opened a passage into Silesia and Bohemia, in case the king should incline to turn his victorious arms against the hereditary dominions of Austria. And so favourable was the moment for some decisive attempt, that it would have been impossible for Tilly to have defended Vienna, without abandoning the empire to the resentment of the protestants, who began to arm in every direction; and, in case he confined his operations to the Rhine and the Elbe, there was nothing to prevent the triumphant Goth from extending his conquests to the Danube.

Such was the dilemma in which Tilly was placed, when he heard that Francfort was invested. By following Gustavus, he could hardly fail to impede the execution of his designs, and might even find an opportunity of attacking him to advantage; but by stedfastly persevering in the siege of Magdeburg, there was reason to hope that the king might be induced to relinquish his operations upon the Oder, in order to hasten to the relief of a city so essential to his future prosperity; the loss of which might determine the fluctuating politics of Saxony and Brandenburg, and give a decided superiority to the Austrian arms in the northern province of Germany.

Such were probably the considerations which presented themselves to the imperial general, before he resolved upon succouring Francfort; but

the bottom. His courage revived, and after incredible efforts he reached the opposite shore, naked and desolate, with nothing but a shirt to cover him, and uncertain whither to direct his steps. At length, however, after suffering severely from cold and hunger, he reached a Swedish outpost, nearly exhausted with fatigue.—*Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 297.

* Including killed and wounded, the whole loss of the Swedes did not exceed four hundred men.—*Harte*, i. 246.

as he was proceeding thither by rapid marches, he was met by a courier with the melancholy tidings that the moment for exertion was irrecoverably lost.* Overwhelmed with consternation at the assurance of an event so contrary to all his calculations, that it almost tempted him to attribute the ascendancy of genius to supernatural agency, he immediately altered his plan; and, meditating in gloomy silence a memorable revenge, decreed the destruction of Magdeburg.†

But before we follow this barbarous veteran to the consummation of an enterprise, destined ever to render the name of Tilly an object of execration to all who sympathize in the sufferings of their fellow creatures, it is necessary to advert to the trans-

* In a letter addressed to the Elector of Bavaria, Pappenheim describes the distress of the army. "Je voudrais pouvoir depeindre a votre serenité l'état de notre armée, comme je l'ai devant les yeux. Le roi de Suede est renforcé des troupes venues de Stralsund et de Prusse, il nous est supérieur, et actuellement il assiège Francfort. Les protestans assemblés à Leipsic ont formé la résolution d'armer, et auront bientôt une forte armée sur pied. Les Anglais sont prêts a s'embarquer pour se joindre aux Suedois, et les états de la Hollande ne resteront pas les bras croisés; enfin tout le pays n'attend que d'être appuyé pour se soulever. Il est bien a craindre que le secours pour Francfort n'arrive trop tard. Engager l'armée entre l'Elbe et l'Oder c'est donner aux protestans le loisir de faire des levées, et de venir au secours de Magdeburg, de couper aux imperiaux la communication avec l'Elbe, et pres qu'avec toute l'Allemagne.

"D'un autre côté laisser prendre Francfort c'est tomber dans un autre inconvenient non moins facheux. . . . de sorte qu'au moins de quelque incident heureux, que l'esprit humain ne saurait prévoir, les affaires sont dans une plus grande crise que jamais."

He adds in a postscript, "J'apprends dans ce moment que Francfort vient d'être emporté l'épée a la main, et que tout y a été massacré. Nous y avons perdu l'élite des troupes de l'empereur, et je ne sais s'il sera possible de continuer le siège de Magdeburg, n'ayant pas de forces suffisantes, pour fournir a l'investissement de la ville, et pour faire face a l'armée du roi, qui après la prise de Landsberg ne manquera pas de marcher au secours de Magdeburg. . . ."—Hist. de Gugl. Adolphe. 300.

† Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 290.

actions at Leipsic, where, in consequence of the resolutions embraced at Torgau, a protestant diet was assembled.*

In conformity to the wishes of the Elector of Saxony, as well as to the prevailing opinion of the times, that the fortunate moment was at length arrived for prescribing bounds to the tyranny of Austria, the meeting was calculated, both from the number and resources of those who attended it, to excite the apprehensions of Ferdinand. In addition to all the members of the Saxon family, it comprehended the head of the house of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Margraves of Bareuth and of Baden Dourlach, and the Prince of Anhalt. Many also of the friends of the Reformation having been prevented from attending, either by personal or worldly prudence, sent their representatives; viz. the Archbishop of Bremen, the Margrave of Anspach, the Dukes of Brunswick, Luneburg, and Mecklenberg, and the administrator of the Duchy of Wirtemberg, the sovereign of which was still a minor. Deputies likewise appeared from the circles of Swabia and Franconia, as well as from many of the imperial cities.†

The members being assembled, every precaution was used to guard against treachery, which extended so far, that no stranger was permitted to remain in the city, whose business was not clearly ascertained; and the more effectually to prevent this rigorous order from being eluded, the keys of

* 1631. Speaking of the conduct of John George at this important crisis, Puffendorf says, "Eum Cæsari hæcenus plus satis addictum, apertè jam crumpentes ipsius artes, et proditæ causæ communis exprobratæ, tandem ad fortia consilia excitaverunt." iii. 12.

† Swedish Intelligencer, i. 22. Lotichius, i. 818. Harte, i. 260.

the city were deposited every night in the elector's chamber.* Threats, promises, and caresses were however successively employed by the court of Vienna, to suppress an assembly, which in the intoxication of power it deemed unconstitutional, because convened without the authority of the emperor. The victories of Gustavus, however, had infused vigour and animation into the breasts of the most timid; so that many who lately trembled at the name of Ferdinand, now ventured openly to brave his authority.

Though the ostensible motive for summoning the convention was to counteract the schemes attributed to the catholics, for the total suppression of the reformed religion, and which they were expected to bring forward at the approaching diet, John George secretly flattered himself, to be able to establish an independent party, unconnected alike with Sweden and Austria, and thus hold the balance between them. But as it seemed essential to success, that ambition should be disguised under the mask of patriotism, he opened the assembly in a studied oration, proposing the following objects for its deliberation: The first consideration to which he directed its attention was the calamitous state to which Germany was reduced by the desolation occasioned by the hostile armies. "It could hardly fail to occur," he said, "to all impartial observers, that under this pressure of misery, the princes of the empire could not long support their independance, unless some remedy could be devised commensurate with the magnitude of the evil;" and he

* Swedish Intelligencer, 23.

accordingly conjured his hearers "to unite in restoring the violated laws to their ancient purity, and in endeavouring to promote a general peace, which could never be accomplished without previously establishing a good understanding between the rival religions of Rome and Luther, more exasperated against each other than ever, by the fatal edict of restitution. Nothing," he protested, "could be farther from his intention than to attack the legitimate prerogatives of the imperial crown; but while he was ready to acknowledge its legal authority, he deemed it essential to the happiness and security of the nation, that it should be confined within constitutional limits."

He next adverted to the intolerable taxes, by which their revenues had been exhausted. This oppressive system, he said, had been carried to so great an excess, that many sovereigns were compelled to reduce their expenditure, and forego various comforts which habit had rendered essential; the renunciation of which could not fail, in a little time, to deprive them of that powerful source of authority which rests on public opinion. Among the most prominent evils, to which they were exposed, was the arbitrary conduct of the imperial generals, who levied contributions with insatiate avidity, subjecting the dominions, even of their firmest friends, to all the rigour of military execution. "This treatment," he added, "was rendered still more intolerable, by comparing it with the mild and parental behaviour of Ferdinand towards his hereditary subjects, who were not only exempted from the burthens of war, but were never called upon to furnish the smallest subsidy, till it had undergone a full and impartial discussion in an assembly of national

delegates. By this unequal distribution, the taxes imposed upon the other provinces were necessarily augmented far beyond their proper proportion." At his recommendation, a memorial was transmitted to Vienna, recapitulating in firm, but temperate language, all the grievances of which they complained, and imploring the emperor to terminate them speedily by a total change in the whole military system, a revocation of the edict, and a due attention to the fundamental laws of the empire. It concluded by stating in respectful terms, that if contrary to their expectations, this humble petition should be treated with neglect, they should feel themselves bound by that paramount duty, which they owed to those whom they were appointed to govern, to vindicate their rights by every means with which God and nature had armed them.*

Though every allegation reposed on facts, which it was impossible to controvert, this address could not have been presented at a more inconvenient season, both for the emperor and the League; because the abandonment of the principle of arbitrary imposition and free quarters, would inevitably have destroyed the main sinews of the war. It was in vain for either of them to look to its internal resources for funds sufficient for aggressive hostilities, and to concentrate their armies within their own territories would be the means of exposing them to certain invasion. Besides, by evacuating the protestant states, they afforded an opportunity to that restless sect to assert those principles of universal

* Swed. Intell. i. 26. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 282. Lotichius, i. 821.

toleration, which were the fruits of their dangerous theories.

Prudence, however, having deliberately weighed the detriment likely to result from treating the remonstrance with silent neglect, against the disgrace attending compliance, Ferdinand judged it expedient to return an answer, which, though it differed little in substance from that delivered at Ratisbonne, was couched in language far less reprehensible for its insolence and asperity. Too zealously attached to the interest of the church to cancel the unpopular edict, he boldly contended that, in issuing that fatal decree, his conduct was not only sanctioned by the divine authority, but, according to the opinion of the profoundest civilians, was perfectly conformable to the practice of his predecessors, as well as to the spirit of the Germanic constitution. With respect to the misery occasioned by the prolongation of hostilities, he endeavoured to shield ambition under the convenient plea of necessity, insisting that on his part it had been solely a war of defence, and that he had been compelled by the unprovoked aggression of the enemies of social order, to vindicate the purity of the catholic religion, and the just prerogatives of the imperial diadem. "No man," he affirmed, with affected humanity, "could lament more sincerely the degradation of agriculture, and the ruin of commerce; but such were the inevitable consequences of war, and to ascribe them to the errors of his administration, would be no less unjust than to attribute earthquakes and storms, and the disorders observable in the moral world, to an inherent defect in the general organization of the universe. The crisis in which they were placed called imperiously for energetic measures, and the

noble fabric erected by the wisdom and virtue of their illustrious ancestors must fall to decay, unless supported by strenuous exertions, and even occasional deviations from the rigid line of constitutional rectitude, to which in happier times it would have been his pride and study religiously to have conformed. Having thus attempted to palliate his despotic proceedings, he faithfully promised that directions should be immediately sent to the different commanders, enjoining them to establish a severer discipline, and to punish every excess, of which the soldiers might be guilty, with exemplary severity.*

After replying thus minutely to every inculpation, he concluded with a declaration highly honourable to his feelings, had it flowed from conscious integrity. "A thousand times rather," exclaimed the crafty tyrant with characteristic hypocrisy, "would I bow my neck to the axe of the executioner, than afford room for posterity to reproach my memory with having suffered the lustre of the Germanic empire, which has existed for ages the admiration and terror of surrounding nations, to be sullied by my inadvertence."

This answer was to the full as mild and moderate as the petitioners had a right to expect; and probably more so than they anticipated; because, the moment selected to prefer their complaints, was calculated to excite a strong suspicion that they acted in concert with Gustavus. This, however, in fact, was an unfounded conjecture; for though they had artfully taken advantage of the panic created by his victorious career, to extort

* 1631. Lotichius, i. 838. Schmidt, iv. 3.

from the apprehensions of Ferdinand those concessions, for the acquisition of which they had in vain appealed to his generosity, the majority of the assembly wanted courage or honesty to behave with consistency. - That sagacious monarch, who never neglected an opportunity of promoting the welfare of the protestant church, dispatched a confidential agent to Leipsic, with directions to communicate to the assembled princes the treaty recently concluded with France. He was further instructed to propose their uniting with the crown of Sweden ; and to employ those arguments, which reason and interest so imperiously dictated, in order to convince them, that the fortunate moment was at last arrived, when it would be easy to establish the liberties of Germany upon a basis too solid for despotism or superstition to overturn. But as he anticipated the difficulty of persuading an assembly, composed of persons whose views and attachments were so widely different, to act with unanimity and vigour, and was apprehensive that a pedantic adherence to ancient forms might inspire a veneration for their constitutional chief, which neither insults nor injuries could obliterate, the Swedish envoy was instructed to urge the necessity, at all events, of raising an army to oppose the encroachments of the common enemy, in case he should invade their dominions ; but this latter proposal was not to be made, unless he should discover that the former plan was too bold and decisive for such timid politicians to embrace. Under these circumstances he was ordered to demand supplies in men and money, with the permission of retiring to any fortress in Saxony, where he might be obliged to take refuge by a sudden reverse. As it was far from impos-

sible, however, that this second measure might encounter opposition, he was in the last place to admonish them, in the strongest terms, respecting the policy of entering into a general confederacy for their mutual protection, which might be studiously concealed, till impending destruction should impose the necessity of more active exertions.*

Hoping that his recent triumphs might tend more efficaciously, than all his remonstrances, to obviate the objections which folly or presumption had alternately started, he imparted to the meeting the capture of Francfort. Yet, notwithstanding his proposal was strenuously seconded by the influence of France, he had the mortification to discover, that no cordial co-operation could ever take place, unless inspired by the dictates of despair; because their views were too opposite, and their connecting link too feeble to give unity of action, and that persevering courage which participates in the expenses of a protracted contest, unbiassed by the intrigues of short-sighted jealousy, or the baneful speculations of avarice; ever prone to sacrifice a distant advantage, however important, to the attainments of an immediate, though comparatively inconsiderable benefit.

Notwithstanding many of the members were secretly inclined towards an alliance with Gustavus, no progress was made in the negociation, because the Elector of Saxony damped the rising flame by his cautious or crooked policy; admonishing his allies that, by a premature declaration, they must necessarily expose themselves to inevitable ruin, in case

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 298.

the imperial arms should recover their ascendancy.* His motives, however, were more fully explained in a confidential conversation with Charnace, to whom he fairly confessed that his fears of Gustavus were greater than those which he entertained of Ferdinand; because he was confident, that the latter would be always ready to receive him into favour, should he feel disposed to solicit a reconciliation; whereas the former, when he should have realized his ambitious projects, by the assistance of the protestants, might abandon them to the indignation of the emperor, without even deigning to intercede in their favour.†

After this clear exposal of his private opinions, it was in vain to hope for vigorous exertion on the part of the elector, till insult and oppression, carried to excess, should compel him to adopt a more liberal system of policy. Gustavus, however, had the satisfaction to find, that his admonitions were not thrown away, since, by a vote of the diet, an army was ordered to be immediately levied, consisting of forty thousand effective men, for the express purpose of maintaining "the Confession of Augsburg," in all its purity; of opposing the passage of the imperial troops, should they continue to violate the rights of neutrals; and, finally, to resist, a most important point, the execution of the "Edict of Restitution."

These preliminaries being settled, a committee was appointed, consisting of some of the most active members, for the purpose of superintending such business as might require immediate dispatch.

* Puffendorf, iii. 12. Harte, i. 264. Le Vassor, ix. 605.

† Puffendorf, *ibid.* Hist. de Gust. Adol. 298.

Invitations were also sent to the King of Denmark, the Duke of Holstein, and the Hanseatic League, soliciting them to join the confederacy, which was publicly announced, with diplomatic solemnity, at every European court inclined towards the doctrines of the reformers.* Secret assurances were likewise transmitted to Gustavus, by several of the princes, and in particular by those of Hesse-Cassel and Luneburg, declaring their readiness to hazard their lives and fortunes, in defence of the cause which he had so generously undertaken to defend.†

No sooner were the resolutions of the diet officially communicated to the protestant sovereigns, than Ferdinand indignantly threw aside the mask, and, in a thundering monitory, annulled their proceedings, commanding the members immediately to suspend their preparations, under pain of incurring his just displeasure, and forbidding their subjects to pay any taxes imposed for military purposes. The severest penalties were denounced against all, who, after the promulgation of this decree, should adhere to the Union; while all foreigners, found in the protestant ranks, were to be instantly conducted to the gallows. This violent denunciation of imperial wrath commenced, as is usual in similar cases, with the warmest expressions of paternal affection; the artful monarch professing to be animated with the sincerest regard for the prosperity of a people whom he piously wished to exterminate; and to entertain a veneration, bordering upon idolatry, for the Germanic constitution, which it was his earnest desire to overturn; while he solemnly declared, in face of the world, that his only object

* Harte, i. 285. † Puffendorf, iii. 12. Hist. de Gustave Adol. 299.

was to reclaim the former from those dangerous errors, which tended to the ruin of their souls, and to restore the latter to its original beauty, which had been gradually impaired by the impious audacity of fanaticism, and the licentious freedom of philosophy.*

To these protestations the confederates replied, in language equally insincere, disclaiming the imputation of fanning the flame so rapidly spreading over their desolated country; or of attempting to strip the imperial crown of any of its legitimate prerogatives. The sole inducement, they protested, which tempted them to coalesce, was to secure their dominions from insult and depredation; a precaution indispensable to their personal safety, as well as to the prosperity of their dominions, and which could not be repugnant to the principles of any well-regulated government, because it was sanctioned by an authority anterior and paramount to every civil institution—the law of nature and of God.†

While the protestants were striving, by warlike preparations, to render their opposition more formidable, the imperial commander was no less active in prosecuting the siege of Magdeburg. In the success of this important enterprise, the heart of Tilly was deeply interested; since he flattered himself, by its capture, to recover the lustre of the imperial arms, and to reward his soldiers for all their fatigues, at the expense of men, whose wicked apostacy from the papal see had justly exempted them from the rights of humanity.

Upon the return of the generalissimo from his fruitless attempt for the relief of Francfort, Falken-

* 1631. Lotichius, i. 842.

† Schiller, ii.

stein proposed, in a council of war, to destroy the bridge and the suburbs; and this project, being received with universal approbation, was instantly carried into execution. The strength of the garrison being thus concentrated within a narrower compass, the besiegers were suffered to prosecute their labours with little interruption; for that able commander was unwilling to lavish the lives of his soldiers in fruitless sallies. Indeed his weakness prescribed a system of caution, as the greater part of his little garrison consisted of raw recruits, indifferently accoutred, and paid with little regularity; because the vigilance of the enemy prevented Gustavus from fulfilling his promise of sending pecuniary supplies.

Another difficulty arose from the mercantile spirit which almost universally prevailed among the higher classes, making them contemplate with horror the contingent misery of a protracted defence, and inducing them to listen with disloyal facility to the secret overtures of Tilly; while some even regarded the wages of treachery in the light of a profitable speculation.* Hence neglect, or perfidy, having omitted to replenish the exhausted magazines, the only rational hope which presented itself to the governor, was in the courage and humanity of Gustavus.

In order to supply the deficiency of regular

* That a treacherous correspondence was actually carried on appears clearly from the confession of Pappenheim, who, in a conversation with the administrator, after he was taken prisoner, candidly asked him, how he could be foolish enough to hazard his life in defence of men, who were actually in the pay of the Austrians, to whom they regularly communicated the order of the day, with all other circumstances of local information, which could tend to facilitate their designs: and he farther assured him, that the plan of attack was regulated in consequence of such information.—Harte, i. 273.

troops, the burghers were formed into military corps, and instructed in the management of artillery; a desperate expedient, and calculated to produce irreparable mischief, when men cease to be animated by the generous spirit of patriotism, which prefers to perish under the ruins of expiring freedom, rather than submit to the yoke of an invader. Accustomed to the profits and the comforts of trade, few of the inhabitants manifested either the zeal or the intelligence of soldiers. Instead of uniting hand and heart in the common cause, they divided into factions, opposing the wisest and most salutary schemes, if they originated with the contrary party. The poorer classes complained that, by an unfair distribution of labour, they who had least to lose were compelled to make the greatest exertions, forgetting that their superiors were permitted to remain inactive, only because they paid liberally for substitutes. Fomented clandestinely by the factious and disaffected, this dangerous spirit gradually pervaded all ranks of society, frequently shewing itself in mutinous tumults. Yet notwithstanding every symptom of culpable indifference, religious enthusiasm, that infallible characteristic of a rising sect, fomented by the zeal of popular preachers; a strong attachment to liberty, though valued by the greater number only on account of its abuses; a rooted detestation of Austrian tyranny, inspired by recent oppression; and the expectation of seeing the Swedish hero arrive to their succour, animated the majority with the firm resolution of defending their ramparts to the last extremity.*

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 312.

The confidence reposed in the valour and generosity of the Swedish monarch was not destitute of solid foundation. The fall of Francfort, and the confederation of Leipsic were known at Magdeburg; and, being justly regarded by the citizens as highly favourable to their future prospects, they expected every moment to behold the besiegers fly before the victorious legions of Gustavus. Tilly also was too well acquainted with the magnanimity of that illustrious monarch, to doubt his employing every possible expedient for the protection of a city which had declared so early in his favour. This conviction might have averted the impending calamity, had the inhabitants been guided by the dictates of reason, instead of presumptuously rejecting her warning voice; which taught them to listen to the offers of Tilly, who exhorted them to avoid the ruin which impended by a speedy surrender.* Too cautious to incur the heavy responsibility of a refusal, Falkenberg requested permission from the Austrian commander, for an officer to pass with dispatches for the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, whom he wished to consult as heads of the Leipsic confederacy. Tilly at first seemed disposed to accede to the proposal, but an intercepted letter having fallen into his hands, containing an assurance from the King of Sweden that he would march to their assistance the moment his preparations were completed, he regarded external communication as highly inexpedient, and returned a positive refusal.†

The spirited resistance which he continued to ex-

* Burgus, 193.

† Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 313. Schmidt, v. 4.

perience, together with the intelligence received of Gustavus's arrival at Potsdam, tempted the imperial general to renew his offers ; but increasing moderation, by confirming the expectation of approaching relief, rendered the citizens more obstinate than ever. Neither was the hero, on whose exertions they so firmly relied, inattentive to the danger which awaited them. No sooner had Lansberg surrendered,* than putting himself at the head of all his cavalry he began his march towards Magdeburg, leaving the infantry to follow with the utmost expedition. It was however an invariable principle in his military system, never to advance without securing his rear; and this precaution became more necessary than ever, at a time, when he was preparing to traverse a country, where he was equally exposed to the treachery of inconstant allies and the attacks of an enterprising foe, and where one imprudent step might blast the fruits of so many victories. Neither was the conduct of his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, calculated to dispel these apprehensions, whose timid policy had opened the gates of Custrin to the Austrians, when flying before the victorious Swedes, while he refused admittance to the latter. No confidence could be placed in a temper so unsteady, because, in case of a reverse, the venality of his ministers would not fail to take advantage of their master's timidity, to induce him to declare for the stronger party, and to place all his fortresses at the disposition of Tilly ; an event utterly subversive of all Gustavus's plans, as it would have cut off the com-

* 1613. April 16th.

munication between the Swedish army and their magazines in Pomerania.

The possession of Custrin and Spandau could alone enable him to advance with security, and Marshal Horn was in consequence dispatched to Berlin, to require that both should be placed under the protection of a Swedish garrison, till Magdeburg should be rescued from destruction ; after the delivery of which he solemnly engaged to restore them with their stores and artillery. Unwilling to offend the delicacy of the elector by openly questioning his integrity, Horn was instructed to declare, that it was not from the suspicion of George William's veracity that his master's apprehensions arose, but because he was unwilling to endanger the stability of the protestant cause, which might be utterly ruined, should the venal commanders of Prussia refuse him a passage, as they had ungenerously done during the preceding winter. The king farther solicited a month's pay and provisions for the forces employed against Tilly, solemnly promising, that they should observe the strictest discipline during their march through the electoral territory.*

Whatever might be the opinion entertained at the court of Berlin respecting the pretensions of Gustavus, it is impossible to deny that, if not rigidly conformable to the principles of justice, they were authorized by the practice of all belligerent powers, and enforced by motives so transcendently cogent, that hesitation might have past for a proof of incapacity. The important services rendered to the

* Hist. de Gust. Adol. 302.

Prussians, in liberating them from the extortions of the imperialists, justly entitled Gustavus to the gratitude and confidence of the elector. That irresolution prince, however, was unfortunately guided by the perfidious counsels of Schwartzenberg, a man of noble extraction, but devoted to Austria with venal servility. Convinced that, in order to carry his point, he had only to alarm the fears of his master, he artfully insinuated that, by ceding his fortresses, he would virtually surrender every claim to independence, and become in fact the vassal of Sweden. By a measure so decisive of political attachment, his fortune in future must be inseparably united with the precarious destiny of a sovereign, whose temerity indeed astonished mankind, but whom a single reverse might overwhelm with irretrievable ruin. Together with Gustavus therefore he must fall or triumph; since, after deserting the emperor at this momentous crisis, he could never flatter himself to escape with impunity, in case the adventurous Goth should ultimately meet the disastrous fate to which his rashness had so often exposed him. This mode of arguing, however contrary to the suggestions of rational policy, accorded so exactly with the fears of George William, that he embraced it as the voice of inspiration. Unmoved by the destruction of a rich and commercial city, one of the strongest bulwarks of the reformers, and callous to the cry of freedom and humanity, he attended to nothing but personal security, though he attempted to palliate his dastardly behaviour by the most pitiful and ridiculous excuses.

Gustavus, being now completely satisfied that no impression could be made on the generosity of the elector, resolved to appeal to a stronger

passion, his timidity. Accompanied only by an inconsiderable escort,* he set out for Berlin, determined to negotiate this important business in a personal interview. The elector was no sooner informed of the king's approach than he prepared to receive him with reluctant urbanity. Attended by his ministers and principal officers he met his illustrious guest at the distance of half a league from the capital, flattering himself to atone for his past misconduct by external marks of respect. It was not long however before he discovered that the heart of Gustavus was no less insensible to adulation than it was incapable of disguise. Unable to reply to a hero, whose natural eloquence rose to sublimity, when animated in the cause of humanity, George William replied in the ambiguous language of duplicity, requesting time to consult with his confidential advisers before a definitive answer was returned. This demand being acceded to without producing any thing but additional proofs of equivocation, the indignant monarch thus expressed his contempt for a degenerate relative. "The interest which I feel for the distressed inhabitants of Magdeburg is inspired by compassion, and a sincere attachment to the protestant religion: but, if I am unsupported by those who have far greater reason than myself to be alarmed at the triumphs of Austria, that unfortunate city must fall, and personal safety shall henceforth become the only object of my consideration. This instant I will commence my retreat, and open a treaty with the emperor,

* Five hundred horse, a thousand foot, and four field pieces were sufficient to frighten the court of Berlin, which in the course of little more than half a century became one of the greatest military powers in Europe.

who will he happy to accede to any proposals which the interest of my kingdom may require. But when one of the strongest bulwarks of protestantism shall be overturned, and the Swedes shall no longer shelter you against the resentment of Ferdinand, what expectations can you form from his clemency?" The humiliating conviction of internal debility flashed at once upon the mind of the elector, and combining with the approach of the Swedish army hastening rapidly to the seat of negotiation, and sufficiently powerful to effect by coercion what their sovereign solicited as a pledge of fraternal amity, soon terminated the discussion, and put Gustavus in possession of Spandau.*

Desirous of dividing the attention of the enemy, and securing the frontiers of Pomerania against the incursions of the troops assembling in Bohemia, that prudent monarch left Horn to repel their desultory inroads; directing him to incorporate into the ancient regiments the recruits which progressively arrived from Stockholm.

Two different roads conducted to Magdeburg; one through the sandy plains of Brandenburg, the other by Dessau and Wittenberg. The former however presented so many local impediments, that it could not be undertaken with safety. Besides the dearth of provisions, which every where marked the desolating career of the Austrians, it would have been absolutely necessary to pass the Elbe in sight of a superior army. By crossing that river at Dessau, or Wittenberg, all these difficulties would greatly diminish. The commanding situation of the latter pointed it out as the most proper

* Gualdo, i. 27. Puffendorf, iii. 13. Le Vassor, x. 30.

receptacle for provisions and military stores, which might be abundantly supplied from the fertile plains of Saxony. But in order to render this project feasible, the consent of the elector was indispensable, and Gustavus accordingly addressed himself to John George, requesting that directions might be issued for his hospitable reception; a reasonable demand, because the service to be performed was equally important to all the friends of the reformation. Being intimately acquainted with the character of the man from whom he was compelled to solicit a favour, he cautiously forebore to urge the expediency of being allowed to garrison Wittenberg, though he did not hesitate to declare, that as a trifling compensation for all his exertions, he hoped that the elector would provide for the subsistence of his troops during their passage through his dominions. These demands were urged as undoubted claims; but he farther insinuated, that a due regard for his personal glory, as well as for the stability of the confederacy over which he presided, ought to awaken in the breast of John George a spirit of bolder enterprize, and prompt him to partake in the glory of delivering a city, the loss of which must endanger the solidity of the fabric, which it had been the study of his ancestors to erect.*

To these salutary admonitions the degenerate descendant of the illustrious Maurice proved totally insensible: for his narrow understanding was unable to comprehend that souls might exist so different from his own, as to be capable of beholding with virtuous disdain all the paltry interests of the world, when religion and glory were concerned.

* Puffendorf, iii. 14. Harte, i. 266. Burgus, 173.

Meanwhile the king's anxiety augmented hourly, and with it his contempt for the despicable policy of the Saxon. Yet while he viewed his supineness with ineffable scorn, compassion for the devoted inhabitants of Magdeburg still induced him to make one effort more, to rouse the leader of the protestant party from the disgraceful torpor into which he was sunk by constitutional indolence, brutal sensuality, and the shameless venality of his ministers. In a second address he accordingly cautioned him against listening to the treacherous suggestions of men, who from interested motives magnified the resources of Austria, and impressed his mind with exaggerated respect for the exalted dignity of the emperor. "His veneration toward the chief of the Germanic body had been fully manifested," he said, "by long and passive submission, but he was now called upon to fulfil a more imperious duty—the duty of a sovereign toward his faithful subjects, and of a creature toward his almighty Creator."

The urgency of the occasion not allowing time for the forms of protracted negotiation, he proposed a personal interview, most probably with the intention of recurring, if necessary, to those resistless arguments which had proved so efficacious at Berlin. This offer, however, being immediately declined with evasive duplicity, so incensed Gustavus, that he indignantly exclaimed, "since nothing can rouse these timid politicians, it is time to abandon them to their destiny. I will retire to Pomerania, and wait there till impending destruction shall force them to implore my protection."*

So many days had been wasted in ineffectual

* *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 306. *Burgus*, 175.

communications, that before the king could embrace a definitive resolution, the fatal intelligence arrived, that the once wealthy Magdeburg was no longer numbered among the cities of the earth. The dread of being interrupted by the activity of his opponent gave additional energy to the operations of Tilly. By the end of April, Pappenheim, having pushed the trenches to the foot of the ramparts, proposed to the generalissimo to attempt an assault, though no practicable breach was effected. Tilly, however, unwilling to expose his troops in so desperate an undertaking, and thinking it probable that the dreadful prospect before them might induce the citizens to listen to reasonable terms, despatched another messenger with proposals less rigorous than the former.* But so embarrassed was Falkenstein in all his proceedings, by the presumption and folly of his colleagues, that two whole days were spent in fruitless deliberations, without leading to any decisive result. Expecting hourly to behold the besiegers retire, the magistrates scarcely deigned to lend a patient ear to the suggestions of prudence; and this fatal delusion progressively extending to the lower orders, the municipal bands grew every day more remiss in their military duty.

This dreadful infatuation was greatly augmented, when they found the enemy's fire gradually slacken, and finally cease altogether. No longer doubting that their deliverer was at hand, they could hardly be prevented from abandoning their stations. This unfounded confidence was probably the sentiment which Tilly meant to inspire; for, during the fol-

* May 8th.

lowing night, he summoned the generals to a council, in which, after explaining the impossibility of continuing the siege, and at the same time detaching a force sufficient to oppose the Swedes, he submitted to their consideration the following alternative: whether to break up the camp, and march directly to give up battle to Gustavus, or immediately to endeavour, by one desperate effort, to make themselves masters of the city. The difficulties attending the latter proposal appearing insuperable to most of the commanders, their sentiments were delivered with that cautious hesitation, which frequently attempts to conceal timidity under the specious covering of prudence; so that the enterprise would probably have been relinquished as impracticable, had not Pappenheim, with the impetuosity natural to his character, expatiated upon the ignominy of abandoning the siege, when about to be rewarded for every toil with an abundant harvest of laurels.

The opinion of a man, whose intrepidity rendered him both the idol and oracle of the army, and who was no less conspicuous for those elevated qualities which are necessary to constitute a consummate commander, gave a sudden turn to the debate. At the dawn of day, when the two confederate burghers might be expected to repose from the fatigues of service, it was resolved to begin the assault, and the intervening moments were sedulously employed in transporting the scaling ladders to their destined stations, and in marshalling the troops for the attack.*

* Khevenhiller, xi. 1791. Harte, i. 271. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 319.

The appointed hour arrived, yet Tilly is represented as being still uncertain what course he ought to pursue; because, in the event of a failure, he plainly saw that the flower of the army must perish; and, that with a diminished strength, and sullied reputation, he must fly before a novice in the art of war, for as such he still treated Gustavus. But while his spirits fluctuated between hope and apprehension, intelligence was sent by pensioned traitors, that every post was negligently guarded. This information at once decided his conduct; the signal was given for an immediate attack.*

Upon approaching the walls, the death-like stillness which prevailed within excited the most favourable expectations. After passing the night upon the ramparts, in order to watch the motions of the besiegers, Falkenberg had just quitted his post to attend a council, summoned by the administrator for the purpose of returning a decided negative to Tilly's proposal. Various attacks were simultaneously directed against different quarters, but the resistless valour of Pappenheim first effected a lodgment, and compelled the municipal bands, at that time entrusted with the defence of the outworks, to save themselves by a precipitate retreat. Not a moment was wasted. The scaling ladders were applied, and the soldiers mounted, after experiencing a weak, ill-directed fire from a few straggling sentinels, whom their flying comrades had roused from their slumbers. The cannon being now in the hands of the assailants, were employed for the destruction of those sumptuous edifices, which they were intended to protect.

* May 10th. 1631. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 319.

Alarmed by the sudden discharge of artillery, and the universal tumult which prevailed, Falkenberg quitted the senate-house, and flew towards the quarter where the fire was loudest. In his passage thither he met a column of Austrians, driving before them a body of soldiers and citizens. Encouraging the fugitives by his exhortations and example, he prevailed upon them again to face the assailants, who in their turn were compelled to retreat. No permanent benefit was however derived from this solitary instance of courage. The overwhelming torrent, continually augmented by a flood of warriors pouring impetuously from different avenues, swept every thing before it; and while the gallant Falkenberg contended valiantly against its resistless impulse, he died the death of a hero.* The loss of a brave and experienced commander, at such a tremendous crisis, was not to be replaced by the desultory efforts of despair, notwithstanding the citizens, awakened by cries and shouts, rushed from their dwellings, armed with pikes or swords, or whatever weapons terror or accident, the zeal of a domestic, or the parting legacy of a dying friend, administered to their exasperated passions; while in the unequal conflict they displayed a contempt of danger,

* Lotichius pays a deserved tribute to the memory of this gallant officer in the following laconic remark: "Quo pericute jam perierat Magdeburgum."

Namque ubi lethali trajectus pectore plumbo
 Occubuit, raptas secum spes abstulit urbis;
 Defecere animi, nec jam sua brachia movit
 Miles, et obscuris se turba recessibus abdit
 Civica.

Ant. Garissolii Adolph. lib. v. vers. 632.
 Montalban: Qu. 1644.

which, if properly regulated by enlightened prudence, might have averted their calamitous destiny.* But the head, accustomed to provide an adequate remedy, was no longer capable of rational combination. Neither were their's the exertions of systematic defence, but the frantic struggles of men rendered desperate by the conviction of unavoidable misery. Great and universal was the consternation that prevailed. From more than twenty steeples the pealing bells sounded an alarm; the drums beat to arms, while the artillery thundered in every direction. Roused from their pillows by the terrific tumult, though as yet unconscious of the extent of their calamity, the women with tears conjured the partners of their affection, whom instinctive bravery, or the dreadful anticipation of impending destruction, hurried from their embraces, not to abandon them in the hour of distress. Twinning round the neck of a beloved son, the disconsolate mother intreated him not to hazard a life so precious to her, and so necessary for the protection of his sister's honour. With bleeding hearts, and silent tongues, they tore themselves away, for how could they reply? what consolation could they offer? when the groans of the wounded, and the shrieks of females flying from the brutality of unfeeling croats, too plainly indicated the extent of their misfortune. †

* Jamque cæsarei ab ingruente civium turba repellebantur, ni interfecto plumbea glande Falkenbergis, cives exterriti cessissent.—Burgus, 297.

† Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 320. "Apertis portis equitatus et Croatiae introducti sunt, qui per civitatem discurrentes miserandam stragem ededere. Sævitur in viros, feminasque promiscue," &c.—Burgus, a professed admirer of Tilly and Ferdinand, 198.

No sooner had Pappenheim established himself upon the ramparts, than he sent detachments to the principal gates; two of which being carried with little opposition, were immediately opened to Tilly. That ruthless chieftain now entered at the head of his infantry; and, having planted cannon to command the principal streets, issued orders for the citizens to retire to their houses, and await their doom in silence.

Content with the glory of having subjugated a city, which had so presumptuously braved his resentment, a less sanguinary victor would have been satisfied with imposing heavy contributions, and abolishing factious independence. But, to appease the anger and bigotry of the inexorable Tilly, a libation of blood was required; and the licentious fury of every savage tribe, which Austria disciplined to pillage and massacre, was accordingly indulged in the fullest gratification of all those hateful passions, which degrade and brutalize the character of man, when inflamed by lust, stimulated by avarice, or rendered insensible to the dictates of humanity, by the violence of religious animosity.

It might have proved difficult, perhaps, to have restrained the ferocity of similar savages; but the attempt, even if unsuccessful, would have done honour to the feelings of the conqueror; whereas the name of Tilly is indelibly inscribed in characters of blood, an object of everlasting abhorrence. Abandoned to the guidance of every brutal propensity, the soldiers gave unbounded scope to their inordinate appetites. No tie was respected; no asylum secure. Invading the sanctuaries of domestic retirement, the Walloons violated numbers

of women in presence of their distracted husbands, and of virgins before the eyes of their mothers. No rank, however elevated, was exempt from insult; no place, however venerable, afforded security. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the decrepitude of age,* found mercy in the sight of those barbarians, who, when fatigued with sensual gratification, are said to have amused themselves with the hellish diversion of murdering infants at the breasts of their mothers, or throwing them, with deliberate cruelty, into the flames which their insatiable fury had kindled.†

Touched at length by the miseries of which their duty had compelled them to remain involuntary spectators, some officers belonging to the army of the League repaired in a body to the inexorable commander, who presided over the work of desolation, intreating him to put a stop to the carnage, while any victims yet remained for compassion to rescue. With cold, phlegmatic, calculating ferocity, Tilly weighed the cannibal recreations of rape and assassination against the crimes of rebellion and heresy; and although almost every edifice was involved in flames, and torrents of blood flowed through every street, he was nevertheless of opinion, that something still was wanting to balance the tremendous account, and forbade the petitioners to interfere. "Return in an hour," was the

* Non anni juvare senes, non femina sexu
Tuta fuit, salvasque dedit sua forma puellas;
Bis pereunt, raptusque fero pudor antequam ense.

The subject is not inferior to that of Virgil.—Garissel, lib. v. vers. 708.

† Khevenhiller, xi. 1810. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, *ibid.*

barbarian's reply; "it will be time enough then to consider what ought to be done; for, after all their sufferings, the soldiers* are entitled to some indulgence."

Many of the catholic historians have endeavoured to rescue the reputation of Tilly from the indelible stain of inhumanity.† But no satisfactory proofs have ever been adduced to shew that he would have spared the inhabitants, had he been able; on the contrary, his behaviour, upon various occasions, particularly at New Brandenburg, was calculated to inspire a firm belief, that he was far from beholding with an unwilling eye the atrocities committed at Magdeburg.‡ It is by no means my intention, however, to accuse him of having deliberately sanctioned, by his authority, the dreadful conflagration which ensued, and which appears to have proceeded from accident, though the partisans of Ferdinand have attempted to prove that it was kindled by the frantic fury of the inhabitants, who, when deprived of every hope of escaping, embraced the

* Puffendorf, iii. 15. Gualdo, i. 30. Harte, i. 270. Galetti, i. 178. Hist. de Gustavo Adolphe, 324.

† None have contended more strenuously than Khevenhiller, who pretends that Tilly was affected even to tears, when he found himself unable to repress the licentious fury of an undisciplined soldiery. But, had this been the case, he would have hardly boasted, in his dispatch to the emperor, that no similar victory had been recorded in history since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem.

‡ Even the pious Lotichius is unable to conceal, or even to palliate, the atrocities of the conquerors. "Gallo-Belgæ tamen, sub Pappenheimo merentes, nulli facile perpercerunt. Etiam ipsis barbaris crudeliores. Ut passim in matronas gravidas, parvulos, hominesque ecclesiasticos, nulla sexus, ætatis, conditionis, ac dignitatis, ratione habita, intemperantissime sævirent. Usquo eò, ut vel commilitionibus cæteris stomachum inoverent, essentque abominandi, i. 876. The subsequent passage is too horrid to be inserted.

desperate resolution of perishing memorably, like the self-devoted citizens of Saguntum.* But, what-

* The learned editor of the *Theatrum Europæum* does not hesitate to attribute this inhuman action to the rage of the conquerors. According to him, it was occasioned by their setting fire to some buildings where the miserable inhabitants had retired, ii. 168. With this, however, it is but fair to compare an opposite testimony, though the former has been adopted by most historians. "Quæ celeberrima urbs paucarum horarum spatio, incertum hostilè, an fortuito incendio (utrius intestino, quam cives, quatenus urbem hosti non possent, triumphum prædamque eriperent,) in cineres subsedit, multis millibus mortalium ferro, flammaque haustis," I give this on the authority of the accurate Schmidt, v. 4, who professes to copy it from a work entitled "Epitome Rerum Germanicarum." If we consult Wassemberg, an author of considerable weight, the latter opinion will acquire additional confirmation. "Erat itaque non jam pugna, sed cædes. Cum nihil ergo prosicere cives viderent a se, et Falkenbergio præperatis per urbem cuniculis, versa in rabiem pertinacia, ignem injiciunt, qui victos simul et victores, rapuit."—*Florus Germanicus*, 186. Adeltzeiter says, "Certè constat non Tillium modo, sed et militem passim restinguendis flammis sedulam fortemque operam dedisse, sed inutilem." To these assertions, decisive as they may appear, we shall oppose another, of at least equal validity. Among the notes to the German translation of Wassemberg, we find the following passage, attributed by some to the Prince of Furstenberg, a general of reputation in the Austrian service, and by others to Fugger, who fought with distinction in the army of the League. "It is not true," says the author, "that the citizens set fire to the town; on the contrary, I have been told by Pappenheim, that he was himself the author of the conflagration; and he farther assured me, that it was occasioned in the following manner: Upon entering Magdeburg, he was greatly annoyed by the enemy, who fired upon him from some houses, of which they had taken possession; and not being able to dislodge them, he applied combustibles to the buildings," 202. It is, however, possible to reconcile these contradictory statements, as the fire appears to have broken out simultaneously in different quarters, and even in those where the plunderers had not penetrated. But had I previously entertained any doubt upon the subject, it would have been dissipated by the confession of Lotichius, that indefatigable champion of the papists. "Supposuerant forte Casariani, primum in urbem irrupentes, tædas pite ac sulphure infectas. Hoc facto ut cives ab urbis defensione ad larium vindicias averterent. Sed propositum flamma etiam superavit," i. 176. The following extract will shew what ideas that author entertained of humanity. Speaking of the miserable wretches who had taken refuge in the cathedral, he says, "His omnibus veniam dedit Thillius, neque solum vitæ concessit usum, sed tridua inedia confectis etiam diaris, unde vivere possent distribuit."

ever may have been the cause of the calamity, the flames spread with so much rapidity, that, before night, out of four thousand houses, only one hundred and seventy were left standing; and so intense was the heat, that the Austrians were unable to remain in the city. No sooner, however, had the fire abated, from want of materials, than they returned to pillage with such thoughtless rapacity, that numbers were suffocated in searching after treasures amid the smoking ruins. On the 13th of May, Tilly entered in triumph, exultingly contemplating a scene of desolation, which no human eye had ever witnessed since the destruction of Jerusalem.*

Being informed that a considerable number of persons, of both sexes, who had taken refuge in the cathedral, had remained three days without nourishment, he ordered them to be supplied with a scanty allowance of bread, assured them that their lives were no longer in danger, and having shut up the men in a place of confinement, he sent the women and children to the camp.† These, together with

* As he proceeded to the cathedral, to return thanks to a divinity who delights in mercy, for having delivered so many innocent victims to his avenging sword, he is said to have repeated, with peculiar delight, the following passage from Virgil:

Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum

——— fuit Ilium at ingens

Gloria *Parthenopet.*—Harte, i. 276.

That a general, educated by the Jesuits, should have possessed literature sufficient to furnish the quotation, or even to vary the passage as occasion required, is by no means an extraordinary circumstance; but that any sentiments, except those of contrition and pity, should have presented themselves to his imagination, when trampling thousands of mangled carcases beneath his horse's hoofs, must naturally excite our astonishment, and would be utterly incredible, did we not previously know that he had been schooled in the seminaries of St. Ignatius.

† The following verses, extracted from a Latin elegy, by no means des-

a small remnant of the garrison, who had defended themselves with obstinate bravery till allowed to capitulate, and a few of the higher order, whose wealth averted destruction, were all that escaped from the carnage. Every officer was put to the sword, except a colonel and major, whose names are unrecorded in the pages of history, as well as the means by which they were preserved. The administrator was wounded in opposing Pappenheim, and surrendered upon a promise of being treated with proper respect; yet no sooner had he delivered up his sword, than he was stripped almost naked, and cruelly insulted by the Walloons, who deemed it meritorious to persecute heresy, and who were actually preparing to put an end to his existence, when he was rescued by the humanity of Pappenheim. Too noble to insult a prostrate foe, that gallant commander conveyed him in a litter to Wolmerstadt, where he was attended by his own chaplain and domestics. But there were others on whom his melancholy situation made no impression; the Dukes of Holstein and Saxe-Lauenberg had the baseness to treat him with studied indignity. Such was the general want of civilization, and such the virulence of religious hostility.

After contemplating the desolation which he had occasioned, with apathy, if not with exultation, Tilly gave directions for repairing the fortifications,

tribute of poetical merit, written by Joachim Rusdorffus, and preserved by Lotichius, are applicable to this horrid transaction.

Auri sacra fames, rapiendi dira libido,
 In te nequaquam scivit habere modum.
 Ludus erat portas vi, vi perfringere vectes,
 Ludus et imposito rumpere faste seras.
 Omnes iguavo vastasti milite terras,
 Ista fuit belli gloria summa tui.

and erecting huts sufficient to contain three regiments. From that hour the pillage ceased; but, on the following day, a fire broke out in that quarter of the camp where the spoils of Magdeburg had been deposited, of which, by the just retribution of Providence, the greater part was consumed. During the confusion, many of the prisoners recovered their liberty, and among others Stralman, the Swedish envoy; who having traversed the Elbe without being discovered, joined his master at Spandau.

It would be a waste of time to endeavour to specify with minute precision the number of slaughtered citizens, as it is a question concerning which historians differ materially. From the most authentic documents, however, it appears that upwards of thirty thousand perished;* of which more are supposed to have been destroyed by fire than by the sword of the conquerors: for scarce a cellar was opened which did not contain the bodies of several women and children, supposed to have been suffocated by the intensity of the vapour. Between six and seven thousand were almost immediately thrown into the river; but this circumstance affords no ground whatever for accurate calculation, because several months elapsed before the ruins were completely cleared away, and the extent of the calamity ascertained. Neither would it prove less derogatory to the dignity of history to enumerate the prodigies, by which, according to the opinion of the pious Lotichius, the ruin of Magdeburg was predicted.† Among this description of facts

* Schmidt, v. 4. Puffendorf, iii. 15. Lotichius, 863. Galetti, i. 188. Harte magnifies the loss to 40,000. l. 188. Burgus, 200.

† The poet, Lotichius, the father of the historian, is supposed by many to have predicted the fall of Magdeburg, in his beautiful elegy addressed

we may venture to include the extraordinary relations of female heroism, recorded by the credulity of contemporary writers, and copied by those who succeeded.* We may readily admit that an

to Joach.—Camerarius, ii. 4. Burnau, in his edition of that elegant author, has collected and compared the opinions of the learned upon this subject; and, after amply discussing the prophetic nature of the poet's dreams, concludes with this pertinent observation: "Nos in medio hæc relinquimus nec in ulterius somnio explicando, somniare ipsi volumus." Those who are acquainted with his Comments on Propertius, the Anthologia, &c. will best know how to appreciate the justness of this remark. See Diet. de Bayle Art. Lotich.

* I cannot dismiss this melancholy subject without abridging a narrative, written by Theodorus, a protestant divine, and minister of the church of St. Catharine, who is said to have lived to a very advanced age, and to have died in 1720, and with whom, according to the author of the History of Gustavus Adolphus, many persons alive in 1764 had conversed. "As I was quitting my church, after morning prayers, I was told by some people, whom I met in the streets, that the enemy had actually entered the city. This intelligence appeared to me so extraordinary, that I hardly gave credit to it; but, alas! I too soon discovered that it was no false alarm. My presence of mind now forsook me, and as my wife and maid servant were with me, we ran to the house of my colleague, which we found crowded with people, who had fled thither as to a place of security. We comforted each other as far as our fears would permit. But I had not remained there long, when I was summoned to attend a colonel, who was dangerously wounded. Resolved to fulfil my duty to the last, I sent the maid for my gown; but, before I separated from my wife and neighbours, I told them that, in my opinion, our fate was irrevocably decided, and that we should meet no more in the present world. Upon hearing this, my wife exclaimed, in a flood of tears, '*Will you then leave me to perish alone? If you do, you must answer for it before God!*' I endeavoured to comfort her, by expatiating upon the sacred nature of my function, and the importance of the duties which I was called upon to perform.

"As I crossed the great street, a multitude of women gathered round me, beseeching me, in all the agonies of distress, to advise them in what manner to act. I exhorted them to recommend themselves to the mercy of Providence, and to prepare for death. Upon entering the colonel's lodgings, I found him lying on the floor, in a very feeble state. I gave him all the consolation that religion affords; he heard me attentively, and, when I had finished my prayer, offered me a trifling present, which I left upon the table.

"Meanwhile, the enemy had poured in by thousands at the Hamburg-gate, and fired upon the inhabitants like beasts of prey. My wife and

elevated sentiment of unsullied chastity may have tempted a lady of rank and education to prefer

servant unexpectedly joined me, conjuring me to fly, because they said it would be in vain to sue for mercy, should we be discovered in the room of an officer. We ran into the court, and placed ourselves under an arch; but in a moment the gate was burst open, with a violence which it is impossible to describe. '*Priest, deliver thy money,*' cried one of the soldiers eagerly. I gave him a small box, containing some silver coin, which he immediately opened, and, having examined the contents, demanded gold, in a peremptory tone. I represented to him that, being at a distance from my own habitation, it was impossible for me to comply; apparently satisfied with this excuse, they left me to plunder the house.

"Scarcely had they quitted me, when a second party rushed into the yard, crying, '*Money! money!*' They, however, contented themselves with a few shillings, and two silver spoons, which my maid had concealed in her pocket. But these were hardly out of sight, when another soldier appeared, with the most terrific countenance I ever beheld. Each cheek was puffed with a bullet, and on each shoulder he carried a musket. The moment he saw me, he cried, in a voice of thunder, '*Thy money, priest, or thou art dead!*' Having nothing left to give, I excused myself in the manner best calculated to move his pity. He made no reply, but leveling his firelock, would certainly have killed me, had not my wife struck it with her hand, and caused the ball to pass over my head. Convinced at last that we had no money, he asked for plate, and upon receiving a few trinkets from my wife, departed. Others followed, who did not molest us, but contented themselves with saying, '*Wicked priest, what dost thou here?*'

"We now resolved to shelter ourselves in the upper story, and entering a chamber where there were several beds, passed some time in the most horrid suspense; as we distinctly heard the reports of muskets below, and the groans of persons expiring of their wounds. At length, however, our retreat was discovered. A number of armed men poured in together, one of whom was preparing to cleave my skull with a hatchet, when he was stopped by his comrade, who compassionately exclaimed, '*What are you about? Don't you perceive that he is a clergyman?*'

"To another fellow, who came alone, my wife gave a gauze handkerchief, which she wore round her neck; upon which he retired without offering us any insult. His follower, however, was less humane; for, upon entering the room, he struck me upon the head with his sword, crying, '*Money! money!*' The violence of the blow stunned me for a moment, and the blood gushed plentifully from the wound. The wretch now aimed a blow at my wife, who was motionless with terror, but the weapon fortunately glancing upon her gown, which was lined with fur, she escaped unhurt. Astonished at the composure with which we resigned ourselves to the will of the Almighty, he gazed at us with wonder. I

death to the embraces of a barbarian; and that another may have deliberately plunged into a

availed myself of the pause, to represent to him my inability to satisfy his demand, from being in the house of a stranger; telling him, at the same time, that if he would spare our lives, and conduct us home, he should have every thing we possessed. '*Agreed,*' exclaimed he eagerly, '*put me in possession of thy wealth, and I will save thy family. The watch-word is Jesu Maria; pronounce that, and no one will molest thee.*'

"Too happy to have found a protector, we descended into the street, which was now covered with the bodies of the dead and the dying, while the air resounded with the shrieks and groans, sufficient to have pierced the heart of the most obdurate savage. We walked upon human carcases, till we reached the church of St. Catherine, where we met an officer of distinction on horseback. Seeing me covered with blood, he said to my conductor in an angry voice, '*Take care how you behave to those persons!*' Then turning to my wife, he added mildly, '*Madam, is yonder house yours?*' Upon answering in the affirmative, he bade her '*take hold of his stirrup, and fear nothing.*' Addressing himself to me, he said, '*Gentleman of Magdeburg, you are yourselves the authors of your destruction; you might have averted it by acting more prudently.*'

"Upon entering our habitation, we found it filled with plunderers, whom our protector (a colonel) ordered instantly to withdraw. He told us, that he would take up his lodgings with us, placed a guard at the door for our protection, and quitted us with a promise shortly to return. We gave our centinels a comfortable breakfast; who complimented us upon our good fortune in falling into the hands of so compassionate an officer, and beseeching us to make them some compensation for the loss they must sustain from remaining inactive, while their comrades were enriching themselves with a valuable booty. A small gratuity satisfied them, and even induced them to offer to go in search of any of our friends, for whose safety we might be particularly anxious. Delighted at the proposal, I promised to reward them liberally, if they could find the means of saving a friend, whom I supposed to have taken refuge in the cathedral. One of them undertook the office, and, accompanied by my maid, set out immediately; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual, and from that moment I never heard of him again.

"When the colonel returned, he inquired humanely if any body had insulted us during his absence; and being assured that we had been treated with the greatest attention, he hastened away to assist in extinguishing the fire. But scarcely had he quitted the house, when he came running back, exclaiming, with great emotion, '*Show me the nearest way out of the town: for if we remain here any longer, we shall inevitably perish in the flames.*' Upon this we threw our most valuable effects into the cellar, and having covered the trap-door with earth, made our escape precipitately. My wife took nothing with her, except my gown; and my ser-

well, to escape the brutality of a Croat; but that twelve hundred virgins (as the author of the Me-

vant, seeing a neighbour's child crying piteously at its father's door, led it away. The flames now raged with so much violence, that it was no longer practicable to pass the gates; and the heat was so intense, as almost to deprive us of respiration. After several fruitless attempts to gain the fields, we determined to make our escape by the river. In our way thither we were repeatedly attacked by the Walloons and Croats, who would have certainly massacred us, had it not been for our generous protector. Having at length reached the bastion on the banks of the Elbe, we descended by a scaling ladder, and arrived in safety in the Austrian camp, no less fatigued than terrified with our adventures.

"The colonel presented us with some refreshments as soon as we were seated in his tent, and when we had recovered our strength a little, he asked me rather abruptly, 'what return I intended to make him for the kindness with which we had been treated?' I replied, 'that at present I had nothing to offer, but that I would willingly bestow upon him all the plate and money, which was buried in the cellar, and which formed the whole of our earthly possessions.' The entrance of several officers interrupted the conversation; but, on the following day, he sent his domestics, accompanied by my maid, in search of the treasure, but the fire still raging, they were unable to reach the deposit. Meanwhile we were treated by the colonel with the greatest civility, and invited as guests to his table.

"At length I ventured to request permission to depart; to this he made no objection, provided our ransom should be paid. I accordingly dispatched my servant to the cellar, who returned in a few hours with all our property, which being delivered to our preserver, with the warmest expressions of gratitude for all his kindness, he ordered a passport to be prepared, with permission for us to retire wheresoever we wished, generously presenting us with a crown, to defray the expenses of our journey." *Hist. de Gustave Adolfe*, 326. *Harte*, i. 278.

This simple story, which bears all the characteristics of the strictest veracity, not only merits attention on account of the precision with which it details the horrors of a successful assault, but is highly interesting from presenting a lively picture of the extreme barbarity of that uncivilized age. At a period when manners less savage prevailed, we should feel inclined to suspect that the praises bestowed, by the benevolent pastor, on Don Joseph Ainsa, (for so the Spanish colonel was called) were wholly ironical; since it is difficult to reconcile, with our ideas of generosity, the behaviour of a man, who considers himself entitled to the praise of humanity, because he does not wantonly embrace his sword in the blood of a peaceful minister of the gospel, or gratuitously murder two innocent females, but suffer them to depart without any injury to their persons, after robbing them of all they possessed.

moirs of the House of Brandenburg is pleased to assert) should have assembled together on the banks of the Elbe, and, after embracing each other, have sought the protection of their honour in a watery grave, exceeds the bounds of credibility, and may fairly be classed with the fable of Daphne, and the legend of St. Ursula.

CHAP. XII.

Different sensations produced by the destruction of Magdeburg.—Gustavus blamed by the protestants for inactivity, but without cause.—Ferdinand, elated with success, grows more presumptuous than ever. The Swedes, having evacuated Spandau, force the Elector of Brandenburg to declare in their favour.—George William justifies his proceedings in a spirited memorial.—Gustavus also publishes a manifesto explaining his motives for not relieving Magdeburg.—Tilly marches towards Cassel, occupies Erfurt, Weimar, and Gotha.—Magnanimous behaviour of the Landgrave.—Gustavus forms an alliance with Russia, takes Gripswald, and reinstates the Dukes of Meeklenberg with great solemnity.—Ferdinand issues an edict commanding the protestants to suspend their levies, and to unite with him in expelling the Swedes, and orders his generals to enforce it in the southern provinces of Germany.—The King of Sweden appears before Magdeburg, and compels Pappenheim to retire; takes Werben and Havelberg; surprises the Austrian outposts, and repulses Tilly.—The Marquis of Hamilton arrives with reinforcements from England. His treaty with Gustavus; ill success of his measures.—The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel concludes an alliance with Sweden.—The emperor resolves to take possession of Saxony.—Tilly, by his insolence, compels the elector to throw himself into the arms of Sweden. He invades the electorate; takes several towns, but is totally defeated in the vicinity of Leipsie.

FEW events could have occurred more distressing to the feelings, or more repugnant to the interest of Gustavus Adolphus, than the destruction of Magdeburg; because it not only afforded to his enemies the proudest triumph, but furnished to the timidity of his vacillating allies a plausible pretext for desertion. Astounded at a calamity no less dreadful than unexpected, most of the protestant princes contemplated the conduct of the Swedish monarch with surprise, if not with suspicion. On the contrary, the expectations of Ferdinand and of the catholics were raised much higher than ever, and

in the excess of presumption they now looked forward with confidence to the happy moment, when every chimerical project should be realized. The courage of Gustavus however remained unshaken. Conscious that the misfortune which appalled his friends, could not justly be imputed to his neglect, and convinced that he must expose himself to constant disappointments if he trusted any longer to the fidelity of a nation, whose attachments were fluctuating as the tide of fortune, he determined in future to adopt a different system, and to extort from the apprehensions of the protestant electors that steady support, which it was in vain to expect from a more elevated motive.

Though the difficulty of his situation might have justified an action of doubtful morality in the estimation of those who vindicate oppression upon the plea of expediency, yet his lofty spirit disdained to purchase the most solid advantages at the expense of justice. He accordingly resolved to evacuate Spandau, when summoned by the Elector of Brandenburg to fulfil his engagement, though by consenting to do so, he unquestionably subjected himself to many inconveniencies, which a less scrupulous politician would have avoided. Without the possession of a fortress, to which he might retire, when pressed by a superior army, it would have been madness to have advanced, because his magazines must have been exposed to the incursions of the imperialists, collecting in force in Silesia. Neither could he return to Pomerania without abandoning Mecklenberg and the Electorate of Saxony to the resentment of Tilly.* Persuaded also, that in case

* Puffendorf, iii. 17. Galetti, i. 169.

of any sudden reverse, his timid brother-in-law would be induced by a perfidious minister to declare in favour of the victorious party, he prudently determined by vigorous measures to secure his fidelity in future. Having settled his plan, he sent directions to the Swedish commander to evacuate Spandau, and signified to the elector, that on the following day he intended to visit him at Berlin, where unless he was received with the hospitality of a friend, he should be constrained to have recourse to coercion. The bearer of this unwelcome message was almost immediately followed by Thurn, charged with dispatches which confirmed the resolutions of the Swedish monarch, in terms calculated to alarm a stronger mind than that of the pusillanimous Prussian. Disgusted at the weakness and duplicity of his relative, Gustavus formally notified to him, that as the geographical position of his dominions no longer admitted of his remaining neuter, he would allow him only three days to decide, whether he was in future to be regarded by the Swedish army in the light of an ally, or of an adversary. In case he should prefer the friendship of Sweden to that of Austria, he engaged to protect him against the resentment of Ferdinand, while he had a soldier left for his defence. If on the contrary he chose to place himself under the shelter of the imperial eagle, he must expect him in future to regulate his behaviour as the necessity of his affairs might require, and must not be surprised to see his fortresses occupied by the Swedish troops, and his country subjected to heavy contributions.*

* 1631. *Harte*, i. 286. *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 336.

This summary mode of proceeding by no means accorded with the views of the elector, and was calculated to produce a powerful effect; because the imperial army having directed its march toward the forest of Hartz, the terror which its presence had so lately inspired had in great measure subsided. Neither were the apprehensions of the citizens less vivid than those of their unwarlike sovereign, when they beheld the fierce and gigantic Dalecarlians surround the metropolis of Prussia.

General Arnheim, after abandoning the imperial service in consequence of the Duke of Friedland's disgrace, had been promoted to the command of the Saxon army; and having been sent to Berlin, in order to counteract the designs of Gustavus, was easily persuaded by the terrified elector to assume the office of mediator. But, though he was unquestionably gifted with splendid talents, and accustomed to diplomatic affairs, he shortly discovered that no impression could be made upon the Swedish monarch by the usual arts of intrigue. Two days having been consumed in fruitless negotiations, the patience of the king was exhausted, and he ordered his cannon to be pointed against the city. Confiding in the humanity of an ancient ally, George William protested that he had rather bury himself beneath the ruins of his dismantled palace, than submit to the humiliation of beholding his capital occupied by foreigners. But while the Saxon plenipotentiary was expatiating upon the indignity of such a proceeding, he was suddenly interrupted by Gustavus. "Has he not," said the indignant monarch impatiently, "received the imperialists into every town in the electorate? Have they not garrisoned his castles, consumed

the produce of his territories, and impoverished his subjects by their rapacity? And does he imagine that I will endure to be treated with less indulgence? My honour and interest equally forbid it; and I cannot but consider the proposal which you are commissioned to make me, in the light of an additional insult. Know, then, that I will no longer be made the dupe of duplicity. On the contrary, I expect that the elector should put me in possession of some satisfactory pledge for his future sincerity. In addition to this, let him furnish a subsidy toward the prosecution of a war, far more important to Brandenburg than to Sweden; let him supply my troops with provisions while they remain in his dominions, and I will undertake to defend him upon the word of a king; but let him decide without farther hesitation; for if I do not instantly receive an unambiguous answer, the signal shall be given for the bombardment to commence.*

This spirited declaration having destroyed every hope of averting the storm by negotiation, a deputation, consisting of Prussian ladies, at the head of which the mother of the unfortunate Palatine appeared like a second Veturia, deprecated the wrath of the exasperated Swede, who desirous of manifesting to the world his admiration for the virtues of that illustrious princess, consented at length to moderate his demands. Delivered from the apprehension of impending destruction, George William ventured to visit the camp, where a treaty was concluded upon conditions far less burthensome than his pusillanimity gave him any right to expect; the

* Puffendorf, iii. 17. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 336. Galétti, i. 190. Le Vassor, x. 36. Siri Memorie Recondite, vii. 347.

king, however, would not consent to relinquish those points, which he considered as essential to his future security, though he contented himself with the occupation of Spandau, together with the permission of entering Custrin whenever he might require it, and even reduced his subsidiary demand to a monthly contribution of thirty thousand dollars. Every thing being thus adjusted in an amicable manner, the elector was greeted with a military salute; but the artillery men having forgotten to unload the cannon, several houses were damaged by the shot, though fortunately no lives were destroyed.*

This rigorous treatment of a sovereign, so nearly connected with the Swedish crown, exposed Gustavus to unmerited obloquy, and was represented by his adversaries as totally inconsistent with those elevated sentiments of moderation and equity, which he blazoned to the world as the leading principles of his actions. But this accusation, when impartially examined, appears totally destitute of foundation. Not only his personal glory, and the welfare of thousands whom he led to battle, but the future stability of the protestant religion depended upon the result of the negotiation. Situated as he was, and contending in a cause which eventually embraced the happiness of the remotest posterity, it would have been the excess of imprudence to have allowed the noblest projects, ever conceived by the magnanimity of mortal, to have been frustrated by the weak and fluctuating councils of a prince, equally deficient in courage and sagacity, and sur-

* Puffendorf, ii. 17. Lotich. i. 897. Harte, i. 287.

rounded by ministers, whose unblushing venality was corrupted by the treasures of Austria.

No sooner was this convention concluded, which identified the fortune of George William with that of Gustavus, than the former deemed it expedient in a studied apology to justify his conduct towards Ferdinand; and, as he naturally expected to be laden with reproaches, he prudently resolved to be the first to complain. He accordingly began by expatiating upon the evils to which he had been exposed by the disorderly conduct of the Austrians, who, after stripping his territories of every thing necessary for human sustenance, had abandoned them to the discretion of the Swedes, whose rigid adherence to the dictates of justice would have induced them to respect the neutrality of Brandenburg, had it not been previously violated by their enemies. Too feeble to vindicate his rights by the sword, he had been constrained by the resistless law of necessity to attend only to self-preservation.

Unable to controvert a statement supported by clear and undeniable facts, and equally unwilling to compromise his authority by a weak and unfounded justification, Ferdinand, in his answer, confined himself to general topics, without condescending to enter into particulars. The rapid success of the Swedish arms he imputed to the disunion which unhappily prevailed among the different members of the empire, and which had been plainly manifested in the unconstitutional proceedings at Leipsic. With respect to the licentious behaviour of his troops, he simply remarked, that the elector would be fortunate to be treated by the Swedes with equal humanity, because it was

impossible for a country to become the theatre of war, without being subject to a thousand inconveniences.*

Gustavus being delivered from all anxiety by the treaty of Berlin, and feeling anxious to obliterate every unfavourable impression, which his apparent indifference for the fate of Magdeburg might have excited, addressed a manifesto to the German nation, in which he explained his reasons without the smallest disguise. Of the parsimony of the senate he particularly complained, which prevented them from raising a force sufficient to man their extensive fortifications, which, if properly guarded, might have securely derided the impotent vengeance of the assailants. He farther contended, that this ill-judged economy did not proceed from pecuniary embarrassments, because he had himself advanced considerable sums, which had been unpardonably diverted to other purposes, by perfidy or speculation. The negligence of the magistrates, in every other department, had contributed likewise to accelerate their ruin, as it had induced them to connive at the treachery of their fellow citizens, though repeatedly warned of the danger. This fatal indifference to their dearest interests, had afforded so much facility for the venal and disaffected to maintain a clandestine correspondence with the enemy, that Tilly not only obtained the minutest information respecting the strength and disposition of the garrison, but was regularly apprised even of the most secret deliberations of the senate.

Adverting to his own situation, he boldly asserted, that nothing on his part had been left unat-

* Lotichius, i. 880.

tempted, to prevent the dreadful calamity; but, before he could venture to face the Austrian army, it was necessary for him to secure his flank, by the possession of Francfort and Lansberg. Disdaining concealment, as abhorrent to his nature, he readily admitted, that he had repeatedly promised to march to the succour of the besieged; but, at the same time, insisted that a similar engagement could not imply the attempting impossibilities. Those important fortresses, however, had no sooner fallen, than he began his march without the smallest delay, and should have inevitably attempted to raise the siege, had he not been prevented by unexpected occurrences, which no human prescience could foresee: for how could he suppose that the Elector of Brandenburg, his friend and ally, would not only have declined the honour of participating in an enterprise, no less essential to the stability of the protestant church than to the safety of his own dominions, should even refuse to grant him the temporary occupation of Spandau, so indispensable to the success of the undertaking. Neither was it easier to have believed, that the political head of the Evangelical Union would have carried his complaisance toward the imperial court so far, as to refuse him a passage over the Elbe.*

While, by wisdom and activity, the Swedish monarch was laying the foundation of his future glory, Tilly was no less busily employed in making preparations for humbling the Leipsic confederacy. Having taken possession of the see of Magdeburg, in the name of the Archduke Leopold, second son of the emperor, and appointed Mansfeldt governor

* Lotichius, i. 863. Hist. de Gustave Adol. 332.

of that desolated spot, which bore a far greater resemblance to a fortified camp than to one of the richest emporia of northern commerce, but which was still highly important, on account of its commanding situation upon the banks of the Elbe, he left Pappenheim with a force sufficient to repel any desultory attack, and advanced himself at the head of the main army, with the intention of cutting off all communication between Cassel and Dresden.* Though never opposed by a regular force, this expedition was attended with considerable loss; because the hardy inhabitants of the forest of Hartz retaliated upon the stragglers the dreadful enormities perpetrated by the unbridled ferocity of their companions.† For many miles the country was covered with the bodies of those who had fallen victims to the fury of the peasants, whom despair had armed with invincible courage; so that when Tilly arrived at Erfurt, his defalcation in numbers was scarcely inferior to what a sanguinary battle might have occasioned. That city, though calculated from its situation to retard the progress of the Austrians, had been left destitute of provisions, ammunition, and artillery; yet so anxious was the imperial general to reduce it, that he suffered the magistrates to remain in office, upon paying a moderate contribution. Weimar, Eisenach, and Gotha, being successively occupied, the natives were

* Puffendorf, iii. 21. Gualdo, i. 33. Galetti, i. 192.

† So great was their brutality, that, disdaining to employ the smallest delicacy, even toward women of elevated rank, they stripped the Countess of Gleichen, in her own castle, of all she possessed, and even of her personal ornaments.—Galetti, *ibid.*

treated with indecent rapacity, though subject to princes of the Saxon family.*

Undismayed by the tempest which threatened to overwhelm him, the Landgrave of Hesse collected his forces in the vicinity of Cassel, prepared to encounter the impending danger with heroic fortitude. Formidable alike from the extent of his resources, and the elevated qualities of his mind, that prince had been long an object of terror to many of his neighbours,† whose collective strength, even if prudently consolidated for the reduction of Cassel, might have been foiled in the arduous attempt. Unless aided by the co-operation of an Austrian army, they looked forward with anxiety, if not with dismay, to the possibility of a renewal of those melancholy scenes which they had experienced from Mansfeldt and Brunswick: with the most pressing solicitations, they accordingly supplicated the protection of Tilly, who flattered himself, that the consternation, universally excited by the downfall of Magdeburg, might enable him to reduce the Landgrave to unconditional submission before Gustavus could arrive to his succour. Anticipating the dissolution of the Leipsic confederacy, as a necessary consequence of his victory, and looking forward with confidence to the glory reserved for his declining years, when he should triumphantly close his military career, by driving the Swedes out of Germany.

The event, however, was so far from correspond-

* Puffendorf, iii. 21.

† The Electors of Mentz and Cologne, the Bishops of Munster and Paderborn, and the Abbot of Fulde.

ing with these exaggerated expectations, that, even in the outset, insuperable difficulties arose. A haughty message from Tilly summoned the Landgrave immediately to declare, whether he wished to be considered as the friend or the enemy of Ferdinand ; and, if he decided for the former, he was required to receive an Austrian garrison, both at Cassel and Ziegenheim ; he was likewise commanded to disband the troops, which he had trained and disciplined with indefatigable industry ; to desist from all future enrolments, and even to furnish the imperial army with money, provisions, and ammunition.”*

Under similar circumstances the generality of princes would have yielded submissively to the impetuous torrent, too happy to purchase a momentary exemption from the horrors of war by the sacrifice of honour and independence. But the friend of Gustavus was cast by nature in a different mould ; his idol was glory, and he nobly preferred a warrior's death to ignominious vassalage. Under-ried by the immense disparity of force, and incapable of averting the gathering tempest by deceit or prevarication, he replied, with laconic dignity, that, “without abandoning every principle of self-preservation, he could not surrender his fortresses ; that he wanted his troops for his own protection, and had neither money nor provisions to spare ; but that if the Austrian general was in distress for either, he would advise him to apply to the Duke of Bavaria, who was abundantly provided with both, and who was so deeply interested in the suc-

* 1631. Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 344.

cess of his enterprize, that he would contribute with pleasure towards it."*

Highly exasperated at being treated with irony, when he expected the most servile respect, Tilly resolved, by the severity of military execution, to make both sovereign and subjects repent; and, from his general character, we may fairly infer, that he would not have proved remiss, in carrying this menace into execution, had he been allowed time by Gustavus to fulfil it.

After securing the co-operation of the Prussians, the king departed for Stettin, having entrusted Banner with the temporary command of the forces collected in the vicinity of Berlin. Immediately after his arrival in the capital of Pomerania, he gave audience to a Russian ambassador, commissioned by the chief of those inhospitable regions, to felicitate him upon his rapid success, and to offer to assist in the glorious undertaking with hordes of auxiliary savages. To this amicable assurance a most flattering answer was returned, and a treaty was signed, by which the Czar engaged to inundate Germany with his barbarous hosts, whenever his aid should be required. Though nothing short of the most urgent necessity could have tempted Gustavus to have accepted the assistance of such allies; yet he felt delighted at an event, which secured him in future against the machinations of Poland, whose sovereign, as we have seen in the preceding pages, was blindly devoted to Austria.†

After dismissing the Muscovite plenipotentiaries,

* Gualdo, i. 34. Puffendorf, iii. 21. Galetti, i. 193.

† Ibid.

laden with caresses and presents, Gustavus hastened to Gripswald, the only Pomeranian fortress still occupied by the imperialists, but closely blockaded by Todt, an able and enterprising officer. The strength of the fortifications might have long defied the efforts of the assailants, had not its reduction been accelerated by the intemperate courage of the commander. Though proof against the threats or the temptations of the Swedes, Perusi could not behold the prospect of glory with equal indifference. Finding themselves unable to make any impression, the besiegers endeavoured, by taunts and insults, to make the governor abandon his asylum. The stratagem succeeded; Perusi having pursued a small detachment, with the hope of being able to cut it off, was surrounded and slain, after a gallant resistance. His successor, less romantic in his ideas of honour, was easily induced to capitulate, upon condition that the garrison should be allowed to retire to Rostock, escorted by a Swedish detachment; which, proving too feeble to enforce compliance, was disarmed and ill-treated by the prisoners. No sooner was Todt made acquainted with the enemy's perfidy, than he ordered his cavalry to pursue them; and the commission was executed with so much celerity, that they were soon overtaken, and either cut to pieces, or compelled to enrol under the banners of Sweden.*

The capture of Gripswald was almost immediately followed by the reinstatement of the Dukes of Mecklenburg; which ceremony was performed with all the pomp and solemnity which could give additional lustre to their inauguration.† No time,

* Puffendorf, ii. 18. Harte, ii. 203.

† Ibid. 22. Galetti, i. 147. Harte, i. 295. Khevenhiller, xi. 1857.

however, was lost; during the festivities, Gustavus gave directions for investing Wismar and Rostock, and dispatched a confidential minister to Lyons, to give the ultimate arrangements to the treaty of Beerwaldt, and to provide for the regular payment of the subsidy.

While the Swede was thus exerting his utmost endeavours in order to augment the number of his partisans by wisdom, justice, and moderation, Ferdinand was following a different course, and by his tyrannical proceedings, not only alienating the affections of his natural allies, but converting into open and irreconcilable enemies many, whom indolence or timidity might have tempted to persevere in a disgraceful system of neutrality. By an intemperate edict he hastily annulled all the acts of the assembly of Leipsic, enjoining the members, under pain of incurring his utmost displeasure, cordially to unite with him in the meritorious undertaking of expelling the Swedes from the empire. In order to facilitate that important enterprize, no less essential to the internal tranquillity of Germany than requisite for the preservation of its military renown, they were summoned to provide the imperial armies with money, forage, and ammunition, and to allow them at all times an uninterrupted passage through their dominions. Adverting to the complaints so repeatedly urged against the rapacity of the soldiers, he affected to treat them as originating chiefly in that spirit of disaffection, which was rapidly spreading for the destruction of religion, and the utter subversion of all legitimate authority.* This haughty mandate was succeeded by another, addressed to the members of the

* Lotichius, i. 142.

Germanic constitution, as well as to all magistrates and generals, forbidding them to issue any fresh commissions for the recruiting service, and requiring them to exert their influence in order to prevent the new levies from joining their standards; and lest the conventions subscribing with Sweden might be alleged in excuse of disobedience, it concluded by absolving the German nation from every obligation inadvertently contracted with the invader, as if he seriously believed, that the privileges of dispensing with the most solemn engagements was a prerogative annexed to the imperial sceptre.*

But monitories and menaces were no longer in season. The eyes of the protestants were at length opened to the danger by which they were surrounded; the inhumanity of Tilly had closed every bosom against the illusions of hope; and, as the consternation excited by the destruction of Magdeburg began gradually to abate, the timid counsels of indecision were rejected with disdain; and even where the necessary resolution was wanting, it found a powerful substitute in despair. Instead of disbanding their troops the recruiting service was carried on with increasing activity in Misnia, Franconia, and Swabia, particularly in the great commercial cities where the love of independence, the necessary consequence of a republican constitution, gave additional ardour to religious enthusiasm.

Highly incensed at the contempt with which his authority was treated, the emperor embraced the hasty resolution of enforcing obedience by coercion;

* Harte, i. 296.

and, for this purpose, he sent instructions to his generals, as they returned from Italy, to suspend their march towards the Elbe and the Weser, till they should have extinguished disaffection in the south. These orders were executed with a vigorous punctuality which did little credit to the feelings of the commanders. The imperial cities of Ulm, Kempton, and Memmingen were compelled by the cruelty of Furstenberg and Aldringer, not only to renounce the confederacy, and to purchase an exemption from military rapacity by a heavy contribution, but even to submit to the "edict of restitution." Terms no less oppressive were successively imposed upon all the Swabian states, and among the rest upon the Duchy of Wirtemberg, at that time subject to a feeble government, the natural consequence of a minority. All the regiments, equipped in conformity to the resolutions embraced at Leipsic were compelled to enter into the Austrian service; a circumstance which afforded a formidable addition to the force destined for the annihilation of protestantism.* But as this resolution in the political horizon was solely the effect of compulsion, its duration was coeval with the ascendancy of the power by whose tyranny it was promoted. Hence the obligations contracted with the satellites of despotism were virtually abrogated by the triumphs of Gustavus in Saxony.

Having established his power in Mecklenberg and Pomerania, on the solid basis of universal esteem, and fixed the fluctuating attachment of Prussia, the King of Sweden conceived that the moment was arrived, when he might adventure

* Puffendorf, iii. 20. Schmidt, v. 3. Harte, i. 296.

southwards with security. With this view he assembled the different corps encamped in the vicinity of Spandau, and directed his march toward the Elbe; but as it was an invariable maxim with him never to entrust to others any important commission, which it was possible for him personally to perform, he explored the country at the head of his cavalry, till he arrived within sight of the sumptuous monastery of Jerichou, when, being satisfied that the enemy entertained no thoughts of molesting him, he pushed boldly forward to the gates of Magdeburg, where Pappenheim had retired for shelter.* Convinced that activity is the soul of war, he forded the Elbe at a spot where till then it had been deemed impassable, and carried Tangermund by assault; an important acquisition, as it enabled him to extend his quarters in a country plentifully stocked with cattle, and abounding in the richest productions of husbandry. It is said that at one time he had conceived the design of retaking Magdeburg, but, after deliberately weighing the difficulty of the undertaking against the splendour incidental to success, he resolved to sacrifice the brilliant chimeras of ambition to more permanent objects of glory.†

In order to facilitate the execution of his future projects, the king deemed it expedient to render himself master of Havelburg and Werben; the latter, valuable from the strength of its situation, being built on an eminence near the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe. Banner in consequence received directions to storm Havelberg, which he executed with his usual intelligence, while Werben

* Puffendorf, lii. 19.

† Hartz, ii. 99.

was subjected to the dominion of Sweden by the enterprising valour of Bauditzen.*

The rapid progress of Gustavus rendering Pappenheim's position no longer secure, he retired to Halberstadt, from whence he dispatched courier after courier, intreating Tilly not to waste a single moment in distant enterprises, which even if attended with the complete success, would ill compensate the loss of an army.

Notwithstanding he was occupied in the delightful employment of gratifying his pride and resentment, by subjecting the langrairate of Hesse to military execution, that veteran general suspended his schemes to a more convenient opportunity, not totally displeased perhaps at being furnished with an excuse for abandoning a country, where he met with a more obstinate resistance than he expected, and which was completely exhausted by the insatiable rapacity of the invaders. Having mustered his forces under the walls of Mulhausen, he proceeded to Wolmerstadt, and being joined by Pappenheim, continued his march toward the Elbe, declaring publicly that it was his fixed resolution to give battle immediately to Gustavus.†

No sooner was the king apprised of his intention than he quitted Tangermund for the stronger position of Werben,‡ secretly determined not to hazard an engagement, till he should have obtained the co-operation of Saxony.

* Puffendorf, iii. 19. Gualdo, i. 36.

† 1631. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 345.

‡ Werben is supposed to be situated near the spot, where the Emperor Henry I. gained a decisive victory over the Vandals, in commemoration of which he built Sigburg, or *the castle of victory*, *ibid.* 347.

Meanwhile Tilly advanced by hasty marches, anticipating the laurels which he was about to acquire at the expense of a prince whose courage he esteemed, but whom he was still tempted to regard in the light of a daring adventurer. Impressed with the fatal conviction of the unrivalled excellence of Austrian tactics, and the ascendancy of veteran genius, he haughtily disdained those common precautions which are rarely neglected with impunity. Persuaded that the terror of his name would overwhelm the Swedes with dismay, he appears entirely to have excluded from his thoughts even the remotest contingency of a reverse, and to this destructive impression the succeeding disasters ought in a great measure to be ascribed. Gustavus was informed that a detachment of Austrian cavalry, encamped every night at a considerable distance from the army with less attention to security than to convenience, not supposing themselves in danger from the attempts of an adversary, whom they arrogantly believed to be diligently occupied in throwing up breast-works and digging intrenchments, instead of meditating plans of aggression. This intelligence having been verified by an official report, the king determined to chastise the presumption of Tilly, and concerted his measures with so much address, that the enemy were attacked in different quarters before they had time to prepare for their defence. The result of a combat conducted amid the confusion and darkness of the night, proved no less honourable than advantageous to the conqueror, since it so completely disconcerted the projects of Tilly, that he remained inactive for several days; thus allowing time for Gustavus to concentrate his forces in the camp of

Werben, which by indefatigable labour he had rendered unassailable.*

At this important juncture, when the eyes of Europe were attentively fixed on the actions of Gustavus, his royal consort, Maria Eleonora landed in Pomerania, accompanied by numerous reinforcements. On her arrival at Wolgast, she was received by Bogislaus with every flattering mark of respect; but what proved far more grateful to her affectionate heart, she was present at the celebration of a public festival, in commemoration of the anniversary of their deliverer's landing. A short time afterwards the Marquis of Hamilton entered the Oder at the head of six thousand hardy mountaineers. An expedition, so little honourable to the military character of a warlike nation, imposes upon an English historian the paramount obligation of investigating the causes of its failure.

Though the talents of Hamilton were by no means calculated to add increasing lustre to the Caledonian name, yet his illustrious descent, the romantic gallantry of his disposition, a taste for magnificence which bordered on profusion, and perhaps, more than all, the advantage of being allied to the royal house of Stuart, captivated the admiration of the exiled Queen of Bohemia, who not only treated him with the consideration due to a kinsman, but selected him for her confidential adviser. This ill-founded partiality pointed him out to the court as the fittest person to be entrusted with the command of the troops, intended to assist in recovering the palatinate.

* Gualdo, i. 37. Galetti, i. 197. Lotichius, i. 920. Burgus, 220.

To have levied them openly in the royal name, and thus rendered the interference of England a national act, would have been far more consistent with the dignity of the sovereign, and the exalted character of the nation.* But the inextricable labyrinth in which Charles was entangled, prevented his acting with vigour. Instead of publicly espousing the protestant cause, as he was exhorted to do by his ambassador,† he suffered himself to be amused by the insidious professions of Spain and Austria; and even when taught by repeated failures that it was in vain to attempt the re-establishment of his unfortunate brother-in-law by the lenient modes of negotiation, he resolved to preserve a pacific countenance, chusing rather to allow a powerful subject to trench upon the prerogatives of royalty, by raising an army in his own name, than to involve himself in hostilities with Austria.‡

No sooner had Hamilton obtained the king's permission, than he sent proposals to Sweden, offering to raise six thousand men upon certain conditions. The bearer of the dispatches|| was cordially welcomed by Gustavus, who after complimenting the marquis upon the zeal which he manifested for the protestant religion, and the attachment which he

* His majesty not finding it convenient to appear in it himself, resolved it should pass for the voluntary assistance of his subjects, to which he should only give way.—Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, 6.

† Sir Thomas Roe.

‡ To enable the marquis to raise his men, the king granted unto him a lease of the customs of wines in Scotland for sixteen years.—Rushworth's Hist. Collect. ii. 62. Burnet's Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, 10.—A letter inserted in the preceding page of Rushworth's Collection from Charles to the electress will sufficiently shew, that neither preparation, nor insult, could convince him of the perfidy of Spain.

|| Colonel Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Haddington.—Burnet, 6.

professed for his royal person, requested to be made acquainted with the time and place of his landing, that he might prepare an escort of four thousand infantry to receive him; this escort was to remain with the British troops, and be supported during a year at the expense of Sweden. The marquis having requested a reinforcement of two thousand cavalry, as essential to the success of his future operations, Gustavus promised that every possible exertion should be made to procure them. It was farther agreed that unless the king should be present, the marquis should enjoy the supreme command of all the troops; but in order to give additional energy to his deliberations, as well as to obviate the possibility of any misunderstanding, he should be constantly attended by a Swedish officer, well acquainted with the country, and competent to assist him with salutary advice. With respect to the territories which Hamilton might conquer, it was stipulated, that they should belong to the crown of Sweden, but the revenues and contributions were to be left entirely at Hamilton's disposal, provided no unwarrantable depredations were committed. And lastly, both Hamilton and his followers were required to take an oath of fidelity to Gustavus.*

It is a singular circumstance, that no notice should have been taken of the unfortunate Palatine, the ostensible object of British interference: but whether this omission proceeded from negligence, or inattention, has never been satisfactorily ex-

* This treaty may be found at length in Burnet, 7.—It was signed at Stockholm by the King of Sweden, May 30th, 1630, but was not ratified by Hamilton till March 1st in the following year.

plained. Other clauses were so carelessly worded, as to admit of different interpretations; and hence, from the very moment of Hamilton's landing, no cordiality subsisted between him and his illustrious ally. "It is impossible, however, to deny, that the marquis at first fulfilled the agreement with zeal and sincerity; and so popular was the cause in which he had embarked, that volunteers in crowds flocked daily to his standard, among whom were comprised many experienced officers, who had served with distinction under Spinola and the Prince of Orange; those consummate masters in military tactics.

The known integrity of Gustavus precludes the suspicion of premeditated duplicity, and the clearness of his intellect renders it equally improbable, that he should have been mistaken; we are therefore compelled, notwithstanding the laboured apology of Burnet, to admit, with the partisans of the Swedish monarch, that Hamilton was in fault, though it is highly probable, that his was an error of the understanding, and not of the heart. Accustomed to admiration from the servility of dependants, ever prone to offer idolatrous homage at the shrine of power, he may have been led to entertain exaggerated notions of his personal consequence and abilities; an opinion calculated to expose him to the severest mortification, when he found those talents less highly appreciated by a prince too much enlightened to tolerate presumption and vanity, notwithstanding they were decorated with all the splendid insignia of royal favour;* and who valued men neither for their

* Hume describes him as a man, the subtleties and refinements of whose conduct, and whose temporising maxims, though accompanied with good

descent, their wealth, nor their titles, but for the soundness of their judgment, and the purity of their morals.*

Convinced that a battle must shortly take place, Gustavus exhorted his Calédonian ally to embark with all possible expedition. Meanwhile commissioners were issued to Lord Reay and Farenbach, for raising four additional regiments, which were probably destined to join the English forces, in conformity to the promise given to Hamilton.† This project, however, was rendered abortive by the treachery of Farenbach, who deserted to the imperialists with all the money allotted for recruiting.‡

On the 16th of July, Hamilton sailed from Yarmouth, with a fleet consisting of forty vessels; but, being informed upon his arrival off Bremen, that no escort was ready to receive him, and that the

intentions, continually excited suspicion, and whose cautious temper inclined him always toward moderate and dilatory measures, lviii. Such a person was not likely long to enjoy the confidence of the most enterprising warrior of modern times. Whitelock calls him "an unsteady man," 75. Lord Clarendon says, that "he had more outfaced the law in bold projects and pressures upon the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do."—"Though the readiest man to advise the pacification, he was the most visible author of the breach of it."—Hist. of the Rebellion, i. 119.

* Without incurring the imputation of vanity, Gustavus might have ventured to say with Ulysses,—

Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.—Ovid Metamorp. xiii. 140.

† This conjecture acquires additional probability, when we consider that the country in which they were to be raised (viz. Bremen, Holland, and Friesland), lay contiguous to the spot where the English were expected to land; and that their numbers corresponded exactly with those of the reinforcements promised to the Marquis: a Swedish regiment, consisting of one thousand and eight men, the four regiments of course would have comprehended only thirty-two more than the contingent. Harte, i. 317.

‡ Ibid.

adjacent country was, for the most part, occupied by the imperialists, he resolved, without farther deliberation, to steer for the mouth of the Oder.* This unexpected deviation from the preconcerted plan considerably deranged the schemes of Gustavus, because the Archbishop of Bremen had secretly promised to declare in his favour, the moment he could do it with safety. This project, however, was completely frustrated by the pride or imprudence of Hamilton, who by uniting his forces with those of the prelate, might have created a diversion extremely distressing to Tilly.†

To this circumstance must be attributed the subsequent coolness which prevailed between the king and the marquis; because it induced the former to entertain a contemptible opinion of the military talents of his ally, which unfavourable prepossession was still further aggravated by the expense and magnificence which he affected.‡ Apprehensive that an example, totally subversive of regular discipline, might prove contagious, Gustavus ordered the British auxiliaries to watch the motions of the Austrians upon the frontiers of Silesia, from

* Burnet, 16, observes a cautious silence respecting his motives, but Puffendorf seems to insinuate, that this resolution was embraced at the suggestion of the King of Denmark, apprehensive that his pretensions to the see of Bremen, would become entirely hopeless, should it fall into the hands of the Swedes, iii. 23.

† Whitelock tells us that so little care was taken to provide food and accommodation for the soldiers, that they arrived in a sick and shattered condition, and mouldered away in a short time, 15.

‡ According to Harte, the splendour of his equipage, of his table, and of his retinue, would have been more consistent with the magnificence of a royal establishment, than with that of a subject, however illustrious his birth, or great his fortune. He was constantly served by forty pages, the sons of gentlemen, and attended by a guard of four hundred men, all clad in the richest uniforms, i. 320.

whence Horne was recalled, with directions to leave four thousand men, to reinforce the Caledonians.*

Justly mortified at having suffered some of his best disciplined regiments to be surprised, Tilly flattered himself to efface the intolerable stain by a decisive victory, and accordingly he advanced, by hasty marches, in the hope of being able to overwhelm the Swedes in their camp at Werben, before their entrenchments were brought to perfection. Unwilling, however, to trust entirely to the prowess of his troops, he contrived to establish a secret correspondence with some officers in the service of Gustavus, who undertook, in consideration of a competent reward, to spike the cannon, and to set fire to Werben, at the moment Tilly should commence the attack. The plot being discovered, enabled the king to entangle the enemy in the snare prepared for his own destruction; and he accordingly suffered them to approach within musket shot, without manifesting an inclination to oppose them; but just as they were preparing to leap into the trenches, a tremendous fire was suddenly opened from all his artillery, which instantly threw them into confusion. A vigorous sally completed their overthrow; they fled precipitately, and were followed by the Swedes to a considerable distance, leaving little less than six thousand dead upon the field of battle, according to the testimony of many respectable writers.† These numbers, though probably much exaggerated, shew at least that the action was highly advantageous to the victors, and

* This Burnet positively denies, asserting that two hundred horse, and three hundred foot, were all the auxiliaries sent him, 17.

† Puffendorf, iii 21. Harte, i. 307.

no less injurious to the reputation of Tilly, whose pride was wounded to such a degree, that he became more ferocious than ever.* It was in this action that Bernard, Duke of Weimar, gave early proofs of that consummate skill which afterwards illustrated his military career, in consequence of which he was raised by Gustavus to the rank of general.†

Finding the opinion which he entertained of the King of Sweden's talents to be totally erroneous, and that to valour the most enterprising he united the opposite, and almost contradictory qualities of prudence and penetration, Tilly despaired of being able to force him to an engagement upon disadvantageous terms; and perceiving that his troops began to suffer severely from want of water, he retired to Eisleben, a town of Saxony, justly conspicuous in the annals of modern Europe, as the place of Luther's nativity. Unwilling, however, to waste his strength in total inactivity, he detached a column to chastise the Archbishop of Bremen, who being too feeble to resist the overwhelming torrent, was not only forced to deliver up his levies to the imperial commissaries, but even to renounce his engagements with the Leipzig confederacy.‡

Meanwhile, Furstenberg having overrun the circles of Swabia and Franconia, without experiencing the slightest resistance, was preparing to

* Khevenhiller relates the following anecdote, which is highly descriptive of Tilly's character. A few days after his defeat, he issued an order, forbidding his troops to give quarter to the Swedes; and sixty of the enemy having shortly after been slain in a skirmish, he would not allow them to be buried. *Hist de Gust. Adol.* 351, note i.

† *Ibid.* *Hart.* i. 308. *Galletti*, i. 198.

‡ 1631. *Schiller*, ii.

direct his victorious arms against the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, flattering himself to be able, in a few weeks, to accomplish what Tilly had left undone. Impelled by the desire of gratifying both avarice and pride, he had actually arrived, by hasty marches, in the vicinity of Fulda, when all his projects were suddenly suspended.

Convinced of his inability to resist the storm, and determined never to submit, the landgrave repaired to the Swedish camp to solicit the protection of Gustavus. During his short residence there, the final arrangements were given to a treaty, of which the groundwork had been previously laid, and which served as a model for all the subsequent alliances contracted between the protestants and the crown of Sweden.

The security of the landgrave being the chief object in contemplation, the king engaged, during the continuance of hostilities, to defend him to the utmost of his power, to consider the enemies of William as his own personal foes, and never to conclude a peace with Austria, unless that gallant prince should be reinstated in the full enjoyment of every prerogative which he possessed before the troubles in Bohemia. It was farther stipulated, that all the towns and fortresses belonging to the landgrave, which might be occasionally occupied by his allies, should be given back with all their military stores and artillery. He was also to retain the supreme command of the Hessian troops, and even to direct the operations of the auxiliary Swedes which might join his standard, provided the king was not present. By an additional clause, permission was granted to the friends of the landgrave, to join the confederacy, provided they did it within the space of three

months. William pledged himself in return to adhere to Gustavus with unshaken fidelity, to place his towns and castles entirely at his disposal, and never to enter into any negociation, without having previously obtained his consent. He moreover promised to issue a decree, enjoining his subjects of every rank, who might be engaged in foreign service, instantly to repair to the national standard, and to punish their neglect by confiscation.*

Intelligence of this transaction having reached the Austrian general, he addressed a manifesto to the inhabitants of Cassel, exhorting them to provide for their own security, and to avoid the destruction about to overwhelm them, in case they persisted any longer to defend a sovereign, rash enough to sacrifice the prosperity of his people to unbounded schemes of ambition, and who had justly forfeited every claim to their allegiance, by his rash and inconsiderate conduct.† These admonitions, however, being received with scorn, Tilly at length discovered, to his utter astonishment, that no power is so secure, as that which reposes upon the solid basis of affection.

The equivocal policy of the Elector of Saxony had for some time afforded serious alarm to the court of Vienna. After every attempt had failed to dissolve the confederacy of Leipsic, the pride of Ferdinand disdained forbearance, and believing himself strong enough to enforce obedience, he resolved to

* Puffendorf, iii. 25. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 356. This treaty, which may be found in the appendix to Harte, is remarkable for the fidelity with which it was observed on both sides, amid the various vicissitudes of fortune. The constancy of Hesse remained unshaken, and was nobly rewarded, by the gratitude of Sweden, at the peace of Westphalia.

† Puffendorf, *ibid.* Harte, ii. 2.

reduce John George to unconditional submission by the compendious means of coercion. This determination was no sooner embraced, than preparations were made for carrying it into execution. An army was assembled on the borders of Silesia under the command of Tieffenbach, destined to penetrate into the eastern provinces of the electorate, while Tilly, advancing on the opposite side, carried terror and desolation to the gates of Dresden. Previously, however, to the adoption of this vigorous system, the emperor, in consideration of former services, or more probably from the wish of justifying to the world his subsequent conduct, directed Tilly once more to offer terms, before he commenced hostilities. The language of authority, however, being far more congenial to the ferocious temper of that veteran chieftain, than the gentle tone of persuasion, he sent two plenipotentiaries to Merseburg, where the elector resided, to admonish him of his danger, or rather to signify with dictatorial insolence, the only conditions upon which he would be permitted to retain the empty title of a sovereign. The persons selected for this important mission were the Barons Metternich and Schonberg; the former of whom was the catholic administrator of the diocese of Magdeburgh, a man of moderate principles and insinuating address, and of course calculated to succeed in diplomatic affairs. But lest his natural urbanity might induce him to relax from that haughty style which was mistaken by Tilly for magnanimity, his colleague was endowed with qualities exactly the reverse. Proud, insolent, and presumptuous, he would have regarded it as highly derogatory to his dignity to have obtained by argument, what it was

possible to extort by compulsion. Contemplating the majesty of the imperial throne through the magnifying medium of prejudice, he considered grandeur and despotism as synonymous terms, and thought power debased if exercised with moderation.

Being admitted to an audience, they delivered their credentials in a letter from Tilly; in which, after expressing his astonishment that warlike preparations should continue in every part of the electorate, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of the emperor, he proceeded to enumerate the various evils which must necessarily accrue, should the present system be suffered to continue. "The elector's conduct," he said, "being taken as a precedent by most of the protestant princes, it became doubly important that it should afford an example of loyalty and obedience, instead of tending to disseminate the seeds of disaffection." He farther contended, that a spirit of hostility had been manifested upon various occasions by the Saxon family, but more particularly by the unfounded murmurs so studiously circulated respecting the indiscipline of the Austrian armies. He then proceeded to observe, that notwithstanding the transactions of the illegal assembly, convened at Leipsic under the patronage of the elector, had been publicly annulled by an imperial edict, no steps had been taken to suspend the levies, no symptoms had been manifested of intentional compliance.

To tolerate any longer these undisguised attacks upon all legitimate authority, would be no less derogatory to the dignity of the sovereign, than repugnant to the true interests of the nation, and he accordingly admonished him, that the emperor was resolved no longer to suffer himself to be insulted

with impunity, but to exercise the power with which he was invested by Providence to vindicate his regal prerogatives. Admitting that necessity might sometimes have tempted the imperial troops to transgress the bounds of moderation, he contended that their behaviour toward the Saxon princes had been invariably regulated by the strictest principles of justice and amity. Should any occurrence have taken place of a contrary tendency, he assured the elector that it had happened without the knowledge, and in direct contradiction to the wishes of Ferdinand, who would be ready to attend to every well-founded complaint at the approaching diet, to be held at Francfort, for the purpose of regulating the claims of the protestants respecting "the edict of restitution." The address concluded with a solemn exhortation seriously to reflect upon the perils which surrounded him, to desist from the farther prosecution of measures which could not fail of being attended with the most disastrous consequences, to unite his forces with those of the League; and finally, by his influence with the evangelical party, to induce them to return within the pale of duty.*

It was hardly possible to have chosen a more improper moment to urge this imperative demand. The persecution of the Lutherans, the pillage of Magdeburg, and the desolation which accompanied the progress of the imperialists, had justly excited the elector's indignation; but as he preferred to discuss those important topics in his answer to Tilly, he conversed with the ambassadors only

* Lotichius, i. 922. Puffendorf, iii. 26. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 361.

upon general subjects, contenting himself with assuring them of his sincere attachment to the person of the emperor, but studiously avoiding to make the smallest disclosure respecting his future intentions. Those sentiments, however, were clearly manifested at a splendid entertainment, to which Schomberg and Mettermich were invited. Deceived by the exact imitation of nature, one of them injured a tooth by attempting to crack a walnut made of porcelaine; upon which John George sarcastically requested the ambassador to remember, "that there were certain fruits to be met with in Saxony somewhat difficult of digestion."*

The following morning they were dismissed with an answer no less firm than laconic, which began by expressing unbounded reverence toward the imperial throne, but at the same time declaring that he purposely abstained from recapitulating the motives which had induced him to arm, because they had been repeatedly announced in official documents. After professing that nothing could equal his regret on account of the troubles which agitated Germany, he concluded by adverting to the important services which he had rendered to the emperor upon various occasions, and which justly entitled him to the most friendly treatment, instead of exposing him to threats and reproaches.†

Tilly plainly foreseeing the result of a negotiation calculated to aggravate and not to appease, had prepared for aggressive hostilities, without waiting for the return of his ambassadors; and being joined

* Harte, ii. 5. Galetti, i. 200. *Theatrum Europ.* 430.

† Lotichius, i. 925. *Hist. de Gustave Adolphe*, 363.

by Furstenberg, he resolved no longer to defer the execution of a project, from which he expected to reap an abundant harvest of glory. In a council of war, it was decided, to pass the Saal, at Halle, and after reducing Torgau, Wittemberg, and Leipsic, to plant the victorious eagle on the towers of Dresden. The plan of the campaign being thus arranged, without attending to the difficulties which it presented, the imperial army poured into Misnia, spreading terror and desolation wherever they came.

Rendered furious by the intelligence which hourly arrived of the barbarities perpetrated by the invaders, and satisfied that no mitigation could be expected from the clemency of Ferdinand, John George embraced with reluctant resolution the only hope which presented itself to a mind lacerated alike by anguish and despair. Resolved in future to unite his fortunes with those of Gustavus, he issued orders for assembling his forces under the walls of Torgau, and dispatched Arnheim to supplicate the protection of the warlike monarch, whose proffered friendship he had so often rejected.*

Though secretly delighted at finding the elector reduced to the necessity of imploring his succour, the King of Sweden received the Saxon plenipotentiary with cold and dignified reserve, telling him, that "he had long foreseen the tempest about to burst over his master's head, and had even forewarned him of the danger, which might have been averted, had he condescended to attend to his friendly admonitions, instead of suffering himself

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 364.

to be misled by the fallacious counsels of men, notoriously pensioned by Austria. Had the elector," continued he, "been prudent enough to listen to the offers which I formerly made him, I should have considered myself bound to defend him, by the double tie of gratitude and honour. Unable to resist the overwhelming storm which his own imprudence has raised, he now solicits my alliance from necessity, not from inclination. Under such circumstances, it behoves me seriously to reflect, that the Swedish army affords the only remaining barrier, which the protestants can oppose to the despotism of Austria. I must also remember my engagements with the Elector of Brandenburg, and with the princes of Lower Saxony, who must be inevitably stripped even of the shadow of power, should I rashly endanger their only resource, for the sake of a sovereign, whom his perfidious ministers would advise to desert me, in case the emperor should disavow the insolence of Tilly, and order hostilities to be suspended. Another consideration of no less importance is the relative situation of the belligerent armies. What might have been effected before the junction of Furstenburg, could not now be attempted with prudence; yet it shall never be said, that I avoid an engagement, provided I am certain of finding a safe retreat, in case it should terminate disadvantageously, and that my gallant companions shall not perish from hunger, before the eventful moment arrives."*

Arnheim was too well acquainted with the character of Gustavus to doubt that his resentment

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 364.

might be easily disarmed by a forcible appeal to his generosity. Besides, it was impossible for the king to reject the alliance of Saxony, without deviating essentially from the precepts of policy. Feeling, however, that Gustavus had real cause for complaint, he attempted to mollify him by every argument which an artful statesman could employ, imputing the reluctance with which the elector had received his former offers to the timid suggestions of incapacity. "Since it is no longer possible," said Arnheim, "to recal the past, let us endeavour to obliterate the unfavourable impression by acting more wisely in future. I readily acknowledge the precautions to be just, which your majesty is pleased to require; let me therefore intreat you clearly to explain the terms upon which the elector may hope to recover your friendship; for to you alone he looks for protection, convinced, that however great his errors may have been, your magnanimity will remember only his present distress."

"Enough," replied Gustavus hastily, "the sincerity of his professions shall be immediately tried; let Wittemberg be consigned to a Swedish garrison; let the electoral prince repair to my camp as a hostage for his father's fidelity; let my troops receive three month's pay; let the elector dismiss, and bring to trial the faithless ministers who have so often deceived him; let him sign a defensive and offensive treaty, and I will instantly march to his assistance.*

The powers entrusted to the Saxon negociator being inadequate to such important concessions, he

* Harte, ii. 9. Puffendorf, li. 27. Lotichus, i. 908. Galetti, i. 202.

requested permission to return to Merseburg, which Gustavus readily granted ; but, as the distressing situation in which the elector was placed, presented no possible alternative between unconditional compliance and inevitable destruction, his determination might be easily foreseen: the king accordingly broke up his camp, and had actually advanced within a few miles of Wittenberg, when he was met by Arnheim, now authorized to accede to his wishes in their fullest extent. Delighted to obtain a respite upon any conditions, John George directed his ambassador to hasten back with the utmost expedition, and to acquaint his generous benefactor, that not Wittemberg alone, but the strong fortress of Torgau, and even Dresden itself, should be placed at his disposal ; and that so unbounded was the confidence reposed in his honour, that he was ready to repair to the Swedish camp with all his family, and to remain there, if required, as hostages. He farther requested the king to designate the persons whose fidelity he suspected, assuring him that they should be instantly delivered into his hands, to be punished at his discretion. The Swedish army he promised to pay with the exactest punctuality, intreating Gustavus to consider him in future as unalterably devoted to his service, and prepared to sacrifice even life itself in defence of his interest and his glory.

The heart of Gustavus could not endure to be outdone in generosity, and as he no longer doubted John George's sincerity, he instantly relaxed in his demands. "The want of confidence," said he candidly, "with which I have been treated, was sufficient to excite my suspicions ; but the unbounded reliance placed in my honour has effaced

them. All that I now require, is one month's pay to my soldiers, and I faithfully promise the elector that he shall never repent his liberality.*

When both parties are inclined to understand each other, the forms of diplomacy are few and simple. Gustavus having engaged never to sheath the sword till he should have driven the imperialists out of the electorate, Arnheim departed in order to procure his master's ratification to the treaty. Overjoyed at the fortunate issue of a negotiation, which at least suspended his fall, the elector thought it impossible to do too much for so generous an ally, and accordingly promised to join the Swedes with his whole army the moment they should have crossed the Elbe; leaving to the superior judgment of Gustavus the entire direction of all military affairs, and covenanting never to negotiate with any of the belligerents, unless his consent should be previously obtained. All the fortresses upon the Elbe were placed entirely at the king's disposal, and forage and provisions of every kind were abundantly provided for his soldiers.†

The situation of Gustavus was now materially changed; he had contracted an alliance with the most powerful prince of the protestant party; had obtained possession of several fortified towns, which if adequately garrisoned were deemed impregnable; had nearly doubled his force by the accession of Saxony, and had gained footing in a country, covered with rich and populous cities, and plentifully stocked with corn and cattle. Thus he en-

* Gualdo, l. 43. Le Vassor, x. 42. Puffendorf, iii. 27.

† Ibid. This treaty is inserted at length in l'Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 365.

tirely disconcerted the projects of Tilly, who with shame and indignation beheld himself compelled by a juvenile warrior to alter the whole plan of the campaign ; and, what tended still more to embitter disappointment, was the galling reflection, that this sudden revolution in the political hemisphere would be generally attributed to his own indiscretion.

The infatuation of Ferdinand, in obliging John George to throw himself into the arms of Gustavus, cannot be accounted for, except by supposing, that he regarded the contest to be finally terminated by the capture of Magdeburg, and was eager to liberate himself from those heavy obligations, which he was either unwilling, or unable to discharge : for by the confession of Tilly, after the battle of Leipsic, it clearly appeared, that he had acted in conformity to orders transmitted from Vienna, and not from the impulse of wounded pride, or the irritation of hasty resentment. But even supposing this assertion to be correctly true, it by no means effaces the stain which attaches to the reputation of Tilly ; because, though he may have never been consulted respecting the policy of the enterprise, for the errors of the execution he was solely responsible.

The plan which he formed for the invasion of Saxony could have been justified only by the supposition, that he was desirous of concealing from the eyes of the world, the devoted object of his hostility. But so far from attempting to disguise his intentions, he publicly announced that he was marching to Dresden, in order to punish its refractory sovereign. Without attempting to controvert the practicability of the undertaking, it may be

sufficient to observe that, according to the opinion of the most competent judges, he was far from displaying any extraordinary talents in the execution. By crossing the Elbe at Magdeburg, he might possibly have succeeded in surprising Wittenberg, and even Torgau, before the elector was aware of his intention;* the possession of which would have prevented the junction of the Swedes and Saxons, and would probably have compelled John George to deprecate destruction by the immediate dissolution of the Leipsic confederacy. The distance from Wolmerstadt to Wittenberg, by the way of Magdeburg, is considerably shorter than that by which Gustavus must have marched; and as the garrison of Wittenberg was far from numerous, and ill provided with military stores, there could be little danger of meeting with a repulse. How far these conjectures are founded in truth it is difficult now to decide; but when we reflect upon the indecisive character of the elector, and the acknowledged venality of his ministers, it is hardly possible to doubt, that he would have submitted to the yoke without a single effort, had it been practicable to reduce him to a similar dilemma.

The natural harshness of Tilly's disposition being exasperated to the utmost of human ferocity by the untoward current of events, he endeavoured to compensate for want of prudence by want of humanity, devastating the country through which he passed with the sanguinary fury of a barbarian. Zeist, Merseberg, Naumburg, and Jena, having

* Such is supposed to have been the advice of Pappenheim, whose genius was capable of justly appreciating that of Gustavus.—L'Histoire de Gustave Adolphe. 365,

been reduced within the space of a few days, by the resistless valour of Pappenheim, and treated with a severity which, fortunately for mankind, has been rarely imitated by the leaders of civilized nations, the generalissimo recalled his predatory columns, and advanced into the fertile plain of Leipsic, sweeping away every thing that could contribute to the comforts of man with the desolating violence of a hurricane.* A haughty mandate having required that wealthy city to admit an Austrian garrison, the governor, who had previously destroyed the suburbs, requested permission to consult his master—an indulgence which was peremptorily refused. It is fair to acknowledge, that his means of resistance were extremely circumscribed, the city being surrounded by a simple ditch, which, though filled with water, was neither deep, nor difficult of access; the works for the most part constructed of earth had been suffered to fall into decay, while the garrison consisted solely of municipal troops, unacquainted with the most common principles of tactics, and more attached to the palpable profits of commerce, than to the unpalpable glory of military renown. Yet in spite of every difficulty, the governor amused himself, while the danger was remote, with the parade of preparation, alarming his fellow citizens with the boastful determination of burying himself amid the ruins of Leipsic, rather than sully the

* Swedish Intelligencer, 124. The pages from 121 to 124 by mistake are twice numbered. "Now were Pagan, Lutzen, Waisenfelt, and other places spoyled. Here were the ladies and gentlewomen, and others, like beasts and dogges yoked and coupled together to be led into the woods and ravisht, who for resisting had their clothes stript off, their bodies whipt, their ears cropt, and so sent back again."

splendour of the Saxon name. A second message from Tilly, however, threatening the inhabitants with death, unless the gates were instantly opened, dispelled this heroic resolution, though the dread of exposing himself to universal contempt, or of incurring the punishment attached to cowardice, prevented his complying immediately. But as soon as he beheld the batteries mounted, and the obscurity of night irradiated at intervals by a shower of bombs, he thought it prudent to enter into a capitulation, which was shortly concluded, as the Austrian general consented to grant the most favourable terms, upon receiving a moderate contribution.*

The capture of Leipsic was no sooner announced in the Swedish camp than Gustavus invited the two electors to a council of war.† Too sagacious not to foresee the possibility of a reverse, he explained to his friends the evils which might arise from hazarding a battle with the diffidence inseparable from enlightened heroism, never prone to overrate its own resources, nor to undervalue those of an enemy. He then detailed the advantages which could not fail to accrue from remaining entirely in a defensive posture, harassing the imperialists by frequent skirmishes, intercepting their convoys, and cutting off, by safe and judicious movements, their foraging parties. Such a system, he contended, if adhered to with steady and perse-

* 1631. Gualdo, i. 44. Swedish Intelligencer, 124. Harte accuses the governor of treachery; but, under the circumstances in which he was placed, protracted resistance might have exposed the city to utter destruction, and with the fate of Magdeburg, fresh in his memory, it required more than common fortitude to resist.

† Brandenburg and Saxony; the former of whom had joined the army.

vering courage, must soon compel them to retire, without endangering the security of the protestant religion, or risking their own independence. "But should you prefer," said he, his countenance kindling with animation, "to measure your arms with those of Austria, remember that your stake is infinitely greater than mine; for supposing even that Providence should ordain my ruin, and that of my army, the throne of Sweden will be still secure. A warlike people, and a well-disciplined fleet, will protect our coasts from invasion; but in the event of a defeat your fortunes are desperate; for what compassion can be expected from an implacable foe, already in the heart of your dominions?"

The doubts of Gustavus were those of piety, submitting with the resignation of an enlightened Christian to the divine decree; the confidence of John George was that of presumption, no less suddenly elevated by the first glimmering of prosperity, than it had been depressed by the gloom of adversity. Stimulated by the desire of recovering Leipsic, and rescuing his subjects from plunder, the latter deprecated the smallest delay, and burned with impatience for the momentous conflict, on the event of which his future destiny depended, declaring that he had rather encounter Tilly with his new raised levies, than suffer him any longer to lay waste a country enriched by the speculations of successful commerce, and adorned by the improvements of agriculture.*

"If such, sir, be your determination," replied

* Puffendorf, iii. 23. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 371. Schmidt, v. 4. Galetti, i. 203. Harte, ii. 12. Burgus, 228.

Gustavus, with a gaiety predictive of success, "the Swedes shall partake in the glorious undertaking. We will march," continued he, "with the firm resolution of liberating Germany from the oppression of Austria, or perishing nobly in the attempt."*

This plan being embraced with unanimous assent, no more time was lost in deliberation, because it was highly expedient to bring Tilly to an engagement, before he was joined by Aldringer and Tieffenbach. The united armies therefore were instantly put in motion, and having crossed the Mulda advanced towards Leipsic by hasty marches, under the command of their respective sovereigns: previously however to their breaking up, the Elector of Brandenburg took leave of his friends with the most ardent wishes for their prosperity, and returned to Berlin, though his motive for abandoning them at this momentous crisis has never been clearly explained.†

Tilly, after leaving a garrison sufficient for the defence of Leipsic, encamped at Breitenfeld, a village situated in the midst of an extensive plain, for the most part allotted to tillage. It was there he received the unwelcome intelligence that a junction had been effected between the Swedes and Saxons, and that their united forces were advancing to give him battle. The most secret deliberations of statesmen and generals are frequently recorded by historical writers with an affectation of accuracy, which could only be tolerated had they been present themselves at the consultation. But without fear of incurring similar censure, we may fairly infer, that the mind of Tilly was tumultuously agitated

* Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 371. † Puffendorf, iii. 28.

by violent emotions, when preparing to set on a single cast the fortunes of Austria, his own reputation, and the permanent ascendancy of the papal religion. In contradiction to his usual mode of proceeding, he is said to have manifested strong marks of indecision, and long to have fluctuated between the opposite extremes of caution and courage. The former however at length prevailing, he determined to remain in a defensive posture till joined by Aldringer, of whose arrival at Erfurt he was informed.

This sagacious plan, when submitted to the consideration of the general officers, was strenuously combated by the impetuosity of Pappenheim, who, when glory presented itself to his dazzled imagination, disdained all councils but those of temerity.*

The enthusiasm of Pappenheim was always seducing, and received additional weight from his popularity. Though unconvinced by his arguments, Tilly felt that it would be difficult to reject his advice without subjecting his motives to misrepresentation, and perhaps seeing himself deprived disgracefully of the command, to which Pappenheim openly aspired. Too proud however entirely to abandon a scheme which his judgment approved, and too weak to pursue it in opposition to the majority of the Austrian commanders, he appears to have chosen a middle course, the most pernicious of any in such a situation; because it is liable to all the inconveniencies attendant on both, without possessing the advantages of either. Having thrown up intrenchments in front of the camp, and

* Galetti, 201.

selected the extensive plain which stretches from Breitenfeld to the gates of Leipsic, for the field of battle, he awaited the event in awful expectation, as if conscious of the ruin which impended. According to the testimony of contemporary writers, his character had undergone a complete revolution; his courage and confidence, the result of victory in thirty-six decisive engagements, at once forsook him; and the guilt of Magdeburg overshadowed his soul, leaving it a prey to the most gloomy anticipations.*

The allied army advanced with so much rapidity, that on the evening of the day on which they broke up their camp, they arrived within sight of the enemy.† No sooner had Gustavus obtained a view of their numerous tents, covering an eminence on the opposite side of the richly-cultivated plain, than calling together his generals in the open air, and placing himself in the middle of the warlike circle, he conversed with them for a considerable time, respecting the important business in which they were about to engage. Observing that some of them seemed to treat it lightly, he endeavoured to impress them strongly with the idea that they were going to contend with troops of a very different description from those so often defeated in Poland. "Fellow soldiers," said he, addressing his conversation to all who heard him, "I wish not to disguise the danger by underrating the merits of a veteran army inured to service; but I confide in the valour of my own officers and men, little doubting that they will shew themselves worthy

* Schmidt, v. 4. Hartc, ii. 16. Puffendorf, iii. 20.

† Sept. 17th.

of the glorious cause, for which we combat. It is probable, that we shall be greatly outnumbered by the enemy; but let us trust implicitly in the protection of Providence, and REMEMBER MAGDEBURG.*

Riding through the lines he inspected each regiment with the minutest attention; and, with a countenance beaming with cheerfulness and resignation, explained the nature of the service which it was particularly destined to perform. He could not however conceal his uneasiness, when he compared the accoutrements of his own cavalry with those of the imperial cuirassiers; the latter being completely cased in iron, and mounted upon large and powerful chargers, while his own, for the most part, were destitute of armour, and rode on horses comparatively weak and diminutive. In order to render the superiority of the Austrians less decisive, he directed his dragoons to advance briskly, without discharging their carbines till within pistol shot of the enemy, and to aim their blows at the heads and necks of the horses; by which means the ranks might be more easily broken, and in case the rider should be dismounted, his cumbersome cuirass might render him incapable of farther exertion.†

The Swedish army passed the night in the open air, prepared to begin the momentous conflict at the dawn of morning, while their heroic monarch conversed in his carriage with Teuffel, Horn, and Banier. No sooner did the horizon brighten than the signal was given to advance; the Swedes, con-

* Härte, ii. 18, professedly copying Chemnitz.

† Ibid. Galetti, 205. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 376.

sisting of eight thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, were stationed on the right; the Saxons on the left, in nearly equal strength, though four thousand were cavalry.*

The wide plain of Breitenfeld extends with little interruption over the whole of Misnia, affording a spot peculiarly calculated for military evolutions.† The Austrian camp was situated on an eminence, gradually sloping to a small rivulet, the banks of which were rendered swampy by frequent inundations. Before it was possible to commence the attack, Gustavus was obliged to pass the morass, which was practicable only at the village of Dscholka; and even there must be traversed upon a narrow causeway; so narrow, had Tilly availed himself properly of the advantage of his situation, it would not have been difficult to have impeded the progress of the enemy; but the apprehension of bringing on a general engagement, which even to the last he seems studiously to have avoided, prevented him from acting with decision.‡

From the most authentic documents, it appears,

* Authors differ materially with regard to the disposition, and even the numbers of the contending armies; but I have adopted the statement of Harte, who professes to follow Chemnitz.—Gualdo, 19, makes the force of the allies amount to forty thousand combatants. Puffendorf, iii. 29, contents himself with saying, "Supra septuaginta quinque milia bellatorum patentissima planitie concurrebant."

† I have been thus particular in describing a spot, which has been lately the theatre of those important events which have restored independence to Europe.

‡ Puffendorf, *ibid.* In the critical examination of this famous battle, affixed to Francheville's History, the author, who repeatedly inspected the field of battle, is of opinion, that if the Austrian general had attempted to defend the pass in question, he must have abandoned the important post of Podcluritz, and laid open his flank to the Saxons, who might have traversed the swamp at another spot, 414.

that Tilly was determined to decline a battle, if it could be avoided without the sacrifice of character; and that Pappenheim, having penetrated his intention, resolved to prevent its execution; and, in consequence, offered to reconnoitre the enemy's dispositions at the head of two thousand cuirassiers. Unwilling to comply with a proposal that tended directly to frustrate his scheme, Tilly started various objections, and even at length, when he gave a reluctant assent, it was in consequence of a promise from Pappenheim, so far to bridle his natural impetuosity, as not to be tempted by any circumstances to engage even in a desultory skirmish. Led on by an insatiate passion for glory, and rather courting than shunning a conflict, Pappenheim advanced with his accustomed impetuosity; and, being naturally short-sighted, found himself enveloped by a detachment of Swedish horse, before he was aware of the danger. Determined to expose himself to every risk, rather than tarnish his reputation by a disgraceful retreat, he sent information to Tilly, that unless a reinforcement of two thousand cavalry immediately came to his assistance, both he and his escort must perish. In this distressing dilemma no alternative remained; because the safety of two, the best disciplined regiments in the Austrian service, depended upon his instant compliance. But, in issuing the order, he clasped his hands in an agony of despair, exclaiming, in all the bitterness of a wounded mind, "That madman is born to rob me of my reputation, and to deprive the emperor of his crown!" The colonel, who commanded this detachment, was directed to acquaint Pappenheim, that if he did not immediately com-

mence a retreat, his head should answer for his disobedience.* To turn his back upon an enemy, however, was a disgrace to which Pappenheim could never consent; and, even had he been inclined to attempt a retreat, his situation was actually become so critical, that the measures most agreeable to his undaunted character were perhaps the safest that he could have pursued.

Satisfactorily to delineate the intricate movements of contending armies is the province of the military historian; yet I am led to indulge in minuter details, when I consider the vast importance of this memorable engagement, which was destined to extend its beneficial influence to the latest posterity.†

Upon receiving intelligence that the vanguard had traversed the morass without opposition, Gustavus exclaimed, "Now, comrades, we must prepare for serious fighting!" A responsive acclamation of "Long live the king!" vibrated through the line, manifesting the alacrity and the affection of the soldiers.

At this moment an officer presented to Gustavus the plan traced by Arnheim for the disposition of the Saxons; which he examined attentively, making several remarks with a pencil as he proceeded. The Swedes now advanced in order of battle; the king, clad in a simple uniform of grey cloth, but sufficiently distinguished by the green feather which adorned his hat, and the uncommon colour of his

* This account is taken from the interesting notes to the last edition of the *Florus Germanicus*, 236, which are commonly attributed to General Fugger.

† Harte, ii. 20.

charger,* led the right wing in person, with Banier for his lieutenant; General Teuffel, assisted by the gallant Hepburn, commanded the centre, while the left was entrusted to the genius of Horn, perhaps the ablest of all the Swedish commanders.† The troops were drawn up in two lines, only six deep, the infantry formed into slender divisions, and interspersed with small bodies of cavalry.‡ The elector, who commanded his own army in person, took post in the centre, having Binthauf on his left, and on his right Arnheim.

The imperialists, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were drawn up in large and ponderous squares, in conformity to the ancient system of tactics, as practised by Alva and Spinola. Pappenheim being opposed to the Swedish monarch, while Tilly undertook to direct the centre, leaving the right wing to oppose the Saxons, under the guidance of Furstenberg. The Austrians wore, as they did at the assault of Magdeburg, white ribbons in their hats, or helmets, and on their right arms scarfs of a similar colour; the Swedish caps and casques were ornamented with green branches, their only mark of distinction.§ As they gradually ascended the sloping ground, after crossing the

* A flea-bitten grey.

† Gualdo, i. 46.

‡ This is supposed to have been the first instance of any commander's venturing to diminish the depth of the files, which till then had consisted of eighteen men.—Harte, i. 25. It was also in this action that the King of Sweden first introduced the modern system of firing by platoons. Galetti, i. 206.

§ According to Gualdo, some of the Swedish banners bore for motto, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, FIDEI EVANGELICÆ DEFENSOR; others had the following inscription, SI DEUS PRO NOBIS, QUIS CONTRA NOS? The imperial standards had the usual epigraph, PRO ECCLESIA ET PRO IMPERIO.

rivulet, a tremendous fire was opened from the imperial batteries, which was instantaneously returned by the Swedish artillery. The Austrian commander having had the choice of position, both wind and sun were in his favour; and several of the fields having been recently ploughed, a cloud of dust, intermixed with smoke, extremely incommoded the assailants. Determined to extricate himself from this distressing situation, the king attacked the right wing of the enemy with so much impetuosity, that he drove it from its station, notwithstanding the intrepid resistance of Pappenheim. This movement having unavoidably occasioned an opening, the Duke of Holstein attempted, with masterly skill, to penetrate the Swedish line; and probably would have succeeded, had not Banier advanced, with the utmost celerity, at the head of the reserve. A sanguinary conflict now ensued, in which the duke, after displaying heroic bravery, was mortally wounded, and the greater part of his regiment annihilated. Pappenheim, however, though compelled to retire, was not defeated. Rallying his troops, with desperate courage, he led them on to seven successive charges, in the third of which he had nearly overpowered Gustavus, when Banier again arrived to his assistance.*

Though the king was victorious where he commanded in person, the left wing was exposed to imminent peril, from the dastardly behaviour of the Saxon cavalry, consisting almost entirely of provincial levies, serving according to feudal principles, under some of the wealthy barons.† Flattering him-

* Harte, ii. 30. Caletti, i. 207. Puffendorf, iii. 29. *Mist. de Gustave Adolphe*, 378.

† Harte, *ibid.*

self that this advantage, if vigorously pursued, might prove decisive, Tilly poured fresh troops upon the disheartened Saxons, persuaded that, if they were put to flight, the Swedes would be unable to maintain their ground against an enemy so superior in numbers; while he simultaneously attacked the left wing of the Swedes, at the head of those veteran bands of infantry, so long the terror of Germany. Confident of success, when the Saxons fled, he exhorted his victorious cohorts to suspend the pursuit: "Let us return," said he, "to complete the business so prosperously begun, and the empire will be our own for ever!" The thirst after plunder, however, was not to be restrained, either by the prospect of glory, or the dread of disgrace; the baggage belonging to the fugitives presented attractions too strong for rapacity to withstand, while the glory of avenging the insulted majesty of Austria impelled ferocity to continue the carnage.*

Hurried away amid the general tumult, or panic struck at contemplating the disastrous spectacle which presented itself to his sight, the elector abandoned the field of battle: outstripping his subjects in the career of terror, he was the first who arrived with the melancholy tidings at Eidenberg, a small town upon the Mulda, about ten miles dis-

* Puffendorf, iii. 29.—"Steinan, a Saxonish colonel of horse, was with four cornets taken prisoner by the ennemie; who perceiving the king's partie to prevail, broke through the ennemie, and assisted his owne side. The imperialists now seeing the Saxons flying, cry, Victoria! victoria! follow! follow! follow! But the old lad, their general, quickly countermanded that, saying, 'let them goe, we shall overtake them time enough; but let us beate the Swede too, and then all Germanie is our owne.'"—Swed. Intel. 123.

tant from Leipsic, where, looking forward to irreparable ruin, he endeavoured to drown his affliction in floods of wine.* A few regiments, however, still kept their ground, and by a gallant resistance rescued from obloquy the national character.†

Furstenberg meanwhile, having returned from the pursuit with the Italian and German cavalry, directed his triumphant squadrons against the left wing of the Swedes, then closely engaged with Tilly, and their flank being uncovered by the flight of their allies, nothing less than the heroical courage of Horn could have resisted the impetuous shock. The incalculable superiority of Swedish tactics was now clearly illustrated by a variety of evolutions, no less conspicuous for the intelligence with which they were conceived, than astonishing for the celerity with which they were executed. Accustomed to the slow and clumsy movements of his heavy battalions, Tilly was so confounded by the novel spectacle, that he no longer retained the coolness requisite to counteract the schemes of his enterprising and judicious antagonist.‡

Pappenheim's division had been so repeatedly

* Before night he was so completely intoxicated as to be totally insensible to his misfortune. Grimoard, ii. 445.—The love of drinking appears to have been a family failing, as the Marechal de Grammont speaks of his son in the following terms: "Ce prince etait entierement gouverné, et n'avait d'autre application que celle de boire excessivement tous les jours de sa vie; qualité rare dont il avait hérité de l'électeur son pere. Ses principaux conseillers etaient absolument dependans de l'empereur. . . il etait fort zelé pour la religion Lutherienne, et le jour quil communiait, il portait ce respect au sacrement, de ne pas s'enyvrer le matin; mais aussi en revanche, le soir il reparait l'omission, et buvait toute la nuit, jusqu'a ce qu'il tombait sous la table, de memo que tous les convives." This extract is taken from a note to l'Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 377.

† Schmidt, v. 4. Gualdo, i. 52.

‡ Schmidt, *ibid.* Galetti, i. 208. Francheville, 418.

repulsed, that there seemed little probability of its ever rallying again; the king therefore was left with a disposable force to be employed as necessity might require. Leaving the right wing under the direction of Banier, he hastened to the centre, and ordered it to advance. Teuffel obeyed with his accustomed alacrity; but, as he was leading on the column, he was unfortunately killed by a musket-ball. Unacquainted as yet with that melancholy event, Gustavus animated the soldiers to fresh exertions by the prospect of an adequate reward, or remunerated their prowess by hasty commendations. Observing some regiments under the command of Callenback less warmly engaged than their comrades, he exclaimed with eagerness, "Charge, man! In God's name, charge!" Stimulated by the exhortations and the example of his sovereign, that gallant officer endeavoured to merit his approbation, but fell as he led his gallant companions to a fresh and more vigorous attack.*

The king's attention was suddenly attracted by large bodies of infantry advancing rapidly. Though assured by the officers nearest his person that they were Swedes, he mistrusted their information; because he thought it impossible that any part of his army should have deviated so materially from its original destination. Spurring his charger, he galloped forward to ascertain the fact. "They are imperialists," said he, returning hastily, "as I supposed, for I can clearly distinguish the Burgundian cross upon their banners." Having made every arrangement for their vigorous reception, he hast-

* Galetti, i. 208.

ered impetuously to another quarter, where he thought his presence still more essential.*

Though it was near four in the afternoon, the main body of both armies were still unbroken, having confined themselves almost entirely to a distant cannonade. On both wings, however, the issue of the combat was so decidedly unfavourable to the Austrians, that Gustavus, no longer doubting of ultimate success, collected his forces for one decisive effort, against the centre of the enemy. That massive body originally comprehended eighteen regiments, for the most part Walloons, accustomed by an uninterrupted series of triumphs to regard the imperial authority and their own impetuous valour as equally irresistible. Against this hitherto impervious phalanx, now considerably weakened by successive detachments, the Swedish monarch led his Dalecarlian infantry, men of gigantic stature, ferocious countenances, and inured from their cradles to incessant fatigue. Till now those hardy warriors had never encountered an enemy whom they deemed it glorious to overcome; for they looked down with contempt upon the pompous effeminacy of the undisciplined Pole, distinguished only by the splendour of his accoutrements; and disdained alike the sanguinary cosac, whose callous soul mistook ferocity for courage. But they now confronted adversaries, whose firm and skilful resistance was destined alike to consign to immortality the victors and the vanquished. Every inch of territory was manfully contested; and, though the Swedes gained ground, it was almost imperceptibly.

* Galetti, i. 208.

The sun was set, and the premature obscurity of an autumnal evening rendered the conflict more terrible, if not more destructive. Notwithstanding they had been repeatedly pierced and divided, the ranks of the imperialists were again closed; and so obstinate was the perseverance with which they contended, that they may be said rather to have been exterminated than defeated. Notwithstanding they were hurried by an overwhelming force to a considerable distance from each other, five veteran regiments* formed themselves again into a compact body, impelled by instinctive courage, and a long acquaintance with military evolutions; and, though abandoned entirely to their own discretion, they retreated with slow and sullen steps to an eminence skirted by almost impervious thickets. Determined to resist to the last man, they withstood the fury of a victorious army; and even when reduced to less than six hundred, they disdained to ask, or even to accept of quarter.†

With this small remnant of a hitherto invincible army fled the only remaining hope of Tilly, who amidst the wreck of his ruined fortune preserved at least the melancholy consolation of feeling, that though he possibly might be blamed for erroneous judgment, he never could be accused of want of intrepidity.‡ Till the moment when he was borne from the fatal field by the officious tenderness of his friends, he displayed fortitude truly heroic; but

* Harte says four, ii. 33, and this assertion is corroborated by the testimony of the *Soldat Suedois*, 72. *Francheville*, 419.

† Harte, *ibid.* Galetti, 209.

‡ *Les fautes qui se firent du côté des impériaux contribueront aux succès des Suedois autant que la valeur et l'habileté de Gustave Adolphe.* *Francheville*, 421.

when the fortune of the day was irrecoverably decided, he is said to have been affected even to the shedding tears, at beholding the unavailing slaughter of men, to whom he was indebted for many a triumph. Disdaining to fly though almost singly opposed to the victorious cohorts of Sweden, and nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, he was actually falling beneath the blows of a Swedish captain,* to whom he obstinately refused to surrender when he was fortunately rescued by the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and escorted to Halle by six hundred Walloons, the remnant of a once formidable body.†

The Swedes being now undisputed masters of the field of battle, Gustavus threw himself upon his knees, testifying his gratitude for this signal instance of divine favour, by the fervour and sincerity of his devotion.‡ Having thus discharged a duty which to enlightened piety appeared indis-

* Called, on account of his gigantic stature, "der lange Fritz."—Galletti, l. 209.

† Swedish Intelligencer, i. 127.—"Tilly himself, thus wounded as hee was, made shift to flie into Hall that night, seven Dutch miles from the place of battell, from whence in a hackney-coach he and Pappenheim fled next day towards Halberstadt.—Reported it was, that Tilly should have his wounds dressed by the town barber of Hall, who (it seemed) affirmed that Tilly's body was *hard-shot*, or *shot-free*, and that the bullets had not pierced his flesh, but made bruises rather in his arme, necke, and shoulder; and that to this horrible torment, he was faine to endure to have the bruised flesh cut out to the very hard bone. Whether this was so, or no, we leave upon the barber's credit; and because we have not heard it seconded out of Germanie, we are loath to charge so brave a warrior with so base an imputation as to owe his life unto a charn, which is practised by none but the reprobate raskalitie of the army. This is sure, that an Italian gentleman avowed, that his owne eyes sawe Tilly's blood runne into his bootes, which, if so, then surely he was not *shot-free*."—"No man since the King of Portugal" (meaning, I presume, Don Sebastian), "has beene so often killed and revived as Tilly hath beene," l. 127. A good specimen of the taste and credulity of the age.

‡ Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 380.

pensable, he gave orders for his cavalry to pursue the fugitives, as far as the obscurity of the night would permit,* while pealing bells from the adjacent churches alarmed the vigilance and the resentment of an irritated peasantry. Seven thousand of the imperialists were left for dead on the plains of Breitenfeld, and many more were killed during the pursuit, which being added to the multitude of wounded and prisoners, occasioned such a defalcation in the Austrian army, that Pappenheim acknowledged that they were never able to collect more than half their original numbers.† Their camp equipage, also, with hoards of plunder, disgracefully amassed by years of rapacity, was abandoned to the victorious Swedes,‡ who took all the baggage, great part of the artillery, and upwards of one hundred standards.¶ On the side of the victors the loss did not exceed three thousand men, two thousand of whom were Saxons. After minutely examining the Austrian camp, the king gave directions for a Swedish regiment to occupy the spot where an Austrian had been formerly stationed; nor was any man permitted to plunder beyond the limits of this allotment, under penalty of incurring the severest punishment.§

Thus terminated the battle of Leipsic, than which

* This Burgus confesses, "Sequebantur graviter Sueci victoriam, et ad interencionem Cæsarcos delivissent, ni a supervenientibus tenebris detenti essent." 243.

† Harte, ii. 33.

‡ Of the value of this we may form some idea, when we are told, that hardly a soldier was found, either among the slain, or the prisoners, with less than twelve ducats in his pocket—Harte, i. 30.

¶ Galetti, i. 209.

§ Monro's Expedition, ii. 71.

the pages of history record few events more important, or more decisive. It may appear presumption in any except a military historian to censure the disposition of a celebrated tactician, or to investigate the causes of his defeat. It may not, however, prove unwelcome to the intelligent reader, to be made acquainted with the errors of which Tilly has been accused, and to which his ruin is generally imputed. Neither can it be denied, that the accusation, if substantiated by satisfactory proofs, applies to faults almost incredible in a commander, to whom contemporary authors are fond of ascribing talents not inferior to his experience. But may it not, therefore, be reasonably inferred, that his high reputation was less the result of intrinsic merit than of the fortunate concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, which enabled him to achieve exploits comparatively splendid, against men whose resources were inferior to his own, and whose abilities were still more inferior. Hence his diminished star, when brought into contact with that of Gustavus, was offuscated by its transcendent radiance.

The moment Tilly beheld the Saxons in confusion, he believed the battle won, and accordingly determined to complete the victory by directing his efforts against the fugitives, without attending sufficiently to the situation of Pappenheim.* The formation of his infantry into ponderous masses, may, in some measure, be justified by the highest authority, though it contributed essentially to his ruin, by necessarily obliging him to contract his front, and thus exposing himself to be turned.

* Francheville, 422.

These remarks are intended merely to shew that the talents of Tilly were imitative and not creative. He took up his profession exactly as he found it ; and, satisfied with excelling in the practical part, seems wholly to have neglected the theory, and to have studied war like a geometrical problem, and not as a science of invention.

By erecting batteries on the heights which he afterwards abandoned, his artillery, by being placed in the rear of his army, was in great measure rendered unserviceable. During the action his attention seems to have been exclusively confined to the post where he was stationed ; hence he omitted to send reinforcements to Pappenheim, who had separated himself from the main body, with a view of outflanking the enemy.

Indeed, the whole conduct of the action did little credit to any of the imperial generals ; and it has been frequently remarked by competent judges, that although most of them displayed the intrepidity of grenadiers, not one of them performed, with tolerable ability, the more arduous duty of a commander. No orders were issued with clearness or precision ; no precautions were employed to cover the retreat, which unless it had been facilitated by the obscurity of night, would have become absolutely impracticable,

If, on the contrary, we examine the plan of Gustavus, we shall find every thing arranged with such admirable judgment and perspicuity, that even the cowardice of the Saxons created but little confusion. And so perfectly did he anticipate all the movements of the enemy, that had he been gifted with the power of diving into futurity, he would scarcely have found it necessary to vary a single disposition, which the prescience of genius inspired.

CHAP. XIII.

The important consequences arising from the battle of Leipsic. Gustavus regarded by the German protestants in the light of an avenger sent by Heaven to vindicate the cause of religion. He deliberates how to follow up the blow; motives which induce him to direct his victorious arms against the members of the Catholic League, instead of penetrating directly into the hereditary dominions of Austria.—The Saxons undertake the conquest of Bohemia, while the King of Sweden marches toward the Rhine. He takes possession of Erfurd, passes the Thuringian Forest, and carries the citadel of Wurtzburg by storm; his clemency and magnanimity. He leaves Horn to complete the subjugation of Franconia; and, after reducing all the fortresses upon the banks of the Mayne, makes his triumphal entry into Francfort.—Tott and Banier drive the imperialists out of Mecklenberg, and compel them to evacuate Magdeburg.—Devastations committed by the Austrians in Lusatia.—Arnheim enters Bohemia, and makes himself master of Prague.—Consternation at Vienna; the emperor solicits assistance from the pope, but meets only with reproaches. He proposes to Wallenstein to resume the command; his offers received with coolness.—Wallenstein forms the most extravagant designs; negociates with the King of Sweden for the total subordination of the Austrian army, upon conditions which render him independent. Raises troops with a facility which astonishes the world; and, by intrigues and artifices, prepares for usurping the Bohemian throne.

THAT formidable army was nearly annihilated, which had so long held Germany captive; and with it was dissolved that potent charm, which, by subjugating the mind, had almost effaced every vestige of Teutonic independence, and subverted the protestant religion. The battle of Leipsic ought in consequence to be regarded as forming an important epocha in the annals of the reformation, because it awakened its partisans from that disgraceful torpor, into which they had been plunged by a long series of calamities, and which was rapidly approaching.

to despair. The dawn of a fresh and brighter day now broke upon their misery, irradiated by the delightful visions of hope, and confirmed by the sober suggestions of reason.

When the melancholy intelligence was first communicated to the emperor, he was so entirely subdued by the violence of his feelings, as to be utterly incapable of concealing his disappointment: but long habits of dissimulation soon enabled him to resume a more cheerful countenance, and to attend to the various and momentous concerns which crowded upon him; and couriers were accordingly dispatched to Italy to recal his troops with the utmost expedition to the assistance of Tilly.*

Neither was the impression less forcible, which the splendid success of the Swedish arms produced upon the minds of the protestants. The enthusiasm excited by the virtues and the valour of the conqueror was suddenly kindled into idolatry. To have doubted that he was commissioned by the bounty of Providence to become the champion of the Lutheran faith, would have been reprobated as the foulest of heresies. Various prophecies and predictions, which till then had been treated with contempt or ridicule, by all except the illiterate rabble, were collected and distorted for political purposes, and even received with veneration by the more enlightened classes of society; while the absurdest romances of dreams and apparitions, the delight and nourishment of vulgar superstition, were no longer contemplated with merited scorn by men of polished educations. Never was the image of saint or martyr

* 1631. Khevenhüller, xi. 1676.

more widely dispersed, or more affectionately cherished. It was worn in the bosom of almost every Lutheran; it was suspended alike in the cottage and the castle; and was even regarded by many as gifted with those extraordinary powers, which were attributed by the catholics to their most precious relics. Wherever he appeared, Gustavus was treated with the profoundest respect, and the warmest effusions of love, and even sometimes compelled, however reluctantly, to become the object of honours approaching to deification, and far too excessive for a mortal to receive.*

The zealous catholics, on the other hand, found themselves reduced to a most distressing dilemma. Having treated the triumphs of the imperial army as incontestible evidence of the predilection of Heaven toward the orthodox church, and being loath to acknowledge that they had either forfeited the divine protection, or had been misled by mistaken enthusiasm, they endeavoured to reconcile presumption with piety, by treating the intelligence as an impudent fiction.†

* The ingenuity of admiration at length discovered that the word *med*, if reversed, was *deus*.—Schmidt v. 5.

† *Victoriæ regis nostri non reperere fidem in Polonia, post confirmatæ regem totamque aulam, ac clerum mirificè conturbarunt ac etiamnum quasi in luctu tenent, quasi male ominantes non sibi solum, sed pontificiis omnibus. Erat magni nominis vir, qui auditis successibus regis mei, erupit in hæc verba, nunquam credere se, deum factum esse Lutheranum.*—Oxenstiern's Letters, Nov. 4, 1631.—Patriotish. Archiv. vi. 173. In a publication approved and patronised by Urban VIII. and written by Scioppius, we find the following extraordinary assertion: "Articulus fidei est, quod justam causam deo fretus defendens, non possit vinci." *Fundam. Pacis in Saer.*—Rom. Imper. Theoph. Sanctofidei. 154. And in the same page the author says, "Illi (namely, the supporters of the orthodox faith) etsi minime alioquin a peccatis immunes credere debent se victores futuros, quam certo credunt mundum a deo creatum, cum æque utrumque a deo revelatum sit."

Meanwhile the conqueror of Tilly was left at liberty to follow up his brilliant success with little fear of interruption. On the morning after the battle he summoned the garrison of Leipsic to surrender; but perceiving that preparations were making to resist, he left the conduct of the siege to the Saxon general, who, apprehensive of ruining that wealthy city by a bombardment, allowed it to capitulate upon honourable terms. Meanwhile the king, having gained possession of Merseburg without the necessity of firing a single shot, advanced to Halle, and made himself master of the town and citadel with almost equal facility.* The greater part of the prisoners who fell into his hands enrolled themselves in the Swedish army, which thus became considerably stronger than it was before its contest with the Austrians. Finding the city of Halle abundantly provided with every thing requisite for the comfort of soldiers, Gustavus allowed them a few days repose, which were partly allotted to public acts of devotion, and partly in arranging in concert with his allies a plan for their future operations. Letters were also written to all the German princes, who had seceded from the communion of Rome, explaining the advantages which might be expected from the recent change in the political horizon, provided they availed themselves of the fortunate crisis, and co-operated with Sweden in her patriotic efforts for restoring independence to the empire. Such the king solemnly protested was his only motive for engaging in a contest with Austria; declaring himself ready to

* Puffendorf, iii. 30. Harto, ii. 44.

grant protection and indemnity to any catholic state, even though subject to an ecclesiastical sovereign, provided it faithfully observed the laws of neutrality. Chemnitz and Rellinghen were likewise dispatched upon an ambulatory mission to the protestant members of the circles of Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhine, with proposals for forming a general confederacy, for the purpose of reducing the imperial authority within its ancient and constitutional limits.*

During his residence at Halle, Gustavus received visits of congratulation from the Princes of Weimar and Anholt, whose prepossessions were strengthened by his popular manners into a warm and lasting attachment.† There too he was joined by the Elector of Saxony, overwhelmed with confusion on account of his dastardly behaviour. Trembling to encounter the frowns and reproaches of an indignant protector, John George approached with trembling steps, and an averted countenance; but these apprehensions were quickly dissipated by the generosity of his ally, who, instead of upbraiding him with cowardice, addressed him in language best calculated to afford consolation. "Permit me, sir, to congratulate you," said the magnanimous victor, "upon an event which has delivered you from such troublesome guests, and which is in great measure due to the fortitude which you displayed in so strenuously advising a battle." No less enchanted with the modesty of the Swedish hero, than thankful for the service which he had performed, the elector promised to adhere to his interests with inviolable

* Harte, ii. 49. Puffendorf, iii. 32.

† Galetti, i. 212.

fidelity, and to exert all his influence with the protestant party, that he might be chosen King of the Romans.* In the first effusions of gratitude, John George may perhaps have poured forth the genuine sentiments of an overflowing heart; but if his feelings at the moment were sincere and ardent, his ministers and generals, all venally devoted to the Austrian court, soon found means to abate his enthusiasm, by instilling into his weak and versatile bosom a thousand unfounded suspicions.†

The system to be adopted for prosecuting the war was debated in a military council, at which all the Saxon princes assisted. The inutility of attempting to follow the imperialists, now rapidly retreating toward the Weser, was readily admitted without one dissentient voice, because it must unavoidably have transferred the theatre of hostilities into Lower Saxony, and thus exposed the protestants, who constituted the majority of its inhabitants, to plunder and devastation. For these reasons it was deemed expedient to direct the brunt of the war against the members of the Catholic League, and particularly against the emperor's dominions, where a large body of people, justly exasperated by the infringement of their most valuable privileges, might be expected to declare in favour of a monarch, the champion of liberty, and of religious toleration.

These preliminary principles having been established as the basis of their future operations, only two roads presented themselves, by which it was practicable to carry the project into execution;

* Galetti, i. 31.

† Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 382. Galetti, i. 213.

but, respecting the selection of these, some variety of opinions existed. The direct route to Vienna, through Bohemia, presented neither many, nor insuperable obstacles; on the contrary, with the exception of a few defiles, such as usually occur in mountainous countries, it was accessible both for cavalry and artillery, and conducted through provinces, whose natural exuberance was rendered still more productive by industry. With a victorious army the conqueror of Tilly might enter the capital of Austria in triumph; neither Prague nor Presburg were prepared for a siege, and both Bohemia and Hungary were nearly destitute of troops. Too feeble to resist the overwhelming torrent, the humiliated emperor would be compelled to abandon the imperial residence, and seek an asylum among the mountains of Stiria; while a treaty, dictated by the victor in the palace of Ferdinand, could hardly fail to ensure to the protestant party the most ample indemnity for every grievance, as well as the fullest security for the future enjoyment of their civil and religious immunities.

The boldness and brilliancy of thus carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country, and perhaps of reducing him to unconditional submission, presented attractions so seducing, that scarcely any man, placed in the situation of Gustavus, would have possessed fortitude to withstand the temptation. But if we attentively examine the conduct of that illustrious monarch, we shall invariably discover, that his sagacity in the cabinet surpassed even his prowess in the field. Before he suffered ambition, or the love of glory to decide in favour of any splendid undertaking, he consulted prudence with dispassionate judgment; and having balanced

the difficulties likely to arise against the dictates of vanity, and the admiration of mankind, he never hesitated to sacrifice the most tempting chimeras of popular adoration to the substantial benefit of his allies.

By marching to Vienna, through Bohemia and Moravia, the direction of the war in the provinces contiguous to the Mayne and Rhine must necessarily devolve upon the Elector of Saxony, whose moderate abilities, and unsteady disposition, rendered him totally unfit for that important command. The weakness of his intellect inspiring presumption, a defect cherished by flattery and artifice, he still aspired to the glory of becoming the head of an independent party, capable of preserving an equal balance between Sweden and Austria, by throwing occasionally its preponderating influence into the lighter scale. To place such a man in a situation, where his example might furnish a plausible excuse for every weakness, must have been attended with numerous evils, particularly as Tilly, after his junction with Fugger and Aldringer, was enabled to resume an offensive posture; and, if opposed by no better general than Arnheim, might find himself strong enough to compel the protestants to renounce the confederation of Leipsic; even supposing the Saxon to act for once with prudence, resolution, and sincerity. Should the Austrians be suffered by mistake or treachery to recover their ascendancy in the empire, it would be of little importance for Gustavus to extend his conquests to the banks of the Danube. Neither could he reasonably cherish a well-founded expectation of exhausting the resources of a mighty monarchy, whose

sovereign had resisted with unshaken resolution the rudest shocks of adversity.*

Far less splendid, indeed, but more certain and permanent, were the advantages to be derived from directing the torrent of hostilities against the members of the Catholic League, notwithstanding many local impediments still remained to be surmounted. The Thuringian forest abounded in defiles, and not in provisions; the roads were, for the most part, deep and narrow, and in a rainy season impracticable for carriages of every description. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, the Swedish monarch determined to confine his operations for the present to the western circles, leaving Bohemia and Moravia, more easy conquests, to the precarious fidelity of the Saxons.

That this decision was founded on the justest principles, few men perhaps would be inclined to doubt, did they not know that it had been disputed by two consummate judges, Folard and Oxenstiern.† When that enlightened minister met Gustavus at Francfort,‡ he insinuated his disapprobation of the step he had taken in the following ingenious compliment: "Sir," said the chancellor, "though I rejoice most sincerely at your uninterrupted success, I should have been still more delighted to have offered you my congratulations at Vienna than at Francfort."

* Schiller, iii. Harte, li. 144. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 385.

† In his commentaries upon Polybius, the former says, "Gustave Adolphe, comme un vrai Annibal, ne se rendit pas moins digne du compliment (alluding to the words of Asdrubal to Annibal, *Vincere scis victoria uti nescis.*) apres la bataille de Leipsic. En allant droit à Vienne, il eut chassé l'empereur effrayé, et consterné de la deroute de son armée presqu'exterminée. Ferdinand n'avait pas plus de troupes a lui opposer, que les Romains n'en avaient a Rome. Il negligea de le faire." i. 90.

‡ Puffendorf, iii. 31. Or at Mayence, according to other historians.

Such are the different arguments adduced in defence of either opinion by the friends of Gustavus, who, of course, believed him actuated by no other motives than those which he publicly professed. There are many, however, who justify his conduct upon different principles. "What satisfactory evidence," they demand, "has ever been produced, that the views entertained by the Swedish monarch were really as disinterested as his enthusiastic admirers have pretended."—"May he not," they inquire, "with some appearance of reason, like many who preceded him! in the career of glory, have covered ambition with the seducing garb of patriotism, in order to render the hearts of the protestants subservient to his secret designs."* The subjugation of Germany, and its natural consequence, the annexation of the imperial crown to that of Sweden, could not be accomplished without prolonging hostilities; because, by extending the flame over a wider surface, events might occur, amid the general conflagration, to realize his most chimerical wishes. Neither are they disposed to admit, as an incontrovertible fact, that his march to Vienna would have been unobstructed; on the contrary, they contend, that the smallest retardation might have allowed time for the emperor, then vigorously assisted by the Elector of Bavaria, to have assembled an army sufficiently strong to have protected the capital of Austria. They further suppose, that too rapid a progress would have excited the jealousy of every member of the Leipsic confederacy, as it did of their volatile leader; and this they maintain could not have been avoided, except by adopting

* Puffendorf, iii. 31.

such measures as tended to inspire unlimited confidence, and thus connected all the enemies of Ferdinand by the permanent link of gratitude, interest, and affection.* That the Saxons, when abandoned to their own discretion, would have been able to check the operations of Tilly, none were sanguine enough to believe; on the contrary, when joined by the numerous reinforcements marching to his succour, he might have cut them off from all communication with the northern provinces, whence their military resources were derived. By establishing himself in the centre of Germany, Gustavus became the soul and arbiter of every deliberation; and was in a situation to watch, with an attentive eye, the intrigues and tergiversations of the elector, ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of cancelling obligations, grown burthensome from his incapacity, or his unwillingness to discharge them, by abandoning his protector, when he no longer needed his assistance. Another motive, supposed to have operated powerfully upon the conduct of the king, was his disinclination to remove to a distance from Francfort, lest Ferdinand, by assuming a tone of moderation, and by consenting to suspend the "edict of restitution," might assuage the fears of the protestants, whose generous credulity accepted excuses, though palpably fallacious, from insurmountable indolence and timidity. This latter consideration appeared so important to Gustavus, that he resolved to proceed with the utmost circumspection, and to subjugate the Electorates of Mentz and Coblentz, even at the hazard of exciting the jealousy of France, before he attempted to penetrate into Bavaria.†

* Scri Memorie Recon. vii. 350. Puffendorf, iii. 31. Gualdo, i. 76.

† 1631. Puffendorf, iii. 31.

The plan of operations thus judiciously traced, John George was entrusted with the reduction of Bohemia, while the king directed his march towards Erfurt, the capital of Thuringia, but in some measure dependant upon the Elector of Mentz. Conscious of their inability to resist the torrent, the magistrates attempted to avert the danger by the warmest protestations of respect, assuring the victor that they should ever regard it as a signal honour if he would condescend to reside among them; but humbly intreating him to spare them the disgrace of admitting a garrison of foreigners. The king solemnly protested that his intentions were amicable, but at the same time declared, that while he had a regiment of his own to guard his person, he would never trust to the fidelity of strangers. Desirous, however, of avoiding the necessity of military coercion, he directed the Duke of Weimar to follow the deputies, and to take possession of the gates as they entered. These orders having been punctually executed, Gustavus repaired to the town-house in triumph, where in a studied oration he thanked the citizens for having by their early submission prevented the effusion of blood, and explained to them the motives which induced him to interfere with the internal politics of Germany; assuring them, that it proceeded from a zealous attachment to the protestant faith, and not from the wish of extending his military renown, or of adding to his paternal dominions. "Provided you demean yourselves peaceably," he graciously added, "you may confidently rely upon my protection; and, as a pledge that my intention is not to deceive you, I shall leave you my queen—the object of my tenderest affection."*

* Hartc, ii. 52. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 386. Galetti, i. 214.

He next visited the cathedral, where he was received by the chapter with as many marks of veneration as could have been paid to the sovereign pontiff; but, as he observed, that their homage was the effect of fear, he hastened to dispel their apprehensions, by declaring himself the friend of religious toleration. But his behaviour to the Jesuits was less encouraging. "I fear," said he sternly, "that you have much to answer for before the tribunal of heaven, on account of the troubles which you have excited. To your intrigues and artifices, the blood which has flowed in this destructive contest is chiefly imputable. I must therefore admonish you, to attend more carefully to the duties of your profession, and the pious offices of charity, preaching peace instead of discord to mankind."* However severe this censure might appear, it was mercy in comparison of what they expected; because they knew no better way of expressing their attachment to the religion they professed, than that of persecuting the members of all other communions. Happy to escape with reproaches alone, they poured forth their gratitude in the mellifluous language of hypocrisy, in which practice had rendered them the greatest proficient.†

William Duke of Saxe-Weimar, a prince deservedly popular, being appointed governor of Thuringia, received directions to repair the fortifications of Erfurt, and to levy troops in the adjoining provinces. Confiding in the discretion and fidelity

* Hist. de Gust. Adolp. 387. The mildness with which he treated the catholic priests induced Ricci to say, "that he was not far removed from the light of the papal communion." This opinion, however, is controverted by every action of his life, and particularly by his hatred of persecution.

† Puffendorf, iii. 32. Schmidt, v. 5. Gualdo, i. 63. Harte, ii. 53. Swed. Intell. ii. 3.

of his ally, for the safety of a place so valuable on every account, Gustavus prepared for his departure, having entirely gained the affection of the inhabitants, astonished at discovering so much justice and humanity in a sovereign, whom his enemies had represented as more ferocious than Attila.

Before we follow him any farther in the career of victory, let us pause to examine his situation more minutely, which, in spite of the glory with which he was surrounded, was by no means exempt from embarrassment. At the first glance he appears looking down from an eminence upon the rest of mankind, while all the protestant states were compelled to subscribe, without the smallest hesitation, to whatever conditions he imposed. But a critical eye will already discover, in the extent of his conquests, the cause of their controlment. For as the terror excited by the ascendancy of Ferdinand progressively subsided with every defeat, the fears even of the protestants took a different direction; and they beheld with jealousy the triumph of a gothic conqueror, who in the intoxication of victory might attempt to overturn their ancient constitution; while the papists persuaded themselves, that fanatical zeal might lead him to abolish the catholic worship, so venerable from its pomp and antiquity. Hence, scarcely had the Lutherans recovered from their fears, than they began clandestinely to thwart his design. Thus he had not only to contend against the gigantic power of an exasperated enemy, but also to struggle against the secret machinations of perfidious allies. Persevering courage, unbounded generosity, and a judgment too penetrating for artifice to deceive, at length enabled him to surmount every obstacle that superstition or treachery could oppose. While by

his magnanimity he subjugated the enlightened—by his bounty he captivated the interested. A cautious respect for national prejudices, the excellent discipline maintained by his army, unvaried reverence for ancient establishments; but, above all, his veneration for the religious opinions of every sect, awakened universal esteem. Even his enemies themselves were compelled to acknowledge, that they suffered less from the hostility of the Dalecarnians, than from the protection of Cossacs and Walloons.*

Though it is impossible to deny that the King of Sweden was chiefly indebted to the transcendant powers of genius for his rapid success, yet it is equally true, that he was superlatively favoured by extrinsic circumstances, and the fortunate coincidence of events. By removing the theatre of hostilities into the territories of the members of the Catholic League, he both recruited and supported his numerous armies at the expense of the enemy, and was thus enabled to wage an offensive war in various quarters, without exhausting his revenues, and even without fettering industry by fiscal expedients. His opponents, on the contrary, divided by the pursuit of different objects, and frequently remiss in their exertions from the well-founded dread of Austrian despotism, acted without concert, and of course without effect; their commanders being no less deficient in authority than their troops in discipline and obedience. Scattered over a wide-extended surface, and guided by no regular system, they pursued distinct, and sometimes discordant objects, whenever the pride or rapacity of an independent chieftain tempted him to deviate from the general outline.

* Schiller, iii.

Thus, while the imperial commanders frequently set at defiance the Austrian cabinet, and even neglected the orders of Ferdinand, the plan and execution of every enterprise exclusively centered in Gustavus. From him all authority emanated; he was the soul of the confederacy, unaccountable to no one for what he undertook, and consequently secure that the designs which he meditated could never be betrayed to the enemy. With such incalculable advantages, it is not astonishing, that a prince endowed with abilities, no less rare than transcendent, should have proved irresistible.

Breaking up from Erfurt, he prepared to traverse Thuringia, a country abounding in woods and mountains. His army, consisting of twenty thousand men, was divided into two columns, in order that they might perform the long and painful march with greater expedition. The corps destined to proceed by the western route was entrusted to Bauditzen, an officer of cool and intrepid courage, but of a mean and rapacious disposition. Pushing forward with celerity, he crossed the dreary hills which encircle Franconia; reduced Meirungen, Gotha, Smalcalden, Hamelberg, and Carlstadt; and on the eighth day joined his master under the walls of Wurtzburg.* Meanwhile, the king, advancing with equal rapidity, scarcely allowed his soldiers time to repose: and as the shortness of an autumnal day† would otherwise have obliged him to abbreviate his journies, he caused lanterns to be suspended on lofty poles, at proper distances, as beacons to guide them by night. After taking Ilmenau and Masfeld, he appeared unex-

* Harte, ii. 55. According to Gualdo this column was commanded by Ruthven, a Scotchman. 65.

† This march was performed at the latter end of September.

pectedly before Königshofen, a strong fortress belonging to the Bishop of Wurtzburg, and justly regarded as the key of Franconia. On account of its strength, it had been selected by the Austrians as a depot for military stores, and chosen by the neighbouring barons as a secure asylum for their plate and jewels. Notwithstanding it was defended by a numerous garrison, and well provided with food and ammunition, it capitulated without any resistance; and this dastardly behaviour was adopted by the commander of Schweinfurt, as a precedent for his own imitation.*

The rapid progress of the Swedes, which appeared fully to justify the severe remark of Wallenstein, "that they had made themselves masters of the empire,† before a courier had time to carry to Vienna intelligence of their irruption," spread universal dismay and consternation. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, who had imprudently confided in the protection of Austria, began seriously to tremble for their revenues, if not for their faith; and they already beheld in idea the basis of their power irrecoverably shaken; their churches profaned by heretical pollution; the sacred images of saints and martyrs trodden under the feet of impious Vandals; and their relics, deprived of their miraculous charm, exposed to vulgar derision.

The same groundless alarm, which excited the fears of the opulent prelates, operated still more efficaciously upon the unlettered minds of the vulgar. The thousand tongues of Fame represented the Swedes as equally the enemies of God and man; and so strong was this prejudice, that it could be obliterated neither by pro-

* Swed. Intell. ii. 7. † Franconia ranked as the first.

testations of clemency, nor by the most striking examples of justice. While the wealthy landholders fled in every direction from the sanguinary sword of persecution, the Bishop of Wurtzburg abandoned his diocese, and hastened to Paris, in hopes of persuading the all-powerful cardinal to stretch forth his arm in defence of the orthodox church, and to rescue its altars from the fury of a barbarian, more cruel than Genseric or Tottila.*

Availing himself of the terror which preceded his arms, the victor presented himself before the gates of Wurtzburg, a rich and populous city, situate upon the banks of the Mayne. Defended only by a decaying rampart, and a municipal militia, the citizen felt happy by a moderate ransom to purchase an exemption from pillage. The castle of Marienberg, erected on the summit of a craggy rock, rising perpendicularly from the banks of the river, had been rendered almost impregnable by well-constructed fortifications. Thither, as to a place of perfect security, the opulent burghers had retired with their families, and most precious effects. Thither also had fled the whole order of priesthood, with their chalices, relics, and treasures; and, having blown up the bridge which communicated with the city, they derided the impotence of the besiegers.

Determined to make himself master of a place which commanded the navigation of the Mayne, Gustavus had not a moment to lose; because Tilly, reinforced by the Duke of Lorraine, was marching with an army forty thousand strong, for the purpose of raising the siege. The difficulty of the enterprize, however, was greatly increased by the

* Schiller, iii.

natural benignity of his disposition, which revolted at the thought of exposing helpless children, and innocent females, to the dangers inseparable from an assault. Anxious to spare those who regarded him as a destroying fiend, he found means to transport a considerable body of troops across the stream, though every boat was moored on the opposite shore under the guns of the fortress. The courage and dexterity of a Scotch lieutenant, named Ramsay, undertook the arduous task of traversing the broken arch upon a single plank, raised forty-eight feet above the water, and exposed to the fire of the Austrian batteries. By his exertions, a boat was at length procured, and a handful of soldiers having crossed the river, sent back two or three additional vessels; in which, during the obscurity of an autumnal evening, numbers were conveyed to the opposite bank, who by incredible exertions effected a lodgment upon the summit of the hill, within musket shot of the castle. From this commanding spot the Swedish artillery soon effected a breach; but, as the governor still refused to capitulate, an order was issued for storming. Though twice repulsed with considerable loss, the perseverance of the assailants at length prevailed, Keller the commander being taken prisoner by Tortenston, so celebrated for heroic exploits. Irritated by a resistance now totally unavailing, and eager to retaliate upon a sanguinary foe for the barbarities in which oftentimes they had wantonly indulged, the Swedes exterminated all who fell in their way, crying out with indignant fury, "Magdeburg! Magdeburg!" Many hundreds are supposed to have perished during the carnage; and among the number several friars, who, forgetting that their vocation was to

preach to mankind, had taken up arms with the pious intention of extirpating heresy.*

The rage of the victors being at length restrained by the personal interference of the king, the monks, citizens, and women, were permitted to depart without farther molestation. The booty, however, far surpassed the expectation of the conquerors; a secret vault having been discovered, laboriously excavated in the solid rock, and filled with inestimable treasures. In this cavern the wealth of the diocese was deposited, together with a large sum in specie, sent by the Elector of Bavaria to Tilly. Thirty pieces of ordnance, arms sufficient for the equipment of seven thousand men, immense magazines of corn and ammunition, a splendid service of massive silver, a stable of horses, remarkable alike for strength and beauty, and a well-selected library of books belonging to the Jesuits, rewarded the valour of the conquerors. This valuable collection was immediately presented to the university of Upsal, by way of reprisal, as the Elector of Bavaria, after the capture of Heidelberg, had sent the Palatine manuscripts to the Vatican.† The remainder of the booty was abandoned to the soldiers, as an incentive to similar enterprizes. It is well worthy of observation, because it clearly demonstrates the admirable discipline which at that time prevailed in the Swedish army, that amid the general tumult, not a nun was violated, nor a matron insulted. It was against the murderers of the protestants that the indignation of the victors was solely directed; but in the presence of the weaker sex it subsided, and toward them they behaved

* Swed. Intell. ii. 15.

† Khevenhüller, xi. 1881. Puffendorf, iii. 33. Harte, ii. 65. Gualdo, i. 65.

with that tenderness and indulgence, which are the characteristical ornaments of bravery.*

The example of the capital was followed by the entire diocese, which submitted without further resistance. Gustavus having received an oath of allegiance from the different municipalities, established a council of regency, consisting of twelve members, half of whom were protestants, and half catholics. The dreadful alarm, which had been artfully excited in the breasts of the people, began visibly to decrease, when they had an opportunity of comparing the behaviour of the Swedes with that of their ancient protector. For notwithstanding the members of the reformed communion regained possession of those churches from which they had been forcibly expelled, no oppression was exercised toward the papists, who so long as they demeaned themselves with prudence and moderation, were sure to be treated with humanity.†

The great importance of Wurtzburg determined Gustavus to strengthen the fortifications; and, as he daily expected a visit from Tilly, his soldiers laboured with such indefatigable industry, that the work was shortly completed. That veteran com-

* When the king entered the fortress, he was affected at beholding the pavement covered with apparently lifeless bodies; but, upon nearer inspection, discovering that few countenances bore the ghastly impression of death, he with a voice of benignity commanded them to arise, assuring them that their lives should be spared. This exhortation produced a miraculous effect; the dead started instantly from the ground, and with blessings and thanks poured forth their gratitude for an act of humanity, most astonishing to men unaccustomed to the feelings of pity.—Harte, ii. 66.

† Puffendorf, iii. 35.—To some of his generals, who advised him to retaliate, Gustavus humanely replied, "Wurtzburg no longer belongs to an enemy: besides, I come to unfetter the consciences of my fellow creatures, and not to enslave them."—Harte, ii. 65.—The man who acted consistently with such elevated sentiments was surely formed to conquer the world.

mander, being at length joined by reinforcements from Italy, panted after an opportunity of effacing the stain contracted at Leipsic. By an irruption into the territories of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, he flattered himself to allure the Swedes into a mountainous country, peculiarly fitted for defensive operations; but perceiving that his adversary was too sagacious to fall into the snare, he advanced to Fulda, apparently with the intention of hazard- ing another engagement. While waiting in expectation of a large body of troops, which the Duke of Lorraine* was conducting to his assistance, he is said to have employed every possible argument to persuade Maximilian to consent to his giving

* Charles Duke of Lorraine was born in 1604, and educated at Paris for the ecclesiastical profession; but his volatile disposition inducing him to abandon the mitre for a helmet, he entered into the Bavarian service, and was present at the battle of Prague. After the demise of his uncle, who died without male issue, he married his cousin Nicola, and took possession of the duchy in his own name, and in that of his consort. Too proud, however, to owe his authority to a female, he found means to exclude the duchess from the regency, and compelled the states to do homage to him, as their sole and legitimate sovereign. The position of Lorraine rendering its possession highly important to France, Cardinal Richelieu resolved to secure it, either by reducing Charles to a state of vassalage, or by expelling him from his dominions. Justly exasperated at the idea of losing his duchy, Charles wisely endeavoured to counteract the scheme by contracting alliances with the enemies of France. With this view he offered an asylum to the Duke of Orleans, when compelled to fly from the resentment of Richelieu; promoted a marriage between the fugitive prince and his sister Margarot, entered into a clandestine correspondence with the emperor, and began actively to prepare for hostilities. These warlike appearances affording a pretext for actual aggression, Louis entered Lorraine at the head of an army, and made himself master of several fortresses. The haughty spirit of Charles was not to be subdued by an aggravation of injuries, and he accordingly took advantage of the intestine troubles which disorganized France, to declare in favour of Ferdinand. With a prodigality ruinous to his contracted revenues, he levied regiment after regiment, accoutering them magnificently, without reflecting that they were deficient in almost every essential quality, and commanded by a young and inexperienced officer, vain enough to believe that the destruction of a hero was reserved for their presumptuous incapacity.—Coxe's House of Austria, i. 855. Le Vassor, x. 28.

battle to the King of Sweden. That prince, however, far too prudent to expose his tottering fortunes to an event so precarious, forbade the attempt; and Tilly is reported, with tears in his eyes, to have read the letter which enjoined inactivity.

This fatal resolution, which exposed the judgment of Maximilian to the severest censure, and even tempted many to question his sincerity, allowed time for Gustavus to complete the conquest of Wurtzburg.† The situation of Tilly, thus cruelly forced to inactivity, became highly distressing to a lofty spirit, not reconciled as yet to adversity; neither was it less injurious to his reputation, because in the opinion of the world he was unjustly blamed for the result of measures, which he was no longer permitted to direct. The necessity of consulting the Elector of Bavaria, before he could venture to make any decisive movement, gave an air of indecision to all his subsequent actions, which led many now to undervalue his talents, as much as they had formerly overrated them. Notwithstanding he was entrusted with the command of forces nearly double in number to those of his opponent, he was obliged to content himself with recovering those towns, which the King of Sweden was unable to garrison. Once indeed he came in sight of the Swedish army, encamped under the walls of Wurtzburg; but finding that they were already masters of the citadel, he retired behind Tauber, with the inward conviction, that it was totally in vain to con-

• Khevenhiller, xi. 1884.

† I find in Schmidt that Maximilian attempted to justify his conduct by publishing his correspondence with Tilly, from which it appeared, that the imperial army had suffered so much from fatigue and hunger, as to be no longer in a condition to face the enemy. But as this statement is contradicted by most other historians, I did not feel myself authorized to adopt it.—Schmidt, v. 5.

tend against a warrior, who subjugated provinces in as little time as was usually spent in travelling through them.*

Too weak to resist the overwhelming torrent, he attempted to avert it by every external mark of respect, in the hope of being permitted to retain his dominions, till the ascendancy of Austria might once more enable him to brave the Swedes with impunity. Too honest himself to suspect others of deceit, Gustavus received the bishop's excuses with his accustomed benignity, and signified the conditions upon which he was ready to admit his neutrality. No sooner, however, was the theatre of hostilities transferred into the Palatinate, than the prelate, unmindful of every promise, delivered all his fortresses into the hands of the Austrians. This perfidy was of little avail. A body of troops, under the command of Horn, inflicted the chastisement which perfidy merits, and the unfortunate subjects of a worthless ecclesiastic were thus exposed to the alternate depredations of friends and enemies.†

The retreat of the imperialists‡ whose unsteady behaviour had encouraged the indecision of the

* Puffendorf, iii. 34.

† Harte, ii. 59.

‡ Thus ended the splendid visions of the Duke of Lorraine, and with it vanished the chimerical hope of obtaining the electoral dignity. Covered with ridicule and disgrace, he thought himself fortunate to escape; and so universal was the contempt into which he had fallen, that as he traversed a village in the Brisgau during his hasty retreat, a peasant struck his horse with a whip, exclaiming sarcastically, "You must mend your pace, sir, if you expect to escape from the great King of Sweden."—Siri *Mémoire Recondite*, viii. 446.—The remainder of the life of this extraordinary man presents a series of inconsistencies, in which it is hard to determine which is most an object of scorn, the fickleness of his temper, or the depravity of his morals. After resigning his dominions to his brother, as the only means of preventing them from becoming a province of France, he repudiated the faithful and virtuous Nicola, in order to marry the

Franconian states, left them at liberty to follow their inclinations in future. Gustavus was accordingly received at Husenberg with every mark of veneration. In songs and acclamations the citizens extolled the benignity of a conqueror, who treated the vanquished with paternal regard. The exuberant fertility of a well-cultivated province filled the camp of Gustavus with abundant supplies, while his natural courtesy augmented daily the number of his admirers, and the popularity of his cause drew recruits by thousands to his standard.*

Having entrusted Horn with the defence of † Franconia, the king hastened to the banks of the Rhine, which were threatened with an incursion from the Spaniards. After liberating them from the impending danger, he flattered himself to experience no insuperable difficulties in reducing the ecclesiastical electorate, the possession of which would necessarily open more extensive resources for the farther prosecution of hostilities. Directing

widow of the Prince of Cantacroix, of whom he had been long enamoured. She too was soon dismissed, and the duchess recalled to be again sent away, that he might renew his connexion with the princess. Her reign, however, proving of short duration, he contracted himself to Isabella, Countess of Poussai, and abandoned her for the daughter of a banker at Nancy. He again espoused, in a moment of compunction, the Princess of Cantacroix upon her death-bed, and concluded his amours by marrying, in his sixty-first year, the Countess of Asprenont, who was only thirteen. The following epitaph is highly descriptive of his follies :

Ci git un pauvre duc sans terre,
Qui fut, jusqu'à ses derniers jours,
Peu fidele dans ses amours,
Et moins fidele dans ses guerres.

Il donna librement sa fol,
Tour à tour à chaque couronne,
Et se fit une étroite loi,
De ne la garder a personne.—Coxe, i. 865.

* Harto, ii. 91.

† With eight thousand men.

his march along the banks of the Mayne, he subjected Steinheim, Aschaffenburg, and Seligenstadt without meeting with the smallest opposition, as the imperial garrisons withdrew at his approach, and even Tilly retreated before him.*

Hanau also was surprised, and proved an acquisition of infinite moment; because it enabled the king to concentrate his forces upon the banks of the Rhine, without fear of molestation from the enemy; and as the greater part of the garrisons in the captured towns usually entered into the Swedish service, his numbers augmented with his conquests.

The imperial city of Francfort, so justly renowned for its commerce and its fairs, was however the principal object which attracted his attention.† Upon his first landing in Germany, he endeavoured, by a clandestine correspondence, to pave the way for an amicable reception, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. That moment was now arrived, and he accordingly dispatched an officer from Offenbach, requiring a passage for his army. Though secretly disposed to favour the champion of the established church, the mercantile timidity of a commercial senate shuddered at a step so decisive, and zealously petitioned for permission to adhere to that happy state of neutrality from which they had derived such essential advantage, and

* Puffendorf, iii. 36. Swedish Intell. ii. 30.

† The approach of the Swedes put an end to the diet, convened for the purpose of deceiving the protestants, under pretence of terminating all religious disputes. The grand master of the Teutonic Order, who presided over the assembly, was the first to fly, a man equally despicable for violence and timidity, who in the cool moments of reflection had publicly declared, that the only certain method of restoring tranquillity to the empire, would be to massacre every protestant above the age of seven.—Le Vassor, x. 54.

which was the only one compatible with their real interests, as a trading and industrious people.

Borrowing from the Scriptures an important maxim, and one highly applicable to political affairs, the Swedish monarch declared, that "he must in future consider all those who were not for him, as being against him." Experience having instructed him to regard neutrality as the refuge of treachery, he announced his pretensions in a tone of authority which precluded farther prevarication. Great was the terror inspired by the Austrian arms; but the dread of Gustavus was greater still; for they felt with anxiety, that the smallest hesitation might blast in a moment the successful speculations of a century, and destroy all their municipal privileges. It was in vain for the deputies to implore a few days delay, to allow time for consulting the Elector of Mentz, upon whom they were in some measure dependant; it was in vain for them to expatiate upon the danger to which their lucrative traffic and free constitution might eventually be exposed from imperial resentment, in case the current of fortune should vary. This language was unintelligible to the magnanimous sovereign to whom it was addressed; for his liberal mind was unable to comprehend, that the feelings of the heart could be so narrowed by barter and calculation, that men should talk of staples and contracts, and furs and china, when religion and liberty were concerned. He in consequence told them, with honest indignation, that "after finding a way into every fortress between the Baltic and the Mayne, he had little apprehension of being excluded from Francfort." He farther declared, "that the anxious desire of emancipating Germany from the Austrian yoke, had

solely induced him to unsheath the sword; but having once embarked in the glorious undertaking, he could not sacrifice the interests of the protestant worship to a mistaken delicacy for the prejudices of a people, who contemplated every object through the narrow medium of trade, and not as members of the Christian republic.* Having solemnly protested, that no considerations should induce him to relax in a single demand, the deputies returned to consult their superiors, and were followed by Gustavus to the gates of Saxenhausen, a well-built suburb, connected with Francfort by a magnificent bridge, where, having drawn up his troops in battle array, he awaited the result of their deliberation.†

The hesitation manifested by the senate having proceeded solely from commercial apprehensions, and not from the bias of political attachment, the balance did not remain long in suspense, when summoned to decide between the tyrant and the deliverer of Germany. Besides, they secretly flattered themselves, that the inability to resist, even in the estimation of a despot, might serve to mitigate the guilt of apostacy. The gates were accordingly thrown open, and the Swedish army in triumphal pomp traversed the city, after leaving a garrison in Saxenhausen. Its heroic leader, mounted on a beautiful charger, rode through the streets with his head uncovered, conversing courteously with every order of citizens, who flocked in crowds to behold the splendid procession. He afterwards assisted at a sumptuous banquet prepared by the magistrates for his entertainment; but when requested to occupy a stately apartment in the imperial palace, he de-

* *Harte*, ii. 93. † *Puffendorf*, iii. 37. *Lotichius*, l. 961.

clined the invitation, adding with a smile, "that he never required a more convenient lodging than his pioneers were able to prepare."* The rejection, however, arose from motives more valid than the contempt of parade. The reduction of Höchst was in contemplation; and with such impenetrable secrecy had the plan been conducted, that the town was surprised, and compelled to surrender, before the imperial commanders, who were stationed in the neighbourhood, received any intimation of its danger.

While on the banks of the Mayne, the king was advancing in an uninterrupted career of victory, his generals were employed, with equal success, in completing the conquest of Mecklenberg. Rostock and Wismer, the only fortresses which the imperialists had been able to retain, having surrendered to Todt, were restored to their legitimate sovereign.† Even the ruins of Magdeburg were at length abandoned, when the miserable hovels which disfigured a spot, the once celebrated emporium of trade, were immediately occupied by the Swedes.‡

This sudden revolution in the tide of affairs produced one equally striking in the public opinion. The states of Lower Saxony, by a constitutional vote, provided funds for the equipment of three provincial regiments, to be employed for the defence of the circle. Even George Duke of Lunenburg, notwithstanding he had formerly served in the Austrian armies, embraced the cause of the victor,

* Puffendorf, iii. 37. Lotichius, i. 961. Harte, 94.

† Puffendorf, iii. 45. ‡ Khevenhiller, xii. 107.

to whom, by his enterprising courage, he afterwards rendered essential service.*

Meanwhile Tieffenbach and Goetz, to whom Ferdinand had entrusted the defence of Silesia, no sooner heard that the Swedes had directed their march toward the Thuringian forest, than they made a sudden irruption into Electoral Saxony. Pushing eagerly forward into Upper Lusatia, the former made himself master of Bautzen and Zittau, carried terror and desolation to the gates of Dresden. The success of the latter in Lower Lusatia was no less rapid and destructive. Adhering implicitly to the sanguinary tactics of Tilly, he suffered no village to escape unplundered, and even wantonly set fire to many. Fortunately, however, for the industrious peasantry, the inundation was transient; as the Saxons, advancing in conjunction with Banier, compelled both to retire. This unexpected reverse created at Vienna a general alarm for the safety of Bohemia. Ashamed of his folly in having driven the elector into the arms of Gustavus, the emperor resolved to recover his influence at the Saxon court, if bribes or hypocrisy could retrieve his imprudence; and, as a preparatory step to the conciliatory offers which he was preparing to make, he directed his generals to evacuate the electorate, and even to abstain in future from all acts of hostility. But as he would have regarded condescension toward a rebellious vassal (and in that light he treated all the princes of Germany who ventured to resist his authority) as highly derogatory to the paramount dignity of the imperial sceptre, he engaged the Spanish

* Galetti, i. 219. Puffendorf, iii. 49.

ambassador, then resident at Vienna, to undertake the office of mediator. But as it would have been equally degrading to Castilian pride, to have quitted the splendour of Vienna for an electoral court, the business was entrusted to Colonel Paradeiser, an able and active negotiator.

Convinced that it was impossible to justify the behaviour of Ferdinand, the insinuating diplomatist attempted to throw all the odium of the invasion upon the violent temper of Tilly, whom he falsely accused of having entered Saxony without the consent or even knowledge of the emperor. After expatiating upon the regret which that monarch had felt when made acquainted with his general's temerity, he assured John George that all possible reparation should be instantly made, and even offered to give a satisfactory guarantee to the protestants for the unmolested enjoyment of their privileges, both religious and civil. The many advantages which had resulted to the electoral house from the alliance of Ferdinand, were artfully exhibited in the most striking colours, as well as the inconveniences which were likely to occur from adhering to the fortunes of an adventurous stranger, whose rashness had been crowned with transient success, but who, in spite of the capricious favours of fortune, could not long contend, without certain destruction, against the gigantic resources of Austria. These considerations, he said, joined to the ardent wish of restoring tranquillity to the German empire, had induced the King of Spain to offer his mediation. As a preliminary step toward a permanent reconciliation, the elector was requested to state in writing, the various grievances of which he complained, and to nominate a plenipotentiary empowered to negotiate

with the envoy of Ferdinand, in presence of the Spanish ambassador.*

The modest language of Paradeiser contrasted so forcibly with the overweening arrogance of the imperial cabinet, that it was difficult for John George to conceal his indignation at the insult so undisguisedly offered to his understanding. A few minutes reflection, however, enabling him to reply with tolerable calmness, he enumerated the many services which he had rendered to Ferdinand, even at the expense of his own reputation. Rejecting with disdain the contemptible subterfuge by which the court of Vienna attempted to palliate ingratitude, "It was ridiculous," he said, "to suppose that a commander so remarkable for prudence as Tilly, should have ventured to attack the dominions of an ancient ally, without positive instructions from the emperor. Had not the designs of the enemies of the protestant religion been providentially frustrated by the genius of Gustavus, the invasion of Misnia would have been celebrated as a triumph instead of being deplored as a misfortune." He farther declared to Paradeiser that he was grossly mistaken, if he believed him ignorant of the emperor's perfidious designs; as he knew, from unquestionable authority, that a plan had actually been formed, for transferring the electoral bonnets of Saxony and Brandenburg into other families as the rewards of servility, had they not been preserved by the valour of Gustavus. "With respect to the injuries to which he had been subject, they were too notorious," he added, "to need farther illustra-

* Khevenhiller, xi. 1702.

Puffendorf, iii. 50.

tion; neither did the alliance contracted with the King of Sweden require to be justified in the eyes of Europe, since he had been compelled to implore his powerful aid by the ingratitude of Ferdinand, desirous of stripping him of his patrimonial dominions, as a recompense for having placed him upon the imperial throne, and preserved Bohemia from impending destruction. After recovering his independence by the assistance of Sweden, he should deserve to be stigmatized by the contempt of mankind, as the meanest and most unthankful of mortals, were he ever to forget that important obligation." He concluded by expressing his earnest desire for peace, but positively declined to enter into a separate negotiation, because it would be no less repugnant to his individual interest, than inconsistent with his political engagements.*

Every hope of accommodation being now laid aside, Arnheim was directed to enter Bohemia; and the forces which he commanded being far superior to those which opposed him, his progress was without interruption. Preceded by a column under the orders of the elder Thurn, he occupied Teschen, Aussig, Reudnitz, and Leitmaritz, where he found abundant magazines both of military stores and provisions.† The oppressive conduct of Ferdinand had so completely alienated the hearts of the Bohemians, that they regarded the Saxons in the light of deliverers. The torrents of blood inhumanly shed after the battle of Prague, and the confiscation of property which accompanied it, had proved insufficient to satiate a tyrant's re-

* Le Vassor, x. 61. Puffendorf, iii. 50. Lotichius, i. 967. Gualdo, i. 67.

† Ibid.

sentment, or to glut the sanguinary zeal of the Jesuits. The system established for the conversion of the Bohemians was scarcely less cruel than that, which had been formerly practised by the bigotry of the Spaniards for the instruction of the native Americans. The same intolerant spirit, which had deluged in blood the states of Montezuma, now laid waste every province of Bohemia. Even a few days previous to the invasion of the Saxons, the fraternity of Jesus had been actively employed in the holy work of proselytism, and had carried their perquisitions into the remotest villages, delivering over to the vindictive fury of an infatuated soldiery all whose delicate consciences, recoiling at the idea of a perpetual miracle, rejected the irrational doctrine of transubstantiation. Aware that such a system was ill calculated to conciliate the minds of a people enthusiastically wedded to the opinions of Huss, the members of the government grew seriously alarmed for their personal safety, as well as for the riches which they had unjustly amassed, and they accordingly omitted neither threats nor intreaties to induce the citizens of Prague to concur with them in defending the city. The treatment which awaited their wives and daughters, from the brutality of an undisciplined army, was represented in colours most likely to alarm the tender fears of husbands and fathers. The facility of defending a fortified town, till Tiefenbach could arrive, was employed as an argument to dispel the apprehensions which mercantile timidity might indulge; while as an additional incentive the danger was magnified which would justly await them from the indignation of Ferdinand, should they attempt to surrender with dastardly

precipitation. But no reasons which subtlety was able to adduce were half so persuasive as the hope of escaping from the shackles of a despot so odious, that they looked forward to every possible change with the confident hope of amelioration.

Balthasar di Marradas the imperial commander was unwilling to take any decisive step without the concurrence of Wallenstein, who, as the reader has seen in a preceding chapter, resided in the capital of Bohemia. Too proud to advise, when destitute of authority to enforce his opinion, Friedland, though assailed by repeated solicitations, declined to interfere, and retired to his estate in Moravia. Indeed by many he was suspected of having invited the Saxons; but if this charge was unfounded, it is certain, at least, that he greatly facilitated the reduction of Prague by his inactivity.

Being left to the guidance of his own discretion, and rendered irresolute by his master's unpopularity, Marradas deemed it expedient to abandon the city, while a passage was open for his escape. His retreat being regarded as a signal for flight, all the members of the government who foresaw that an opportunity would soon be afforded for an exasperated people to avenge the blood of their friends, repeatedly shed under the prostituted forms of legal prosecution, departed in secrecy for Budweis, where they carried the crown and regalia,* and were followed by a numerous train of monks and ecclesiastics, eager to escape from the fury of heretics, justly provoked by the most sanguinary persecution. Of all the religious orders the capuchins alone remained in their pious retreats; for

* Puffendorf, iii. 51. Lotichius, i. 971. Swedish Intell. ii. 202.

they felt secure in the conviction, that when men have nothing to lose, they can have little to fear from a revolution.

As the Saxons advanced, they were astonished at meeting with no opposition, and at finding the capital as free from commotion as in times of profoundest tranquillity. No preparations were made for its defence; not a cannon was fired in defiance. Attracted by curiosity, the burghers, unarmed, walked out in crowds to contemplate a spectacle no less striking than singular; whose cheerful countenances seemed rather to indicate hospitality, than stern and repulsive hostility. From their concurrent testimony the Saxon general first acquired intelligence of the evacuation of the city. An event so unexpected could not fail to excite his suspicion; because, having previously learnt that powerful succours were expected from Silesia, he thought those pacific appearances might be employed as stratagem to allure his army to certain destruction, in case an assault should be rashly attempted. In this state of suspense he accidentally met a confidential domestic, belonging to Walleustein, and as the general report having received confirmation from his unquestionable veracity, "The city is our own without striking a blow," cried Arnheim, in a transport of joy, and immediately ordered it to be summoned.*

This summons was obeyed with alacrity, as a great majority of the citizens, being secretly attached to the doctrine of the reformers, were delighted at the prospect of changing masters, upon a promise being given that no injury should be offered either

* 1631. Schiller, iii.

to their persons or the property of the inhabitants. The gates were thrown open, and Arnheim entered in triumph.* He was shortly followed by the elector, anxious to gratify his vanity with the homage of a people to whom he had granted his protection, without ever reflecting upon the precariousness of the tenure by which he held his authority. The insolence and severity with which they had exercised power, alarmed the papists with the dread of reprisals; but all their apprehensions were quickly removed by the clemency and moderation of the new government. The catholics, indulged in the uninterrupted enjoyment of their favourite ceremonies, were deprived of no more than four churches, which had formerly belonged to the Lutherans. Of all religious fraternities the Jesuits alone were excepted from the general amnesty; for being justly regarded as the promoters of all the sanguinary edicts for the extirpation of heresy, they received positive injunctions to quit the kingdom without the smallest delay.†

The capture of Prague being followed by that of most of the principal cities, produced a total revolution in the general aspect of affairs. Many of the protestant barons, who had been driven into exile by the intolerance of Ferdinand, recovered their estates. The reinstatement of his adherents afforded Thurn a noble recompense for all his sufferings in vindication of liberty. He now found himself loaded with blessings and honours in the very place where he had formerly been proscribed, and where, had he fallen into the hands of an implacable despot, he would inevitably have perished upon a

* November, 11th.

† Ibid.

scaffold. Indignant at beholding the heads of those, whom he regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom, exposed on the gates of the city, he ordered them to be buried with funeral pomp in a chapel belonging to the Calixtines. He now took possession of his valuable estates, and magnificent mansion, which had been recently decorated by the vanity of Michna, by whom it was selected as a residence. Neither had the value of the farms in the least deteriorated in the hands of the usurpers; on the contrary, the breed of cattle had been greatly improved by a proper attention to rural economy. The happy change introduced in every department of the government revived the drooping spirits of the protestants, who now repaired to the celebration of the Lutheran rites with an eagerness bordering upon enthusiasm.* Many who had formerly abandoned their religion as the only means of preserving their lives now publicly recanted the errors of a coercive apostacy, to indulge in a worship which their consciences approved, with all the zealous fervour of Neophites. A revolution so rapid could hardly be effected without sometimes exciting commotions, and we accordingly find that in various districts the people revenged their injuries in the blood of their oppressors.†

The rapid progress of the enemy excited at Vienna a general panic among people of every

* This pleasing picture does not entirely agree with the account given by Pebzel, who accuses the Saxons of having violated the capitulation immediately after it was concluded; and even upbraids the elector with having set the example, by carrying away all the valuable curiosities, and works of art, with which Rodolph II. had enriched the capital of Bohemia, and which filled upwards of fifty waggons.

† Harte, ii. 89, endeavours to palliate those atrocities, which Pebzel openly proclaims. 765.

description, which was augmented by the exaggerated reports continually arriving from the different armies; but when it was publicly known that the imperial treasure had been privately sent into Stiria, the citizens expected every moment to behold the enemy at the gates.

In the public opinion every concurring circumstance seemed clearly to indicate the approaching fall of the Austrian monarchy. A protracted contest had consumed the vigour of the hereditary states, impoverished their resources, and exhausted their numerous population. Those mighty armies, which had formerly spread terror and desolation from the frontiers of Bohemia to the banks of the Rhine, no longer possessed the power of oppression. The splendour of their victories was suddenly eclipsed, the impression of invincibility, which like a magic charm had so materially aided them in the career of conquest, was effaced by the superiority of Swedish discipline. Dispersed, and disheartened, the broken columns were no longer able to extort from the fears of an impoverished nation, those enormous contributions which had supplied materials for oppression by the plunder and exhaustion of its members. Of the numerous allies who had hitherto supported the throne of despotism, a considerable portion had been disarmed, and the fidelity of the remainder was scarcely proof against the rude ordeal of adversity. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, the firmest pillar of the Catholic League, appeared to be wavering between interest and inclination; and it was evident, that if he rejected the neutrality offered him through the mediation of France, it was not from attachment to Austria. The bishops of Bamberg

and Wurtzburg, the Elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Lorraine, were either compelled to abandon their dominions, or trembled for their personal safety. Too feeble to withstand the overwhelming torrent, the Elector of Treves attempted to avert impending ruin by courting the protection of Richelieu; while Hungary was exposed to the incursions of Ragotzy, who with the power of Bethlem Gabor had inherited also his turbulent ambition. A dangerous insurrection had likewise broken out in Upper Austria, where the doctrines of Luther were so deeply rooted, that persecution might increase, but could never extirpate them. Thus, after an almost invariable series of prosperous fortune, Ferdinand was again involved in the same difficulties and dangers, which threatened him with destruction at his accession to the throne; and should Bavaria be tempted to abandon his cause, and France openly declare in favour of Gustavus, the power of Austria might receive a blow from which it would never recover.*

To these formidable evils Ferdinand opposed processions and pilgrimages; flattering himself that ceremonies the most puerile might possess efficacy to alter the divine decree, and render Heaven propitious to tyranny and persecution. To his astonishment, however, he found that neither pilgrimages nor processions could arrest the rapid progress of Gustavus; and his piety was confounded at the unexpected discovery, that the Almighty should favour a heretic. Desirous of propitiating the offended saints, he assembled council after coun-

* Adelszroiter, 277. Schmidt, v. 6. Galetti, i. 252. Khevenhüller, xi. 1918.

cil, consulted monks and civilians, and became more rigid than ever in all his religious duties; but still no miracle was wrought for his protection. His cares were then extended to more laudable objects; the public expenditure was curtailed, his household reduced, and all useless offices were abolished. Embassies were dispatched to stimulate the zeal of his desponding allies, while the Pope was earnestly solicited to contribute to the support of a cause so important to all orthodox Christians.

The bigotry of Spain supplied abundant donations—the piety of Tuscany was scarcely less bountiful;* but when Cardinal Pasman addressed himself to the Pope, instead of generously opening the treasury of St. Peter, Urban complained of the poverty of the apostolical chamber, which he artfully attributed to the unavoidable expenses incurred by the holy see, when the invaders of Mantua extended their depredations beyond the Po, and even threatened the fertile plains of Bologna.

More offended at the manner in which his request was rejected, than affected by the loss of a subsidy, Ferdinand appointed Savelli ambassador extraordinary, with positive injunctions to renew the demand with imposing solemnity, and at the same time to insinuate to his numerous adherents, in the sacred college, the danger which might accrue to the general interests of Christendom from the avarice and indifference of a pontiff, guided en-

* Many wealthy subjects made liberal donatives. Cardinal Dietrichstein subscribed £8000; the Prince of Eggenberg £50,000; Count Michna £16,000, &c. Five regiments were also raised by the Jesuits.—Harte, ii. 100. Swed. Intell. ii. 219. Lotichius, i. 979.

tirely by worldly considerations, and more deeply read in the writings of Tacitus and Machiavel, than in those of the fathers and the evangelists.*

Enlightened and impelled by the love of economy, Urban treated the fears of the imperial plenipotentiary with the contempt of a statesman, who perceived that the emperor was actuated entirely by mundane considerations, while he professed to vindicate the cause of Christianity. The war between Austria and Sweden was represented by Savelli as a contest in which the permanent ascendancy of the rival religions of Rome and Luther must be finally decided. The Pope, on the contrary, affected to treat it as a struggle for temporal power, imputing the distress to which Ferdinand was reduced entirely to his own imprudence, in having listened to the violent counsels of Spain, instead of regulating his conduct by the salutary advice which he had constantly received from the Vatican. "Does the emperor suppose," said the pontiff indignantly, "the treasures of the church to be inexhaustible, that he applies for a subsidy, after having compelled me to expend more than four millions of crowns in order to secure the patrimony of St. Peter against the rapacity of his Croats? I am well acquainted," continued he, "with the artifices employed by the partizans of the League, to persuade the world, that the King of Sweden entertains the impious ambition of extirpating our holy religion; but I am too well acquainted with his real character to give credit to the fallacious report. He is much too sagacious to have formed so desperate a plan, the discovery of which might

* *Le Vassor*, x. 113.

in a moment cloud his future prospects, and overwhelm a name so deservedly glorious with external infamy. The disasters of Austria are much to be lamented, and I sympathize most sincerely in her misfortunes; but, as they originated solely in the pernicious suggestions of the court of Madrid, the riches of Peru, and not those of the church, ought to extricate the emperor from his distress.*

Having thus vented his fury, and proclaimed his poverty, Urban gravely assured the ambassador, that notwithstanding his exhausted coffers prevented him from affording pecuniary relief, he would willingly give, what might probably be considered by the piety of his master as more efficacious than millions of dollars. By prayers and processions he promised to intercede with Heaven for the success of his arms; to grant him permission to levy a stipulated tax upon all ecclesiastical property within his own dominions, and even to extend his paternal care to the unequivocal length of publishing a general jubilee.†

These concessions, though totally repugnant to rational policy, were so adapted to the prejudices of Ferdinand, that they ceased to be ridiculous, and were only satirical. But as the necessity of his situation required a remedy more active than the pageantries of superstition, to avert the ruin of a monarchy, which had hitherto concealed its internal debility under the splendid delusion of a mighty name, the imperial ministers endeavoured to direct their master's attention to objects more tangible, and actually subject to human control. For German pride, revolting at the idea of acknow-

* Le Vassor, x. 114. Puffendorf, iii. 52.

† Le Vassor, 120.

ledging the superiority of Swedish tactics, was forced to adopt some other solution less mortifying to the feelings of a warlike people; and accordingly attributed the victories of Gustavus to the advantage which he derived from being at liberty to avail himself of every favourable occurrence, without the necessity of applying to superior authority. It was neither to the genius of the monarch, nor to the discipline of his soldiers, that his rapid success was imputable; it arose from a circumstance which tended alike to give harmony to his plans, and rapidity to their execution. It was not in the number or the quality of her troops that Austria was defective; she wanted nothing but a general. The reputation of Tilly was for ever tarnished, and with his reputation he had lost his popularity. Supposing him, however, still to retain the confidence and attachment of the army, it would be little less than insanity to confide the destiny of Austria to the fidelity of a commander so blindly devoted to Bavaria, that he never ventured to move without consulting Maximilian. For these reasons it was expedient to remove him from a station, to the laborious duties of which he was rendered incompetent by the pressure of years; and to select a successor possessing sagacity, courage, and activity, sufficient to contend against the modern Attila, and who would be exclusively attached to the imperial family by the triple tie of gratitude, affection, and interest.*

These arguments were so striking, that in the enthusiasm of the moment Ferdinand proposed to head his armies in person, hoping, by his presence,

* Puffendorf, iii. 52.

to kindle in the bosoms of other men the same ardent courage with which his own was inflamed; but, with the transient fervour of a heated imagination this rash project evaporated, to make way for counsels less fraught with peril. That scheme being relinquished, the Spanish cabal, grown more powerful than ever since the marriage of the infanta with the King of Hungary,* suggested that no measure was so likely to restore courage and confidence to the disheartened troops, as to place them under the command of their future sovereign, already conspicuous for strength of mind, a cultivated understanding, and a soul undaunted by danger. Called by his illustrious birth to the protection of kingdoms, two of whose crowns he already wore, the sight of a prince, so deservedly cherished for his talents and virtues, would give vigour and animation to every enterprize, and extinguish at once that fatal jealousy, which had rendered the wisest projects abortive. It might indeed be objected, that Ferdinand III. was as yet a novice in the science of war, that he wanted maturity of judgment, and was totally unacquainted with active service. These, however, they said, were defects which must daily diminish, and might be totally obviated by a prudent selection of military advisers, who under cover of his authority might direct the operations of the different armies; and, while they guided his inexperience, might restrain his impetuosity.†

However urgent the motive alleged by the secret partizans of Spain in support of their opinion, various causes combined to prevent its adoption;

* Ferdinand's eldest son.

† Gualdo, i. 55. Puffendorf, iii. 52. Le Vassor, x. 64. Galetti, i. 256.

and it is probable, that the jealousy entertained by a despot toward his successor, was by no means the least preponderant. The hazard of confiding the fate of Austria to a prince destitute of experience in military affairs, was forcibly painted by the numerous friends, who still adhered to the fortunes of Wallenstein. Neither was the expense incidental to a royal establishment a trifling objection in the impoverished state of the imperial finances; because those sums might be more profitably expended, in procuring troops to replenish the chasms occasioned in every regiment by the rashness of Tilly. The imprudence of exposing the presumptive heir of so many crowns to the perils of war, afforded additional matter for animadversion. Even supposing the King of Hungary to be actually endowed with every brilliant quality which his fondest admirers could desire, still a most important consideration remained; because it was not only necessary to provide a commander, but an army was also required. Since the Duke of Friedland's deposition, the imperial generals had acted without concord and energy. No undertaking had prospered, as if Providence had intended to make the emperor sensible of his error. Since that unfortunate period Ferdinand had been reduced to the degrading necessity of depending chiefly upon the activity of his allies, instead of dictating laws with uncontrolled authority to all the members of the Germanic constitution. To extricate him from a situation no less disgraceful than dangerous, a powerful army was wanting; but where were the resources to be found?* One man only was eu-

* The distress of Ferdinand is thus eloquently painted by Pietro Pomo:

dowed with talents adequate to contend against the northern conqueror; one man only was qualified to surmount every obstacle by the transcendent powers of his genius; but that man had been, unfortunately, driven from the service with marks of indignity, which it was hardly possible for a mind, so feelingly alive to the most romantic sentiments of honour, to consign to lasting oblivion.

These arguments were calculated to make a strong impression both upon the heart and the understanding of Ferdinand. Yet, notwithstanding he was ready to acknowledge his indiscretion, in having deprived himself of the services of Wallenstein, he hesitated to take the only step which appeared likely to retrieve his affairs. Pride revolted at the thought of gratuitously exposing the imperial dignity to the disgrace of a refusal: neither was he totally insensible to the artful insinuations of the Spanish faction, who endeavoured to alarm his suspicious temper by a thousand chimeras. Friedland's haughty character, they said, had alienated the affections of the whole German people, and was supremely odious to the electors; it could not be expected, therefore, that the Duke of Bavaria would patiently endure the exaltation of a man, no less remarkable for the unbending arrogance of his disposition, and the implacable violence of his resentments, than for the extent and splendour of his mental endowments. The friendship of Maximilian was too valuable to be slighted; because, if seriously offended, his correspondence with France, which hitherto had been confined to secondary objects,

"L'erario esausto, le provincie distrutte, gl'amici sospetti, i sudditi disleali, angustie d'ognu' intorno, è difficoltà," 61.

might terminate in a definitive treaty. They farther contended, that it would be highly imprudent to commit the destinies of Austria to the integrity of a man who had been so grievously offended, and whose recent behaviour was of a nature to excite the strongest suspicion of his being actually engaged in a traitorous correspondence with the Saxons, and even of having excited them to undertake the invasion of Bohemia.*

Wallenstein, who was minutely informed of every thing that passed in the imperial cabinet, perceived that the moment was at length arrived for gratifying his pride and his resentment. Fortune had avenged his wrongs by a series of disasters, which progressively assailed the Austrian monarchy with continually accumulating disgrace. Removed at a distance from the splendid theatre, where riches and renown were the rewards of success, his haughty soul contemplated with sullen delight the downfall of an edifice which he had contributed to raise, but which he was no longer permitted to support; while under the pompous display of theatrical dignity, he studiously concealed the desperate designs which he revolved in his distempered imagination. Though a prey to the torments of disappointed ambition, and burning with impatience for the delightful period, when the humiliation of an ungrateful master might afford him ample revenge, he affected the utmost indifference for all political transactions, declaring, that he had never enjoyed substantial happiness, till he tasted the charms of domestic retirement. All the favours conferred by the imperial court, exalted rank, unbounded wealth, and even

* Galetti, i. 256. Schiller, iii.

the splendour of a ducal crown, when weighed in the scale of vanity, were regarded as recompenses inadequate to his deserts; while his important services presented themselves, through the delusive medium of pride, under forms of gigantic magnitude. The unmerited treatment which he had received from Ferdinand cancelled all former obligations, and rendered retaliation a paramount duty. Occupied incessantly with the chimeras of a waking dream, and believing every thing attainable by perseverance and courage, his enthusiastic fancy was neither dismayed nor astonished by the vastness of a conception, but indulged itself in fabricating plans so extravagant, that they might have been mistaken for the visions of frenzy.

The unbridled authority which he had formerly exercised at the head of the Austrian armies proved sufficient to content his most inordinate wishes; because, while he was suffered to trample upon all the princes of the empire, he totally forgot that there existed a superior, whose mandate he was bound to obey, till the blow inflicted by the diet of Ratisbonne dispelled the flattering vision, and awakened him to a sense of dependance. While possessed of power, scarcely inferior to that of the emperor, he consecrated his sword to the sustentation of despotism, satisfied with the honour (or rather the infamy) of occupying the most distinguished place among its numerous champions. But no sooner did he feel the sting, which he had so often inflicted upon others, than contemplating tyranny with the indignation of a patriot, he secretly resolved to overturn the idol, whose motions he was no longer permitted to direct.*

* Galetti, 254.

With a mind unalterably bent upon revenge, he no sooner heard of the victorious progress of Gustavus, than he earnestly strove to obtain his esteem, and employed Thurn as an agent in that intricate negotiation. Through him he assured the king, that if would detach fifteen thousand troops into Bohemia, he (Wallenstein) would raise an equal number at his own expense; and, putting himself at the head of the united force, would engage, in the course of a single campaign, to wrest that kingdom, together with Moravia, from the dominion of Austria, and even to drive the emperor out of Germany. In return, he asked to retain, during life, the ducal title of Mecklenburg, in addition to his Bohemian estates; and farther, required the King of Sweden to guarantee to him the uninterrupted possession of all the territories which he might eventually subjugate in the prosecution of hostilities.*

Undazzled by the brilliancy of an offer, by which, if successful, Austria would have been degraded to the rank of a secondary power, Gustavus proceeded with his wonted caution; and, in spite of the intreaties and protestations of Thurn, continued equally to question the practicability of the enterprise and the sincerity of its author. Unwilling, however, irreparably to offend the implacable duke, he confined himself to expressing, in general terms, the high admiration which his talents inspired, assuring him, that he should be happy, upon all occasions, to contribute to his aggrandisement.† Delighted at a message, which was merely complimentary, Wallenstein repeated the offer after the

* Khevenhüller, xii. 1110. Schmidt, v. 6.

† Ibid.

battle of Leipsic; when he discovered, to his disappointment, that the wary conqueror was too prudent to confide in the fidelity of a person, who courted his alliance by proclaiming himself a traitor. But, as Gustavus was desirous of continuing upon terms of friendship with a man, whose talents he admired, though possibly without duly appreciating them, he endeavoured to soften the refusal by studied apologies, expressing much regret that the losses which he had sustained would not allow of his detaching more than two regiments. It must be acknowledged, that the king seems entirely to have mistaken the character of Wallenstein, and to have regarded him in the light of a desperate adventurer, rash enough to set fame and fortune on every throw, and constantly indulging in chimerical projects, which he wanted resources, and perhaps inclination, to realize. Convinced of his error, he attempted in vain to renew the correspondence; the decisive moment had been suffered to escape, and Friedland's pride was too deeply wounded for him ever to forget, or even to pardon, the indifference with which he had been treated.*

Though frustrated in his expectations of support from Sweden, Wallenstein could not relinquish his schemes of revenge; but turned towards Saxony, whose assistance might afford the two-fold gratification of punishing both Gustavus and Ferdinand. It appears, indeed, that his correspondence with Arnheim had never been interrupted, and the knowledge which he possessed of the elector's character left little doubt on his mind that he would catch, with eagerness, at any proposal which tended to li-

* Khevenhüller, xii. 1110. Schmidt, v. 6.

berate him from every engagement which necessity had compelled him to contract. After detaching John George from his connexion with Sweden, he foresaw the possibility of forming an independent party in Germany, whose proceedings he doubted not to be able to guide by the preponderating influence of genius.

Specious, however, as this project appeared, an army was required for its execution devoted to its commander with obsequious attachment, and ready to support him against every competitor: but how was it possible to assemble such an army, without exciting suspicions of disaffection? No hope, therefore, presented itself, of ultimate success, unless he should once more be placed at the head of the Austrian forces, and commissioned to recruit for the imperial service. Pride, however, forbade him to solicit the appointment; because, independently of the humiliation to which it would expose him, he could never expect voluntarily to be invested with that unlimited authority, which appeared essential to the accomplishment of his vast designs. Fully satisfied that nothing, except the extremest peril, would overcome the emperor's scruples, or induce Spain and Bavaria to consent to his elevation, he resolved, by secretly favouring the projects of the enemy, to augment the embarrassment of Ferdinand. Hence there is great reason for believing, that the invasion of Bohemia, by the Saxons, was undertaken with his approbation, if not at his request. It was also generally supposed, that in an interview with Arnheim, at the castle of Kautz, he explained to his friend the extent of his projects, and even traced out a plan for their attain-

ment.* Meanwhile, his partisans were employed at Vienna in expatiating upon every topic most likely to irritate the public feelings, or to add to the general consternation; not forgetting to dwell upon the incapacity of the commanders, and the imprudence of Ferdinand, in displacing a hero, to whose triumphant car victory had been inseparably chained. "Had the Duke of Friedland continued at the head of our armies, these disasters would never have happened," exclaimed the credulous populace in every street; and their remarks were repeated with venal exaggeration by the courtiers in the imperial palace.

No artifices, however, were any longer required, to make the emperor sensible of his error; because repeated defeats had illustrated his folly in language too plain to be mistaken. Neither did it require much rhetoric to convince him, that Wallenstein was the only person capable of repairing his misfortunes. The enormous riches which he possessed, the rapidity with which he had formerly assembled an army, supported entirely by his own resources, without ever recurring to the imperial treasury, and the zeal with which he vindicated, upon every occasion, the honour and dignity of the imperial crown, had made a lasting impression upon Ferdinand. Yet still the struggle between pride and interest was highly painful; and it required no inconsiderable share of magnanimity, for a monarch educated in all the lofty prejudices of the court of Madrid, so far to subdue his natural character, as to supplicate the assistance of an offended subject. Yet, notwithstanding

* Gualdo, i. 91. Schmidt, v. 6.

the opposition of the Spanish ambassador, and the dread of displeasing Maximilian, Ferdinand yielded at length to the suggestions of reason, and empowered Wallenstein's friends to negotiate for his return.

Thoroughly acquainted with all the transactions of the Austrian cabinet, the Duke of Friedland resolved to satiate his inordinate pride. The hour of retribution, after which he had long and ineffectually panted, was now arrived, and his imperious soul exulted at the prospect of asserting the well-founded superiority of genius over the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune. He accordingly received with affected indifference the first proposals which were brought by his cousin, Maximilian Wallenstein, whom Ferdinand had selected as a person most acceptable to his illustrious relative, and supposed to be honoured with his unlimited confidence.

With preconcerted eloquence, Friedland expatiated upon the delights of retirement, protesting that, till he had relinquished all political occupations, he had been a stranger to real felicity. To his enemies, he said, he felt greatly indebted, because they had taught him to value the only blessings which can alleviate the burthen of life; for without their malicious attack, he should never have tasted the pleasures of independence, and those refined gratifications which a cultivated understanding must ever derive from consecrating superfluous riches to the improvement of agriculture, the patronage of the arts, and the encouragement of genius in all its ardent and various pursuits. These tranquil enjoyments induced him to look down with merited contempt on the phantom glory, which he had formerly worshipped with almost idolatrous

devotion. Fortunately, however, he had discovered his error before it was too late to relieve it ; and he solemnly protested, that nothing should tempt him, during the remaining period of life, to sacrifice tranquillity to popular admiration, or, what was still more precarious, to royal favour. For these reasons he declined, though with the strongest expressions of gratitude and respect, an invitation from Ferdinand to Vienna ; but, after much persuasion, he consented to remove to Znaim, in Moravia, that he might receive the emperor's orders more expeditiously.*

Questenberg and Wertemberg, who had formerly been chosen to convey the intelligence of his disgrace, were now selected for the more welcome office of appeasing the implacable temper of Wallenstein. The humiliation of Ferdinand, however, was so gratifying to his vanity, that all their solicitations were unavailing. Neither was the authority offered him sufficiently extensive to satisfy his unbounded ambition. The ill-judging jealousy of the imperial ministers had nearly frustrated the negotiation at its commencement ; for though they could not but know that his haughty spirit would disdain the idea of subordination, they imprudently attempted to control his power, by proposing, that the heir of the Austrian monarchy should be permitted to study the science of war under a master of such consummate ability. Indignant at a scheme, of which he instantly penetrated the real motive, he declared his resolution never to accept of a divided command. " Do not suppose," said he, unable to check the impetuosity of his temper,

* Galetti, i. 256. Harte, ii. 102. Le Vassor, x. 66. Burgus, 280.

“ that I am so easily deceived. Is the emperor still such a stranger to my character, that he can believe me capable of degrading my honour? Can he suppose, that I will suffer another to enjoy the fame of victories, the result of my combinations and fatigues? If such be his opinion, he mistakes me strangely. No; were the Almighty Ruler of the universe to descend from heaven to command an army, the Duke of Friedland would scorn to become his lieutenant.”

This haughty reply convincing Ferdinand that Wallenstein's services were to be purchased only by the most humiliating concessions, he instantly dispatched his confidential minister, with permission to subscribe to any conditions, not totally inconsistent with the imperial dignity: the long intimacy which had subsisted between Eggenberg and Friedland gave additional weight to his endeavours. Yet notwithstanding he alternately chided and caressed; now extolled the transcendent talents of his friend with exaggerated commendation, now censuring his obstinacy for refusing to shield his expiring country from absolute ruin, and even condescended to humble the imperial sceptre at the feet of a Bohemian baron, Wallenstein still continued inexorable. With truth Eggenberg protested, that notwithstanding appearances, Ferdinand had never ceased to regard him as the champion and the ornament of Germany; and of this favourable opinion he actually gave him the most unequivocal proof, in wishing to confide the safety of the empire to his superior genius. “ It would,” continued he, with increasing animation, “ be a sacrifice truly worthy of a soul that emulates the splendour of Roman magnanimity, to immolate re-

sentment at the shrine of patriotism. It is by the lustre of his actions that the Duke of Friedland ought to silence the imputations of calumny. A victory like this over offended pride is the brightest triumph which a hero can obtain, and is the only thing wanting to transmit the name of Wallenstein to the latest posterity, with unrivalled glory, as the saviour of Germany.*

These humiliating condescensions appearing an ample atonement for every injury, the indignant chieftain ultimately yielded with affected reluctance to the pressing solicitations of his friend. Too artful, however, to extricate an ungrateful master from all his embarrassments, by an act of unqualified generosity, he acceded only in part to the emperor's request; in order, by apparent indecision, to enhance the value of the service, which still remained to be performed. He accordingly signified his determination to accept the command for the short period of three months, during which he undertook to raise, and to organize an army; but positively refused to charge himself with the direction of any military operations, or even to receive the smallest recompense for his exertions; desiring that the enormous salary destined for his remuneration might be appropriated to warlike preparations.

The minister of Ferdinand was so entirely satisfied that his friend's resolution was not to be shaken, that he desisted from farther persuasion, and returned to Vienna to communicate to the emperor the result of the negociation. But that prince's condition was now so desperate, that he regarded

* Schmidt, v. 6.

even the momentary acquisition of Wallenstein's services as an object of serious triumph.

Such indeed to Wallenstein it proved in reality ; and he now looked forward with confidence to the speedy accomplishment of his most chimerical wishes. By the formation of an army, strong enough to cope with the northern conqueror, he flattered himself to display to the astonished world the magnitude of his resources, and to convince mankind that the preservation of the Austrian monarchy depended upon the caprice of a subject. He was perfectly certain that an army, created by the magical influence of his own popularity, could be kept together by no power less impulsive than that by which it was originally organized ; and he felt that the consciousness of this important secret must necessarily constrain the emperor to subscribe implicitly to every condition which his vanity might hereafter exact.*

Elated at contemplating the unbounded prospect which opened to his ambition, Friedland exerted all the energies of his active mind to realize a promise, which to the generality of mankind appeared unattainable, and which even Gustavus ridiculed as fantastic. The machinery of the undertaking however had been long prepared, and nothing was required except to set the different wheels in motion. No sooner was it known that Wallenstein had resumed the command, than officers of experience came flocking in crowds from the remotest provinces, to seek fame and fortune under so renowned a leader. Many of them had partaken in his former victories, and knew from experience

* 1631. Schmidt, v. 6. Galetti, i. 257.

that if he punished misconduct with more than Roman severity, he recompensed merit with at least equal profusion. Delighted at finding himself still an object of admiration to his ancient companions in glory, he received with benignity their offers of service, recalled to their recollection a thousand dangers which they had shared together, spoke with enthusiasm of various actions in which their valour or intelligence had been displayed, and even won them for ever by the magnificence of his promises, of which he was no less liberal than of his praises. The poor he assisted with presents, the rich he encouraged by the hope of renown, thus engaging many to levy regiments at their own expense, upon the assurance of obtaining the command. In the appointment of officers, he wisely abolished all sectarian distinctions, inquiring only into the talents of those who sought promotion, without attending to their religious opinions. By augmenting the pay of the common soldiers, he enticed thousands to his standard, who preferred the rapid emoluments of plunder to the tardy returns of husbandry, rendered still more precarious by martial visitations.* Convinced that nothing could be effected of permanent utility without the most absolute devotion from all his followers, he threw aside that unsocial and forbidding austerity, which, though it created respect, could never inspire affection; conversing with the officers in a

* Schildknecht, who served as an engineer in the Swedish army, in his ingenious treatise upon Fortification informs us, that the following expeditious method was employed by Wallenstein's officers for raising recruits. "Ils entroient chez les particuliers, et mettoient sur une table de l'argent et une corde, on n'avoit que la choix, ou de prendre parti, ou de se faire pendre."—Francheville *Tableau Militaire*. 249.

tone of familiarity more captivating from its being unusual.*

Neither was he less actively occupied in various negotiations with foreign powers for procuring assistance in men and in money. From the Duke of Lorraine he received the strongest assurance of speedy and efficacious support, procured a considerable reinforcement of cossacs from Poland, and collected arms and ammunition from Italy. Before three months were expired, forty thousand men were actually assembled in Moravia,† provided abundantly with military stores, and panting for the signal of glory.

During the eventful period which this enterprising chieftain had allotted for the regeneration of the Austrian forces, his bosom was torn by every tumultuous passion which follows in the train of ambition. At one moment he contemplated the arduous undertaking with the despondency of superstition, alarmed by some sinister occurrence, which credulity treated as ominous; but if Seni encouraged him by the cheering assurance that the constellations announced a propitious result, he anticipated with rapture the delightful moment, when he should be enabled to hurl defiance against all his enemies from the throne of Bohemia.

‡ The promises of Wallenstein having been com-

* Sarrasin *Conspiration de Valstein*, 99. This entertaining production has been treated by Harte in the light of a romance, but I can discover no greater reason to question its authenticity than that of the *Catilinarian conspiracy* so beautifully described by Sallust.

† Gallas was second in command, and under him served Montecuculi, Tieffenbach, Balthazar di Marradas, Holk, Tertzky, Piccolomini, and Isolani.—Harte, ii. 105.

‡ Though Wallenstein was not invested with the supreme command till the following spring (1632), yet I am unwilling to sacrifice the advantages of connexion even to chronological precision.

pletely realized before the period allotted for his retirement, he intreated the emperor to name a commander, into whose hands he might resign the authority. He was however fully aware, that in making the offer, he ran no risk of its being accepted; for so devotedly was the army attached to its leader, that the moment it had been deprived of the vivifying influence of that extraordinary man, to whose exertions it owed its existence, it would have disappeared like a magical phantom. Scarcely an officer could be found upon whose affections he had not a powerful hold, either by the grateful recollection of former favours, or the still firmer bond of recent obligations. Many of the regiments were commanded by his relations, or dependents; the most confidential of whom were entrusted with the superintendence of several battalions, upon the plausible pretexts of reducing expense, and of training the recruits with greater facility.*

No sooner however was his inclination for retirement made known at Vienna, than the ambassadors of Spain and Bavaria exhorted the emperor to accept his resignation; the former with a view of placing at the head of the Austrian armies a prince whom, by the influence of an amiable consort, they accepted implicitly to govern; while the latter was actuated by the dread of being exposed to the resentment of an all-powerful rival. This advice was supported by various arguments, which it is unnecessary now to repeat, because they differed in no material point from those employed by the enemies of Wallenstein in order to prevent his recal.

* Sarrasin, 90.

No reasons however were capable of producing the smallest effect, when opposed to the torrent, which threatened to overwhelm the Austrian monarchy, and to sap the foundations of the orthodox church. Such at least it appeared to the desponding emperor, who justly attributed the opposition of Maximilian to interested motives; persuaded that the elector would willingly hazard the existence of the imperial crown, provided the sacrifice was likely to conduce to the preservation of his personal authority. An intercepted letter is supposed to have fallen into Ferdinand's hands, from which it clearly appeared, that a negotiation was carrying on between Sweden and Bavaria; and this discovery excited a suspicion, that the principal motive which impelled the latter to oppose the reinstatement of Wallenstein, was the apprehension that the vigilance of a wary politician might create additional obstacles to his treachery.

Convinced that nothing short of the extremest distress could have tempted Ferdinand to restore him to power, and no less satisfied that the moment the storm should be dissipated he would be immolated to the jealousy of his enemies, Friedland determined to profit by the favourable conjuncture, and establish his authority upon a foundation so solid, that it might set envy and ingratitude at defiance. Adhering pertinaciously to this resolution, he rejected every overture successively made, till the humiliated emperor was reduced to the necessity of granting every demand, however extravagant, which the presumption of Wallenstein imposed. Thinking nothing too degrading to pacify the hero on whom the safety of his dominions depended, Ferdinand sent a deputation to Znaim.

At the head of the mission was placed the Prince of Eggenberg, accompanied by the metropolitan of Austria, a respectable prelate, and by Chiroga, a Spanish capuchin of insinuating manners, an intriguing character, and eminently gifted with the versatile talents of a negotiator.

The same farce that had been acted during the former conference was repeated with still greater affectation, till Eggenberg's patience being completely exhausted, he warned him of the danger to which his obstinacy might expose him. "The emperor," he said "had offered every atonement, which the most delicate honour could require; and should he find his concessions treated with disdain, a due regard for the dignity of the imperial crown might compel to adopt a different system, in order to convince the world that he was not unable to punish, though he greatly preferred to reward."*

Wallenstein, whose extensive estates were for the most part situated in the Austrian provinces, was fully aware that the menace might easily be carried into execution. It was not however to fear that he yielded, but to the certain conviction, that the terror inspired by the victories of Gustavus had effaced every scruple from the bosom of Ferdinand.

In order to preclude the possibility of future misunderstanding, Eggenberg requested his friend to specify his pretensions in writing, assuring him that the emperor would readily accede to any proposals which might appear essential to his future

* Schiller, iii. *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 468.

security. Studious to avoid the imputation of pre-meditated presumption, Wallenstein demanded a day for reflection, at the expiration of which he delivered a paper to the following purport :

In the first place, he required the most unlimited authority over all the troops employed in Germany, of whatever nation they might be composed, together with the amplest power to punish, or remunerate, without ever becoming responsible for his actions. He positively insisted, that neither the emperor, nor the King of Hungary, should visit the army, nor in any way interfere with his military arrangements; and that the former should engage neither to pardon an offence, to bestow a gratification, nor even to fill up a vacancy, without having previously obtained his consent. As a remuneration for his services, he claimed the reversion of some Austrian principality, as well as the entire disposal of all the confiscated property, with full permission to appropriate to his private emoluments the territories which he expected to conquer, without being subject to the jurisdiction of the aulic council, or of any other tribunal whatsoever. He farther demanded a solemn promise, that peace should never be concluded without his approbation; that his own re-establishment in the duchy of Mecklenberg should be made an indispensable article in the treaty; that every requisition he might make for pecuniary supplies should be instantly complied with; and that, in case of necessity, the hereditary dominions of Austria should be open to his retreat.*

* Schimdt, v. 6. Galetti, i. 259. Puffendorf, iii. 52. Swed. Intell. i. 225. Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 469. Theatr. Europ. ii. 597. Burgus, 284. Pietro Pomo, 52. Siri. Mem. Recond, vii. 454.

In vain did the negociators endeavour to mitigate these exorbitant terms, which they knew, if acceded to, would create an authority no less absolute than that which, in moments of imminent peril, the Romans invested a dictator. To all their arguments, however, he contented himself with opposing the difficulties of his own situation, and the danger which threatened his country. Decision and vigour, he said, were essentially requisite for the preservation of the empire; and how could either be expected, unless the authority of the commander should be uncontrolled. Should the King of Hungary be allowed to join the army, it would be totally inconsistent with his exalted rank to fill any, except the highest station; and to entrust an inexperienced youth with the conduct of the war, would be no less inconsistent with prudence. The absolute disposal of all confiscated property, as well as the power to punish, or reward, was equally essential to future success. The emperor might, otherwise, be misled by artful suggestions, to pardon transgressions which admitted not of extenuation, or to leave meritorious service unrequited; thus paralyzing the operations of hope and fear—those powerful incitements to heroic exertion. Few men, he contended, were induced to submit to the fatigues and privations of a military life from the love of glory alone; on the contrary, avarice and ambition were the ordinary motives which impelled them to sacrifice their health, their comforts, and even their existence, in the pursuit of riches and power. By constantly presenting to their dazzled imaginations wealth and honours, as the rewards of exertion, they were rendered capable of the most hazardous enterprizes; while the

assurance, that a speedy and ignominious death would be the inevitable consequence of indiscipline, and disobedience, prevented them from becoming robbers and assassins.

These reasons were plausible; but had they even been destitute of all appearance of speciousness, the agents of Ferdinand would have been equally constrained to submit without farther hesitation.

Notwithstanding the emperor was tempted to ratify this preposterous treaty, it is probable that his imperious temper never cordially pardoned the bitter humiliation attending it, though he concealed his resentment with studied composure beneath the insidious veil of hypocrisy. In every province of his extensive dominions public prayers and processions were solemnly enjoined for the purpose of propitiating Heaven, and drawing down its benediction upon the efforts of a warrior, whose success would have proved the destruction of Austria.* Too enlightened to believe that the sluggish virtues of a monk can be grateful to a Being, who destined the first and noblest of his creatures to the highest attainments by industry and perseverance, Wallenstein resolved to merit the favour of Providence by proceedings more rational than the pageantries of Rome; convinced that they only are likely to be crowned with laurels, who deserve them by the sagacity with which their expeditions are planned, and by the energy with which they are executed.

Though the pride of Spain was deeply offended

* Ipse (Ferdinandus) aliorum exemplo, intecto capite, pede, pia majestate supplicationibus adesse, templa visitare, sacris concionibus, ecclesiasticisque omnibus functionibus interesse.—Burgu, 286.

at beholding the paramount dignity of the imperial diadem prostrated before the footstool of arrogance; yet, being utterly incapable of providing a remedy against the impending danger, she prudently chose to make a merit of necessity, and accordingly sent the golden fleece as a token of profound veneration for the man, whom she would with pleasure have followed to the scaffold.

The appointment of the Duke of Friedland, like a magic spell, revived the drooping spirits of the soldiers; and his name in a moment became so popular, that even his vices were idolized, while the singularity of his character was regarded as a symptom of superior wisdom;* so true it is that eccentricity, by vulgar understandings, is almost always mistaken for genius.

* Sarrasin, 106. Khevenhiller, xii. 13. Schiller, iii.

CHAP. XIV.

Tilly, unable to face the Swedes, avails himself of their absence to plunder the Margraviate of Anspach; besieges Nuremberg, but is repulsed.—Progress of Gustavus in the Palatinate: he passes the Rhine in face of the Spanish army, and reduces all the contiguous fortresses; enters Mentz in triumph, where he establishes his head quarters, and renders it the centre of all political negociations.—Intrigues of the catholics to excite the jealousy of Louis XIII. frustrated by the ascendancy of Richelieu.—Gustavus proposes an interview with the King of France.—Negociations respecting the neutrality of Bavaria.—Ferdinand attempts a reconciliation with Saxony; and endeavours by flattery to prevent Maximilian from accepting the offers of Louis.—Gustavus receives the Elector Palatine with the greatest kindness and attention.—Banier gets possession of Magdeburg.—The King of Sweden enters at Nuremberg in triumph, and prepares for the invasion of Bavaria, whither Tilly had retired; takes Donauwerth, and advances to the Lech, where, finding the imperialists strongly posted, with a determination to oppose him, he forces a passage, after a sanguinary conflict, in which Tilly is slain.—Maximilian flies to Ingolstadt, where he is besieged by the Swedes. The French ambassador interposes in his favour.—Spirited reply of Gustavus to Charnacc. He enters Munich. His magnanimous behaviour when solicited to burn that wealthy city in retaliation for the destruction of Magdeburg. His brilliant position when compelled to march against Wallenstein.

THE acquisition of Francfort, without the necessity of firing a single cannon, produced compliments and congratulations from every quarter. These, however, were not always dictated by honest admiration; because the rapid progress of Gustavus had already created a serious alarm, even among those who possessed for him the warmest attachment. These princes of Hesse were impelled to worship the rising sun from opposite motives. William Landgrave of Cassel, a steady friend to civil and religious toleration, spoke the

language of truth when he offered up his prayers for the prosperity of Sweden; nor did he confine himself exclusively to barren vows; for he not only conducted a powerful reinforcement* to the camp of Gustavus, but contributed personally to the humiliation of Ferdinand, by reducing Minden, Göttingen, and Vacca. George, Landgrave of Damstadt, was of a different character. Notwithstanding his birth and education had rendered him adverse to the errors of popery, he secretly adhered to the Austrian interest, though he concealed his duplicity under the mask of patriotism, deluding the protestants with pacific overtures, and even with proposals for assembling a general congress, in which he offered to assume the office of mediator. Gustavus, who was thoroughly acquainted with his principles, received his professions with studied indifference; nor did he hesitate to tell him, that it would have been far more consistent with the dignity of an independent sovereign, to have united with the confederacy of Leipsic, instead of suffering himself to be diverted from the path of honour by the illusory promises of Ferdinand. In consideration, however, of his having espoused the daughter of the Elector of Saxony, he consented at length to his remaining neuter; and even dispensed with the payment of any military contribution, though he positively insisted, that a Swedish garrison should occupy the castle of Russenheim. †

Meanwhile Tilly exhausted his rage and disappointment in laying waste the Margraviate of Ans-

* According to Harte it amounted to 6,000 infantry, and nearly half that number of cavalry. ii. 96.

† 1631. Swed. Intell. ii. 40. Harte, ii. 96.

pach. Not satisfied with plundering the retreats of industry, the bigoted barbarian extended his profanation to the venerable mansions of the dead; the magnificent sepulchres, where the reigning family slept for generations, were inhumanly stripped of every tributary decoration, which pride or piety, or filial affection, had consecrated to the memory of their illustrious progenitors.

The misunderstanding, which had arisen between the generalissimo and Pappenheim, in consequence of the battle of Leipsic, made it impossible for them any more to act with concert. The latter, therefore, was sent with a separate command to oppose the Swedes in Westphalia, while the former attempted to draw Gustavus from the banks of the Rhine, by undertaking the siege of Nuremberg. To a summons to surrender, however, the governor replied by a general discharge of artillery. Convinced that it would be difficult to intimidate a man of so decided a character, and unwilling a second time to contend with Gustavus, who was actually on his march to Franconia, the imperial general thought fit to retire to the frontiers of Bohemia, under pretext of allowing his harassed troops a little repose.*

Being now delivered from all apprehensions on the side of the imperialists, the King of Sweden crossed the Mayne, and in a short time reduced that romantic tract of cultivated mountains, which is known in Germany by the appellation of Bergstrass, and which extends with little interruption from Darmstadt to Heidelberg. Before he ventured

to besiege the latter city, he deemed it essential to his future security to make himself master of Oppenheim; because, by affording a retreat to the Spanish forces, it enabled them to molest his operations. Previously, however, to commencing the siege, it was necessary for him to cross the Rhine; an enterprise not easily accomplished, as all the vessels in the vicinity had been destroyed by the enemy, who were strongly posted on the opposite bank, with the firm determination of disputing the passage. Hurried on by an impetuosity of temper, which too often disdained the control of prudence, he crossed the river in a little boat, in order to inspect the position of the enemy with greater precision; but scarcely had he landed, when he was suddenly attacked by a party of Spanish horse, from whom he escaped with the greatest difficulty. At length, however, by unremitting perseverance, he succeeded in procuring a couple of barges, capable of containing three hundred soldiers. Aware of his intention, the Spanish general permitted them to land without molestation,* and then assailed them with superior force; but, contrary to his expectation, this chosen band resisted the efforts of his heavy cavalry with such undaunted bravery, that they maintained their position till the king had time to arrive to their assistance. The passage of the Rhine, effected without the smallest loss, while it gave additional lustre to the Swedish arms, overwhelmed the imperialists with consternation. †

* A marble lion, with a casque on its head, and a naked sword in its right paw, was erected on the spot, as a memorial to posterity of this signal exploit.—Puffendorf, iii. 42. Khevenhiller, xi. 1905.

† Francheville, 362.—This author enters into an elaborate discussion in order to prove that the Spaniards never seriously contested the passage;

Considering flight to be their only resource, the troops of Lorraine evacuated Worms, after committing a thousand depredations; while the Spaniards sought shelter within the walls of Oppenheim and Frankenthal; the former of which, however, was taken by storm, after a long and gallant resistance.*

Not a moment was wasted by the Swedish monarch, which it was possible to employ to advantage. Preparations were therefore made, with unabating activity for the reduction of Mentz, where the flower of the Spanish army had retreated. For this purpose, the Landgrave of Cassel was directed to encamp on the right bank of the Rhine, in order to prevent supplies from being thrown into the city, while the Swedes invested it on the left. In this hopeless state the besieged at first displayed much resolution; and Don Philip Sylva, depending upon the valour of two thousand Walloons, who had been recently added to the electoral garrison, publicly boasted, that to himself and his gallant companions, was reserved the glory of prescribing bounds to the career of the northern conqueror.†

In order to prevent the approach of the vessels equipping at Francfort, a strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the Mayne where it empties it-

as that is the only cause which he is able to assign for its being accomplished so easily.

Swed. Intel. ii. 47.

† When asked by the elector if two thousand men would be equal to the defence of his capital, the haughty Castilian contemptuously replied; "Such a question, though pardonable in the mouth of a churchman, could never have been tolerated from a soldier. Your highness may repose in perfect security; for, with a garrison like that which I have the honour to command, I should not be afraid of three such kings as Gustavus."—Swed. Intel. 49.

self into the Rhine, and large fragments of rock were likewise sunk more effectually to obstruct the navigation. Yet, no sooner had the enemy advanced to the foot of the ramparts, than the confidence of the commander abated; no longer insensible to the dreadful destiny which awaited the inhabitants, should the victors be tempted to render the magnificent residence of an ecclesiastical elector a memorable example of justifiable vengeance, in retaliation for the cruelty of Tilly; Sylva proposed a capitulation, and shortly obtained from a generous conqueror permission to retire to Luxemburg.*

On the thirteenth of December, 1631, Gustavus entered in triumph, and fixed his residence in the electoral palace. Delighted with the romantic beauties of the scenery, no less than with the valuable booty which fell into his hands,† he strengthened the city with additional fortifications, which were carried to such an extent as to be capable of containing twenty thousand combatants. Bridges likewise were constructed over both the rivers, which unite under the walls of Mentz, to facilitate the communication with the adjacent country;‡ which, being supplied with every thing requisite for an army, the king prudently resolved to allow his troops a short relaxation after all their fatigues. Previously however to their entering into winter quarters, the Hes-

* Gualdo, i. 74. Puffendorf, iii. 42. Galetti, i. 222.

† It consisted of eighty pieces of artillery, besides an immense supply of ammunition and provisions. A contribution amounting to 80,000 florins was imposed upon the citizens, exclusively of the Jews and clergy, who were compelled to purchase redemption by an abundant sacrifice of superfluous wealth. The electoral library, a valuable collection, was intended as a present to the seminary at Westeraas, but was unfortunately lost in the Baltic.—Galetti, i. 222.

‡ Swedish Intelligencer, 51.

sians made themselves masters of Königstein, Reifenberg, and Falkenstein; while the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis a Swedish commander, after cutting off a detachment of Spanish cavalry, reduced all the country, between Poppart and Baccharach. The strong towns of Landau and Weissenburg declared in favour of the champion of protestantism; Spires offered him reinforcements as the price of neutrality,* while Manheim, surprised by Duke Bernard of Weimar, almost completed the conquest of the Palatinate †:

The king, having fixed his head quarters at Mentz, applied himself diligently to political affairs: For the first time, since his arrival in Germany, he displayed the magnificence of a royal establishment. His court became the centre of European negotiations, and was graced with the presence of five sovereign princes, besides a numerous train of ambassadors. Among the former the most conspicuous was the unfortunate exile, who once held the Bohemian sceptre; among the latter were Vane and Anstruther, as the representatives of Charles I. and de Brezè and Charnace as those of Louis XIII. Anstruther, whose object was avowedly to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, was received with distant civility; and dismissed without a satisfactory answer. The business of de Brezè, invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, on account of his connexion with Richelieu, ‡ requires farther explanation; because it conduces to shew,

* Swedish Intelligencer, 69.

† Ibid. Khevenhiller, xi. 1903.

‡ Whose sister he married.

that meanness and jealousy are usually the bane of all political confederacies.*

While the King of Sweden was occupied in subjugating the provinces contiguous to the Rhine, his enemies were endeavouring, by every artifice, to excite the pious scruples of Louis; and would unquestionably have succeeded in detaching him from a cause, which they represented as hateful in the eyes of the Almighty, had not their machinations been fortunately counteracted by the superior discernment of Richelieu. After having foolishly sacrificed his temporal emoluments to a blind attachment to Austria, the Bishop of Wurtzburg sought an asylum at Paris, where he availed himself of the plan adopted by Gustavus for humbling the League, to represent him as more inveterate toward the catholic church than Julian, Néro, or Dioclesian. It was generally expected that the Swedes would have directed the torrent of hostilities against the Elector of Bavaria, after reducing the circle of Franconia. But when the enlightened conqueror forsook the path which vulgar understandings had traced for his progress, few were able to penetrate his real designs; and being ashamed to acknowledge their want of capacity, they had recourse to explanations no less absurd than contradictory. The utter subversion of the catholic worship, and even the romantic project of marching to Rome, in order to expel the venerable successor of St. Peter, denominated the antichrist in his blasphemous vocabulary, from the throne of the apostles, as a prelude to rearing the empire of Theodoric, were among the

* The chief occupation of Charnace was to direct the presumptuous incapacity of his colleague.

folly attributed by the Jesuits and their partisans, to the most humane and most sagacious of heroes. As a step toward the completion of this impious enterprise, he was represented as carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the Calvinists in France, convinced that it would be impossible to accomplish his nefarious purpose, while a sovereign, devoted to the orthodox faith, should govern that powerful nation. They farther asserted, that his only object in crossing the Rhine, was to occupy a country, from which he might easily assist the malcontents when they should be prepared for an insurrection.* These insinuations were calculated to make a lasting impression upon the mind of a prince, who would have been regarded by posterity as one of the most despicable puppets which ever disgraced a crown, had he not been rescued from contempt by the genius of his minister. Too prudent to alarm the prejudices of his master by treating the faction with ridicule, the cardinal pretended to examine their allegations with cautious attention; and the result of his inquiry was a positive assurance, that nothing was to be apprehended for the internal tranquillity of his dominions.

No man knew better than Richelieu to disguise his feelings, when the occasion required hypocrisy; he accordingly received the German prelate with as many protestations of attachment toward the papal see, as if he had really believed the triple crown to be the firmest pillar of Christianity. His sovereign, he said, was so laudably devoted to the religion of his ancestors, that he would never hesi-

* Puffendorf, iv. 1.

tate to sacrifice even life itself in its defence, "This you may easily imagine," added the crafty statesman, "to be a sentiment which I zealously encourage. But if the German catholics are exposed to danger, it arises entirely from their own indiscretion. The humiliation of Austria (I speak with confidence) is the only object for which the King of Sweden contends; and if he occasionally directs his victorious army against any of the members of the Catholic League, it is because they have been the aggressors. By recalling their troops, and engaging to observe a strict neutrality, even the Duke of Bavaria, the head of the League, may depend upon receiving no farther injury. But if they persist in hostilities, either open or concealed, it is absurd for them to expect to escape with impunity. Cannot the catholic worship be supported in Germany, and even maintain its ancient pre-eminence, independently of the despotism of Ferdinand? True policy dictates a different system; and to set bounds to the extravagant pretensions of Austria, appears to me no less necessary to the happiness of all orthodox Christians, than it is essential to the disciples of Luther or Calvin."*

The cardinal's behaviour at this important crisis displays admirable prudence and sagacity. The clamour excited by the Jesuits, on account of the allegiance contracted by his Christian majesty with the avowed champion of heresy, however contemptible in the eyes of reason, was too loud and too prevalent to be despised by a man, decorated with the honours of the Roman purple. The offer of mediation so artfully made, served, however, to

* *Lc Vassor*, x. 74.

rescue the character of Richelieu from the charge of impunity, without forcing him to abandon the noble project which he had traced for the aggrandizement of his country. If he succeeded in persuading the members of the League to withdraw their contingents, a most important object would be attained ; because the emperor, thus deprived of all his allies, would be reduced to his hereditary resources ; while the King of Sweden would be enabled to employ his undivided efforts for the humiliation of a power, openly aiming at universal dominion. But even supposing the offer to be rejected, it was a point of infinite importance for France to have manifested to the world her inviolable attachment to the ancient religion ; in so doing she had fulfilled her duty to the utmost extent ; and in case the catholic princes should think proper to reject her advice, it was not to the indifference of Louis but to their own invincible obstinacy, that their ruin must be ascribed.*

This plan was embraced by Richelieu with greater ardour, because it tended to deliver him from the embarrassment occasioned by the pressing solicitations of Maximilian. For some time past that wary prince had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Louis, not totally consistent with his professions to Austria, but by which he hoped to secure under every reverse the electoral dignity to his descendants. Notwithstanding the specific object of this alliance was too clearly defined to admit of an equivocal interpretation, Maximilian endeavoured to extend its operation to his actual distress ; and as a necessary

* *Le Vassor*, x. 74.

consequence of this explanation, implored his assistance against Gustavus. The sagacity of Richelieu was not to be duped by insidious constructions, and he accordingly informed the Bavarian minister,* that the treaty was confined exclusively to Austria; was moreover merely defensive; whereas the difficulties, into which his master had fallen, were created entirely by his own inadvertence; for so long as his troops were employed against the Elector of Saxony, the ally of Sweden, it was in vain for him to hope for tranquillity. Unwilling, however, irrecoverably to offend the only German prince entitled to dispute the imperial crown in case of a vacancy, he promised to exert his utmost influence with the Swedish monarch, in order to induce him to consent to the neutrality of Bavaria. This offer, though highly advantageous, proved very inadequate to the elector's expectations, whose chief object was, by creating a coolness between the courts of Paris and Stockholm, to stop Gustavus in his rapid career.†

During the time employed in this delicate negotiation, the French court resided at Metz, where troops had been collected for the purpose of compelling the Duke of Lorraine to disband an army, supposed to have been assembled with the design of supporting the Duke of Orleans, at that moment at variance with his brother. Louis and Gustavus took advantage of their vicinity to address complimentary embassies to each other; but as the latter was averse to perform by delegation, what he could execute more expeditiously in

* Puffendorf, iv. 1.

† Le Vassor, x. 76.

person, he directed Horn to propose a personal interview as the surest means of preventing all future misunderstanding. This plan, though perfectly consistent with the habitual sincerity of the Swede, was by no means equally agreeable to his royal ally, who trembled at the idea of exposing himself to derision, by bringing his defects both mental and bodily,* in competition with the eloquence, and manly graces of a prince, so deservedly the idol of Europe. Brezè accordingly received instructions to elude the proposal; but finding himself unable to combat the arguments adduced by Gustavus, in support of his opinion, he indiscreetly attempted to screen his master's incapacity, by offending the pride of Gustavus. Pretending that the infirm constitution of Louis would make it dangerous for him to undertake a journey in the depth of winter, he ventured to request that Richelieu might be suffered to appear as his substitute. Gustavus took fire at the insinuation, not being accustomed to view the merits of the cardinal through the delusive medium of flattery. "Know, sir," said he indignantly, "that I hold myself inferior to no potentate in Christendom. If the king your master prefers to treat by the mouth of an agent, I will immediately dispatch a confidential servant to meet his minister.†"

* An unsurmountable defect in the organ of speech rendered the incapacity of Louis more palpable; because, even when he was master of any subject, a circumstance which did not often occur, he was seldom able to express himself intelligibly.

† The behaviour of this prince upon another occasion was equally dignified. Desirous of protecting the ecclesiastical states against the resentment of the Swedes, S. Etienne inadvertently dropped an expression which Gustavus interpreted into a menace. "Should your master," cried the monarch with honest pride, "be desirous of measuring his arms with

The brother-in-law of Richelieu now clearly discovered, that in spite of their discernment, neither the cardinal, nor father Joseph, had penetrated the real character of Gustavus.

When the question of neutrality came under discussion, still greater impediments arose. However urgent the motives which stimulated Louis to shield the catholics from the calamities of war, those which influenced Gustavus to withhold his consent were no less imperative. Convinced by irrefragable proofs that the animosity of the League toward the protestant religion was irreconcilable, and their attachment to Ferdinand too deeply rooted to yield to persuasion, Gustavus felt that he had less to dread from their open hostility, than from their clandestine intrigues, if they were allowed to conceal their insidious attacks under the ambiguous cloak of neutrality. Besides, as he was compelled to provide resources for the prosecution of hostilities at the expense of his enemies, he clearly subjected himself to great inconvenience, by consenting to diminish the number of his foes without augmenting that of his allies.

Being anxious, however, to manifest to the world a pacific disposition, he traced the outline of a plan upon which alone he consented to admit the neutrality of Bavaria. The terms prescribed, though undoubtedly severe, were nevertheless such as a victor might be expected to impose. In the first place, he insisted that Maximilian, as well as all the other members of the Catholic League, should

mine, he shall be spared the trouble of a long and difficult march; for I will meet him, at the head of a hundred thousand men, under the walls of his capital.—*Le Vassor*, x. 103. *Puffendorf* relates the same anecdote, but supposes the reprimand to have been addressed to Brezé, iv. 1.

restore to the protestants whatever they had usurped since the commencement of the troubles in Bohemia; that they should reduce their forces to twelve thousand men, and employ them solely for the protection of their own dominions: he further required, that the disbanded troops should not be permitted to enter into the service of Austria; and, that Ferdinand should no longer be suffered to recruit in the territories of those princes who professed themselves neuter; neither should an asylum be granted to his armies.* From the benefit of this treaty the Bishop of Bamberg was expressly excluded, because he had particularly incurred the conqueror's displeasure by premeditated perfidy.

Degrading as these conditions must appear to a prince so lately the head of a powerful party; yet so distressing was the situation to which Maximilian was reduced, that the French plenipoten-

* 1632. Swed. Intell. ii. 62. Puffendorf, iv. 1.

Some authors pretend that he submitted to De Brezé a plan for a general peace, but some of the articles are sufficiently extravagant to warrant a suspicion that they were fabricated by his enemies for the purpose of alarming the protestants. The silence of Puffendorf seems to confirm this opinion. I allude particularly to the following; by the first of which he stipulated for his own succession to the imperial throne in case of a vacancy; and by the second insisted, that all the chapters should be composed equally of protestants and of catholics. The other conditions were such as the good sense and humanity of the Swedish monarch would have naturally inspired; viz. that the edict of restitution should be repealed; the free exercise of their religion confirmed to the protestants; the ancient constitution of Bohemia restored; and the exiles reinstated in full possession of their sequestered estates. For the Elector Palatine he positively demanded his dominion and dignities; and, farther insisted, that the city of Augsburg should be permitted to establish that form of government which the majority of its inhabitants should approve; and, lastly, that the Jesuits should be banished as public incendiaries, and their possessions divided among the other orders.—Harte, ii. 139. Khevenhiller, xii. 86. Theatrum Europe, 562.

tiary by no means despaired of inducing him to accept them ; and he even prevailed upon Gustavus to consent to a truce, in order that time might be allowed for making the attempt. As the King daily received the most satisfactory accounts respecting the progress of the negociation, this delay might have been attended with serious consequences, had not an intercepted letter, from the Elector to Pappenheim, furnished indisputable proofs of Maximilian's insincerity ;* and clearly evinced, that his only motive for carrying on a negociation, was to gain time to complete his preparations.

The Elector of Treves proved more successful in his attempts at neutrality, because his situation was too critical to admit of duplicity. The negociation, notwithstanding, had nearly failed through the indiscretion of the prelate, who being previously assured of the good offices of Richelieu, assumed a tone too lofty for a supplicant. Though deeply mortified at beholding his dominions a prey to the rapacious insolence of the Spaniards, his bigotry was still more alarmed at the idea of confiding his capital to the precarious honour of a heretic.† In this perplexing dilemma he threw himself upon the protection of France, whose enlightened minister caught with avidity at an opportunity of extending her influence in Germany. A numerous army was accordingly assembled for the defence of the electorate, at

* Khevenhiller, xii. 76.

Speaking of the dukes of Bavaria, an illustrious statesman says, with equal ingenuity and truth, *La géographie les ampeche d'être honnetes gens.* Memoires du Prince Eugene, 15. It is scarcely possible for any remark to be more accurate, because it was not only applicable to the author's cotemporaries, but has proved prophetically descriptive of the political conduct of their posterity.

† Lotichius, l. 391.

the approach of which the Spaniards retired. Still, however, the principal object by which the fugitive sovereign was supposed to have been actuated, had completely failed, because Gustavus refused to ratify the treaty till all his requisitions were obeyed.*

The cabinet of Vienna grew seriously alarmed at the intercourse subsisting between the courts of Munich and of Paris; apprehensive that if Maximilian should abandon the contest, his example would be followed by the other members of the confederacy. But when the elector discovered that the influence of Richelieu with the Swedish monarch was too limited to ensure the safety of Bavaria, and that so far from attending to the remonstrances of France, Gustavus announced his intention of reinstating the palatine, he immediately dispatched a minister to Vienna, with positive instructions to conclude a treaty upon the most advantageous conditions which could be obtained. For as he foresaw the possibility of losing the palatinate, he was eager to extort from his ancient friend a renewal of the security formerly granted upon the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Conscious that his master's conduct was not exempt from duplicity, Donnersberg endeavoured to obliterate the unfavourable impression by the warmest assurances of attachment, protesting solemnly, that Maximilian had never departed in the minutest article from his original professions, though he admitted that events had recently occurred calculated to excite unfavourable suspicions. He frankly acknowledged that Wallenstein's elevation had proved highly disagreeable to his master, be-

* Puffendorf, iv. 2. Khevenhiller, xii. 76. Swed. Intell. ii. 71.

cause as that general had been deposed by the advice of the diet, he ought not to have been reinstated without their consent. His confidence, however, in the emperor's justice continued still so unbounded, that he was disposed to attribute this hasty resolution to necessity alone, not doubting that proper instructions would be given, in order to secure the safety and tranquillity of Bavaria.

Thus far the demands deserved serious attention, but the main object of the embassy was far more objectionable, because it was difficult to suppose that Austria would consent to alienate any part of her extensive dominions, either to indemnify Maximilian for the expenses of the war or to compensate the loss of the palatinate. A question so delicate required to be treated with the utmost precaution, and Dohnersberg accordingly referred his claim to the generosity of Ferdinand, offering, as an additional incentive, the entire disposal of the Bavarian forces, and magnifying the services which the elector had rendered, in having summoned the nobility to arm their vassals, and fortified every place by which it was practicable for the enemy to penetrate into Austria.*

However gratifying these offers might have formerly appeared to the imperial ministers, they lost much of their value upon the present occasion, from being evidently dictated by necessity. Convinced that it was no longer practicable for Maximilian to abandon Austria, without exposing himself to inevitable ruin, they advised their sovereign in his reply to confine himself entirely to ambiguous professions, but studiously to avoid all specific engage-

* *Le Vassor*, x. 151.

ments. With this view they imputed Friedland's recal to its real motive, the impossibility of finding another general with talents adequate to the danger, neither did they hesitate to promise, that no precaution should be omitted which could tend to the security of Bavaria; but with respect to indemnities, they carefully abstained from investigating the subject, contenting themselves with assuring the Bavarian envoy, that the elector might depend upon never ultimately suffering from his meritorious attachment to the imperial throne.* Notwithstanding the language of the Austrian ministers unquestionably indicated that the intrigues of Maximilian had not been conducted with sufficient secrecy to escape their observation, yet no alternative remained, except to seek shelter under the wing of the imperial eagle, or to be swept away by the hurricane which rapidly approached. Wallenstein, however, was less easily satisfied. Being made acquainted with the conduct pursued by Maximilian respecting his appointment, he was unable to restrain the warmth of his feelings, but publicly threatened to make his rival repent his indiscretion; a menace which was shortly accomplished.†

At the expiration of the armistice concluded with Bavaria,‡ no preparations were omitted by the Swedish monarch for renewing the war with increasing activity. During the cessation of hostilities, the Swedish armies had been greatly augmented by fresh enrolments, or the accession of powerful allies, so that Gustavus found himself in a situation to oppose the house of Austria in every quarter with the fairest prospect of success. In

* *Le Vassor*, x. 152.

† *Ibid.*

‡ January 24, 1632.

Saxony, Banier was sent against Pappenheim, the ablest of the imperial commanders. Horn was left to defend the diocese of Bamberg against the superior strength of Tilly. To Arnheim and Thurn the reduction of Bohemia and the adjacent provinces was entrusted. William, Duke of Weimar, commanded in Thuringia; Ruthven and Todt, with separate corps, were left to act as occasion might require; while the Dukes of Mecklenberg and of Lüneberg were placed at the head of strong detachments, destined principally for the protection of their paternal dominions. The Marquis of Hamilton remained at Francfort, accompanied by Vane, the English ambassador, endeavouring to negotiate the restitution of the palatinate. Gustavus, says Harte (of whose information I avail myself much more readily than of his language), has been censured by many of the British historians, for assuming a tone of dictatorial authority, which they affect to consider as totally inconsistent with his former professions. To this accusation, originating solely in national prejudice, no candid inquirer can subscribe. The conduct of England, on the contrary, appears far more reprehensible. The pusillanimity of James, and the indifference of his son for the distresses of a sister, were not only liable to sinister interpretations, but were calculated to expose the national character to universal derision. Nothing, therefore, could be obtained from the Swedish conqueror, except a general assurance, that he would invariably conduct himself conformably to the dictates of justice and honour.* Fatigued by continued importunities, he at length of

* Harte, ii. 165.

ferred to guarantee the restitution of the Palatinate, provided Charles would maintain an army in Germany, consisting at least of eight thousand foot and three thousand cavalry; but this proposal, being received with indifference, served only to corroborate the king's suspicions respecting the sincerity of his British ally.*

Gustavus, however, never lost sight of an object which had been blazoned to the world among his principal inducements for commencing hostilities. It is also certain that he had repeatedly urged the King of France to concur with him in the re-establishment of a prince, whose ancestors had supported his illustrious father against the machinations of Philip II. Apprehensive that the obligations previously contracted with the Duke of Bavaria might prove an insurmountable obstacle to this proposal, he is said to have offered, as an expedient for obviating this difficulty, the creation of another electorate, a measure afterwards adopted by the Congress of Munster.† Finding, however, that little was to be expected from the generosity of Louis, he thought it essential to his future reputation, that his projects should be rightly understood; and he accordingly signified to the friends of Frederic, that it was his sincere intention to replace that unfortunate prince on the electoral throne, provided he would engage to grant his Lutheran subjects the free exercise of their religion; but at the

* Harte, ii. 170.—Vane declared that this would be purchasing the country at nearly double its value; and in a mercantile point of view the calculation might be correct, but to the understanding of Gustavus, the question presented itself under a different aspect; for he felt that national honour could never be supported too dearly.

† Puffendorf, iv. 4.

same time he declared, that the fulfilment of this promise must necessarily be subject to the contingencies of fortune, like every event whose accomplishment depended upon military success.* An intimation being also communicated to Frederic, that a personal interview would be highly agreeable to Gustavus, he immediately prepared for his departure; before he quitted the Hague, in full assembly he returned thanks to the states for their hospitality, recommending, with all the warmth of parental affection, his family to their future protection. A numerous escort of horse accompanied him to the frontiers of Hessa, where he was met by a detachment of the landgrave's troops, which attended him during the remainder of the journey. His reception at Francfort, both from the King and the Queen of Sweden (for the latter had lately joined her illustrious consort) was highly gratifying to the feelings of the royal exile, since he could not have been treated with greater respect, had he been actually seated on the throne of Bohemia.†

While Gustavus was occupied in preparing for more splendid achievements, the Saxons carried on their operations in Bohemia with an unvarying current of success. The Austrian power in that and the contiguous provinces was reduced so low, that Arnheim, by pursuing the plan which had been traced for his conduct at the commencement of the campaign, might have penetrated, without difficulty, into Moravia, and even succeeded in overwhelming the new raised levies of Wallenstein, before they were ready to take the field. But so negligent did

* Harte, li. 170.

† Puffendorf, iv. 4. Burgus, 299.

he shew himself upon every occasion where the fortune of Friedland was concerned, that he never attempted even to prevent the desertion of his own soldiers, who, attracted by the magnificence of that ambitious chieftain, went over to the enemy in prodigious numbers.* The perfidy of the general was unquestionably overlooked, if not secretly encouraged by his master, who contemplated the rapid aggrandisement of Sweden with no less horror than he did the despotism of Austria; and who probably intended by unnecessary delays to allow leisure for the emperor to recruit his forces, that he might be able to arrest the impetuous torrent which threatened to inundate the whole of Germany, flattering himself to preserve, by his superior sagacity, an equal balance between the belligerents.

That this was his design may be fairly inferred from the general tenor of his actions; for though he studiously refrained from ruining a prostrate foe, when one additional effort might have accomplished his destruction, still he rejected every overture for a separate treaty. Ferdinand was too well acquainted with the elector's character, to believe that his attachment to the Swedish monarch would be preserved with unshaken fidelity; and as he knew him besides to be always open to the suggestions of interest, he determined, if possible, to regain his friendship by flattering his vanity and avarice. Desirous of giving the utmost importance to this delicate negotiation, he selected Francis Albert, a younger brother of the Duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, for his ambassador; a man fitted by nature

* Puffendorf, iv. 4.

for the darkest intrigues, cold and unfeeling, treacherous and insinuating, and who never reflected whether an action were virtuous, provided he knew it to be profitable. Under the pretext of a sudden disgust, he resigned his commission in the imperial service, and repaired to Dresden, hoping that his arguments might operate more efficaciously, when apparently dictated by disinterested friendship. The project, however, completely failed; because the affairs of Sweden were in too prosperous a state to allow a prince so zealously devoted to worldly advantage, to embark in an enterprize, which if unsuccessful, was sure to overwhelm him with ruin and disgrace.*

The operations of the armies in northern Germany require a moment's attention, before we follow Gustavus to the Danube: but as they refer only to objects of secondary importance, they shall be treated with all possible brevity. The duplicity of Gramb, an Austrian commander, in violating the articles of capitulation after the surrender of Wismar, added to the atrocities committed during his march, exasperated Todt to such a degree, that he sent a detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the garrison, with positive directions to give them no quarter, except upon condition of their entering into the Swedish service. The fugitives being overtaken and rudely assaulted, after losing their commander, whose baseness had justly precluded mercy, readily accepted the proffered alternative.†

The capture of an important maritime station, and its consequent annexation to the dominion of Sweden, alarmed the jealousy of Denmark, whose

* 1632. *Le Vassor*.

† *Puffendorf*, iii. 46.

unwarlike sovereign immediately dispatched a confidential officer to remonstrate with Todt upon the occasion. The answer returned was bold and laconic: for it was an invariable rule with Gustavus never to be guilty of an action which he was ashamed to acknowledge, or unable to justify. "My master's intention," said the gallant Swede, "in occupying Wismar, is to prevent the Spaniards from penetrating into the Baltic; an object impracticable for its ancient sovereign, because it cannot be accomplished without a powerful fleet, and a spirit to employ it efficaciously."*

The conquest of Mecklenberg being now completed, it became unnecessary any longer to employ an army in that quarter, and Todt in consequence advanced toward the Weser, that he might be ready to act as circumstances should require.

After making himself master of Magdeburg, Bannier was sent into Bohemia, that he might inspire the Saxons with activity; and he accordingly waited with the utmost impatience for the expiration of the term, when that city was to be evacuated, according to a convention with the Austrians. But while anxiously expecting the completion of his wishes, he accidentally discovered that a plot was in agitation for his destruction. Two English soldiers, as they were wandering about in search of plunder, met a peasant carrying a loaf of bread. Resolved not to return with empty hands, they seized it with instinctive rapacity, and dividing it between them discovered a letter, addressed to the commander of Magdeburg. This paper being instantaneously

* Puffendorf, ix. 7.

conveyed to Banier, was found to contain a promise from Pappenheim to raise the siege, provided the garrison would co-operate by a vigorous sally. While Banier was meditating how best to counteract the schemes of the enemy, a message was brought him from Mansfeldt, by which that gallant officer, too proud to avail himself of dishonourable means, signified his intention of defending the city to the last extremity. It was now impossible for Banier any longer to doubt that Pappenheim had employed some safer method of communicating with the governor; and as he had positive orders never to hazard a battle without a moral certainty of success, he determined immediately to decamp.* Another motive which impelled him to embrace a resolution so inconsistent with his enterprising spirit, was a misunderstanding which had arisen between him and Hamilton, whose arrogance was grown insupportable. Soon after his separation from the Swedish general, the haughty Scot returned to his native island, accompanied by little more than five hundred men, the miserable remnant of six thousand gallant mountaineers, who had been sacrificed to the folly of their leader, and whose loss was compensated by no adequate benefit—not even the barren advantage of glory.†

William Duke of Weimar being informed of the embarrassment to which Banier was exposed, hastened to his assistance with so powerful a reinforcement, that he compelled Pappenheim to take refuge behind the Weser. The superiority of the

* Puffendorf, iv. 7.

† Galetti, i. 231. The editor of the Swedish Intelligencer endeavours in vain to justify Hamilton, iv. 110.

enemy precluding the possibility of retaining Magdeburg, Mansfeldt was directed to abandon it. All the scanty comforts, which had been rescued from the fury of the devouring flames, or from the still more destructive rapacity of the Walloons, became the prey of insatiate barbarians; the wretched hovels, which sheltered the miserable inhabitants from the inclemency of the elements, were levelled with the ground; the windmills were destroyed, the fortifications demolished, and the greater part of the artillery thrown into the Elbe for want of horses to remove it.* Scarce a building was left, except the cathedral, whose massive walls resisted the shock of an explosion; yet so strong is the attachment of men to their native soil, that the citizens clung with religious affection to the ruins; numbers also returned, when a proclamation was issued by the Swedish general, inviting them to revisit that desolate spot, and promising to assist in rebuilding the mansions where their industrious ancestors had formerly tasted the charms of prosperity. An address so flattering to the tenderest sympathies of human nature, could hardly be read with indifference; new colonists arrived by hundreds, whose patriotic exertions at no distant period produced one of the strongest fortresses of Germany, and one of her richest commercial emporia.†

Meanwhile Pappenheim retired without molestation, and displayed military talents which would have immortalized his name, had he not sullied his reputation by acts so atrocious, that they would have dishonoured the leader of a banditti. His

* Gualdo, i. 80.

† Khevenhüller, xii. 104.

march was designated in traces of blood ; rape and assassination, the usual relaxation of undisciplined savages, were always connived at, and sometimes even encouraged, as a compensation for regular pay.*

The capture of Creutznach having liberated the Palatinate from the Spaniards, Oxenstiern was entrusted with its defence, while the king, at the head of a numerous army, prepared to transport the torrent of war into the provinces south of the Danube.† The possession of Franconia had been obstinately contested between Horn and Tilly ; for though the latter attempted to overwhelm his antagonist by numerical strength,‡ Horn conducted his retreat,§ even after the loss of Bamberg, with so much ability, that he was no less admired for his skill in the field, than beloved for the clemency of his government.

A force sufficient for the preservation of Lower Saxony having been placed under the command of Todt, Gustavus ordered Duke Bernard to join him in Franconia.|| Too weak, or too prudent, to hazard an engagement, Tilly fell back upon Bavaria, cautiously abstaining even from desultory skirmishes. At the head of little less than forty thou-

* Lotichius, i. 1010. Puffendorf, iv. 5. † Ibid, 10.

‡ Tilly's force exceeded sixteen thousand men ; Horn's did not arrive at ten thousand.—Harte, ii. 179. Puffendorf, iv. 9.

§ Fuissetque totus Hornii exercitus ea die deletus, nisi rupto ab hostibus Hastattiano ponte, nostri in eo reficiendo detenti essent.—Burgus, 312.

|| That gallant prince had been left in conjunction with the Palatine of Birkenfield to conduct the military operations upon the banks of the Rhine, under the superintendance of Oxenstiern ; but after the king's departure, a jealousy arose between the two commanders, which might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not the chancellor immediately informed his master of their misunderstanding.—Puffendorf, iv. 10.

sand combatants, Gustavus appeared under the walls of Nuremberg, one of the wealthiest cities in Germany, and no less conspicuous for its steady attachment to the opinions of the reformers.* The victorious champion of that popular cause was welcomed of course with the most enthusiastic expressions of gratitude. The manly beauty of his person, corresponding exactly with those ideal graces which fancy attributes to heroism, confirmed the favourable impression which his conquests had previously excited; while the courtesy with which he replied to the addresses of the senate, rendered him the idol of universal adoration. After ratifying in person every article of the treaty, originally negotiated on the shores of the Baltic, he animated the citizens by friendly exhortations, to persevere in the contest with unshaken fortitude, till the enemy of their religion should be constrained to acknowledge, that it is the inalienable right of every human being to worship his Creator according to the forms which his conscience and understanding prescribe. While the burghers beheld with delight the brave advocate of universal toleration, the king could not contemplate his rapid prosperity without the strongest emotions of wonder. To find himself received with triumphal honours in a city situate in the centre of Germany, within eighteen months after his landing, afforded subject for serious me-

* We learn from Le Vassor, that before his departure from Mentz, the king required from De Brezé an explicit declaration respecting the destination of the armament assembling upon the frontiers; and that he received from the ambassador a positive assurance that it was not intended for the protection of Bavaria; who further protested, that Gustavus need not be apprehensive of the smallest interruption on the part of France, while occupied in the abasement of Austria, x. 161.

ditation, and was sufficient to have inspired the most exaggerated hopes of universal dominion, to a mind less powerfully controlled by the empire of reason, and less alive to the precepts of religion.*

The negligence of the imperialists in omitting to occupy a city so highly important, both as a financial resource and a military station, and which on account of its extent, and the debility of the garrison, could hardly have withstood a vigorous assault, was regarded as an unpardonable error. But as there is little probability that these considerations should have escaped an experienced commander, we may fairly infer that Tilly was deterred by motives with which we are unacquainted, but which appeared to him satisfactory.†

To afford a momentary respite to a fugitive enemy would have been totally inconsistent with the policy of Gustavus, who knew that among the qualities which constitute a great commander, none perhaps is so essential as activity. Tearing himself therefore away from the amusements and honours which awaited him at Nuremberg, he prepared to follow the imperialists, who had concentrated their whole force in Bavaria. The dread of transporting the theatre of hostilities into his own dominions rendered Maximilian uncertain what plan to adopt. By instructing Tilly to retire into the mountains of Bohemia, where there could be little doubt of his meeting with an asylum, a different direction would have been given to the torrent; but he at length resolved to encounter every danger, rather than expose his defenceless capital to the fury of

* Gualdo, 83. Lotichius, i. 1019. Swed. Intell. ii. 129.

† 1632. Harte, ii. 186.

heretics. Had the King of Sweden been consulted respecting the operations of the hostile army, and attended only to his personal advantage, this is probably the conduct he would have recommended. Every step that he took for the protection of Munich conducted the hero of the League to a greater distance from Wallenstein; and, while separated from him, Tilly could not be formidable. Neither was this the only benefit likely to accrue from transporting the theatre of hostilities to the south of the Danube. For many years Bavaria had been totally exempt from the calamities of war, and being naturally fertile, was sure to afford abundant supplies to the Swedish army, without exhausting the resources of their allies.* Gustavus having learnt that all the bridges, except that of Donauwert, had been destroyed, hastened forward in hopes of surprising that town before the garrison could be prepared for his reception. Rodolph, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, having refused to capitulate,† the king invested the place with so much vigour, that it became impossible to defend it, even long enough for Tilly to be consulted. Determined, however, to encounter the extremest danger rather than surrender himself prisoner of war, Lauenburg attempted to evacuate the city, and executed his design with such consummate ability, that the greater part of the garrison escaped unhurt, notwithstanding the bridge, over which they retreated, was flanked by the Swedish artillery.‡

The rapid progress of the Swedes astonished Maximilian, who had calculated that Lauenburg

* Harte, ii. 186.

† Harte, ii. 190.

‡ Swed. Intell. ii. 137. Khevenhiller, xii. 110. Harte, ii. 192.

would have been able to detain them, till a formidable force could be collected. Overwhelmed with consternation, he dispatched courier after courier to Vienna, describing the misery to which he was reduced, and imploring immediate assistance. Convinced, however, that Ferdinand had rendered himself a slave to the caprices of Wallenstein, and was destitute of the power, even if he possessed the inclination, to afford him relief, distress got the better of pride, and he condescended to supplicate his haughty rival to rescue Bavaria from destruction. Far, however, from being softened by the melancholy picture which the elector drew of his situation, that insolent chieftain refused to move upon the most frivolous pretexts, secretly enjoying the twofold gratification of impairing the glory of Tilly, whom he always disliked and frequently envied, and of beholding Maximilian reduced to the necessity of courting ineffectually the man he detested. Neither was the emperor displeased at his general's behaviour, because he was desirous that his army should be more perfectly organized, before it faced the invincible Goth. He could not, however, consistently with decency, avoid mentioning the subject to Friedland, and apparently urging him to comply; but the facility with which he accepted the most trifling excuses, clearly indicated, that he was not displeased to see the Swedes harrassed by the fatigues of active service, while his own reposed in perfect security.*

The impending danger, instead of appalling the courage of Maximilian, served only to stimulate

* Le Vassor, x. 162.

his activity; and he manfully resolved either to stop the career of the northern conqueror, or to perish on the banks of the Lech, which serves as a frontier to the electorate. Orders were accordingly issued for the immediate demolition of all the bridges between Rayne and Augsburg, as well as for throwing up intrenchments at every point, where a passage was practicable. These precautions taken, the army was stationed in different divisions on the Bavarian side of the river; and, as Tilly anticipated the plans of Gustavus, he had erected numerous batteries at the very spot where the efforts of the enemy were principally directed.

It was the beginning of April when the Swedes appeared on the shores of the Lech; a season of the year when the Alpine streams are swollen by the dissolution of the snow, which, accumulated during winter on their frozen summits, pours down in cataracts, in every direction, under the influence of a milder atmosphere. The idea of forcing a passage over a rapid torrent, impetuously rolling between high and rugged banks, in face of an army, not inferior in strength to the assailants, presented difficulties almost insuperable. Gustavus hesitated, and deemed it prudent to assemble a council of war, before he ventured on the desperate enterprise. The high character which Horn universally enjoyed for judgment and courage, emboldened him to combat the wishes of his sovereign, by arguments so forcible, that they appeared unanswerable to most of his colleagues. After commenting successively upon every local impediment, he contended, that a repulse would not only revive the drooping spirits of the enemy, but might be attended with disastrous consequences, in a country inter-

sected by rapid rivers, where it would be utterly impossible to avoid a battle, in case Wallenstein should approach to cut off their retreat. He therefore earnestly besought the king to renounce, for the present, the conquest of Bavaria, and to employ the army in fortifying the frontier towns, both in the Upper Palatinate and Bohemia. This plan of operations would not only frustrate the projects of Friedland, should he in reality have formed a plan for intercepting the Swedes, but might probably impede his junction with Tilly, and even furnish an opportunity of attacking him to advantage, before his enormous preparations were completed.*

The king having listened, with visible impatience, scarcely suffered his favourite general to conclude, when he exclaimed, with an emotion bordering upon anger, "Have we not passed the Baltic, the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, without sustaining the smallest loss? and shall we suffer ourselves to be stopped in our glorious career by a miserable rivulet? Besides, what is there to apprehend, so long as Donauwert secures a retreat? No, never shall it be in the power of man to upbraid Gustavus Adolphus with having suffered a fugitive enemy to escape!"

This decision, however, rash as it may appear, was neither dictated by presumption, nor by the contempt of Austrian tactics; but was the result of reflection, after having examined the spot with the minutest attention, and discovered that it presented many local advantages to the assailants, which would have escaped a less accurate observer. In

* Hartc, ii, 100.

the first place, the river formed a curve,* projecting toward the Swabian shore, a circumstance which would enable him to erect his batteries at the extremity of the arch, so as entirely to prevent the imperialists from approaching the centre of the segment, the point chosen for constructing a bridge.† The elevation of the bank on the side from which the attack was to be made, contributed also essentially to the success of the enterprise, because it gave a decided superiority to the Swedish artillery.

Gustavus had no sooner embraced the resolution of passing the Lech, than he prepared for carrying it into execution. All the artificers and engineers belonging to the army were diligently employed in fabricating a bridge, upon a novel construction, under the immediate direction of their indefatigable sovereign. In order to provide timber for this important undertaking, the king was reduced to the painful necessity of causing several houses to be demolished. Having ascertained, by repeated experiments, that the bed of the river was far from level, he ordered trestles to be made, of different heights, which being firmly attached to long poles, and sunk by means of ponderous stones, appeared just above the surface of the water. The difficulty arising from the inequality of the ground having been thus overcome, the trestles were connected by planks and beams, in such a manner, as to re-

* This circumstance, says the author of the Swedish Intelligencer, gives cause to admire God's great providence, in creating such a place as this crooking of the Lech (and God surely had a purpose in it); so it wonderfully commends the king's judgment, for so suddenly and solidly apprehending the advantages of it, ii. 148. The reader, perhaps, will be surprised to learn, that the writer of this extract was not a monk.

† Pietro Pomo, 66.

sist the impetuosity of the torrent.* A thick smoke, continually nourished by pitch, and straw, and other combustibles, concealed the progress of the work, while the thunder of the cannon not only hindered the approach of the enemy, but prevented them from hearing the noise of the workmen.

The apparent rashness of the enterprise, in some degree, conduced to facilitate its execution, by rendering Tilly less attentive. The ground, on the side where he lay encamped, was swampy, but at a small distance from the river, gradually rose with a gentle acclivity, covered almost entirely with trees and bushes. The army of the League was advantageously posted on the summit, bodies of infantry being skilfully dispersed in different parts of the thickets.

Early in the morning of the fifth of April, 1632, under cover of a tremendous cannonade, a chosen body of infantry crossed the Lech in two small vessels, commanded by the king in person. A mound of earth was instantaneously raised in front of the bridge, thrown across with incredible expedition; so that when the vapour, so common in marshy soils, was dispersed by the glowing sun, Tilly beheld, with astonishment, the preparations of the enemy completed; and, while he gazed with admiration, blended with terror, upon this stupendous effort of human activity, he could hardly persuade himself that it had been accomplished by human industry, unaided by the magic powers of sorcery. It was in vain for him to attempt to demolish the machinery, because the Swedish artillery swept every thing away, and to dislodge them was equally

* Pietro Pomo, 66. Harte, ii. 198.

impracticable; he therefore determined to remain upon the defensive, and trust to the strength of his position.

Meanwhile the Swedish infantry, led by Wrangel and Gassion, passed by companies, and formed under cover of the batteries. Convinced that Bavaria must be irrecoverably lost, unless something decisive was attempted, the imperial commander again changed his plan, and, descending from the heights, at the head of those veteran bands which he had so often conducted to victory, he attacked the Swedes with an impetuosity which clearly demonstrated the intention of perishing, unless he should prove victorious. The nature of the ground preventing Gustavus from extending his line, he, for the first time, shewed symptoms of hesitation; but, while absorbed in doubt,* the Swedish cavalry, having fortunately discovered a spot where the river was fordable, advanced in order of battle, and, after routing a body of Bavarian horse, pushed forward to the support of the infantry.† The issue of the battle seemed still precarious, when Tilly, being struck by a cannon ball, fell senseless from his horse, and was transported to a carriage belonging to the elector. A few minutes after Aldringer received a wound in the head, which compelled him also to leave the field. The loss of their ablest commanders was enough to discourage the boldest warriors. It is not therefore surprising, that the efforts of the imperialists should have visibly

* Harte, ii. 202. The Swed. Intell. ii. 147, doubles that number.

† Burgus (323) ascribes the victory entirely to the exertions of Gustavus. "*Ianique inclinabat acies, cum rex accurrens præsentia, verbis, manu ignavos increpans, confirmans strenuos, atque hostes repellens, ordines restituit.*"

abated; gradually retreating, they at length reached the intrenchments, though not without some confusion.*

The lateness of the hour would have prevented the king from following them, even had his harassed troops been equal to the attempt; but they were too much exhausted to think of renewing the combat. On the side of the enemy, however, the consternation was extreme. A council of war assembled during the night, in the presence of Tilly, whose natural fortitude seems to have been subdued by pain, advised the elector to abandon a position, which might still have been maintained with the fairest prospect of success.† Such at least was the sentiment of Gustavus, who, when he visited the intrenchments which the enemy had quitted, could not refrain from exclaiming, “Had I been in possession of a post like this, I would have continued

* *Sublato campi ductore facile est vel conjectura assequi, quanta celeritate se ejus exercitus in tutiora loca receperit, quem non segniter insectus hostis, totam late Bavariam infestavit. Thomæ Carve Itiucarium. Mogunt. 1639. 25.*

Lethali glande petitus

*Tilliades metitur humum, curruque parato
Impositus, gemitus inter, sævique doloris
Diram intemperiem, leges et jura supremi
Hic subit fati; quod si prius astra dedissent
Claudere, sanguineis feritas quam barbara jussis,
Traderet infreno Madeburgica teeta furori,
Et quam Lipsiacis Arceton splendere trophæis
Vidisset, famam potuit virtute mereri
Perpetuam, priscasque ducum pertingere laudæ.—Adolph. x. 28.*

† *Gualdo. i. 86.* Pietro Pomo endeavours to exculpate his favourite hero, by pretending that, even in the agonies of death, Tilly preserved his wonted intrepidity, strenuously exhorting Maximilian to contest every inch of ground. But, upon preparing to carry this advice into execution, the army appeared in too great disorder, to allow of the trial being made, 60.

to defend the entry of my dominions, even though my beard had been singed by a cannon ball.*

The passage of the Lech confirmed so unquestionably the prodigious superiority of the Swedish tactics, that, while it excited the amazement of one half of Europe, it covered the other half with dismay. Upon receiving intelligence of this memorable exploit, the imperial ambassador at the court of Rome† is reported to have exclaimed, in accents of despair, "Then all is over!"‡ But whether it was the fall of the papal dominion, or merely the humiliation of Austria, that he lamented so pathetically, is a question not easy to resolve. Louis XIII. also discovered much uneasiness at the splendid success of his ally, and, in the course of conversation, said to Soranzo, the Venetian minister "that it was time to oppose some efficacious barrier to the overwhelming torrent which threatened to inundate Europe.§ But, as sincerity was by no means the characteristic virtue of the son of Henry

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 485. In the above account I have compared Hartc, Puffendorf, and Gualdo, with Burgus, Francheville and the Swedish Intelligencer. I think it necessary, however, to observe, that there are few events in history related with greater variations; though, with the exception of Schmidt, Wassenberg, and Adebzreiter, I never met with an author, who does not place it among the most brilliant achievements of heroism. But the former, who is evidently not *the gratuitous* champion of Austria, never loses an opportunity of throwing out insinuations against the probity, and even the genius, of Gustavus, imputing to him projects which never existed, except in the fabulous fabrication of his enemies. The latter was chancellor to Maximilian, and wrote officially to vindicate the character of his master. For the opinions of Wassenberg I cannot so easily account. They all, however, agree in asserting, that the elector effected his retreat in excellent order, with the loss of no more than fifty men.—Schmidt, v. 7.

† Cardinal Pasman.

‡ Actum est!—Swed. Intell. ii. 148.

§ Siri Mem. Recond. vii. 547.

IV. it is possible that his object may have been merely to disguise his real sentiments, in order to penetrate those of the Venetians.

Abandoning his capital to the mercy of the victor, Maximilian retreated to Ingolstadt, where the unfortunate Tilly breathed his last, after lingering for a fortnight in the most excruciating torture. This celebrated personage, once the hero of the catholic world, had the misfortune to outlive his reputation.* Till brought in contact with Gustavus, whose transcendent talents were calculated to improve every science to which he applied, he was equally admired for valour and ability. That illustrious monarch, however, so entirely changed the whole system of tactics, as to render war a different study; and Tilly, to his confusion, at length perceived that the cumbersome evolutions, so highly extolled by the admirers of Spanish discipline, served only to expose him to disgrace and discomfiture. This fatal discovery appears to have depressed the Austrian veteran with the humiliating conviction of conscious inferiority, though he continued to adhere with unconquerable obstinacy to the lessons of Alva and Spinola, too proud to improve by the example of a foe, whose youth, and whose country he equally despised. Candour, however, must acknowledge that he had been highly distinguished upon various occasions, and rendered essential service to Austria; but, unfortunately for his glory, his setting star was eclipsed by the

* No observation was ever more just than that of the Latin poet:

———ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini, dieique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.

splendour of a constellation, by whose transcendent radiance all inferior luminaries were offuscated. In him the religion of Rome lost a zealous champion, and the Elector of Bavaria a faithful servant, who with his latest breath exhorted him immediately to make himself master of Ratisbonne, that he might secure a passage over the Danube.*

By the catholic writers he is extravagantly praised for the monastic virtues of temperance and chastity; but even admitting that he possessed them in the highest degree, their influence was confined within a narrow compass, while extensive was the misery occasioned by inhumanity at Magdeburg and new Brandenburg. Many of his most commendable qualities were carried to so great an excess, as to be scarcely distinguishable from the opposite vices; thus his piety always was sullied by superstition, and his severity frequently degenerated into ferocity. His disinterestedness in having resisted the temptations of wealth, at a time when prodigious fortunes were amassed by so many commanders, was an object of general admiration; but while he nobly disdained to enrich himself by plunder,† it would have redounded still more to his honour, had he exerted his authority, in restraining the rapacity of his lieutenants, and protecting the innocent peasant from their depredations.

After making himself master of Rayne, Thierhaupten, and Friedberg, the Swedish monarch, appeared with all his forces before the gates of Augs-

* Schmidt, v. 8.

† Paupere propior quam opulento, inter tantas ditescendi facultates ad ultimum us que spiritum.—Adebrzeiter, 264. Consult. Burgus. 327.

burg, and summoned the Bavarian garrison to surrender. Justly alarmed at the idea of sustaining a siege, the magistrates attempted to avert their fate, by representing to the king, that the opposition he experienced ought not to be imputed to them; because they had not courted the protection of the elector, but had been reluctantly compelled to receive it. Gustavus's humanity, revolting at the thought of destroying a rich and populous city, the cradle of protestantism, he consented to suspend all hostile proceedings, that time may be allowed the Bavarians to evacuate the city. In the capitulation, however, which immediately followed, he positively objected to the insertion of an article in favour of popery, having previously resolved to reinstate the Lutherans in the full enjoyment of all municipal authority, which Ferdinand had recently transferred to their opponents, by an arbitrary edict.* The ancient magistrates having resumed their functions, and the protestant religion being restored, the king entered the city in triumphal pomp, attended by a numerous train of princes, generals, and nobility. His first business was to visit the magnificent church of St. Agnes, where service was performed according to the Lutheran ritual, and a sermon preached by Fabritius, one of his domestic chaplains. After returning thanks to the Almighty, for the protection vouchsafed to the protestant cause, he walked to the splendid mansion of Fugger, one of the richest merchants in Europe; and placing himself at a window, where he might be distinctly seen by the numerous spectators, he received from the

† *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 401. *Gauldo*, i, 94. *Pietro Fomo*, 72,

burghers an oath of allegiance, and confirmed in return all the various privileges which they claimed under the sanction of ancient charters.* The oath being read by Count Kohenloe, was repeated by the citizens in succession, who were at the same time informed that no coercion would be employed to enforce their compliance; but that all who might feel the smallest repugnance, would be permitted to remove with their property. And it is worthy of remark, that not a single person took advantage of the permission.

There are few actions in the life of this illustrious monarch, which have furnished such ample materials for invective. "At last," cried the Catholics with malignant exultation, "we have discovered the real object of this disinterested defender of religion and of liberty; who so zealously labours for the good of mankind from the most exalted motives of universal philanthropy, and whose magnanimous soul is superior to the suggestions of personal interest, or worldly aggrandisement."

These insinuations, though destitute of solid foundation, were calculated to produce a deep impression upon understandings unaccustomed to logical precision. For nothing surely can be more repugnant to reason, than to expect that a sove-

* Khevenhiller, xii. 129. Puffendorf, iv. 15. Schmidt, v. 8. The form of the oath is thus given in the *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 493.—*Nous jurons et vouons au serenissime et tres puissant Prince Gustave Adolphe, &c. &c. notre tres gracieux roi, et seigneur, et a la couronne de Suede foi, homage, obeissance, & service; d'empêcher de toutes nos forces tout ce qui pourrait être prejudiciable aux interets du dit roi, et couronne de Suede; de faire tout ce qui sera de leur service et utilité, et de remplir tous les devoirs de bons et fideles sujets.*

reign should expose himself to the hardships and dangers of war; and sacrifice his health and national treasures, without the smallest indemnity for such unwearied exertions. A generous sympathy for the sufferings of the protestants, was unquestionably the original, and the strongest motive which impelled Gustavus to make war against the emperor; but does his subsequent behaviour, if impartially examined, in any respect militate against his professions?

Another event, which took place almost simultaneously, gave rise to additional calumny. The infirmities of Sigismund had long excited an expectation that the throne of Poland would soon become vacant; but toward the close of the preceding year,* the prospect of that event was greatly accelerated by a sudden attack of an apoplexy, which deprived the king of the use of his faculties. The intrigues of faction commenced as usual with the greatest vivacity. The sons of Sigismund had each a numerous party, though they had to contend against the powerful influence of Austria, which, being exerted in favour of Archduke Leopold, essentially weakened the Catholic interest. To these the Prince of Radzivil, one of the most potent members of that turbulent aristocracy, being anxious to oppose a protestant candidate, directed his eyes toward Gustavus. In a journey expressly undertaken for the purpose of inducing that illustrious monarch to become a competitor, he offered him the crown, assuring him that he would no sooner enter the lists, than his rivals would abandon the contest. Delighted with the glory of add-

ing another sceptre to that which he had received from his ancestors, the Swedish king listened to the proposal with those emotions of pleasure, so natural to youthful ambition. Yet, notwithstanding he was endowed with every brilliant quality, which can seduce the imagination, or captivate the heart, the business was conducted with so little address by his ambassador, that a memorial, imprudently presented to the diet, was condemned to be publicly burnt: this sentence was accompanied by an order for the envoy instantly to quit the territory of the republic, under pain of the most exemplary punishment.* Ashamed of having chosen so clumsy an agent, the king endeavoured to screen himself by disavowing his minister, whom, in order the better to deceive the world, he committed to temporary confinement. This attempt, however, as might easily have been foreseen, failed to produce the desired effect, because his enemies were too deeply interested in the disclosure, to suffer a transaction to escape observation, which, when adorned by the fertile invention of the Jesuits, might serve to afford irrefragable proof that their implacable enemy ambitiously aspired to universal dominion.

While Gustavus was apparently diverting himself with the festivities of Augsburg, the German politicians with industrious folly predicted that it would prove a second Capua to the northern Anibal, the Swedish generals were far from inactive; but, after making themselves masters of Memminghen, Kempten, and Nördlingen, they remounted the Lech, extending their conquests as far as Fue-

* Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 405.

sen, situated in a fertile and romantic valley at the foot of the Tirolian Alps.

The wise men of Austria however shortly discovered that they had calculated upon erroneous principles, when they supposed that the formidable foe of Ferdinand was detained solely by pleasurable pursuits ; for no sooner were the necessary arrangements completed, than he advanced against Ingolstadt, under the walls of which the elector lay encamped. Gustavus hoped, that notwithstanding the strength of the position, he should experience little difficulty in dislodging an army, disheartened by repeated disasters. While reconnoitring the works, he approached so near, that his horse was killed by a cannon ball. Upon beholding their beloved monarch covered with blood, the soldiers were overwhelmed with consternation ; but the alarm was transient, as scarcely a moment elapsed before they saw him vault with agility upon another charger. The happiness occasioned by this providential escape rendered the army less sensible, than it would otherwise have been, to the death of the prince of Baden, who fell by the side of Gustavus.* “Though the voice of nature makes me sensible that I am a father,” replied the old margrave with Roman fortitude to one of the generals who condoled with him upon his loss, “yet I hope never to forget that I am also a Christian. The fate of my son ought not to be lamented, because his end was that of a hero.† They only are objects of regret, who perish ingloriously. Besides, we have

* Puffendorf, iv. 16.

† Thanks to the Gods, my boy has done his duty!—May not Addison have called to mind the heroism of the margrave, when he put that noble sentiment into the mouth of Cato ?

all so much reason to rejoice on account of the king's preservation, that every misfortune must be regarded as comparatively light, however afflicting to the feelings of an individual."*

While the Swedes were occupied in the siege, an ambassador arrived from the King of Denmark, under pretext of congratulating the victorious monarch upon his rapid success, but with the secret intention of retarding his gigantic career, by an illusory treaty with Ferdinand. The duplicity of Christian did not escape the penetration of Gustavus, yet he affected to receive his proffered mediation with the utmost cordiality, declaring to the envoy, that a permanent peace, calculated to secure to the protestants an equal enjoyment of all political privileges, would ever continue the leading object of his ambition; he however greatly feared that such a treaty could never be obtained, unless it were practicable to unite all the different members of the reformed religion in a general confederacy. It would, he said, materially conduce to the success of the undertaking, if his Danish majesty would set the example to all the northern powers; unless this should be affected, it would be a waste of time to enter into a negotiation.†

Scarcely was the Danish ambassador dismissed, when S. Etienne arrived in the Swedish camp with fresh proposals from Maximilian. Some faint conception may be formed of the talents of the negotiator from his undertaking an office, from which nothing could be expected but personal disgrace. Desirous of mortifying the vanity of a man, whose fatuity excited his contempt, Gustavus received

* Lotichius, i. 1026.

† Puffendorf, iv. 18.

him in presence of the Elector Palatine, and surrounded by his principal officers. Having listened with patience to a long harangue, he expressed his astonishment that any one in the least acquainted with his character should have believed him capable of being so easily duped ; since no argument should persuade him to confide in the professions of a prince by whom he had been already deceived. S. Etienne attempted to defend the elector, but was suddenly interrupted by the king, who angrily told him, " that he might spare himself the trouble of farther protestations, because he was actually in possession of an intercepted letter, which unquestionably demonstrated the perfidy of Maximilian ; and proved that his only motive for entering into a negociation, was to allow time for the Duke of Friedland to march to his assistance." " He mentioned this circumstance," he said, " merely to shew that he was thoroughly acquainted with the designs of the enemy, not because he dreaded their execution." On the contrary, he professed himself delighted at the prospect of beholding fifty thousand Austrians assisting to devour Bavaria. " If such," he said, " was the elector's intention, he would advise him to prepare for the hospitable entertainment of such generous guests ; as he could assure him, that the Dalecarlians were not easily satisfied."*

Notwithstanding the conqueror's firmness was calculated to afford no flattering prospect of success, still S. Etienne attempted to exculpate Maximilian at Tilly's expense, whom he basely accused

* Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 500. Le Vassor, x. 169. Puffendorf, iv. 19.

of having exceeded his instructions upon various occasions; and even let fall some expressions in the heat of debate, which Gustavus mistook for a menace. "Though for once I pardon your ignorance," said he with a warmth of temper, which he was totally unable to restrain, "yet I think it necessary to inform you, that such indecent levity can never again be tolerated. From your language it appears that you are unacquainted with the convention subsisting between your master and me; and I have consequently every right to infer, that you are not acting at present by his instructions. You must not therefore expect to be treated with the distinction due to an ambassador, unless you produce your credentials. Till then I advise you to assume a different tone, as this affected importance is totally inconsistent with the character of a supplicant."*

Aware of his indiscretion in having exasperated a prince whom it was so much his interest to appease, S. Etienne apologized in the humblest manner for every inadvertence, earnestly beseeching the king to specify the conditions upon which he would consent to the neutrality of Bavaria. "That," replied Gustavus, "requires little reflection. Let the elector restore to my allies whatever he has unjustly usurped; let him desist from affording the smallest assistance, either directly or indirectly, to my enemies; the moment I receive a satisfactory pledge that he will faithfully observe these engagements, I promise to evacuate his dominions."

The powers entrusted to S. Etienne being une-

* 1632. Le Vassot, 170.

qual to the acceptance of such humiliating terms, he contended that nothing could be more unjust, than to render Maximilian responsible for the conduct of troops, which he was no longer in a situation to control. These excuses confirming the suspicions of Gustavus, he would not suffer the envoy to proceed, but terminated the conference abruptly, allowing no more than twenty-four hours for the elector's decision; at the expiration of which Maximilian, he said, should have reason to know what it was to have him for an enemy.*

"Your majesty," replied S. Etienne with inconsiderate ardour, "may possibly accomplish this menace; but it is my duty to warn you, that the king my master will be highly dissatisfied at your treating his ally with so much asperity; and allow me to say, that after the important sacrifices to which he has consented for the sake of the protestants, he has a right to greater attention."

Difficult as it must have been for an indignant conqueror to restrain his feelings, when insulted by the petulance of a coxcomb, still the king was sufficiently master of his temper, to answer with cold disdain, "I have communicated my wishes to M. de Charuace, who seems better acquainted with his master's intentions. On his friendly assurance I confidently rely; but should my brother suffer himself to be misled by the artifices of the Jesuits, so far as to break his alliance with Sweden, I never will be diverted from my purpose. The cause I have undertaken is sanctioned by justice, and I may therefore expect the protection of the Almighty, which I have hitherto experienced in no

* Le Vassor, 170.

common degree. At least, the world shall never have reason to say, that I have rendered myself unworthy of it by my dastardly conduct.”*

To a declaration so unequivocal no arguments could be opposed, without danger of adding fresh fuel to the flame, the envoy accordingly availed himself of the liberty he still enjoyed, to convey to Maximilian the melancholy tidings, which overwhelmed him with dismay and consternation.

Unwilling to waste in the reduction of Ingolstadt a moment capable of being consecrated to more important enterprizes, Gustavus directed his march toward Munich,† taking Mosberg, Landshudt, and Freysingen in his way. No regular force attempted to impede his rapid progress, but fanaticism had kindled the most inveterate hatred in the breast of every Bavarian. The zeal of an ignorant and intolerant clergy had taught the peasants that men wicked enough to dispute the infallibility of the Pope, must be monsters nourished with human flesh, to whom crimes the most atrocious were pastimes. Under the influence of this fatal delusion, it was natural for the inhabitants, contending as they believed against the outcast children of Satan, to dispense with every precept of humanity. All the tortures, which the most sanguinary bigotry could inflict, were accordingly exercised upon every Swede who fell into the hands of those infatuated savages. Neither is it surprising, that the sight of their mangled carcasses should have subjected the murderers to a dreadful retaliation. Gustavus however omitted no precaution to restrain the just

* *Le Vassor*, 173. *Hist. de Gustave Adolphe*, 502. *Khevenhiller*, xii. 135. *Harte*, ii. 222.

† *Burgus*, 343.

indignation of his troops, disdainng to sully his spotless reputation by punishing a misguided people for crimes which did not proceed from innate depravity, but which were solely imputable to the mistaken fervour of ill-directed patriotism, and the pernicious counsels of superstition. For he regarded mercy as the noblest attribute of religion, whose fundamental principle is charity, and whose sacred truths he studied to disseminate by a practical illustration of that beautiful precept.*

The approach of an army, represented by the clergy as ten times more ferocious than that of Attila, spread terror and consternation throughout the capital, left totally destitute of defence. No hope therefore remained except what proceeded from the generosity of the victor, and to that, desperate as it seemed to their perverted judgments, the affrighted inhabitants resorted. A deputation composed of the principal citizens advanced to Freysingen to supplicate mercy. To their humble address an answer was returned, "that no violation should be offered to private property, provided no resistance should be attempted."† "You have acted most prudently," said Gustavus to the magistrate who delivered the keys of the city, "your early submission has disarmed my resentment; though I might have justified to the world the most exemplary severity in return for the destruction of Magdeburg. Go back to your families in perfect security. My word is a pledge for their safety, and is better than a thousand capitulations."‡

Nothing now remained except to determine the amount of the contribution, which being finally

* Puffendorf, iv. 21. † Lotichius, i. 1023. ‡ Aebzreiter, xvii. 288.

settled,* Gustavus entered the capital of Bavaria, accompanied by the exiled King of Bohemia, and a numerous and splendid retinue. Having taken up his abode in the electoral palace, one of the most magnificent edifices in Germany, he was so much delighted with the beauty of the building, and the sumptuous decorations of the state apartments, that he enquired the name of the architect; and being told that every thing had been planned by Maximilian—"I wish he was here," said Gustavus smiling, "for I should like to employ so able an artist at Stockholm."—"That may not be so easy as your majesty thinks," replied the attendant with naivetè, "for I am sure he will take especial care to keep out of your clutches."†

Could any proofs be required to establish the magnanimity of the Swedish hero, his behaviour at Munich might supply them abundantly. Contented with the triumph of conducting Frederic into the palace of the prince, who had usurped his dominions, he scorned to tarnish his glory with ignoble revenge, though repeatedly urged by the illustrious companions of his victories (and even according to some historians by the unfortunate Palatine),‡ to destroy the pompous residence of the Dukes of Bavaria, as a punishment for the atrocities committed by Tilly. This proposal however was rejected with horror. "Let us not," said Gustavus, "copy the example of our unlettered ancestors, who, by waging war against every production of genius, have rendered the name of Goth

* 300,000 rix-dollars.—Gualdo, 96.

† Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 505.

‡ Khevenhiller, xi. 141, asserts the fact, but is positively contradicted by Harte.

universally proverbial of the rudest state of barbarity."

All the plate and jewels belonging to the electoral family had been previously transported to Salzburg, whither the electress had also retired; the king however expected to find a valuable booty in the arsenal, one of the finest at that time in Europe; but to his utter astonishment no cannon could be discovered, though their carriages had not disappeared. This latter circumstance seeming clearly to indicate that they could not have travelled far, perquisitions were made in order to detect the place of their concealment. Money seldom fails of procuring a key to every secret. In a second visit, Gustavus went directly to the spot where they were buried; and, ordering the pavement to be removed, a spacious vault was disclosed, containing one hundred and fifty pieces of different calibre, twelve of which, adorned with exquisite workmanship, were denominated the twelve apostles. Many of them were decorated with the arms of Brunswick, of Denmark, and of the Palatinate, and in one of them thirty thousand golden ducats were hidden.*

The disclosure of this important secret was by many imputed to the Jesuits, because Gustavus had visited a monastery belonging to that order, with scarcely any attendants, and passed a considerable time in private conversation with some of the fathers. But, according to the testimony of the most authentic writers, his time had been less dedicated to less useful pursuits, if it be true that he entered into a theological disputation with the rec-

† Khevenhiller, 142.

tor, concerning the mystery of transubstantiation.* Discussions which cannot lead to conviction must ever be nugatory; but, when they are managed by a royal disputant, it is fortunate for his antagonist if they are only ridiculous. The most extraordinary feature in this polemical combat, is its having been conducted without virulence, and having terminated without animosity. Gustavus treated the disciples of St. Ignatius with a benignity to which they had been little accustomed from the piety of an orthodox sovereign; and left them impressed with the strongest conviction, that heresy, though it may pollute the purity of the soul, renders kings neither monsters nor tyrants.

To the capuchins, whose disinterested zeal in the service of religion appears to have excited his admiration, he made a handsome donation; and when one of them carried his gratitude so far as to attempt to reclaim him from the errors of Lutherism, he listened with patience to the dull exhortation, attributing his folly to mistaken fervour, and not to the vanity of scholastic erudition.†

Thus the suavity of his manners soon dissipated the terror which the exaggerations of bigotry had excited; for the human heart is formed of "penetrable stuff," and will be always accessible to gratitude and affection, when unperverted by sophistry,

* The catholic account of this interview is diverting. "Si diede à visitar le chiese, è frà l'altre quella de padri Gesuiti, dove entrando in discorso col rectore del collegio, manifestossi in quel punto, senza particolar senao di religione, et havendo per fede ogni fede, seguirar solo un largo creder morale, diceva, Dio esser quel sommo Eute, adorato in astratto da tutte le natione, nè, pur que si convenga nel unità del oggetto, diversificarsi con le maniere diverse dell adoratione."—Pietro Pomo, 77.—Philosophy most certainly formed no part of this writer's study.

† Gualdo, 96.

unsullied by superstition, and undegraded by oppression. Not only the citizens of Munich, but all the inhabitants of the earth, may be conciliated by kindness, or estranged by severity. No wonder then that the former should contemplate with delight the affability of the victor, which contrasted so forcibly with the forbidding reserve of their hereditary sovereign, who lived secluded in solitary grandeur like an eastern despot, and who would never have been known to the greater part of those whom Providence had subjected to his sway, had they not been occasionally reminded of his existence by the pressure of taxation.*

Unfortunately, however, the change which had taken place in the opinions of men was confined to the capital and its immediate vicinity. The infatuated peasantry still continued in arms, and the spirit of hostility, instead of abating, extended so rapidly, that the king deemed it advisable to proceed against the insurgents in person. A contest of this nature could not long remain doubtful. A few squadrons of cavalry succeeded in routing numerous bodies of rebels, without sustaining the most trifling loss. Repeated discomfitures at length opening the eyes of the deluded populace, they threw down their swords, imploring mercy, which was readily granted upon the condition of their delivering up the leaders, by whose desperate folly they had been instigated. To this demand they readily consented; because they began to discover, that while they believed themselves fighting the battles of the Almighty, they were in reality

* Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 507.

sacrificing their dearest interests to the intrigues of fanaticism and rapacity.*

Meanwhile Ossa, an imperial general, had invested Biberach with seven thousand men, the residue of the Italian army; but, upon the approach of the Swedes, he retired to Lindau, near the lake of Constance, after submitting to the disgrace of being repulsed by the women, who, not content with exhorting their husbands to fortitude, assisted them in throwing down ponderous stones, and boiling water upon the heads of the assailants.† Having left Duke Bernard to pursue the fugitives, the king returned to Munich with the utmost expedition, upon receiving intelligence that Cratz, an enterprising officer in the service of Bavaria, had made a strenuous effort for its recovery. Foiled in the undertaking by the vigilance of Hepburn, Cratz directed his fury against Weissenburg; but, being unable to subdue the resolution of the garrison by open force, he tempted them to surrender by the illusive offer of an honourable capitulation, which was no sooner concluded than violated. Instead of meeting with the treatment to which their valour entitled them, and which had been confirmed by the solemnity of a specific convention, they were perfidiously massacred upon refusing to enter into the service of a prince, whose troops had degraded themselves, by their treachery and inhumanity, below the level of common banditti.‡

This atrocious breach of national honour exasperated the King Sweden to such a degree, that he

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 507. Galetti, i. 246.

† Ibid, 247.

‡ Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 514.

swore to have ample satisfaction. He in consequence deferred, till a more convenient opportunity, his intended visit to Ulm, where the most splendid preparations were making for his reception; and proceeded to Donauwert, where all the detachments were ordered to repair.

Thus far the northern conqueror had conducted his operations with an unvaried current of prosperity. The greater part of the empire was already occupied by his victorious legions; every enterprise had been attended with signal success, and the wisdom of the plan, so sagaciously traced after the battle of Leipsic, was exemplified in a series of triumphs. Notwithstanding the interested timidity of some of the princes who had embraced the doctrine of the reformers, and particularly that of Denmark and Darmstadt, had prevented the formation of a general confederacy for the abasement of Austria, he had either disarmed or crippled all the members of the Catholic League, and supported the war at their expense. The free cities, with hardly a single exception, were firmly attached to the protestant party, both from interest and inclination; and so long as he maintained his superiority in the field, no change in their politics was to be apprehended. The possession of all the fortresses on the banks of the Rhine, by cutting off the Spaniards from the Lower Palatinate, prevented them from co-operating with Austria. Even the volatile heroism of the Duke of Lorraine had been cooled by the events of a single campaign. Neither had the necessity of providing sufficient garrisons for the captured cities diminished the strength of Gustavus, because the splendour of his name, and the popu-

larity of his cause, drew recruits by thousands to his standard, Thus with an army more numerous than when he first entered Saxony, he found himself in the heart of Bavaria, crowned with laurels, surrounded by friends, and prepared to accomplish his ultimate object by penetrating into the interior of Austria.

CHAP. XV.

Wallenstein takes the field; and, in order to avoid assisting Maximilian, marches against the Saxons in Bohemia. His dark and ambitious projects for the humiliation of Ferdinand; he attempts to detach the Elector of Saxony from the Swedish alliance, and is seconded by Arnheim. Finding himself unable to accomplish his purpose by intrigue, he commences hostilities; and, after taking Prague, compels the Saxons to evacuate Bohemia. He prepares for invading the electorate, but is forced to suspend the execution of his design, and to hasten to the defence of Austria. He unites his forces with those of Bavaria; his first interview with Maximilian described.—Operations of the Swedes in the Palatinate, Suabia, and Saxony.—Cruelty of the Austrians under Holk and Gallas. Nuremberg threatened by the imperialists; Gustavus encamps under the walls, and is besieged in his lines by Wallenstein and the elector; in which difficult situation he displays the extent of his military genius: defending himself till the arrival of numerous reinforcements enables him to resume offensive operations, he attacks the imperialists in their entrenchments, and, after offering them battle, decamps without molestation.—Wallenstein abandons Nuremberg, and enters Saxony, with the view of obliging the elector to sign a separate peace. He is followed by the king, who advances to Naumburg, for the purpose of joining the Saxons before he gives battle to the Austrians. Reasons which induce him to alter his plan.—Battle of Lutzen.—Gustavus slain. His character. Extraordinary circumstances attending his death, which excite the suspicion of his being assassinated.

WITHOUT injuring his reputation, or betraying his designs, it was hardly possible for the Duke of Friedland to remain long inactive; but, being desirous for the present to abandon Bavaria to its own resources, he determined to amuse the public with the shew and bustle of war, without deigning to listen to the intreaties of Maximilian, though at length seriously backed by the authority of Ferdi-

hand.* At the head of an army, strong enough to have annihilated the Saxons at a single blow, he confined himself entirely to desultory skirmishes, preferring, if possible, to accomplish by intrigue what might have been more easily effected by vigorous exertion. These dilatory proceedings excited a general belief, that he wished rather to conciliate than to subdue the elector, whose assistance he thought essential to the execution of those ambitious schemes which he meditated, for the usurpation of Bohemia; and having already corrupted the fidelity of Arnheim, he hoped in future to direct the Saxon councils, and even to prevail upon the elector to abandon Sweden.

Such, at least, was the opinion which generally prevailed amongst his contemporaries; yet we are fully aware, that from the period of his reconciliation with the imperial court, to the latest moment of his existence, the conduct of Wallenstein was frequently involved in impenetrable mystery, and almost always presented a thousand inconsistencies, which it is by no means easy to explain. The difficulty of discovering a satisfactory clue is also greatly augmented by the circumstances attending his death; because the atrocity of commanding the assassination of a general, to whom the emperor was indebted for the preservation of his dominions, required much ingenious casuistry to render it palatable, even in the eyes of a people accustomed to regard the mandate of a despot as paramount to every moral obligation. Various projects were therefore imputed to this celebrated victim of royal ingratitude, some of which are totally unsupported by

* Pietro Pomo, 31.

legal evidence, and consequently may never have been seriously entertained. The stain of blood could not be effaced from the imperial diadem, without loading with obloquy the memory of a man, who, with all his eccentricities, and all his defects, was born to excite the astonishment of his contemporaries, and to fix the admiration of posterity.

Certain, however, it is, that he left nothing unattempted which appeared likely to induce the Elector of Saxony to break his engagements with Gustavus.* Neither was the negotiation enveloped in so much secrecy, as to escape the observation of Ferdinand, who seems at length to have repented his folly in having offended a prince, once so blindly devoted to his interest, and so totally immersed in sensual indulgences, that nothing less than the unprovoked invasion of Misnia could have roused his lethargic indolence. Convinced, however, that no important concessions could be obtained from that weak and inconstant prince, without gratifying his avarice, which he endeavoured to conceal under the mask of religion, Wallenstein proposed, as a basis for the intended treaty, that the protestant princes should be permitted to retain all the secularized bishoprics; that they should recover those hereditary dignities and possessions, of which they had been unjustly deprived; and, lastly, that to the imperial cities should be restored those ancient municipal privileges, which had been successively abolished by arbitrary decrees.*

These offers, it must be acknowledged, comprehended almost every thing for which the friends of the Reformation contended; and it is, upon this ac-

* Puffendorf, iv. 25.

† Ibid. Pietro Pomo.

count, highly improbable, that the elector should have rejected them, had he not been restrained by the apprehension of incurring universal contempt, if he perfidiously abandoned his protector. It is possible also, that he may have doubted the sincerity of Wallenstein, or questioned the amplitude of his powers: without pretending to explain the real grounds of his refusal, it may be sufficient to observe, that John George, with a firmness, by no means natural to his character, refused to enter into a separate negociation; though he expressed himself ready to treat in concert with his allies. This apparent disinterestedness, however, was far from extinguishing the hopes of Wallenstein, whose expectations were founded upon the assistance of Arnheim, with whom he carried on a secret correspondence: but, as he knew resentment to be a principle more active than gratitude in a heart so corrupted as that of the Saxon commander,* his chief reliance was placed in the implacable hatred which Arnheim was known to entertain toward Gustavus, by whom he had formerly been upbraided with cowardice.† Intimately acquainted with the most secret sentiments of his master, the insidious favourite was fully aware that he beheld with jealousy the growing intimacy subsisting between the Swedish monarch and the house of Weimar; fearful that the services, which they daily rendered to the protestant cause, might induce the conqueror to reinstate them in the possession of those an-

* Sparra, a colonel in Wallenstein's army, and a friend to Arnheim, is supposed to have decided his future conduct by a present of fifty thousand crowns.—Gualdo, 97.—Galetti pretends that Wallenstein had a private interview with Arnheim, 261.

† Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 511. Puffendorf, iv. 24.

cient rights, of which they had been unjustly deprived, on account of their attachment to the opinions of Luther. He knew also, that the elector's vanity, which was, if possible, even greater than his meanness, led him to contemplate with envy the ascendancy of a foreigner, though to that foreigner he was indebted for independence.

Anxious to dissipate scruples, which were those of decency, and not of integrity, Wallenstein directed his ancient friend to attack the imbecility of the elector with the arguments best suited to his feelings. By magnifying the immortal glory which awaited the pacificator of Germany, he stimulated his vanity; by describing the advantages likely to accrue from an office of such unlimited influence, he tempted his avarice; and, by representing the conduct of the Swedish monarch in a suspicious light, he called into action all those despicable passions, which that mean-spirited prince, not daring to avow, attempted to disguise under the appellation of patriotism.

Notwithstanding the impression produced upon the mind of John George was deep and lasting, yet the dread of incurring the resentment of an indignant conqueror was attended with consequences similar to those which gratitude or honour might have generated. Convinced that the motives best calculated to operate upon a sordid mind are fear and interest, Gustavus recalled to his recollection the tyranny of Ferdinand, the cruelty of Tilly, and the utter destruction of the protestant religion, should the edict of restitution be enforced. He warned him, moreover, to beware of the perfidy of Austria, whose affected moderation was intended as a snare, to divide the friends of toleration, that she might

acquire the ability to crush those separately, whose united efforts she was unable to resist.*

These arguments, reposed on a foundation so solid, that they defeated the projects of Arnheim. Unwilling, however, to trust entirely to the operations of reason, and apprehensive, that in case John George should be persuaded to desert the coalition, a general schism might ensue, the king endeavoured, by openly flattering his vanity, to fix his inconstant disposition, and accordingly recommended to him, in the strongest terms, to take advantage of his prosperous fortune for the establishment of a general peace, as well as for the formation of a comprehensive confederacy, composed of the protestant states. In order to facilitate the execution of a project, so eminently conducive to the good of humanity, he proposed to invite the members of the reformed church to a general congress; and even offered to relinquish those pretensions which might interfere with the elector's dignity, as head of the Lutheran party.†

This plan, though intended merely as a political expedient, to sound the inclinations of John George, served totally to disconcert the artifices of Wallenstein; because the elector was so forcibly struck with the candour and generosity of his ally, that he solemnly promised never to abandon his interests, and even declared himself ready to concur in every measure which might tend to promote a general coalition.‡

Convinced, by repeated failures, of the inefficacy of intrigue, Friedland prepared to accomplish by force what he had ineffectually attempted by ne-

* Hist. de Gustave Adol. 513.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, 313.

gociation. In directing his march toward the capital of Bohemia, he appears to have had two important objects in contemplation; first, to compel the elector to sign a separate peace; and, secondly, to make himself master of a country, where he intended hereafter to fix his dominion, conformably to that article of the treaty of Znaim, by which Ferdinand engaged to recompense his services with one of the hereditary possessions of Austria. The indifference of the elector for every honourable pursuit, and the perfidy of his general, conduced equally to facilitate the enterprise; though, from different motives, they both beheld the mighty armament collecting in Moravia with as little concern, as if it had been destined for the protection of Saxony. Neither did they open their eyes to the ruin which awaited them, till the vanguard of the enemy was distinctly seen from the walls of Prague; where the Saxons, wallowing in licentious pleasures, seemed totally to have forgotten, that there were any occupations belonging to a military profession, except those of sensual indulgence. An Austrian regiment having been secretly introduced, by the treachery of a friar, the garrison retired to the citadel; but rather with the hope of obtaining an honourable capitulation, than with that of protracted resistance. Finding themselves abandoned, without the smallest prospect of relief, they soon consented to lay down their arms; thinking themselves fortunate to purchase life at the expense of their ammunition and their artillery!

The recovery of Prague being treated by the superstition, or the policy of Ferdinand, in the light of a favourable augury, was celebrated at Vienna with ostentatious festivities; but the delight which

it occasioned to the zealous papists was far inferior to that of the victor, who justly considered it as an important step toward the accomplishment of his ambitious designs.* By allowing the Saxons to retire with the greater part of their baggage, he flattered himself to have secured the good opinion of the elector, to whom he immediately dispatched another officer, with fresh proposals, hoping, that while the impression of his generosity was unimpaired, they might meet with a more favourable reception. But, while he employed the insidious arts of negociation, together with their usual concomitants, corruption and flattery, he endeavoured perfidiously to avail himself of the security which his offers perhaps were solely intended to excite. By possessing himself of the defiles between Leutmeritz and Aussig, he would have cut off the retreat of the Saxons, and several regiments were accordingly sent to occupy the different passes. This plan, had it succeeded, would have inclosed the enemy in a narrow valley, where the want of provisions must have shortly compelled them to surrender at discretion. Arnheim, however, was too deeply versed in the science of treachery, to be easily entrapped; and having penetrated the design of his old preceptor, carried on the negociation with so much art, as completely to deceive that most consummate master of deceit.† Meanwhile the baggage continued to move; and, being at length arrived in a place of security, he broke up his camp in the dead of the night, and continued his march with uninterrupted activity, till he arrived at Pirna, an impregnable position, in the vicinity of Dresden. This retreat, though highly creditable to the military talents of

* Gualdo, 90.

† Lotichius, i. 1049.

the general, occasioned the loss of Bohemia, which was again reduced under the Austrian dominion, with as much facility as it been formerly conquered by the Saxons.*

Less interested in promoting the glory of Ferdinand, than in accomplishing his own sinister projects, and exasperated at finding himself circumvented by a man whom he had instructed in the wiles of intrigue, Wallenstein prepared, without farther delay, to carry hostilities into the enemy's country; persuaded that, when he appeared before the gates of Dresden, the elector would no longer hesitate to comply with his demands. Circumstances, however, obliged him to postpone the execution of his plan to a more convenient opportunity: for, while he was indulging his love of popular applause, by the reduction of Bohemia, the King of Sweden had penetrated to the frontiers of Austria, and had even excited an alarm in the capital. Between Munich and Vienna no fortress existed capable of retarding his victorious career. Lintz and Passau were both untenable; while the discontented peasants in Upper Austria were actually occupied in organizing an insurrection, intending to explode at the approach of Gustávus. No hope, therefore, presented itself to the degraded despot, who so lately trampled upon the laws and the constitution of Germany, except from the exertions of Wallenstein; and even that was damped by the humiliating conviction, that another such victory as that of Leipsic could not fail to annihilate all the remaining resources of that gigantic power, which had so lately intimidated Europe. Neither was it unlikely that the gratitude and admiration

of those, whose fetters he had broken, might be tempted to place the triumphant Goth upon the throne of the Cæsars. Courier after courier was dispatched, with positive orders for Friedland to march towards Vienna; but the emperor discovered, to his utter confusion, that he had surrendered his authority into the hands of a dictator, whom he was no longer able to control. Indifferent alike to the intreaties of Maximilian, and to the injunctions of Ferdinand, that haughty chieftain appeared to derive an ungenerous pleasure, from contemplating at his ease the distresses of those by whom he considered his honour to have been irreparably injured. Till the entire conquest of Bohemia had deprived him of every pretext for further delay, he constantly alleged, in excuse for disobedience, the disadvantages which must accrue from relinquishing an enterprise so essential to the success of his future operations, and so nearly conducted to a prosperous issue; and even when the Saxons no longer afforded an excuse, many difficulties still remained to be overcome, before he would consent to a junction with Maximilian. The jealousy subsisting between the elector and Wallenstein had been embittered by recent events: the haughty temper of the latter was utterly incapable of disguising his resentment; and, if the former could more easily command his feelings, it was not because he was more inclined to forgive. Rendered more arrogant than ever by the unlimited authority he enjoyed, Friedland looked upon himself as little inferior to the Bavarian in rank, and infinitely superior to him in military renown. Maximilian, on the contrary, who derived his descent from one of the most illustrious families in Europe, beheld with disdain the upstart

insolence of a Bohemian baron, educated in the humble capacity of a page, at the little court of Inspruck. — Supremely degrading, therefore, must it have appeared to the dignity of a prince, who had espoused the emperor's daughter, to be subjected to a man so infinitely below him in all those factitious distinctions, which the pride of aristocracy idolizes: but Wallenstein, who regarded all conventional institutions as naturally subordinate to the splendour of genius, treated the claims of his rival with studied contempt, alleging, in defence of his own exorbitant pretensions, the treaty of Znaim; in virtue of which no person, however elevated, could pretend even to share with him in the command. "Were the emperor in person to join the army," said the arrogant duke, "the supreme authority would be still vested in me!"*

However severe the mortification of being compelled to serve under a Bohemian subject, no alternative remained for Maximilian, except to gratify the vanity of an insulting foe, or to forego every hope of recovering his dominions. Pride, therefore, at length was constrained to submit; though it was not till after warm and protracted discussions, that an arrangement was concluded, which stipulated that Wallenstein should direct the military operations of both armies, so long as they continued united, without suffering the elector to make the smallest alteration, either in the disposition of a battle, or the general plan of a campaign. In return for these important concessions, the imperial commander engaged never to interfere with the internal economy of the Bavarian troops; and, in the

* Khevenhüller, xii. 150. Hist. de Gustave Adolphe, 516.

event of a separation, the supreme command of the electoral army was again to revert to Maximilian.*

These preliminaries being settled, the rival chieftains met at Egra, after mutually promising to bury in oblivion every former grievance. All the ceremonies of a reconciliation were punctiliously observed; according to agreement, they embraced each other in presence of their respective armies, professing in future the warmest attachment, though implacable hatred rankled equally in the bosoms of both. In mute attention the surrounding multitude watched their behaviour; not a look escaped their observation. Deeply versed in the intricate science of dissimulation, Maximilian was sufficiently master of his countenance to prevent it from betraying the violence of his emotion, while with the cordiality of friendship he greeted the man, into whose heart he would have rejoiced at plunging a dagger. Wallenstein, on the contrary, felt too elated with his triumph to play the hypocrite. External decency was the only thing to which he attended, but his eyes betrayed a malignant gratification, at contemplating the humiliation of a rival. His colour changed, and his lips quivered with convulsive agitation, while he reluctantly breathed out professions of amity, which his implacable temper belied. More than once he appeared on the very point of giving unbridled scope to his indignation, had not the elector ingeniously directed the conversation to indifferent topics. Scrupulously adhering to the character which he had assumed, Maximilian observed the same delicacy, even in the retired society of his confidential friends, to

* *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 516. Khevenhiller, xii. 150.

whom he always spoke of the talents of Wallenstein with the warmest expressions of admiration. Not so the Duke of Friedland: for no sooner was the theatrical exhibition concluded, than he not only forbore to conceal his delight, but publicly exulted in his ungenerous triumph.

Wallenstein now found himself at the head of sixty thousand men; a force so superior to that of Gustavus, that all Europe anticipated his destruction. The imperial general, however, was less confident of success, and estimated the abilities of his adversary more justly; conscious that genius can often compensate numerical deficiencies, or perhaps desirous of postponing a conflict, which, if it terminated prosperously, must strip him of his authority; and, should the event prove unpropitious, overwhelm him with disgrace.*

Gustavus appears to have been mistaken in his calculations respecting the conduct of his antagonists. The inveterate animosity which prevailed between them, inspired him with the belief that they would never be reconciled, and he accordingly neglected the necessary precautions to impede their junction, till it was no longer in his power to prevent it.

Conceiving that the first impetuosity of the torrent would be directed against the Elector of Saxony, and nobly resolved to encounter every danger in defence of his ally, he sent Duke Bernard to watch the motions of the enemy, directing him to join the main army, in case Friedland should attempt the siege of Nuremberg instead of penetrating as he expected into Misnia.† The movements of

* Khevenhiller, xii. 151.

† Lotichius, i. 1050.

the imperialists, however, soon dispelled the mystery, and convinced Gustavus, that all the transcendent powers of his unrivalled genius must be called into action, if he wished to escape from the overwhelming storm with unblemished reputation. Too feeble to face the enemy in the field, no choice remained, except to throw himself into Nuremberg, at the hazard of being reduced to a disgraceful capitulation, or to submit to the ignominy of abandoning a city, which had implicitly trusted to his valour. His decision, when summoned to the succour of his allies, was, however, prompt and resolute; and he determined to bury himself under the ruins of Nuremberg, rather than shew himself indifferent to the call of honour.

This resolution, so worthy of his spotless fame, was no sooner embraced, than he prepared for carrying it into immediate execution. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the Swedish generals to hasten to his assistance, and a positive assurance was at the same time conveyed to the magistrates of Nuremberg, "that he was decided to risk both life and glory, rather than abandon them to the fury of the Austrians."^{*}

It was not, however, to the safety of the city alone that he trusted for the consummation of his military renown, but he aspired also to preserve from ruin the suburbs and the beautiful villas, so precious in the estimation of mercantile opulence. An enterprize more hazardous was perhaps never attempted by human fortitude; for even should he succeed in repelling the attacks of an enemy, at least three times superior to him in numbers, by

* Lotichius, i. 1050.

what means were provisions to be procured? From an army barely sufficient for the defence of their lines, no detachments could be spared for conveying stores, drawn from distant provinces, or remote magazines.

The first object, of course, which engaged his attention, was the selection of a spot for his encampment. After mature deliberation, he ordered the town, at the distance of about three quarters of a mile from the walls, to be surrounded with a regular ditch, twelve feet wide, and eight feet deep; and, as an additional security, he caused eight towers to be constructed at regular distances, besides an infinite number of redoubts and batteries, furnished with no less than three hundred pieces of heavy artillery.* The approach of the enemy allowing little leisure for the execution of this wonderful undertaking, seven thousand men were constantly occupied with the spade and the mattock, who were regularly relieved at stated periods; so that the labour continued without the smallest intermission, and, in the short space of eight and forty hours, was so far advanced, as to render the position unassailable. The Swedish troops now entered the intrenchments, and having pitched their tents in the intermediate space between the ditch and the city, continued the work with unabating activity, till it was brought to the utmost perfection.

Meanwhile, Wallenstein advanced, and having reviewed his army between Neumark and Frey-stadt, he contemplated with exultation the magnificent spectacle. More than four hundred standards floated in the air, enriched with various de-

* Swedish Intel. iii. 6.

vices; eighty cannons of heavy calibre threatened destruction to all who opposed him, while the march was closed by upwards of four thousand waggons, and an innumerable multitude of women.* Anticipating the glory which he was about to acquire, he exultingly exclaimed, "the world shortly will see, whether Wallenstein or Gustavus shall be master of Germany!" †

Terrible as the shock of such an army must prove, the Swedish monarch beheld its approach with unshaken constancy; and having received intelligence that the artillery had been sent forward to Neumark with an escort of only four thousand soldiers, he conceived hopes of being able to surprise it. With this view he dispatched Taupadel, ‡ an intelligent officer, to reconnoitre the position; who, being misled by an erroneous report, attempted to anticipate his master's wishes by a gallant exploit. But the strength of the enemy proving infinitely greater than he expected, the action terminated in the captivity of Taupadel. §

Desirous of conciliating the good opinion of a prince, whose virtues he so highly admired, Wallenstein received the prisoner with many tokens of respect, and, ordering his ransom to be instantly paid out of his own private purse, he sent him back with a respectful message to the king, expressive of the veneration which his matchless talents inspired. This compliment was accompanied by

* Burgus estimates them at 15,000, and supposes the number of sutlers and servants, who attended the army, to have been nearly equal. 364.

† Khevenhiller, xii. 151. Puffendorf, iv. 35.

‡ This officer is called Dewbattle by Harte and all the French historians, but I have adopted the orthography of Puffendorf, and of the Germans.

§ Swed. Intell. ii. 238.

an offer of peace, and a declaration from Wallenstein that he should esteem that moment the happiest of his existence, in which he should be fortunate enough to promote a permanent reconciliation between Austria and Sweden.* These proposals were immediately communicated to the senate of Nuremberg, who were requested to decide for themselves, without attending to any thing but their own immediate welfare. "I came here," said the king, "for your protection; but should you be of opinion that a negotiation with the imperial general is the most likely method of averting the storm, let me be no impediment to the treaty. I am ready to decamp at an hour's notice, and I do not entertain the smallest apprehension respecting the consequences of a retreat."†

Fearful that his presence might fetter the freedom of debate, he instantly quitted the assembly; but his example had inspired magnanimity, and awakened sentiments of the most generous devotion. By unanimous acclamation the senators announced the unshaken resolution of adhering to the fortune of their generous protector, and of sacrificing, if necessary, their lives and their fortunes for the preservation of their religion and independence. The flame, thus kindled at the shrine of patriotism, spread with almost electric rapidity. Every citizen capable of bearing arms offered his services to the state; and, so universal was the enthusiasm, that before the expiration of the following day, thirty thousand names appeared on the register.‡ Out of this number twelve chosen battalions were formed, four of which regularly mounted guard on the ram-

* Galetti, i. 267. † Ibid. ‡ Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, 526.

parts. The immense magazines, where grain sufficient at least for the consumption of a year was always deposited, were immediately opened, and corn regularly distributed to the Swedish soldiers. By this wise precaution during the long blockade bread was generally procured with tolerable facility; and, when any scarcity arose, it proceeded entirely from the want of mills for preparing the flour. Other provisions of course augmented in price, and were not always attainable even for money: but so attentive were the magistrates to the distresses of their fellow citizens, and so admirable were the regulations established, that not a single person is supposed to have perished from hunger.*

In the opinion of most of the European politicians the ruin of Gustavus was inevitable;† and this apparent change in the current of fortune produced a notable difference in the language employed by the imperial ministers. With presumptuous confidence they publicly boasted that the northern hero was enveloped in a net from which he could never disentangle himself. Even the firm mind of Richelieu for a moment gave way to despair: seriously alarmed at the prospect before him, he earnestly endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Louis and his brother; but the folly of Gaston delivered him at once from all his apprehensions, involving in the ruin, which his temerity occasioned, the gallant and amiable Montmorency.

Aware of the unfavourable impression which his

* Khevenhiller, xii. 161.

† According to Galetti this sentiment was so prevalent, that in many catholic towns, and particularly at Cologne, prints were publicly sold, representing the Swedish army in the act of laying down their arms. i. 276.

apparent distress was likely to produce on the minds of all who were unacquainted with the extent of his resources, Gustavus addressed a letter to Louis, assuring him that his overthrow was far less certain than his enemies predicted.* Wallenstein however seems fully to have appreciated the difficulties which he had to encounter. From his camp, on the western bank of the Pegnitz, he beheld with admiration the astonishing efforts of his antagonist; and probably regretted that he had lost the opportunity of attacking him, before his intrenchments were completed. But when urged by Maximilian to make the attempt, he calmly replied, "The interests of the emperor impose a different system. Would to God his generals had been less fond of fighting! for, in that case, we should not at the present moment have to contend for the existence of the house of Austria, in the very centre of Germany.†

The caution of Wallenstein in avoiding an engagement was highly applauded by Ferdinand,

* Le Vassor gives the following extract from this letter, bearing date the 24th of August. x. 345.

"Nous avons cru devoir avertir votre majesté que nous ne sommes pas si foibles que nos ennemis le publient, a l'occasion de quelques avantages qu'il sont obtenus. Nous pouvons leur opposer d'aussi grandes forces que jamais, et le courage ne nous manquera qu'avec la vie. Nous sommes tous les jours dans le champ de Mars, afin de leur faire sentir ce que peuvent ceux qui n'ont les armes a la main, que pour le bien public, et pour la liberté des princes et des peuples, qui gemissaient sous leur tyrannie. Dieu qui sonde le cœur des hommes, nous a toujours conduit dans nos justes desseins." &c. &c. The style of this letter may perhaps appear a little suspicious to the present age, accustomed to behold professions of a similar nature employed for the vilest purposes of deceit. But the heart of Gustavus was as averse from treachery as it was incapable of fear; and when he promised independence to the German nation, it was not with a view of enslaving it.

† Swed. Intell. iii. 13. Le Vassor, x. 364.

who repeatedly exhorted him to act with circumspection, and not to risk the destruction of the only army which remained to cover Vienna.* An attempt to assault the Swedish camp, even supposing it crowned with the most brilliant success, must necessarily have been accompanied with an enormous carnage; and though Friedland might perhaps have beheld with indifference the effusion of blood, provided he ultimately carried his point, he was not ignorant that the best concerted plans are often frustrated by accidents, against which prudence cannot provide, and was convinced, that a defeat in his situation must be attended with utter destruction. He therefore determined gradually to consume the hostile army by the slow but regular process of a blockade, which by affording to his adversary no opportunity for displaying his impetuous courage, deprived him of one of the most powerful instruments which had hitherto rendered him invincible. Could he succeed in intercepting the Swedish convoys, of which he seems to have entertained but little doubt, he knew that the provisions accumulated in the granaries of Nuremberg must be shortly exhausted, when he flattered himself with beholding the famished foe reduced to unconditional submission.

But while he anxiously expected that glorious event, his sanguine temper appears entirely to have overlooked a thousand obstacles, against which he had to contend, and to have forgotten, that in proportion as his numbers were considerable, the difficulty of feeding them increased. This evil was greatly augmented by the ferocious behaviour of

* Galetti, i. 263. Puffendorf, iv. 35.

his soldiers. The industrious farmers had fled with their property from the rapacious fury of the croats; and the few sources of sustenance, which it had been impracticable to remove, became objects of daily contestation. The necessaries of life could be acquired only by the sword; so that it was dangerous to forage without a numerous escort.* In the Austrian army the commissariat department was radically defective. The troops were accustomed for the most part to subsist by plunder; and what was obtained by injustice, was usually squandered with prodigality.

Among the Swedes a different system prevailed; every thing was conducted with order and economy, and comfort and salubrity were the consequences. So long as supplies could be procured from the adjacent territory, the store-houses of Nuremberg were untouched; but, when the impoverished country was no longer able to administer relief, the wants of the army were abundantly provided for by a generous ally, while the imperialists were constrained to draw their supplies from distant provinces.†

A valuable convoy collected in Bavaria, at an enormous expense, had actually reached Freystadt, where it was waiting the arrival of a powerful escort. This circumstance having been privately communicated to Gustavus, Taupadel and Gassion were sent to attack it; and conducted the enterprize with so much ability, that the town was surprised in the dead of night, and upwards of a thousand head of cattle, together with two hundred

* Nam devastatis circum agris, consumptisque prodige frugibus, ad quinquaginta passuum millia aliquando Norimberga procul pabulatam ire erat necesse.—Burgus, 363.

† Galetti, 267. Khevenhiller, xii. 161.

waggons laden with corn and military stores, were carried off in triumph by the victors.*

Notwithstanding the acquisition of so important a prize averted the horrors of famine, the Swedes suffered materially from the want of wholesome water; because the diminished Pegnitz, from which they were chiefly supplied, became putrid from the intense heat of the weather, as well as from the carcasses of horses and oxen, with which indiscretion or malignity had almost choaked up its channel.†

Insubordination may be regarded as the inevitable consequence of distress. With unspeakable regret the king beheld that admirable discipline, which distinguished his troops from the banditti of Austria, declining daily, to make way for lawless rapacity. Resolved to stop the progress of the evil before it attained to an incurable height, he summoned the staff-officers to his tent, where he addressed them in a speech equally honourable to his feelings as a man, a soldier, and a Christian. "Gentlemen," said he, with an expression of sorrow, which penetrated to the hearts of his auditors, "it is with inexpressible affliction that I daily hear of the extortions and cruelties committed by men who wear my uniform. Your negligence in suffering this disorderly conduct to escape unpunished, I blush to say it, excites my contempt and indignation in an equal degree. God, to whom alone our inmost thoughts are disclosed, knows, that no precaution has been omitted by me, which could tend to repress their enormities. But my wisest regulations have been set at defiance; and by your inhumanity toward those whom it is your duty to pro-

* Hist. de Gustave, 528. Harte, ii. 273.

† Burgus, 363.

fect, you have afforded our allies just cause to complain, that they have suffered more from their defenders than from their enemies. A reproach like this I cannot endure ; and, if you really love me, you will spare me the ignominy of ever hearing it repeated again. It wounds me to the soul to find my gallant Swedes compared to croats. Can it be necessary for me, when speaking to Christians; to remind them of the precepts which the gospel enforces ? but you seem to have forgotten that the motive for which we drew the sword, was to protect, and not to destroy. Need I recal to your recollection the many hardships which I have endured for your sakes (addressing himself particularly to the Germans) : for you I have sacrificed my domestic comforts, and, what is infinitely dearer to me, the comforts of my people. It is your inhumanity towards your mother country that has tarished the glory of my victorious subjects; for the perpetrators of the crimes, of which I complain, are almost exclusively Germans.

“ You may perhaps attempt to palliate the turpitude of your behaviour, by alleging your pecuniary distress ; yet no man can upbraid me with want of punctuality in paying my troops, which I have always done to the full extent of my ability. Your depredations, however, by destroying my credit, must soon deprive me of the means of providing for your support. Heaven can witness, that my only object in commencing hostilities against Austria, was to restore to every man his legitimate property ; and, with respect to the conquests which our valour might achieve, it was my decided intention to divide them impartially among my German allies. What portion have I reserved for my-

self? No, I solemnly protest, that since my landing in Pomerania, I have not sent a single dollar to Sweden; but, on the contrary, have drawn prodigious sums from my patrimonial estates, as I can prove from unquestionable documents. I do not mention this, because I set an improper value on riches; for no one can behold them with greater indifference. It is from the paucity of my wants that I wish to be opulent, and not from the extent of my possessions. But there is another sacrifice which I cannot contemplate with equal apathy—the loss of many brave and excellent officers, whose merits no praises can equal. Nature and gratitude demand this tribute to their memory, and while my heart continues to beat, their services shall never be forgotten.

“ I implore you therefore, gentlemen, as you value my friendship, seriously to reflect upon what I have said: for I must, and I will be obeyed. Suppose not, however, that I mean to tax you with want of courage, when facing the cannon of the enemy; for, in that situation, I am proud to say, you have always behaved like heroes. It is your licentiousness and your cruelty which excite my indignation, because they sully the splendour of every triumph.”*

According to the report of an illustrious author,† the king addressed his auditors with so much emotion, that many of them were moved even to tears. Not a syllable was uttered in their excuse. By their silence they acknowledged the justness of the reproof, and secretly resolved never more to deserve a similar censure.

* 1632, Swedish Intelligencer, lii. 24. Harte, ii. 276.

† Khevenhiller.

After explaining his intentions to the chiefs in a pathetic discourse, he communicated them to the army by a proclamation, in which he solemnly denounced the severest punishment against every delinquent, without the smallest regard either to his rank or to his services. "Beware of attempting to desert, or to mutiny," such was the menace applied to the German auxiliaries, "for I have Swedes enough remaining to exterminate you all, even in the presence of Wallenstein; and, so long as my proceedings are sanctioned by justice, I am resolved that my orders shall be implicitly obeyed."*

Determined to carry this menace into execution, unless a total reformation should ensue, he caused a lieutenant to be hanged for pillaging; and, shortly after, being informed that a common soldier had stolen a cow, he ordered out the regiment to which he belonged, and, seizing the culprit with his own hands, delivered him over to the executioner. "It is better friend," said the king, with tender emotion, "that thou shouldest expiate thy offence by the sacrifice of life, than that thy crime should draw down the vengeance of the Almighty upon me, and thy gallant comrades: for though I consider every soldier in the light of a child, yet I am destined to perform the duties of a judge, no less than those of a parent."†

Meanwhile, the different detachments of the Swedish army were rapidly collecting; but, as they were scattered over the various provinces which extend from the Baltic to the Tirolian mountains, their union was attended with many difficulties, and afforded room for the display of those astonish-

* Harte, il. 279. Histoire de Gustave, 524.

† Ibid. Harte, ibid.

ing talents, with which the generals of Gustavus were endowed. Aware of the danger to which rashness might expose them, the king thought it expedient to caution Oxenstiern against the perils incidental to precipitation. "Do not imagine," said he, "that I am reduced to such distress, as to make it necessary for you to brave every danger for my relief; proceed with circumspection, without suffering your apprehensions for my safety to warp your judgment; for, depend upon it, I shall be able to look my enemies in the face much longer than they are inclined to believe."*

The measures adopted by the different commanders corresponded exactly with these instructions. William, Duke of Weimar, having assembled the forces in Lower Saxony, proceeded to Schweinfurt, where, being joined by a body of auxiliary Saxons, he crossed the Thuringian forest, and arrived in safety at Wurtzburg, the place appointed for his junction with Oxenstiern. The chancellor on his part had been equally active in collecting the troops employed in the provinces contiguous to the Rhine; and, being reinforced by Banier, and a body of Hessians, advanced to meet the Duke of Weimar, after leaving Horn, with a strong detachment, to watch the motions of the Spaniards. Finding himself at the head of little less than fifty thousand men, he directed his course by the shortest route toward Nuremberg, where he arrived without experiencing the smallest molestation.†

This fortunate event was celebrated by a general thanksgiving; for, amid the public distress, the piety of Gustavus regarded festivity as presump-

* Khevenhiller, xii. 161.

† Puffendorf, iv. 41.

tuous. Being now superior to the enemy in numerical strength, he resolved no longer to remain on the defensive; Wallenstein, on the contrary, determined at all events to avoid an engagement: and, in order that nothing might compel him to relinquish his plan, he surrounded his camp with additional fortifications.

The augmentation of numbers, though it delivered the king from all apprehensions on the part of the enemy, was far from putting an end to his distress. To behold the brave companions of his victories swept away by fevers and dysenteries, was a calamity too severe for fortitude to endure; yet no remedy presented itself which reason could approve. He examined repeatedly the enemy's lines; he consulted his generals respecting the possibility of storming them; but all opinions agreed in pronouncing the enterprize impracticable. Drawing up his forces in order of battle, he daily endeavoured to tempt his antagonist to quit his intrenchments; but the prudence of Wallenstein was immoveable. Batteries were constructed in front of the Austrian camp; no batteries, however, were raised to oppose them. Friedland pertinaciously adhering to his system, contented himself with removing to a more elevated spot, out of reach of the Swedish artillery.*

The patience of Gustavus being at length exhausted, in a moment of irritation he resolved upon an undertaking so desperate, that nothing but the extremest necessity ought to have suggested the attempt, because nothing but victory could justify it.

* Galotti, i. 271. Puffendorf, 22.

On the 24th of August, (the fifty-eighth day after his encampment under the walls of Nuremberg) intelligence was communicated, by an Austrian prisoner, that Wallenstein, reduced to the utmost distress, was preparing to quit his position.* The courage of Gustavus kindling at the idea of surprising the enemy during a retreat, he ordered his troops to prepare for combat; great, however, was his disappointment, when, upon nearer inspection, he discovered that the movement was for the purpose of occupying an ancient castle, which commanded their lines; and from which, if suffered to fall into his hands, they might be severely annoyed. Incensed at having allowed himself to be so easily deceived, the king was no longer master of his temper; but, giving way to the dictates of wounded pride, hastily resolved to persevere.† Pushing forward with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand, he compelled the Austrian outposts to retire precipitately to the camp, which occupied an eminence between the Rednitz and the Biber.‡

The post of honour was allotted to the Germans, who, after the most brilliant display of personal bravery, were compelled to retire with considerable loss. Exasperated at an occurrence which he might easily have foreseen, the king led the intrepid Finlanders to slaughter; men unconscious of fear, and never known to turn their backs on danger. But intrepidity now was of little avail; for all that it

* There is great reason to believe, that this information was received from a confidential servant belonging to Aldringer, sent on purpose to deceive Gustavus.—Swed. Intell. i. 40.

† Ibid. 251.

‡ The rivers Pegnitz and Rednitz unite at Furth. The Biber runs into the former below Nuremberg.

could arrive at, was the sterile honour of immolating life unprofitably. Brigade succeeded to brigade, exposed for hours, without the smallest covering, to the tremendous fire of one hundred and forty pieces of heavy artillery; while Wallenstein, secure behind a triple intrenchment, derided their impotent fury. The whole hill was involved in flames; yet no sooner was one regiment overpowered, than another was ordered to replace it; so that in the course of an action, which continued without intermission during ten hours, every corps was successively engaged.

The oldest generals universally agreed, that they never before witnessed so tremendous a scene. Duke Bernard and Wallenstein had their horses shot under them, and the king himself experienced a narrow escape, the heel of his boot being carried away by a cannon ball.* The combat continued with unabating ardour, though it clearly appeared to every officer, except to Gustavus, that he was sacrificing the lives of gallant men, without the smallest prospect of victory. The Landgrave of Hesse, afflicted to see this waste of blood, ventured to remonstrate: "Sir," said the indignant monarch, interrupting him hastily, "you are at perfect liberty to retire. I will reserve the glory for my own subjects, if German courage is so easily depressed." This reproach was totally unmerited; but rage and disappointment had so entirely occupied the soul of

* "A Dutch officer reports me a pretty storie of a compliment (or an allegiance rather) between an humble bullet and the king; namely, that a piece of the sole of his majestic's boote, neare unto the great toe of his right foote, was carried away with a shot. This bullet knew his duty for a king should be touched no higher." A curious specimen of style and judgment!—Swed. Intel. 49.

Gustavus, as to render it insensible to the suggestions of prudence, and deaf to the cry of humanity. Never, perhaps, was persevering fortitude displayed more conspicuously; never, perhaps, was commander more ably supported. Banier and Torstenson were particularly distinguished, and Duke Bernard displayed those splendid talents, which rendered him worthy to succeed to the immortal Gustavus. At the head of the left wing he fought heroically against the right of the Austrians; though conscious that he was leading his followers to certain death, he climbed the rugged mountain, and, after incredible efforts, gained possession of an eminence which commanded the enemy's intrenchments.* But all the blood that had been shed had flowed ineffectually; the approach of night made it impossible for him to pursue the advantage, and a torrent of rain, which fell before morning, rendered the ground impracticable for cannon. A few hours reflection convincing the king that fortune for once had deserted him, he sent for Bernard; and, after a hasty conference, the trumpets sounded a retreat; which was conducted with so much skill and regularity, that Wallenstein never attempted to disturb it, even by the desultory evo-

* When Gustavus received intelligence of this gallant action, he appears to have entertained a gleam of hope, that it might lead to some decisive result. Anxious, however, to gain more minute information, he went in search of an officer on whose judgment he could rely, and accidentally meeting Hepburn, requested him to examine the ground. That gallant Scot, from an idea that his merit was not adequately rewarded, had signified his intention of quitting the Swedish service, and was actually preparing to leave the army, when he was attracted to the field by the resistless impulse of courage. "This, sire," said the intrepid warrior, "is an order which I will readily execute, because it is accompanied with danger."—Swed. Intell. iii. 44.

lutions of the croats. Nothing is more difficult to ascertain than the respective losses sustained in a battle, since both parties are interested in misrepresenting them; but we may fairly conclude the Swedes to have been the greatest sufferers, on account of their exposed situation.*

This sanguinary conflict appears to have inspired each commander with increasing admiration for the military talents of his opponents.† During fourteen days they continued in sight of each other; and, though both of them endured the severest distress, neither was inclined to renounce the barren gratification of beholding an adversary retreat. In the bosom of Wallenstein pride, however, was the predominant passion; humanity in that of Gustavus. The former, in consequence, would have seen the last soldier expire with hunger, rather than depart from the resolution of never moving, till the Swedes had set him the example. But the compassionate heart of the latter could ill endure the thought of occasioning by his obstinacy the destruction of those whom he had undertaken to defend; and, so long as the armies remained in the vicinity of Nuremberg, it was impossible that the malady should abate. Ten thousand of the inhabitants had already fallen victims to a pestilential malady, which daily augmented with alarming rapidity; and, in the Swedish camp, nearly double that number had perished. From the adjacent fields every vestige of vegetation had disappeared; the farm-houses and

* According to Galetti three thousand Swedes were slain (275); but most authors considerably diminish the number.

† A very spirited account of the whole proceedings may be found in Burgus, 377, ac.

villages were reduced to ashes; and their miserable tenants, stripped of every thing necessary for the sustentation of life, filled the air with their curses and lamentations. Impregnated with the noxious effluvia of putrescent carcasses, every breeze dispersed contagion.

With a bosom bleeding for the evils which he had been compelled to inflict, and utterly despairing to subdue the stubbornness of his rival, the Swedish monarch broke up his camp on the eighth of September. This sacrifice of pride to compassion might probably have been sooner consummated, had he not been detained by the dread of exposing his faithful allies to the fury of Wallenstein, who repeatedly swore to punish their obstinacy by a memorable revenge. These apprehensions, however, were in great measure dissipated by the gallantry of Kniphausen, who spontaneously offered to defend the city with four thousand men, under the penalty of losing his head. Unwilling even at last to abandon his post without the entire approbation of the citizens, Gustavus, having requested that an extraordinary assembly might be called, addressed himself thus to the senate: "Gentlemen," said he, pointing to their destined governor, "this gallant officer once defended an open village, for several days, against all the efforts of Tilly."* All fears being now dispelled, they not only agreed to the the king's proposal, but undertook to maintain the Swedish garrison at their own expense. Delighted at finding so much magnanimity among men of commercial pursuits, Gustavus explained to them the

* Gualdo, 135.

many difficulties which Wallenstein must encounter, should he rashly undertake a long and arduous siege at the approach of winter; "but should he attempt it," added he, "no distance nor obstacles shall prevent me from immediately marching to your relief."*

The Swedish army, before it decamped, presented battle to the imperialists. Far however from accepting the challenge, their prudent commander positively forbade even a cannon to be discharged, for fear a skirmish might ensue. Convinced by repeated failures that no insults could induce him to hazard a battle, the king proceeded by easy marches to Windesheim, where he allowed the troops a few days repose, in a country abounding in wholesome sustenance, and enjoying the blessing of an uncontaminated atmosphere.

Far from entertaining any hostile designs against Nuremberg, Wallenstein does not appear to have considered his own position as perfectly secure. Apprehensive that the retreat of the Swedes might be intended as a stratagem to draw him from his intrenchments, he never moved till he had received unquestionable information that they were actually approaching the frontier of Bavaria.† This intelligence having been confirmed from various quarters, he prepared for his departure, after setting fire to a prodigious quantity of baggage and military stores.‡ A great number of casques, and cuirasses, and other martial implements were left behind, which were religiously preserved as military trophies in the arsenal of Nuremberg.

Unable to satiate his vengeance in the blood of

* Harte, ii. 321. † Schmidt, v. 9. ‡ Burgus, 386.

the citizens, Friedland indulged his relentless fury, by effacing the few remains of civilized life which had escaped the ferocity of the croats. Thick columns of smoke, ascending in every direction, announced the melancholy destiny which would have awaited the city, had his power been equal to his resentment. Crossing the Rednitz, he marched to Forheim, laying waste the country like an angry demon, whose highest gratification is to destroy.*

In order to follow Gustavus with uninterrupted attention, we have been tempted to neglect those military operations in which he was not personally engaged; and, as a moment of leisure is afforded for the inquiry, to them we shall now return.

In the preceding pages we saw the Archbishop of Treves endeavouring to escape from the rapacity of the Spaniards, by putting himself under the protection of Louis XIII. But the army destined for the defence of the electorate, proving too weak for the recovery of Coblenz, the French were reduced to the humiliating alternative, of either abandoning the enterprize altogether, or of soliciting the assistance of Sweden. However mortifying this necessity might prove to the feelings of a people, whose vanity was always unbounded, they preferred a conquest effected by the co-operation of an ally, to the disgrace of an unsuccessful campaign. No sooner was Horn apprised of their distress, than he flew to their succour; and soon compelled the city to surrender.

All communication being now cut off between the Lower Palatinate and the Netherlands, Gus-

* Puffendorf, iv. 53. Khevenhiller, xii. 157. *Gaudetque viam fecisse ruine.*

tavus is supposed to have formed the design of reinstating the unfortunate Frederic; and, as a preparatory step, sent orders to Horn to follow up the advantages already obtained, till he had forced the Spaniards to evacuate the Palatinate; while the Rhinegrave Otho Louis was directed to attack the imperialists in Alsace.*

Montecuculi, whose skilful and enterprising courage was destined to great and merited renown, had lately been appointed to the command of an army, assembled in the vicinity of Constance, and designed for the protection of Brissac. The local strength of that important fortress rendered it at once a receptacle for military stores, and a place of rendezvous for the numerous levies which were training in the adjacent provinces. Hearing that the Swedish force had been considerably weakened by repeated detachments, Montecuculi, whose troops were daily deserting from want of pay, resolved by the plunder of the Duchy of Wirtemberg to procure at least a temporary supply. No sooner was the duke apprised of his intention, than he hastily assembled the militia, and marched toward the frontier to meet the enemy; but, finding them superior both in numbers and discipline, he prudently retired to the impenetrable fastnesses in which the interior of Suabia abounds.†

Impelled by the necessity of providing subsistence for his famished soldiers, the Austrian general advanced with celerity at the head of the cavalry, to whom he allowed, as a substitute for regular pay, the unfettered indulgence of every

* Puffendorf, iv. 37.

† Gualdo, 123, recounts events in which he was himself an actor.

brutal appetite. The small town of Knitlingen was abandoned to the flames, because the indigence of its inhabitants afforded nothing to satiate rapacity.*

While these savage banditti were gratifying their ferocity with this fiend-like amusement, intelligence arrived that an Austrian column had been surrounded, as it was marching for the purpose of surprising Wiseloch, and unless speedily succoured must soon be forced to surrender at discretion. Apprehensive of the consequences of entangling himself in a country covered with forests, Montecuculi prudently hesitated; but Ossa, an officer of great experience, who was second in command, allured by the prospect of an abundant booty, (as most of the wealth of the adjacent provinces was known to be deposited at Wiseloch) insisted that the enterprize could not be declined without exposing the army to eternal disgrace: Montecuculi, taking fire at the imputation, suffered courage to get the better of judgment. The event however fully justified his suspicions; for, being attacked by the rhinegrave, who issued unexpectedly from the adjacent woods, the whole body was instantly thrown into confusion, and the greater part of them cut in pieces. It was to the speed of their horses that Montecuculi and Ossa were indebted for safety.†

The invasion of his dominions, without any previous declaration of hostilities, determined the Duke of Wirtemberg to accede to the treaty so repeatedly proposed by the King of Sweden.‡

* Gualdo, 123. Swed. Intell. iv. 40.

† Gualdo, ib. Swed. Intell. 44. Puffendorf, iv. 51. ‡ Gualdo, 127.

The example of a prince, more celebrated for prudence than for courage, was followed by many of the Alsacian barons, by whose assistance Gustavus was enabled to raise several additional regiments, and to draw supplies from a country, whose natural exuberance still afforded ample resources.* Availing themselves of the friendly disposition of the natives, the Swedish commanders reduced the greater part of that fertile province, and were even received at Strasburg with cordial marks of attachment.†

In Saxony affairs wore a less favourable aspect, because they were conducted with less ability. All endeavours having failed to induce the elector to accede to a separate peace, the court of Vienna determined to effect by coercion what it had ineffectually attempted by solicitation. Orders were in consequence issued for the Silesian army to enter Lusatia. Fire and devastation accompanied their steps, according to the usual practice of Austria, who constantly acted, as if she thought the calamities incidental to war too lenient for the gratification of orthodox hatred, unless heightened by gratuitous cruelty. Lubben, Zittau, and Gorlitz, having fallen successively a prey to the brutality of the victors, the elector grew alarmed for the safety of Dresden, and began seriously to prepare for its defence. Under pretence that a diversion would be the most effectual method of averting the storm, Arnheim entered Silesia, where he invested Glogau; and, having carried it by assault, put every man to the sword, in retaliation for the atrocities committed in the electorate. Crossing the Oder upon

* Histoire de Gustave, 530.

† Swed. Intell. iv. 125.

a temporary bridge, he followed the imperialists, who fled to Breslau, where they expected to find an asylum. But as neither threats nor intreaties could procure them admission, they sought a refuge behind the ramparts of Lissa, while the Saxons advancing, without the smallest opposition, reduced nearly the whole of Silesia.

This enterprise, though apparently glorious to the Saxon arms, was so eminently deficient in common prudence, as to create a suspicion that Arnheim had pushed his conquest to the frontiers of Hungary, for the purpose of leaving his master's dominions a prey to the fury of Wallenstein: for no sooner was the haughty dictator informed of the defenceless state of the electorate, than he sent Holk with directions to ravage the country with fire and sword: for the execution of a plan so repugnant to the feelings of a generous mind, no fitter instrument could have been selected. Whatever was clothed in a human form, from the amiable innocence of helpless infancy to the no less helpless decrepitude of age, became the object of his sanguinary fury.* To die without insult was a blessing reserved for such alone, as wanted attractions to excite those carnal appetites, which nature implanted in the breast of man, to shew how nearly he is allied to the brute creation, when his passions are no longer under the guidance of reason. From the windows of his palace the trembling sovereign beheld the towns and villages involved in flames; and the fruits of the earth unmercifully blighted by

* "Near Friberg Holk's men taking high displeasure at a certain minister of the country, a man of rare learning, first hewed him in pieces with their swords, and then flung him to their dogs to be eaten." Swed. Intell. iif. 100.

the torch of devastation, before they had attained to maturity.

With no less ferocity Gallas advanced by Hoff and Placien. Chemnitz and Altenburg, both flourishing towns, were reduced to ashes with wanton barbarity,* after which glorious exploits he formed a junction with Holk, a worthy coadjutor, when they compelled Freyberg to pay an extravagant ransom, in order to save from profanation the magnificent sepulchres of the Saxon family, which Gallas with more than Gothic impiety was preparing rudely to violate. Following the course of the Elbe they took possession of Meissen, so celebrated for its manufactory of porcelaine, and were actually preparing to glut their avidity by the plunder of Leipsic, when they were suddenly stopped in their sanguinary career, by an unexpected order from Wallenstein.†

Pappenheim meanwhile had supported the war in Lower Saxony with admirable skill, but with varying fortune. When compelled by Banier to abandon the Elbe, he burst into Hessa like a destructive torrent, sweeping every thing away which could embellish life, or administer to the comforts of man. After reducing the landgraivate to a perfect desert, he made a wonderful effort for the relief of Maestrich, then upon the point of surrendering to the Prince of Orange. This latter enterprize

* Swed. Intell. iii. 100.

† Khevenhiller, xii. 49. *Histoire de Gustave*, 538.—It is necessary to observe that this hasty sketch embraces events, which occurred both before and after the blockade of Nuremberg. But chronological exactness would have interrupted the narrative, which it was important to present to the reader's eye clear and unbroken. Gallas for instance was present in the camp before Nuremberg, where he commanded a division of the imperial army.

however completely failed through the jealousy of the Spanish commanders,* who had the baseness to witness the heroism of Pappenheim, without being impelled by a sentiment of honour to assist him.† Recalled in haste for the defence of Westphalia, where the Swedes, under the orders of Luneburg and Baudissen, were daily becoming more formidable, his presence by restoring confidence to the disheartened troops arrested the progress of the enemy, and even compelled them to raise the siege of Paderborn.‡

After the belligerent armies had quitted Nuremberg, the King of Sweden expected that Maximilian at least would follow him into Bavaria; but, finding that he still continued with Wallenstein, he began to suspect that they intended to abandon the country south of the Danube, with the view of making themselves masters of the Franconian fortresses, and thus intercepting his communication with northern Germany. Anxious, however, to provide against the impending storm, in whatever quarter it might burst, he divided his army into two bodies; one of which, under Duke Bernard, was destined to act on the banks of the Mayne, while at the head of the other he determined to penetrate into the hereditary dominions of Austria. This latter resolution is said to have been embraced in conformity to the advice of Oxenstiern, who felt assured that Wallenstein would be recalled for the defence of Vienna, before his master arrived at Munich. This supposition, though founded upon the most rational calcula-

* Gonsalvo di Cordova, and the Marquis of Santa Croce.

† Harte, ii. 308. Gualdo, 132.

‡ Puffendorf, iv. 44. Lotichius, i. 1033.

tions, proved erroneous; because the plans of the enemy were guided by motives very different from those by which, under similar circumstances, that honest statesman would have been actuated.

After ineffectually attempting to surprise Culmbach and Coburg, and sacking Bareuth, Friedland renounced the project of recovering Franconia, induced alike by the difficulty of the undertaking and the hope of accomplishing, without interruption, the long-meditated conquest of Saxony. Deaf to the intreaties of Maximilian, he abandoned him entirely to his own resources; and, though the Bavarian army was reduced to little more than seven thousand men, he suffered him to depart with the bitter reflection, of having wasted the blood and treasure of his subjects for no better purpose than to gratify the vanity of a rival.*

After retaking Rayne, which had been suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy, by the dastardly conduct of the governor, the king proceeded to Neuburg, in pursuit of Montecuculi, who, in spite of the exertions of his vigilant adversary, contrived to take shelter in Ratisbonne. No man rewarded merit with greater generosity than Gustavus, but he punished cowardice with no less severity. Rayne having been plentifully provided with every thing necessary for its defence, the king was so exasperated at the timidity of Mitzval, that he caused him to be beheaded in presence of the whole army, unmoved by the urgent petitions of the queen, who, with the characteristic sensibility of her sex, implored a mitigation of the sentence. Desirous of securing his conquests in Bavaria, by

* Puffendorf, iv. 55. Harte, ii. 36.

the possession of some important fortress, he was making preparations for besieging Ingolstadt, and had actually embarked his artillery on the Danube, when a courier arrived with the unwelcome intelligence that the imperial army had burst into Misnia. Not a moment was required for deliberation; his character for honour was at stake; and though he might perhaps have been able to justify to the world the abandonment of John George, his own conscience was less easily satisfied. Having left a body of troops under Prince Christian of Birkenfeldt, as provisionary commander till the recovery of Banier, who had been wounded in storming the Austrian lines, and sent directions for the different detachments to join him on his march, he hastened to Nuremberg, to arrange with Oxenstierna a plan for the defence of Franconia. Their conferences were protracted for three days, at the expiration of which the king hurried to Schweinfurth, where the virtuous Eleanora awaited his arrival; while Kniphausen followed with the garrison of Nuremberg, no longer required for its protection. After uniting with Bernard in the Thuringian forest, he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, the bravest and best disciplined in Europe.

Nothing less than the extraordinary celerity of his march could have enabled Gustavus to get possession of Erfurt before the arrival of Pappenheim, who no sooner received intelligence of his approach than he attempted, by a bold and rapid movement, to occupy that important fortress, together with Naumburg, justly regarded as the key of the Electorate. It was before his departure from the former city, that the King of Sweden took leave of his

amiable consort, with more than wonted solemnity, as if he had anticipated the fate that awaited him.

Gustavus having received intelligence that Pappenheim was advancing, by hasty marches, to pass the Saale at Merseburg, dispatched Bernard, with some regiments of cavalry, to watch his motions; leaving him at liberty to conduct his operations as circumstances might render expedient. Yet, in spite of the skill and activity of that enterprising warrior, Pappenheim effected a junction with Friedland; who, after his separation from Maximilian, had penetrated without opposition to the gates of Leipsic, and compelled it to receive an Austrian garrison. It was evidently his intention to have proceeded to Dresden, but the rapidity of the enemy compelled him to adopt a different system; as he might otherwise have found himself entangled in the web which he had been artfully preparing for the elector, who lay with his forces in the vicinity of Torgau, and might have easily fallen upon the rear of the Austrians, while the Swedes attacked them in front.*

To frustrate the execution of this design, as well as to cut off a column under the Duke of Luneburg, which was actually on its march from Lower Saxony, appear to have been the principal objects which occupied Wallenstein. The latter would have proved no easy task, had the duke conformed to the instructions of Gustavus; but, instead of proceeding by Halle or Eichfeldt, he flattered himself to meet with fewer obstructions on the opposite bank of the Elbe; but when he arrived at Wittemberg, he found himself involved in so many diffi-

* Galetti, 289. Burgus, 392. †

culties, that he abandoned the enterprise in despair.*

On the first of November, 1632, the Swedes entered Naumburg, situated upon the Saale, in a narrow valley, about half way between Erfurt and Leipsic. The name of Gustavus was so popular in Saxony, that he was welcomed with an adoration almost idolatrous. From all the adjacent villages the inhabitants flocked by thousands to behold the hero who had so lately rescued them from the fangs of Tilly, and who now returned to protect them against the ferocity of a commander no less sanguinary and rapacious.* With prayers and blessings they crowded round him, imprinting kisses on his boots, or on the hem of his garment. Though a heart so alive to every tender feeling as that of Gustavus, was far from insensible to this enthusiastic gratitude, still he revolted at finding himself the object of veneration too profound to be offered to a mortal. Turning to his chaplain, Fabritius, he made the following observation, which the event almost rendered prophetic: "Notwithstanding every enterprise has hitherto prospered, I greatly fear that some unforeseen misfortune will shortly convince this deluded people of their folly, in addressing such unfounded homage to a being, subject like themselves to all the frailties of mortality."†

By possessing themselves of Naumburg, together with the adjacent defiles, the imperialists would have been enabled materially to obstruct the operations of the enemy, the neighbouring country being

* Puffendorf, iv. 56.

† Khevenhiller, xii. 158.

‡ Harte, li. 351. Galetti, 293.

particularly calculated for a defensive system of warfare. Wallenstein, when too late, perceived his error in having neglected to occupy the passes, and would probably have attempted to retrieve it by temerity, had he not been deterred from attacking the Swedes by the judicious remonstrances of Pappenheim. The opinion of an officer, so conspicuous for enterprising courage, could not fail of producing considerable effect, when he objected to a project on account of its rashness; and, on the present occasion, he estimated too justly the talents of Gustavus, to doubt that he would avail himself of every local advantage, to render his position unassailable.* He farther contended, that at the approach of winter it would be highly imprudent to expose the troops to unnecessary hardships, exhausted as they were by a series of sufferings unequalled in any former campaign; and, as an additional argument for avoiding an engagement, he urged the propriety of endeavouring to relieve the city of Cologne,† and of checking the progress of Bauditzen in Westphalia. Under these circumstances, he recommended to the generalissimo to canton the troops in the adjacent towns, which he thought might be effected in such a manner, as to allow of their being assembled at the shortest notice.‡

The idea of sending an army into winter quarters, at the very moment when an army was advancing against it, appears an enigma of no easy solution,

* Pappenheim was not mistaken; for the king was no sooner master of Naumburg, than he caused it to be surrounded with a strong intrenchment.—Francheville, 427.

† Besieged by the Duke of Berg.

‡ Khevenhiller, 196. *Histoire de Gustave*, 550.

notwithstanding the explanation already given; because it was hardly possible to imagine, that the most enterprising general who had appeared in the world since the days of the first and the greatest of the Cæsars, should have resisted the temptation of displaying his triumphant banners on the walls of Vienna, for the sole purpose of remaining inactive on the confines of Saxony. It is, therefore, necessary to suppose, that the advice of Pappenheim proceeded from motives of which we are ignorant, since it made so strong an impression upon Wallenstein, that he not only entrusted the author of it with the defence of Westphalia, but even imprudently weakened his own army, that he might enable Pappenheim to act with additional vigour. Having thus settled a plan for their future operations, Weissenfels was abandoned* by the imperialists, though Colorado was left with an inconsiderable force to protect the castle, and to watch the motions of the enemy †

According to the opinion generally entertained, Gustavus did not intend to have given battle to the Austrians till he should have effected a junction with the Saxons; who, in conformity to a plan judiciously traced by that consummate master in the science of war, were to cross the Mulda at Eulemburg, and to meet him in the vicinity of Grimma. ‡ To facilitate the execution of this im-

* November 4, 1632.

† Francheville, 420. The latter part of this interesting publication, comprising a long and scientific dissertation upon the battles of Breitenfeld and of Lutzen, is attributed to an officer of eminence in the Prussian service, who repeatedly examined the ground where those memorable actions took place, and drew plans of them upon the very spots where they were fought.

‡ Harte, ii. 350.

portant design, he directed his march by Wethau, Ploth, and Gleitzberg; but having gained intelligence that Pappenheim had been detached from the main army, he resolved immediately to attack the enemy, before the ablest of their generals could be recalled.*

From the most credible authorities, we learn that Wallenstein was no less astonished than disconcerted, when he was apprised by Coloredo that the Swedes were approaching.† Surrounded by difficulties, of which the greater part were created by his own imprudence, he hesitated at first in what manner to act; pride, however, presenting to his troubled imagination the ignominy inseparable from a hasty retreat, he sent orders for Pappenheim instantaneously to abandon the siege of Moritzburg,‡ and to join him with all his forces at Lutzen.

The death of the most illustrious of modern commanders has given a melancholy celebrity to the battle of Lutzen, which makes it scarcely less an object of curiosity to posterity than it proved a subject of affliction to the protestants. The eyes of all Europe were attentively fixed on the plains of Saxony, where the approaching combat was expected to determine a question, as momentous as any which had ever been decided by the sword. Compared with the enormous hosts which are sent into the field by the powerful nations of the present

* Fifth of November. Puffendorf, iv. 63.

† If this was actually the case, it is certain that Gustavus must have completely deceived both him and Pappenheim, respecting his future intentions. This, indeed, is the only supposition which can render their conduct intelligible; because they could never have dreamed of separating the army, unless they had been persuaded that he would remain upon the defensive.

‡ The citadel of Halle.

age, both Swedes and Austrians were numerically weak; but, since the destruction of republican Rome, none ever exceeded the troops in valour and discipline, and few had equalled the commanders in reputation. On one side, we behold a young and adventurous warrior, on whom fortune had invariably smiled, contending in the cause of religion and freedom; assisted by generals whom he had trained to conquest, and who were anxious to deserve the approbation of a sovereign, no less capable of appreciating merit, than prompt to reward it. Neither were the soldiers unworthy of their leaders. Accustomed from their infancy to the tempestuous blasts which sweep the Dalecarlian forests, and inured to hardships, which, to men enervated by the comforts of a more genial climate, would have appeared intolerable, they contemplated the monarch, by whom they were conducted from triumph to triumph, with sentiments of the tenderest affection, esteeming him as a friend, revering him as a father, and adoring him as a protecting divinity. His presence was their chief gratification; his safety their greatest security; his praise their proudest recompense.

Though in the character of Wallenstein, qualities the most opposite, and even the most inconsistent, were strangely blended, yet even his failings were of a nature to dazzle those, who, incapable of analyzing the human mind, mistook pride for magnanimity, confounded profusion with generosity, and regarded success as the criterion of genius. Without troubling themselves to balance the actions which he had performed, against the means which he possessed for performing them, the zealous pa-

pists extolled him as the champion of the orthodox faith, not because he was endowed with extraordinary piety, but because interest and ambition had rendered him an enemy to the protestants; while the base tools of despotism idolized him as the defender of that detestable system, which their ignorance or their servility supported.

Thus every feeling which can animate or pervert the human heart was called into action. A bigoted attachment to ancient institutions, a hatred of foreign interference, the love of glory, the force of habit, and the cry of superstition, all combined to inspire the soldiers of Ferdinand with courage or ferocity; together with the highest veneration for the splendid talents of their commander: for after every deduction it is impossible to deny, that though Wallenstein had little to inspire affection, he had much to excite admiration. Many certainly had surpassed him in the higher branches of tactics, but in cunning and artifice he was perhaps never exceeded. Though sometimes deficient in foresight he abounded in resources, and if he involved himself in difficulties from having mistaken the projects of an enemy, he invariably met them with an unshaken resolution, which more than compensated the error.

No sooner was he made acquainted with the motions of the Swedes, than he sent Isolani to dispute the passage of the Rippach, a small river which rises in the vicinity of Weissenfels, and falls into the Saale at Doehlan; but being subject to frequent inundations, renders the adjacent meadows deep and boggy. The narrow valley, through which it takes its winding course, is entirely surrounded

by lofty rocks covered with wood, and consequently affords many strong positions, eminently calculated for defensive warfare. Isolani, however, had neglected most of these local advantages, to concentrate his forces in a particular spot where he expected the enemy; by which imprudent arrangement he left another road, almost equally obvious, unprotected by cannon. The popularity of the cause in which Gustavus was embarked facilitating the acquisition of intelligence, a peasant offered to conduct him to the abovementioned place, where he might cross the marshes without molestation, and by a winding path gain the summit of the opposite hill, where the vanguard of the Austrians lay encamped. While Isolani was deceived by a false attack, the Swedish army ascended the heights, fell unexpectedly upon the rear of the croats; and, having put them to flight, advanced with all the pomp of military array against the main body of the imperialists.*

Lutzen is situated at nearly equal distances between Weissenfels and Leipsic; the high road traverses the principal street, and after leaving the town is bordered by deep ditches and lofty banks, thrown up with regularity sufficient to form a tolerable breastwork. The contiguous plain is likewise

* Francheville, 430; the only author, who, to my knowledge, gives a satisfactory account of this event. It is hardly credible, says that intelligent writer, that a general of high reputation should have neglected to occupy a defile, which, if properly defended by twenty thousand men, might have set three times that force at defiance. But this is by no means the only occurrence which tends to excite a suspicion that the military talents of Wallenstein were far from pre-eminent. The post which he abandoned was in every respect preferable to that which he afterwards occupied, and infinitely stronger than that which covered the front of the Austrian army at Breitenfels, and which Tilly has been so severely censured for neglecting to fortify.—Ibid, 432.

intersected with trenches in various directions, cut for the purpose of draining; notwithstanding which precaution, the soil is unsound, and in a rainy season presents continual impediments to military evolutions. The village of Meuchen, (called erroneously Chursitz by many historians) lies a little to the south of Lutzen, and at a small distance from the Flossgraben, an artificial canal, destined to open a communication between the Saale and the Elster, but which varies greatly in size, being in some places scarcely twelve feet wide, while in others it is more than double. The water, however, is usually shallow, unless swollen by violent showers. After crossing the Flossgraben, by means of a bridge, the road for the space of nearly half a mile follows the course of the canal, which is there from twelve to eighteen feet broad, its banks being of nearly half that altitude. The imperial army was drawn up at the distance of about three hundred yards from the causeway, and extended from the Flossgraben to a road which leads from Lutzen to Merseburg. The walls belonging to the adjacent gardens, as well as the ditches, were lined with infantry; two batteries were also erected on commanding situations, one of seven, the other of fourteen pieces of artillery.* It appears, also, that upon this occasion Wallenstein condescended to adopt the Swedish method of stationing small squadrons of cavalry in the intervals between the different bodies of infantry, though he still persevered in the ancient system of forming the latter into vast and unwieldy masses.† The Duke of Friedland in per-

* Francheville, 440.

† Harte, ii. 358. Puffendorf, iv. 63.

son commanded the centre, Colorado the right wing, and Holk the left, but only provisionally, till Pappenheim should arrive.*

The delay occasioned in passing the Rippach prevented the King of Sweden from attacking the imperialists till the following morning; a circumstance which greatly augmented his difficulties, because it allowed time for the arrival of Pappenheim. For the sake of expedition the greater part of the baggage, and all the heavy artillery had been left behind; so that the king, being totally destitute of a camp equipage, was obliged to pass the night in his carriage. A short space, however, was allotted to repose, the greater part being spent in interesting discourse with Duke Bernard and Kniphausen. The troops were drawn up in two lines upon the field of battle, ready to commence the engagement at the dawn of day; the left wing reaching nearly to the walls of Lutzen, the right extending beyond the canal to the wood of Schoeltzig. A battery containing twenty-six of the largest cannon was erected in front of the army, while twenty pieces of smaller calibre were planted in the wings, and five were attached to each brigade.

The morning approached,† but an impenetrable fog prolonged the night beyond its usual duration. Necessitated to defer the combat till the horizon should clear, Gustavus ordered prayers to be read to every regiment,‡ while, falling on his knees, in

* It is not surprising to find so little agreement in the account transmitted by contemporary writers, respecting the death of Gustavus, because they differ materially even upon points, where no variety of opinion ought reasonably to exist. By some the command of the right wing is given to Colorado, by others to Scomberg.

† November 6th, 1632.

‡ Puffendorf, iv. 63.

presence of the whole army, he devoutly offered up his petitions to the Almighty. Being earnestly requested to take some refreshment, he declined it. He likewise refused, though repeatedly solicited, to put on his armour, returning for answer to those who pressed for it in the language of scripture, "The Lord is my defence!" The reason usually given for this determination is, that he had lately received a contusion in the shoulder from a musket ball, which made the pressure of a cuirass intolerable. The only precaution which he could be prevailed to use, was that of wearing a waistcoat of elf's-skin, which is still preserved as a curiosity at Vienna.

About eight o'clock the mist began gradually to disperse, when mounting his horse, the king rode along the lines, exhorting his troops to do their duty. To the Swedes he addressed himself in nearly the following words: "My friends and companions in every toil, the moment is approaching when an opportunity will be afforded you of shewing the world what you really are. Conform implicitly to the orders you shall receive, and behave like men who know the value of honour, and who fight in defence of the true religion; and Heaven, I trust, will prosper your efforts: but if you disgrace the cause in which we are engaged, I solemnly swear that not one atom of your dust shall ever return to Sweden."

To the Germans he said, "I conjure you, friends, this day to second me with unshaken courage. I require of you nothing but what I will myself perform; for I hope never to be afraid of shedding my blood, when religion and liberty demand the sacrifice. Remember that now they are both at stake.

Conduct yourselves, as you have hitherto done, like valiant soldiers, and I will venture to promise you success; but if you suffer the enemy to obtain the victory, your future portion must be slavery and contempt." Gustavus paused, when a loud and continued shout of approbation proclaimed the feelings of every combatant to be in unison with those of their heroic leader.*

The disposition of the army was nearly similar to that which had been employed with so much advantage on the plains of Breitenfeldt; the infantry drawn up in two lines, and the battalions interspersed with squadrons of horse, while the main body of the cavalry was stationed in the wings. Gustavus, according to custom, commanded the right wing, Duke Bernard the left, and the Count of Wisingsburg the centre. The second line, consisting of nearly equal strength, was disposed according to similar principles, under the orders of Bulach, Kniphausen, and the Prince of Anhalt. Neither Horn,† Banier, nor Bauditzen were present.

No historical detail is more liable to error than the description of a battle; even the result has been often a subject of contention; neither is it uncommon for both parties to return thanks to the Almighty, for having crowned their arms with victory. It cannot therefore be expected that historians should agree respecting an event so interesting to their feelings as the death of a hero, who was the idol of one sect, and the terror of the other. No account that has fallen under my inspection,

* Harte, ii. 359. *Histoire de Gustave*, 558.

† Burgus makes Horn a principal actor, 410.

appears to me so satisfactory as the following, extracted from Siri, and professedly copied from a dispatch, sent by Duke Bernard to Lous XIII. almost immediately after the fatal event.*

It was nearly ten o'clock before the horizon was sufficiently clear for the King of Sweden to discover the arrangements of the enemy; he then beheld the imperial army drawn up in order of battle with every local advantage; batteries being erected in front of their lines, and the ditches (those of course which bordered the road) filled with musketeers. Their right was covered by the town of Lutzen, and their left by the Flossgraben. After attentively examining their position,† the king advanced in the finest order, notwithstanding his troops were exposed to a tremendous fire from the Austrian artillery. The Duke of Weimar received directions to commence the attack, which he did with his accustomed impetuosity; and after a stubborn resistance he drove the enemy from their intrenchments, took several of their guns, and even compelled them to evacuate Lutzen, after setting fire to some of the houses.‡

The king was no less successful where he commanded in person, having forced the Austrians to abandon the ditches with so much precipitation, that they left most of their cannon behind. Eager to avail himself of their confusion, he put himself

* *Memorie Recond.* vii. 541.

† Gustavus was accompanied by the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, by Crailsham, grand-master of his household, by a few Scotch and English gentlemen, who served as volunteers, together with three or four menial attendants.—Harte, ii. 365.

‡ According to Burgus, Wallenstein had not troops sufficient to defend the town. 405.

at the head of the Steinboch dragoons, and, crossing the trenches, got possession of one of the batteries.* Believing the fortune of the day to have been decided, he took off his hat, and expressed his gratitude to Heaven in a short thanksgiving; but perceiving two regiments of Austrian cuirassiers advancing, he charged them without hesitation, exposing himself with so little precaution, that his horse was wounded by a pistol shot, while another bullet shattered his left arm. The extreme agony of the wound compelling him to check his impetuous career, he retired from the field, attended by the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, who had lately entered the Swedish service as a volunteer.† From his anxiety to conceal the accident from his own troops, the king passed so near the enemy's line, that a colonel of cavalry, named Falkenberg, ap-

* Till after Gustavus's death, the account given by Siri agrees in all material points with that of the best historians, and is deficient only in those minute details, which were likely to have been omitted in an official paper. According to Harte (366) the ditches were defended with so much pertinacity, that some of the Swedish regiments showed a backwardness to advance. The king observing their hesitation, hastened to the spot, and snatching a pike from one of the officers, exclaimed, in a tone of anger, "If after passing so many rivers, scaling so many fortresses, and proving victorious in so many engagements, you tremble to cross a paltry trench, remain where you are, and you shall behold your king die as a soldier ought." This reproach produced the desired effect. "Stop, sire," cried the whole body with one accordant voice, "for Heaven's sake spare your precious life, and you shall never again have cause to upbraid us."—Galletti confirms this relation, 295, as does Burgas, 409.

† His only attendants at this time were Laucenburg, his aid-de-camp, and two menial servants. Seeing him bleed, the soldiers cried out in dismay, "The king is wounded." "It is merely a trifle," replied Gustavus, "let us return to the charge." Finding, however, that his strength began to fail, he said in a low voice to the duke, "Cousin, I feel that I have had enough; assist me, I beseech you, in retiring to a place of safety."—Harte, 377. *Hist. de Gustave*, 560.

proached him* unobserved, and discharging a pistol in his back, wounded him so severely, that he instantly fell from his horse; but scarcely had Falkenberg perpetrated this dastardly deed, when he was killed by the aide-de-camp of Lauenburg.† A Swedish officer, who witnessed the melancholy

* This circumstance is confirmed both by Burgus and Harte; by the latter of whom we are informed, that as the king was preparing to quit the field, an imperial cavalier advanced unnoticed, and fired a pistol into his back, crying out with apparent exultation, "Long have I sought thee!"—Ibid. These remarkable words, if really uttered, tend materially to corroborate the opinion, that Gustavus fell a victim to treachery; because, as he wore no particular badge of distinction, some unfair means must necessarily have been employed, in order to designate his person. But more upon this subject hereafter. Mention is made of this circumstance in the Swedish Intelligencer, though different words are put into the mouth of the assassin, viz. "This is the right bird." His last words were, "My God! my God!" 137.

Proh furiale nefas, nulloque in sæcla piandum
 Igne scelus! Gustave, jacce? nec bellica virtus
 Præstitit incolumen, *posticæque* tela repressit.

Adolphid. xi. 615.

† This officer was brother to the general who defended Magdeburg so gallantly.

Mauritius contra Falkenbergius equestris legionis Gotzianæ legatus Cæsari militavit; post captus a Succis, et paucis diebus ante dimissus, quam ad Lutzam fuit dimicandum, eidem prælio interfuit, regemque Sveciæ quem paulo ante captivus, et propter merita Theodori Falkenbergii familiariter habitus, optime de facie norat, plumbea glande sauciatum equo primus dejecit, pariterque hostili telo confixus concidit proxime regem, cui humo prostrato, fatali ictu superveniens Georgii ab Oynhausen Gotzianæ legionis equitum magistri legatus, Johannes Schneeberg ex Boekendorp diocesis Paderbornensis vice oriandus, ilia ense confodit, peremit, spoliavitque exauimem. Placuit hoc recens Paderbornensium militum facinus, dum vetera monumenta percusomus, hic subnectere, et verbo ad posteritatis memosiam consignare; ne qui alii ut post victoriam ignavi etiam gloriantur, hanc sibi laudem præcerpant. Nobis cum certa fides ex iis, qui prælio interfuerunt, tum torques aureus regi inter opima spolia a Schneebergio detractus, relatusque testis est. Neque aliud nobis propositum quam partam Paderbornensium nomini gloriam candidæ veritati asserere.—Furstenberg, Monum. Paderborn. 195.—A most glorious subject of triumph truly!

scene, flew to the assistance of the bleeding monarch, when to his inexpressible affliction he found him already in the agonies of death, and totally unable to speak. At this awful moment, some Austrian dragoons came up, and seeing Gustavus extended on the ground, inquired his name and rank in the army. Fearful of the consequences of betraying his master, the Swede simply replied that he was an officer of distinction. Not satisfied with the explanation, and unable to extort any other, they cut him down; and, having stripped off his clothes, directed their fury against the fallen hero, whom they stabbed in several places, with the ferocity of savages, and then left his naked and mangled body to be trampled upon by men and horses.*

A French officer, named Truxes, having seen Gustavus fall, carried the melancholy tidings to the Duke of Weimar,† who, hastening to Kniphausen, communicated in a whisper the fatal event, requesting his opinion respecting their future operations. Overwhelmed with consternation, that gallant officer proposed a retreat, assuring the duke, that the army was still in such a situation as to allow of its being effected securely. "Retreat?" exclaimed Bernard, indignant at a proposal so disgraceful to the memory of the departed hero, "No, never will I consent to abandon the contest, till we have avenged the death of Gustavus." The chief command now devolving on him, he prepared im-

* This narrative is said to be exactly conformable to that delivered by Chemnitz.

† According to other accounts, the first suspicion entertained of the irreparable misfortune which had befallen the Swedish army, was excited by seeing the royal charger covered with blood, and without a rider.—Khevenhiller, 191.

mediately for renewing the attack, by putting himself at the head of the regiment of Steinboch, and ordering it to charge the Austrian cuirassiers. The lieutenant colonel hesitated to comply, and even manifested an inclination to dispute his authority. Without wasting a moment in useless expostulations, the gallant Saxon ran him through with his sword, determined to enforce the most implicit obedience by a striking act of severity. This summary proceeding proved decisive, the Austrians were assailed with desperate valour, and forced again to retire; but as they continued to resist with obstinacy, the batteries were successively taken and lost. Toward evening, however, the persevering bravery of the Swedish troops bore down all opposition. Getting possession of the Austrian artillery, and turning them against their broken battalions, the Swedes compelled them to fly precipitately towards Leipsic.

Thus far the account, delivered in the dispatch, has been strictly followed; but, after the death of Gustavus, the writer confines himself to general results, as if the extent of the calamity, to which his country was exposed, had rendered him incapable of entering into details. It becomes necessary, therefore, to resume the narrative from that eventful moment, when the great champion of protestantism expired.

Instead of allowing themselves to be depressed by that irreparable misfortune, every Swedish soldier panted for revenge, while the dispositions made by Duke Bernard, upon assuming the command, proved him no unworthy successor to Gustavus. The central columns, led on by Wisingsburg, charged the enormous masses of Austrian infantry

with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand. Several cannon and standards were captured; and the confusion occasioned by this rapid success was greatly augmented by the explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder, accidentally kindled by a bomb. Believing their position to have been turned, the imperialists fled in disorder, in spite of all the efforts of Wallenstein, who employed alternately threats and exhortations. Terrified at a disaster which foreboded ruin to the catholic church, the Abbot of Fulda rode through the ranks with a crucifix in his hand, imploring the fugitives to return and exterminate the heretics, as Joshua had formerly done the Philistines. But as well might he have essayed to bridle the raging torrent, when swelled by the dissolution of the Alpine snows; for they heard with indifference the promises of paradise, though lavished with prodigality by the pious incendiary, who, while he ineffectually implored them to face their pursuers, perished the victim of his sanguinary zeal.*

At this important crisis, when dismay and tumult were rapidly spreading from rank to rank, Pappenheim arrived with his cavalry. The order to return was delivered to him, while the infantry were in the act of plundering Halle; when finding it impracticable to collect the scattered companies with the celerity which his own impatient courage and the exigency of affairs required, he set off for Lutzen with a few regiments of horse, leaving instructions for the remainder of his forces to follow, the moment it should be possible to assemble them.

* Fuldenſis abbas, benedictinus monarchus, ac princeps imperii, dum pie crucem præ manibus gestans manipulos ad strenue pro fide catholice pugnandum hortatur, misere ab hoste dilaniatus mortem oppetit.—Euf-
gus, 418.

The presence of a general so deservedly popular, did more toward reviving the drooping spirit of the Austrians, than all the priors and prelates of the papal communion could have done, had they combined in preaching extirpation. Placing himself at the head of the left wing, his destined post, he rallied the fugitives, and recovered most of the cannon.* Impatient to meet the Swedish monarch, whom he equally envied and admired, he broke with resistless impetuosity through the squadrons of the enemy, who, unable to withstand the violent shock, were again driven across the trenches. The yellow regiments, particularly distinguished through the whole of this sanguinary conflict, lay dead in their ranks upon the very spot which had so lately been the theatre of their glory.

Pappenheim was nobly supported by Piccolomini, who is said to have exposed himself with so much temerity, that he had five horses killed, and was wounded in several places.† Wallenstein also was animated with unwonted vigour; riding tranquilly amidst a shower of balls, he applauded the valiant, encouraged those of doubtful courage by the prospect of a reward proportionable to their exertions, and even impelled the timid to encounter death, by the assurance of meeting it under its most frightful form, if they betrayed the smallest symptoms of cowardice. Unmoved he beheld the dreadful carnage; and, though his mantle was perforated in va-

* Schmidt, v. 9. Harte, ii. 396. Hist. de Gustave, 566.

† Octavius Piccolomineus cum sua legione inter medios hostes intrepide usque ad prelii finem stetit; factaque septies irruptione, ac edita late strage, amissis quinque equis qui sub se fuerant confossi, ipse sex sclopi fectibus saucius adhuc pugnans, optimi ducis nomen promeruit.—Burgus, 413.

rious places, he escaped unhurt, being reserved by Providence for a less glorious destiny.

Pappenheim, however, the bravest soldier in the imperial service, was not so fortunate. Impelled by the ardent wish of encountering Gustavus, he rushed into the thickest of the battle—for there he expected to meet the hero. The event of the contest seemed once more uncertain, when his thigh was shattered by a cannon ball.* Fainting with pain, he was carried to his coach, in order to be conveyed to Leipsic; but, recovering his senses before he quitted the field, he desired to be informed of the situation of the army. Upon hearing that the King of Sweden was slain, he sent for an officer in whom he confided, and ordered him to acquaint the Duke of Friedland that he was mortally wounded. "Tell him also," added he, his closing eyes still sparkling with joy, "that I die contented, in having survived the great enemy of my religion."† Such a sentiment might, perhaps, have been pardonable in the mouth of a monk, but in that of a gallant soldier it must excite our compassion, because it proves how much even the noblest characters may be degraded by bigotry.‡

The death of Pappenheim decided irrecoverably the fate of the battle, though the imperialists for some time continued to defend themselves with desperate valour. Led on by Tertsy and Piccolo-

* Puffendorf, iv. 64.

† Schmidt, v. 9. Harte, li. 360. Histoire de Gustave, 566.

‡ Di questa morte, frà le morti reputata felicissima da soldati fini la vita nel fiore dell' età Godfredo di Poppenaim ornato delle più eccelse doti, ch'illustrassero giammai capitano di fama; in vita dopo Gustavo rè di Suetia, primo guerrier de suoi tempi, è nella morte, stimata solo, dal sentimento commune degl'uomini degno a bilanciare la perdita d'un tanto rè.—Pietro Pomo, 125.

mini, the German infantry behaved like heroes, regaining once more possession of the batteries, and taking several standards.* Kniphausen, however, by continually reinforcing the centre, enabled the Swedes to recover their ground. With little intermission, the action continued till the close of evening, when the imperialists at length gave way in every direction. The darkness of the night, prematurely hastened by an impenetrable fog, preserved the fugitives from total destruction; so that the victorious Bernard had reason to exclaim, in the bitterness of disappointed glory, "Gracious God! hadst thou granted me a little more light, I should have finished the work more completely."†

The event, however, was not so decisive as to exempt the conquerors from all apprehension; and it is even said to have been debated, in a private conference between Bernard and Kniphausen, whether it might not be expedient to retire to Weissenfels. But, upon more mature deliberation, they resolved to await the return of day upon the field of battle. Wallenstein, however, was otherwise occupied than in preparations for renewing the combat. Under cover of the night he had withdrawn his troops with so much precipitation, that the greater part of his artillery was left behind.‡ This circum-

* Harte, 370.

† Ibid. The sublime conception of the Grecian bard was thus realized on the plains of Saxony;

Ζῆν πάτερ, ἀλλὰ εὖ γ' ὄσσι δὴ λόφοι σῆμα Λαχαιῶν
 Πείνησενδ' ἔβησαν, δὸς δ' ἔφθαλμασσιν ἰδέσθαι
 Ἐν δὲ φάσμα, ἔλασσεν, ἐπιτέροι ἐβιδεν ὄφθαι.

‡ Carve, 30. In tenebris igitur discussum est utrinque, relictis tormentis majoribus, ita ambigue victoria, ut neutra pars sciret, victorine an victa esset.—Carve seems to have forgotten that the Swedes had no heavy artillery to leave.

stance, communicated to the Swedish generals by a prisoner, first made them acquainted with the whole extent of their success. The report was soon confirmed from different quarters, and particularly from Leipsic, where the imperialists arrived without cannon, without colours, and almost without arms of any description. Great part of their baggage was also lost, which had been plundered by the Croats with no less rapacity than if it had belonged to an enemy.*

The plain of Lutzen was covered with slain, the numbers of which are variously represented; but even according to the most moderate statements, the slaughter on both sides was tremendous. Notwithstanding a *Te Deum* was chanted both at Madrid and Vienna, in order to deceive the credulous vulgar, the conduct of Wallenstein proclaimed to the world a different story, since nothing could be less consistent with the character of a conqueror, than the haste with which he evacuated Saxony. But, dearly indeed were the laurels purchased, which decorated the brows of the victors! Scarcely had the tumult of battle subsided, when the triumph was converted into mourning. No songs of exultation were heard; no shouts of transport resounded. On the contrary every brow was clouded with sorrow, every heart was dejected with the deepest affliction. He who had so often conducted them to glory, would no longer stimulate their ardour by his commendations; he who had provided for all their wants with paternal solicitude, was numbered no longer among the living.

After a painful and almost fruitless research, the

* Burgus, 413.

king's body was discovered amidst heaps of dead, besmeared with gore, disfigured by wounds, and scarcely recognisable except from a wound received at Nurenberg. Being transported to Weissenfels with military pomp, it was embalmed; when, from the structure and salubrity of the vital parts, there was every reason to suppose that Gustavus would have attained to a very advanced age, had he not been cut off prematurely in his glorious career.

The fall of a hero whose existence was incompatible with the ambitious projects of Austria, was an event too desirable, not to subject to suspicion the character of a prince, seldom found to be scrupulous respecting the means when an object of moment was to be accomplished. At a period therefore when the spirit of party ran uncommonly high, it is by no means extraordinary that the protestants should have been tempted to accuse the great enemy of their religion with having plotted the death of Gustavus, even supposing no evidence could have been adduced to give colour and solidity to the imputation.

This opinion has been adopted by most of the protestant historians,* many of whom not only as-

* The following extract will convey the opinion of Puffendorf, who wrote in the reign, and at the express desire of Charles Gustavus, who succeeded Christina upon the throne of Sweden. As this work was printed more than fifty years after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, it is probable that the events of the "Thirty years war," were no longer contemplated through the delusive medium of prejudice; but, on the contrary, had been subjected to that dispassionate investigation, by which truth can alone be elicited. "Pertinax eo tempore rumor erat, regi post vulneratum brachium a Francisco Alberto Lauenburgeico duce lethalem ictum illatum: suspicione inde orta, quod nuper missione a Cesare ob-tenta ad Saxonie electorem ab isto ablegatus fuerit, ut hunc regis parti-bus abstraheret; quodque statim post praelium ad Lutzenam relictis Sue-

sert, that the King of Sweden perished the victim of treachery, but even openly accuse Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, with being the instrument employed for his destruction. The catholic writers, on the other hand, reject with indignation a charge so injurious to the memory of a sovereign, who enjoyed the rare, but unenviable glory of having risked the destruction of the House of Austria for the sake of the Jesuits.

At this distant period it would be the height of presumption to determine a question, which has been an object of long and unsatisfactory investigation. All that can be attempted with propriety is to lay before the reader the different circumstances which originally excited the report, and to leave the deductions to his unbiassed judgment. The person to whom the assassination is imputed, was the youngest of four brothers; and, being left

cis operam suam Saxonie electori addideret. Sane cum ad regem in castra Norribergica tanquam voluntarius miles accederet, Oxenstierna dubitare se profitebatur, quantum sibi foret fidendum. Ferunt etiam interrogatum, quare ipse, qui proxime circa regem versatus erat, illucsus mansisset, respondisse, id debere se viridi tunica, qua corpus cinxerat, quasi eo signo a Cæsarianis esset agnoscendus. Et ipse post vastem regio sanguine aspersam ostentaverat. Atque isthæc mihi omnia expetenti vero quam simillima videntur. Sanequin Cæsarei crediderint, Suecorum res sola Gustavi virtute stare, coque sublato istas quoque ultro ruituras, dubitare non licet; nec minus, ipsos omnes vias conspexisse, eundem e medio dimovendi: Ejus modi porro facinori patando quis idoneus magis reperiri poterat, quam Franciscus Albertus, cui principis Germaniæ dignatio, et sacra que profitebatur, hactenus saltem fidem apud regem magnanimum, et in suspiciones non proum adstruebant, ne facile sicarii personam suscepisse crederetur; coque inobservato sceleri patando occasione per otium licebat captare, cum familiarem ad regem accessum nobilitas, et militaris vitæ professio conciliaret. Ipse porro pauper, stipendiis Cæsaris innutritus, queis nulla idonea causa desertis ad hostem regem accesserat, ejusque lateri diligentius, quam pro vulgari officio adhæserat; ac peracto flagitio confestim a Succis digressus fuerat, quorum et partes capitali odio semper persecutus, usque impugnandis demum mortuus est." iv. 63.

by his father almost destitute of fortune, he offered his services to the court of Stockholm, where he was received with every mark of distinction, due to a relation of the royal family.*

Notwithstanding authors differ materially concerning the origin of the quarrel, they universally agree, that a violent dispute having arisen between Gustavus and Francis Albert; the former, impelled by the impetuosity of his temper, struck the latter in presence of the queen mother. A moment's reflection however having sufficed to convince him of the impropriety of his behaviour, he not only publicly apologized for the offence, but even offered his cousin any satisfaction which wounded honour might require. A duel in consequence would have ensued, had it not been prevented by the vigilance of Oxenstiern, whose prudent exhortations at length effected an apparent reconciliation.† The heart of Gustavus was incapable of retaining the smallest rancour against any man, whom his tongue had honoured with the appellation of friend; but the character of Lauenburg was not equally ingenuous. Though it might be unjust to affirm, that for many years he cherished in gloomy silence the hateful project of revenge; yet it is impossible to deny, that many circumstances in his conduct tended to confirm the prevailing opinion, that if he did not

* Gustavus Vasa was twice married; his first wife was a princess of Saxe-Lauenberg. *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, 575.

† *Hist. de Gust.* 575. In a note at the bottom of the page, I find the following extract from a letter written by Puffendorf, and inserted in a collection entitled *Biblioth. Swed.* v. 90. *Pnerat iste Franciscus Albertus, aliquot ante bellum annos in Suecia, ubicum rex cum aliquando in aula matris suæ licentius agentem deprehendisset, effervescente subito mota bile, alapam isti impegit, quo nomine in duellum descensuri fuerant, ni Axelius Oxenstierna id impedisset.*

actually perpetrate the atrocious deed, he was at least accessory to the murder of Gustavus.*

A short time after the quarrel, he quitted the Swedish service for that of the emperor, where having gained the confidence of Walleustein, he was not only appointed to the command of a regiment, but sent upon a secret mission to Dresden.† The brilliant prospects which now opened before him, were calculated to have attached him to the Austrian court, had he been either impelled by the dictates of interest, or stimulated by the spur of ambition; yet, without the possibility of discovering any rational motive, we find him relinquishing honour and emolument for the barren glory of serving a prince, whom he cordially hated, in the humble capacity of a volunteer. Gustavus received him in the camp at Nurenberg with the cordiality of friendship, and loaded him with marks of affection; while Francis Albert endeavoured to acquire his esteem by an exaggerated zeal for the protestant church, and attentions approaching to servility. It is probable, however, that he overacted his part; because we are assured, from unquestionable authority,‡ that his behaviour excited

* Carve seems to insinuate in the following passage that Wallenstein was concerned in the plot. *erat forte tunc temporis nescio quis siderum inspex, qui ex astris fabulas comminiseebatur, qui et Wallensteinio Bohemæ sceptrum ex ære confictum addicebat, qua fortuna homo vanissimus elatior, pro corona tali quidvis paciseebatur, cum videret se id jure præstare neutiquam posse, injuria conatus est; ac primo regni asululum Suecorum regem e medio tollendum esse putavit, quo sublato duces dein aggressus, est, cosque sibi devincere, Caesari exomos reddere, conavit.* 82. Carve's, however, is no impartial testimony, as he has the baseness to attempt to extenuate the infamy of those by whom the Duke of Friedland was assassinated.

† The object of the negotiation was to persuade the elector (to whom he was nearly related) to abandon the Swedes.

‡ Puffendorf, *ibid.*

the suspicion of Oxenstiern, who repeatedly admonished his master to be upon his guard. But unfortunately this caution proved ineffectual. The generous soul of Gustavus revolted at the idea of premeditated treachery, particularly in a person whose elevated rank ought to place him out of the reach of temptation. During the battle of Lutzen, Francis Albert like a shadow followed the king, wearing that day over his armour a green sash, the distinctive colour of the imperialists. In the heat of the engagement Gustavus was separated from most of his suite, being accompanied only by two menial servants. His new friend however stuck close to his side, attended by Heynin, his aid-de-camp, who is supposed to have acted as his accomplice. The king received a shot in the arm, and shortly after another between the shoulders. Yet Lauenburg, though surrounded by Austrian cavalry, escaped unhurt; and being questioned concerning the manner of his avoiding death, he replied, "that HIS PRESERVATION WAS ENTIRELY OWING TO THE COLOUR OF HIS SASH." Instead of carrying, as was natural, the melancholy intelligence to the Swedish generals, he rode with the utmost precipitation to Weissenfels, and did not rejoin the army till the following morning, when he heard that the Austrians were routed. With the Swedes however he remained only two days, at the expiration of which he quitted them for ever, to resume his former rank in the imperial service.*

* This account is confirmed by the testimony of Plasencius, a catholic bishop; whose evidence in this case is more entitled to credit, because it militates against his political principles. "Franciscus Albertus Lauborgicus, qui paulo ante a Cesarianis partibus ad Gustavum defecerat, individuus ipsius comes, in isto praelio illæsus remansit, idemque Walsteinio

Such are the grounds upon which the accusation reposes. Though we acknowledge that the facts submitted to the reader do not amount to positive proofs of criminality, we cannot but feel that they were calculated to excite the most unfavourable impression in the bosoms even of those least influenced by popular prejudice.* In Sweden we are told that no doubt existed respecting the murder,† and very little with regard to its author.

That an opinion may be embraced with universal eagerness, and yet be totally destitute of foundation, no person conversant with the operations of party spirit will probably be tempted to deny. The reign of prejudice however is transient; and political fictions, when they have answered the purpose for which they were invented, subside with the fervour they created.‡ But when a fact con-

fuit familiarior, et prius quam transisset ad Suecum, et post illam pugnam." Chron. Gest. 520.

* Let us examine the sentiments of an enlightened foreigner. "Le Duc de Saxe Lauenburg est tres mal avec la couronne de Swede, de tous ceux qui etoient auprès du dit roi, que lui, et son dit confrere qui n'y reurent aucune blessure, accusant le dit confident d'avoir donné le coup de pistolet qu'il reçut dans les reins," &c. Extract from a despatch addressed to the King from Dresden, and dated June 25th, 1633. *Negociations de Feuquieres, i. 267.*

† The following circumstance contributed to confirm it. A few days before the engagement in which Gustavus fell, a German traveller pretended to take a particular fancy to a horse belonging to Gassion, and offered him in exchange another horse, no less conspicuous for its colour than for its beauty. The bargain of course was concluded, and Gassion mounted his new charger at Lutzen; but scarcely had he entered the field, when it was killed under him. Now as Gassion was known to be a great favourite with Gustavus, and was almost always near his person in the hour of danger, many strongly suspected that the horse had been given him as a mark to fire at. *Le Vassor, x. 367.*

‡ No person in this enlightened age is credulous enough to believe, that the pretender was introduced in a warming-pan; yet to have questioned the authenticity of the improbable fact at the era of the revolution, would probably have exposed the sceptic to be universally shunned as a Jacobite.

tinues to be regarded as authentic by succeeding generations, it is entitled to serious examination, before we venture to discard it as suppositious. Every inhabitant of Sweden, even at the present hour, is firmly persuaded that Gustavus Adolphus perished by the hand of an assassin. Such also was the sentiment entertained by his contemporaries, at least by those of the protestant persuasion; since which period no circumstances have transpired, tending in the smallest degree to invalidate the belief.

From the cruelty with which the king was treated by the Austrian dragoons, after his fall, it seems fair to infer that his person was recognized; because, during the tumult of battle, it is no common occurrence even for Pandours and Croats wantonly to mangle a wounded enemy. The dress of Gustavus had nothing remarkable, nothing to tempt cupidity, or to render murder a profitable occupation. Yet he was selected as a victim, and was stabbed repeatedly, when unable any longer to defend his own life, or to endanger that of his opponents. From sparing an officer of rank, some emolument was likely to accrue, but none could be derived from destroying him. Why then did he experience such barbarous treatment? and how was his dignity ascertained? The answer is easy. Lauenburg was distinguished by the colour of his sash, and he was constantly by the side of Gustavus.

Aware that he was become an object of general suspicion, Francis Albert attempted to vindicate his character in a studied manifesto; but, as the publication was totally defective in proofs, and contained only assertions unsupported by evidence,

it failed of producing the desired effect, and tended rather to establish than to efface the horrid impression. The catholic historians treat the charge with contempt, but they also confine themselves to general allegations, and instead of combating their adversaries with argument, or facts, they deem it prudent to rest their defence upon the improbability that a prince descended from the illustrious house of Saxony, should incur the heinous guilt of premeditated homicide; or that a sovereign, so conspicuous for piety as Ferdinand, should have harboured the atrocious design. This however is mere declamation. For happy indeed would it have proved for mankind, if probity and honour had been invariably the characteristics of noble birth; but every page of history evinces the contrary, and shews that the mask of devotion has often been assumed as a covering for the blackest iniquity.

No tribute more glorious can be offered to the memory of Gustavus Adolphus, than the tears of his subjects bestowed. Flattery has been often known to deify the vices of the great; poetry has adorned them with virtues to which they were utter strangers, and even history has prostituted her venal pen to palliate the greatest enormities; but the suffrage of gratitude is unimpeachable, and we may confidently pronounce that monarch to be justly entitled to the admiration of posterity, who lives enshrined in the affections of his people.*

But was Gustavus in reality so enshrined? This question shall be answered by an impartial investi-

* I feel some pride as an Englishman in relating that Charles I. entertained so high an opinion of the worth of the Swedish monarch, that he sent him in 1627 the insignia of the order of the garter—as a proof of his esteem. *Hartc*, i. 83.

gation of his character, though after the frequent opportunities afforded the reader for appreciating his merit, this discussion must be nearly superfluous. His figure is described by the Swedish historian as no less remarkable for grace than for dignity,* equally calculated to inspire love, and to excite veneration. Though rather inclining to corpulency, he was tall and well proportioned; and possessed an air of majesty which impressed the beholder with reverence. His complexion was fair, his forehead elevated, and his hair auburn; his cheeks were tinged with the glow of health, his features regular, and his eyes large and penetrating, though unable to distinguish distant objects with precision. An open countenance announced candour and generosity; and never did countenance more faithfully pourtray the real feelings of a heart. Gay and affable in conversation, and equally accessible to all persons, without the smallest distinction of rank, he disdained to intrench himself behind those repulsive formalities, which are mistaken by the ignorant for dignity. Pre-eminent alike in wisdom and in virtue, he left ceremony and ostentation for the decoration of those who had no intrinsic qualities to adorn them. To a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue he united French and Italian; was deeply read in the best historians, both ancient and modern, and had made considerable progress in various other branches of literature.

To the seductions of pleasure he was always inaccessible: the splendour of a court he beheld with indifference; but luxury and effeminacy he su-

* *Corpus ipsi juxta proceritatem, magnæ vires, par agilitas, artes firmi beneque compacti, laboris militaris summa tolerautia, singularis in quovis actu gratia, decorque.* Puffendorf, iv. 65.

premely despised. Inured from his youth to the severest hardships, he slept no less comfortably upon a truss of straw in the meanest hovel, than upon the softest down under an embroidered canopy. These early habits not only rendered him the idol of a warlike people, but had given such vigour, both to his mind and his body, that no change of climate affected his health, no privations ruffled his temper. Whatever appeared superfluous he rejected from principle; because he knew that a sovereign can never indulge in expensive gratifications, without abridging the comforts of his people. Sincere from an elevated sense of duty, as well as from the natural bent of his disposition, it is difficult to determine, whether flattery to him was most an object of contempt or abhorrence: and so strong was this antipathy, that when addressed by a person unaccustomed to his humour, with the studied formalities of German etiquette, he replied with impatience, "Let me intreat you, in future, sir, to reserve these compliments for the queen's female attendants. My occupation is war; and I have neither leisure nor inclination to act the part of a dancing-master."*

To the protestant worship he was sincerely attached; not because it happened to be that of the country in which he was born, but because it appeared to his capacious judgment the purest and most rational of all religious institutions. In proportion as he examined the sacred truths of the gospel his conviction was strengthened; and thus

* Gualdo, xx. 157. Les esprits forts sont presque toujours des esprits faibles. L'affiche d'irreligion est independamment de cette sottise impietè, le rachat du mauvais gout.—Mem. du Prince Eugene, 68,

the example of this illustrious monarch affords an additional proof (in spite of all the cavils of the Encyclopædists) that infidelity is the system of a weak and contracted, rather than of an enlarged understanding. Conscientiously persuaded of the superior excellence of the doctrines of Christ, he was far from confining himself to barren speculation, but displayed the fruits of conviction by a practical illustration of temperance, justice, and humanity. His devotion, however, had nothing gloomy, nothing monastic. A friend to toleration, he allowed to others the glorious privilege of unfettered thought; for he contemplated mankind not through the delusive medium of superstition, with the contracted feelings of an inquisitor, but with the comprehensive charity of a Christian philosopher, who considers all the children of a common father as friends and brethren.* Hence, in the conquered provinces, the catholics being permitted to exercise their accustomed rites without molestation, soon grew to regard the change of domination in the light of a civil benefit, when they discovered that the triumphant standard of Gustavus was the symbol of equity and freedom.†

After what has been said in the preceding pages, it can hardly be necessary to observe, that the altera-

* "To guard men against the snares of the devil," he would often say, "is not the business of a king, but of a preacher.—Schmidt, v. 2.

† This panegyric becomes doubly precious from the pen of an Italian and a papist.—Gualdo, 157. Another author, of the same persuasion, pays him the following extraordinary compliment: "In sua superstitionis impietate piissimus."—Riccius de Bell. German. 433. La giustizia è la clemenza erano unite in lui con tempra sì forte, che mai nell' attioni sue si videro scompagnate.—Pietro Pomo, 128. Visse ne suoi riti religioso osservator delle piu exquisite virtu morali; nè i buoni (that is, the orthodox catholics) v' abbero altro a desiderare in lui, che un vero lume di fede.—Ibid. 120.

tions introduced by the King of Sweden into the art of war completely changed the whole military system of Europe. The splendid achievements of the Greeks and Romans formed his most favourite topic of conversation, and he took delight in comparing the tactics of modern times with those which were in use among the ancients. In opposition to the opinion then generally prevalent, he strenuously contended, that it was neither the improvements which had taken place in the science of fortification, nor the invention of gunpowder, but the inferiority of genius, which had prevented any modern from subjugating the world. "Let an Annibal, an Alexander, or a Julius Cæsar arise, and no barriers," he insisted, "would any longer prove sufficient to retard their victorious career."*

No less prompt in execution than inexhaustible in expedients, he united prudence with activity, moderation with firmness, and courage, too resolute for danger to appal, with vigilance too circumspect for artifice to elude. The discipline which he established in the Swedish army has perhaps never been equalled; it was a discipline of the mind as well as the body; for his generous spirit revolted at the idea, that men, who contended in the glorious cause of religion and of freedom, should act with the ferocity of a lawless banditti. No commander was ever more scrupulously obeyed, or more ardently loved by his soldiers; because their misconduct was never overlooked, nor were their services ever unrequited.

Few persons ever possessed, in a more eminent degree, the invaluable talent of discriminating

* Schmidt, v. 9.

all the shades and varieties of the human character. This was manifested in the disposal of all civil and military appointments. It was neither the distinctions of birth, nor the caprices of favour; neither the graces of person, nor the attractions of wit, which influenced the choice of Gustavus; on the contrary, when a regiment became vacant, or an embassy was preparing, he regarded only the merits of the different candidates, and always decided, like the son of Philip with respect to the empire of the world, that it should be given to the most deserving. To this sagacious system might chiefly be ascribed the stability of a fabric erected by victory, and which, to common observers, seemed solely to repose upon the stupendous efforts of a hero. But every spring and wheel had been so nicely adapted to its respective destination, that instead of falling in pieces like the Macedonian monarchy, when no longer upheld by the gigantic strength of its immortal founder, the splendid edifice augmented both in lustre and solidity under Oxenstiern, Weimar, Banier, and Torstenson.

Such were the virtues which adorned this illustrious monarch, and they appear to have been uncontaminated by any failing, except a warmth of temper frequently ungovernable, which impelled him to behave toward those who offended him with harshness, and sometimes with incivility. A moment's reflection, however, always sufficed to restore the dominion of reason, when he never omitted to apologize, even to the meanest of his attendants, with a magnanimity truly heroical.*

* *Te Martia virtus
Heroum, populis te debita cura regentum*

To sum up his character as briefly as possible, he was eminently pious without bigotry or fanaticism; humane without weakness; firm without obstinacy, and far more careful of the lives of his soldiers than attentive to his own preservation. In the moment of victory he was just and compassionate, never forgetting the weakness and imperfection of man's brightest endowments, and most extensive power, when compared with the wisdom and omnipotence of the Almighty. And, though he unquestionably ranks high among the most enlightened statesmen of modern Europe, he enjoys the singular, and perhaps unexampled glory, of having never subjected his unblemished reputation to the suspicion of treachery or deceit.*

Actibus exemplum statuet. Sic vivere reges
Optabunt, sic posse mori. Laus una placebit
Esse tibi similem et tua per vestigia ferri.

Adolphid. xii. 306.

"Sæpe ego mecum Patres Conscripti, tacitus agitavi, qualem quantumque esse opereretur, cujus ditone nuntique, terræ, mariæ, pax, bella regerentur; quum interea fingenti formantique mihi Principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus potestas dederet, numquam voto saltem concipere succurrit similem huic, quem videmus. Enituit aliquis in bello sed obsolevit in pace: alium toga sed non et arma honestarunt; reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humilitate captavit; ille quæsitam domi gloriam in publico, hic in publico partam domi perdidit: postremo adhuc nemo exstitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confusio lædarentur."—Plin. Panegyri, iv.

* The following epitaph was placed over the tomb of Gustavus and still exists at Stockholm:

Gloria Attissimo
Suorum refugio
Sepultura potentissimi Principis
Gustavi—Adolphi—Magni,
Dei Gratia
Regnorum Succæ: Regis incomparabilis,
qui
Regno undique hostibus obsesso
Ad imperium intravit:
Facatis denique Danis,
Moscoque et Polono mitioribus factis,
Regnum ampliavit

Summâque prudentia, regnum gubernavit.
 Tandem retriiso Cæsare
 Germanisque a Papæ deformatione liberatis,
 In pugna Lutzensi victor
 Heroice obiit.
 VL. Kal. Novembr. A.D. MDCXXXII.

A comparison between Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. who reigned over the same nation, at no great distance of time (says an ingenious modern writer), might tend essentially to place in their proper light the virtues and talents of the former. When Gustavus undertook to defend the protestant cause, he was instigated by motives the most sublime and powerful that can animate the heart of a mortal. All his plans were arranged with consummate prudence; alliances were contracted; subsidies were assured; and no precaution was neglected that could in any way tend to facilitate success, or, in the event of an unprosperous issue, secure an uninterrupted retreat. The conduct of Charles was precisely the reverse in every respect. During the whole course of his life, he invariably acted as if his sole object had been to set all mankind at defiance, lest opportunities should be wanting for displaying his prowess. If victorious, the advantages to be obtained were precarious; but if vanquished destruction was unavoidable—while Gustavus ensured a fortunate termination to every enterprise by the sagacity of his measures, and the profoundness of his combinations; Charles never attended to difficulties, or rather courted them; and seems to have been perfectly satisfied if he could astonish mankind, without ever attempting to enlighten them. Before Gustavus ventured to advance to the Rhine and the Danube, he had secured the alliance of Saxony, Pomerania, and Brandenburg; but when Charles rushed forward to Pultawa, he acted in contradiction to the advice of his ablest generals, no less than to the dictates of reason, and appears to have been solely impelled by the puerile vanity of conquering a country, where the Swedish standard had never before been displayed. The reputation of Gustavus was established independently of the German expedition; and even if he had failed in that great and glorious undertaking he would at least have enjoyed the undisputed honour of having pointed out to posterity the only means by which the Austrian power could be humbled. In his wars with Poland, Denmark, and Russia, he had shewn military talents of the highest order; while the admirable institutions which he formed for securing the internal posterity of Sweden; the amelioration of her constitution by wise and salutary laws; the encouragement of merit by liberal rewards; the establishment of manufactures, and the improvement of agriculture had deservedly allotted him an eminent station among the greatest and wisest of mankind. Stimulated by the frantic wish of subjugating the world, Charles had no object except to fight, no ambition except to conquer, no pleasure except to destroy. His only dread was the want of an enemy to contend with; and he might possibly have realized the ridiculous fable, with which historians and poets have sullied the reputation of the most illustrious of men, and wept from

disappointment the moment his chimerical project had been accomplished, and no country left for him to attack. His military system was that of a partisan, rather than of a general; neither does he appear to have entertained the most distant idea, that there could exist any glory distinct from that of slaughtering his fellow creatures, and spreading desolation and terror. To soften the rude manners of an uncultivated people by a benignant attention to their morals, their wants, and even their prejudices, was a glory to which he never could aspire, because he was utterly unable to comprehend it. Hence, while Gustavus exalted his native land to a level with the greatest of the European powers, and enabled it to support that dignified station for a considerable time after his death, the mad ambition of Charles precipitated in a moment the ruin of Sweden, and gave a blow to her prosperity, which she has never recovered.—Ferrand, *Esprit de l'Histoire*, iii. 385.

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