





T. A. Dean's.

Gustavus Adolphus.

King of Sweden.

THE LIFE
OF
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
SURNAMED THE GREAT,
King of Sweden.

BY J. F. HOLLINGS.

*Ἄνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ
σημαίνει ἐπιγραφὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ μνήμῃ.—THUCYDIDES.*

Fame is the spur which the clear spirit doth raise,
(The last infirmity of noble minds),
To scorn delights, and live laborious days.
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears
And slits the thin spun life—but not the praise.—MILTON.

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P R E F A C E.

IN considering the progress of the great cause of civil and religious freedom within the last three centuries, it must be evident that its present imposing condition is neither the result of the events of any single period, nor of a quiet and peaceful increase favoured by the more generous convictions and extended benevolence of mankind. As philosophers teach us that the most stupendous mountain-chains have been raised to their present height by a long series of convulsions, each contributing, more or less, to the elevation of the resisting mass, it seems to have been determined by a law of moral analogy, that the best interests of mankind should owe their permanent establishment and universal diffusion to numerous and violent derangements of the conditions of social life—derangements often attended with the most terrible and calamitous effects during the time of their immediate operation; but, like all other moral as well as physical evil, finally overruled to

the wider and more lasting extension of good. Amidst such recorded events, the celebrated War of Thirty Years in Germany is invested with the highest degree of interest—not only from the obstinacy of the struggle, but as exhibiting in its simplest and most intelligible form the conflict of principles which have since been happily so far modified in most civilised countries by a more general recognition of the principles of equity, as often to be with difficulty discoverable in their still continued opposition.

Considering the reputation obtained by the most prominent Character in this momentous contest at the time of his decease, it is somewhat singular that more than a century was suffered to pass away after that event before any biographer appeared willing to undertake the task of recording the principal occurrences of his life in any of the more popular languages of Europe. The splendid abilities of Frederick of Prussia, displayed during the sanguinary and protracted contest which arose from the question of the Pragmatic Sanction, and in the early part of the Seven Years' War, seem first to have recalled the general attention to the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus; while the circumstance of the same countries becoming the theatre of hostilities, which had formerly been traversed by the armies of the Empire, Saxony and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, naturally tended to endue with fresh interest a series of long-past events

which had fallen into comparative oblivion. Two lives of Gustavus Adolphus accordingly appeared, towards the middle of the last century, with but a brief interval between the dates of their publication; the first, the well-known work of Harte, which has passed through three editions; and the second purporting to be compiled principally from papers left by Archenholtz, the celebrated biographer of Christina of Sweden, which is known to have been edited by Professor Mauvillon. The latter is certainly the more valuable, since it is in great measure founded not only upon the writings of Swedish historians, apparently unknown to Harte, whose information may be conceived likely to be the most correct, but upon original archives then preserved at Stockholm, but which, it is to be feared, no longer continue to exist, since the author of the brief work, somewhat pretendingly entitled "*Gustave Adolphe, ses Lettres et Mémoires,*" states in his Preface that most of the historical documents relating to the expedition into Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, comprising the whole of the correspondence of that monarch with Oxenstiern, had been consumed some years before in an accidental fire at Stockholm. The biography of Harte, although containing an immense mass of information, has never been extensively popular: a fact easily to be accounted for by what Lord Chesterfield has justly termed the unaccountable vulgarity of the

style, and the careless manner in which the materials have been brought together. He has, however, hardly deserved the severe castigation bestowed upon him on all occasions by his rival, who, in addition to the bitter feeling of jealousy, so common among literary men in the time of Voltaire, seems to have entered upon his task with all the acrimony of a political partisan, desirous of taking vengeance for the assistance afforded by England to the then most formidable opponent of France, by inveighing on all occasions against the conduct of the former nation in regard to the Thirty Years' War. The biographies of both authors have been extensively used in the preparation of the following pages, while other authorities referred to in the margin have been occasionally consulted, not, it is hoped, without benefit to the volume; which will have fulfilled every design of the author, if it answers the purpose of a popular Life of a Character in all respects one of the most worthy the attention of the student of history, until the appearance of a more elaborate narration of his great achievements from some pen better qualified to record them.

THE LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER I.

Early History of Sweden—Convention of Calmar—Its Effects—Sweden is invaded by Christian II. of Denmark—His Perfidy and Cruelty towards the Swedish Nobility—Gustavus Ericson re-establishes the Freedom of his Country, and is, in consequence, declared King—State of Sweden under his government—Reigns of Eric XIV. and John III.—Contests between Sigismond, son of the latter monarch, and the Swedish Estates—Sigismond is declared to have forfeited the crown, which is conferred upon his uncle, Charles IX.—Birth of Gustavus Adolphus—Prognostications of his future greatness—His Education and early manifestations of Genius.

THE origin of the Swedish nation, like that of most of the tribes of the North, is lost in the darkness of remote antiquity. The most ancient compilers of its records, with a vanity the more pardonable, as it has been shared by the earliest historians of almost all nations, have asserted, that Sweden was peopled before any country to the north of the Mediterranean Sea, subsequently to the occurrence of the general Deluge; and the learned Puffendorff* himself has not only admitted this as an incontrovertible fact, but busied himself at some length in endeavours to account for it. At whatever period, however, the history of Sweden

* Puffendorff, Hist. of Sweden, Book I.

may be considered to commence, little worthy of notice is presented by its perusal, until towards the end of the fourteenth century. The first event which claims attention, is that generally known under the name of the Union of Calmar.

By this celebrated convention, Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar IV., King of Denmark, and widow of Haquin, King of Norway, who, by a successful course of policy, had obtained the sovereignty of both these kingdoms on the death of her father and husband, and, by a still further effort of ambitious intrigue, had caused herself to be elected Queen of Sweden, after the expulsion of Albert of Mecklenburg, endeavoured to unite the three crowns she possessed, in a single sovereignty, to be transmitted unimpaired to her successors. As the civil constitutions of the respective kingdoms appeared to be but little affected by the change, no great difficulty was at first raised to its accomplishment; yet the effects which ultimately resulted from it were disastrous in the extreme. Sweden, at first under Margaret, and afterwards beneath the sceptre of Eric, who succeeded her, found itself in the condition of a tributary state, dependent upon Denmark, and subjected to all the oppression and injustice, generally shown towards a newly-conquered province. After a submission of some continuance, the Swedes determined upon recovering their liberty. During the reign of Christian I., a revolution was organised by the grand Marshal Canutson, which terminated in the complete success of the Swedish insurgents.* By the intervention of the clergy, however, who were mostly attached to the Danish interests, the freedom of Sweden was still threatened either by open warfare or secret conspiracies, and during the governments of Steno and Suanto Sture, who, rejecting the regal title, were contented

* Vertot, *Revolutions de Suède.*

with filling the first office of the state under that of administrators or regents, the court of Copenhagen was constantly flattered by the hopes of a re-establishment of the union of Calmar.

At the death of Suanto Sture, in 1504, the throne of Denmark was occupied by Christian II., on whom it had lately devolved. In the character of this prince, remorseless cruelty and perfidy were united with an ambition of the most insatiate character; and the odious appellation of tyrant has seldom been bestowed upon an individual more deserving of the name. The unsettled state of Sweden immediately after the election of a new administrator, seemed to hold out a favourable opportunity for making himself master of that kingdom, and his designs were unhappily seconded by an ally, in every respect worthy of himself. This was Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, whose father, Eric, had been an unsuccessful candidate for the administratorship, and whose natural inclination towards the interests of Denmark was stimulated by personal hatred to the family of the Stures, who had again managed to secure the contested dignity for a member of their own family. By means of this prelate, a sentence of excommunication was obtained from Leo X. against the young administrator, Steno, and his adherents, and the armies of Christian, entering the Swedish territory under the pretence of carrying the spiritual edict into effect, began to lay waste the country with fire and sword. They were quickly met by Steno, with a force hastily collected for the occasion; but, after a few partial successes obtained over the invaders, the Swedes were entirely defeated in a great battle on the banks of the lake Veler. The administrator himself received a mortal wound; his forces dispersed, and Christian, upon hearing of the complete success which his generals had obtained, advanced in person

to lay siege to Stockholm, the last remaining stronghold of Sweden (with the exception of the fortress of Calmar), which, defended by the administrator's widow, still maintained a vigorous resistance, amidst the general defection or submission of the rest of the kingdom. On the fall of this important barrier of liberty, which was surrendered on conditions after a protracted blockade, Christian found himself in entire possession of the dignity to which he had so long aspired; but to his jealous and suspicious temper, the removal of every obstacle which might at a future period render its possession insecure, was a requisite indispensable to its enjoyment. On a former occasion he had, in utter contempt of his own honour, and the law of nations, seized as hostages, seven of the principal lords of Sweden, whom he kept under confinement in his dominions. He now hastened, by an act of atrocious injustice, fully to consummate his ambitious plans. A general assembly of the nobility and clergy was convoked at Stockholm for the purpose of witnessing his coronation, and investiture with the order of the Golden Fleece, conferred upon him by the emperor, Charles V. After the performance of these ceremonies, in a style of the highest magnificence, two days of unsuspecting revelry succeeded; during which the Swedish nobility were entertained by Christian with the utmost affability, and indulged with every external mark of confidence. On the third, the sudden appearance of the Archbishop of Upsal in a full assembly of the Estates, attended by a numerous train of dependents, for the purpose of appealing against numerous acts of alleged injustice on the part of the deceased administrator and many of the nobles present, was an ominous introduction to the tragic scene about to follow. Ninety-four lords, in addition to the magistrates and consuls of Stockholm, were instantly apprehended

on the accusation of the archbishop. The sentence of excommunication, previously pronounced against them at Rome, was supposed to preclude the necessity of a formal trial; and after the interval of only a few hours, the whole of the prisoners, many of whom were still adorned with the dresses of state they had assumed for the late solemnities, were led to expiate upon a public scaffold, their too great credulity in trusting their personal safety to the oaths and promises of a monarch, who was incapable of being bound by either. But the hatred of Christian towards the Swedish nation, was not to be appeased by the effusion of noble blood alone. The domestics, who had accompanied his victims, were condemned to a similar fate with their masters, and the Danish troops, under pretence of searching for criminals not yet apprehended, burst into the private houses of Stockholm, and filled every quarter of the city with scenes of bloodshed and outrage. By this act of summary vengeance, the king of Denmark imagined he had given a death-blow to the spirit of Swedish independence; but at the very moment while he was flattering himself with the complete success of his projects, Divine Justice was raising up an avenger, whose talents and patriotism were not only the means of wresting from him the kingdom over which he had acquired a temporary dominion, but the principal cause of his final expulsion from his own.

Gustavus Ericson, surnamed Vasa, grand standard-bearer of Sweden, had distinguished himself by many acts of intrepidity and conduct, during the brief continuance of hostilities between the administrator Steno, and the Danish armies of invasion. He was one of the seven hostages whom Christian had carried off into Denmark, and still detained in that country as securities for the conduct of their relatives at home. Naturally of a daring and enthusiastic

temperament, and possessed of that ardent spirit of patriotism, which has so often rendered a single individual the means of arousing the energies of an enthralled nation, this young nobleman was deeply affected by the intelligence he received of the subjugation of his country by the king of Denmark. He immediately formed the design of making at least one more effort for the recovery of its independence; and with that intention, after escaping from the guard under which he was held, landed in the vicinity of Calmar; the garrison of which he endeavoured to gain over to declare themselves for the cause which he considered himself as representing. His first attempt was unsuccessful. The governor of Calmar was so far from yielding to his appeal, that he threatened to deliver him into the hands of the enemy; and the Danes gaining information of his arrival, commenced so diligent a search for the purpose of apprehending him, that he was compelled, in the disguise of a peasant, to traverse the least frequented parts of the country; and finally to betake himself, for the purpose of better concealment, to the wild district of Dalecarlia, where, on being abandoned by his guide, who carried off in his flight the limited means of maintenance which he had still preserved, he was compelled, by the pressure of actual necessity, to engage himself as a common labourer in the mines. His subsequent adventures form one of the most interesting chapters in what has been not unaptly called the Romance of History. After undergoing many perils in the midst of avowed enemies and false friends, he gained an opportunity of haranguing the crowds assembled at the fair of Mora, upon the oppression to which their country was already exposed, and the additional evils it might be called upon to suffer by a protracted submission to the weight of a foreign yoke. The hardy Dalecar-

lians, already sufficiently disposed to a revolt, and requiring but a leader competent to direct their endeavours, at once flew to arms, under the influence of the feelings excited by his eloquence and address. A neighbouring fortress, in which a Danish garrison had been placed, for the purpose of overawing the country, was at once assailed and carried by storm. Multitudes of Swedish gentlemen, who had been outlawed by Christian, hastened, on the news of this first success, to join the standard of the insurgents; and Gustavus quickly saw himself at the head of a formidable army; which, in addition to the incentive of natural courage, was in the highest degree exasperated by the memory of past defeat, and the infliction of unprovoked wrong. In the war which ensued, the Swedes were almost uniformly victorious. One province after another was cleared of the Danish garrisons. The menaces of Christian, who threatened to put to death the mother and sisters of Gustavus, had no effect in checking the progress of the victors; and that tyrant, after incurring the additional guilt of carrying his inhuman threat into execution, found that he had only accelerated the loss of Sweden as an appendage to his crown, without the remotest hope of its future recovery.

It was natural that, after the accomplishment of this astonishing revolution, the first burst of national gratitude should be directed towards rewarding the principal instrument by whose means it had been brought about. Gustavus was immediately declared governor-general and sovereign administrator of Sweden, and at a subsequent convention of the Estates at Stregnez, formally summoned to the vacant throne. His subsequent conduct proved, that he was no less competent to advance the civil interests of his countrymen, than to conduct their armies in the field. Under his prudent and enterprising management,

Sweden rose at once to a rank among the nations of Europe, far above what it had ever been expected to attain. The most useful manufactures were successively introduced and established among the cities and towns. Arsenals and foundries for cannon were erected at the principal ports ; and the Swedish fleets, beginning to traverse the Baltic, took for the first time an active share in a commerce, hitherto almost exclusively shared between Denmark and the Hanseatic towns. The interests of learning were, in the meantime, no less forwarded by the institution of colleges and schools. In return for these and other benefits, Gustavus, towards the end of his reign, received an additional mark of the popular esteem, in a resolution of the Estates, by which the crown of Sweden was declared hereditary in his family. He had previously effected a change in the national constitution of far greater difficulty and importance. By successive efforts on his part, distinguished by the most masterly policy, the Roman Catholic religion was gradually displaced in Sweden, and the doctrines of the Lutheran church substituted in its place, until the Confession of Augsburg was at length declared to be the standard of the established faith. This great prince, after entering into an alliance with France, and receiving an invitation from the members of the League of Smalkalde to place himself at their head, died full of years and honours, September 29th, 1560.

After the decease of Gustavus Vasa, Sweden was again doomed to suffer all the evils of anarchy, from which, during his prosperous reign, it had been delivered. By his last testament, Eric, his eldest son, by Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, was nominated to succeed him in the royal dignity. To John, Duke of Finland, Charles of Sudermania, and Magnus of Ostrogothia, the offspring

of his second marriage with Margaret, a Swedish lady of noble family, he bequeathed the respective provinces from which their titles were derived, to be held as fiefs dependent upon the crown. It is said that Gustavus, towards the close of his life, was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of his son Eric, as only to be deterred from formally disinheriting him, by the fear of a civil war after his death; and the first acts of the new king abundantly justified all the apprehensions which his subjects had entertained, from a knowledge of his character previous to his accession. His temper was a singular mixture of rashness and vacillation, of the most unsuspecting confidence alternating with the most gloomy suspicion, both equally groundless in their origin, and equally mischievous in their effects. He had at one time proposed himself as a suitor to Queen Elizabeth of England; and his name makes a considerable figure among those, whose pretensions served as an occasional amusement to the vanity of that haughty princess. He afterwards transferred his attentions to her celebrated rival, Mary Queen of Scots, then to a princess of Lorraine, and finally concluded his matrimonial projects by a marriage of one of his mistresses, a woman of the very lowest extraction. It had been well, if his incapacity for government had been manifested by acts of mental weakness alone. Repeated instances of violence and cruelty at length excited his subjects to a revolt; and his own brothers appeared in arms against him. An assembly of the Estates, at Stockholm, declared him to have forfeited all right to their allegiance, which they accordingly transferred to his brother John, condemning the deposed monarch to a state of perpetual confinement. The fate of Eric affords another testimony to the adage, that there exists but a slight difference between the prisons and the graves of princes. Upon the

occasion of some popular movements in his favour, the royal council and States General of the nation placed an instrument in the hands of the reigning king, by which the life of his brother was left entirely at his disposal, to be demanded whenever necessity might seem to require the sacrifice. Eric, after frequent removals from one fortress to another, while the resolution of the possessor of his throne still fluctuated between the dread of fratricide and the suggestions of interest, was at length destroyed by poison, forcibly administered, after the wretched victim had for two days previously been acquainted with his impending doom*.

The reign of John was stormy and disastrous; a period of angry commotion at home, and of dubious warfare abroad. He was engaged in incessant hostilities with the Muscovites and Tartars, who, notwithstanding the victories of his general De La Gardie, succeeded in ravaging Finland, and wresting the town of Narva from the Swedes. In his own dominions, an ill-judged attempt to institute a liturgy, similar to that of the Roman Church, justly aroused the indignation of the nobles and clergy attached to the Lutheran Confession. His brother Charles, Duke of Sudermania, stood forward as protector of the rights of the Protestant faith. Under his guidance, all the innovations attempted by the king, were either ingeniously eluded, or encountered by open resistance. Nevertheless, John persisted in his endeavours to subvert a form of worship, embraced by the judgment, and upheld by the resources, of the great majority of the nation. His wife Catherine, a Polish princess of the house of Jagellon, contributed to strengthen his attachment to the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome, and his son Sigismund was secretly brought up in obedience to that communion. Through the interest

* Puffendorff, History of Sweden.

of his mother, this young prince, after the death of Stephen, King of Poland, was elected as his successor; a circumstance which caused a feeling of still further dissatisfaction on the part of the Swedes, who expected nothing less than the interference of foreign arms, at some future period, for the purpose of enforcing the Roman Catholic ritual; and induced them to look with still greater attachment upon the Duke of Sudermania, as the only person able to deliver them from the evils which they had too much reason to anticipate. After the departure of Sigismond for Poland, the contests between John and his Lutheran subjects were again renewed, and continued with greater or less violence until his death in 1592. This event is believed to have been greatly accelerated by the vexation and anxiety of mind attendant upon the protracted dissensions in which the greater part of his reign had been spent. As he felt his end approach, he summoned his brother Charles to his presence, and after a reconciliation, which was rendered additionally affecting by the relative circumstances of the parties, appointed him administrator of the kingdom, during the interval which he foresaw must elapse before Sigismond could arrive to take formal possession of the authority that was shortly to devolve upon him by right of inheritance.

The first act of the new Administrator was to place beyond the possibility of danger the interests of the religion he professed. He immediately assembled the Senate, and laid before them, in a pathetic speech, the peril which appeared likely to threaten the Reformed Church on the accession of Sigismond. He earnestly advised them, therefore, if they were determined to accept him as their king, to bind him previously by such conditions, as might render him unable to make any innovation of importance on the religious polity of the state. The Senate, in their reply, affirmed

that Sigismond, by his attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, had beyond doubt rendered himself unworthy of the crown ; but, before assembling the Estates to debate upon a question of such moment, they advised that a General Synod should be appointed at Upsal, where such steps might be taken as should effectually guarantee the security of religion in the interval. By the Synod, thus hastily convoked, it was declared that the Confession of Augsburg was and must remain the rule of faith of the Church of Sweden, and that whosoever should profess any other belief, was incompetent to fill any civil or military office in the administration. The States General, at their first meeting, unanimously confirmed this resolution.

Sigismond lost no time, after hearing of these spirited movements, in repairing to a kingdom where his interests appeared already to be placed in the most critical circumstances. He was accompanied by a crowd of Catholic ecclesiastics, and among others, by the nuncio Malespina, whose presence was not likely to prove a means of conciliating the regards of the Swedes towards the monarch he attended. The first dispute arose from an anxiety expressed by Sigismond, to have the ceremony of his coronation performed by the nuncio, in preference to the Archbishop of Upsal. Other and more important subjects of dissension were not slow in occurring. Sigismond refused to confirm the existing laws respecting religion, and more especially the late decree passed by the Synod of Upsal, and shortly afterwards, on finding himself compelled to yield on these points to the universal protest of the nobility and clergy, left Sweden under the influence of a sudden fit of disgust, in a state of greater confusion than prevailed there before his arrival.

The Administratorship was still left in the hands of the Duke of Sudermania, who immediately pro-

ceded to dispossess of their commands the few Catholic governors whom Sigismond had left in Sweden, and to summon a Diet of Estates at Söderköping, to debate on the best course to be pursued at so important a juncture. The members of this assembly confirmed the duke in his office as regent, and passed a general resolution that the articles, to which Sigismond had sworn at his coronation, were just and necessary, and that whoever was concerned directly or indirectly in violating them, should be esteemed a traitor to his country. This resolution was particularly aimed at Fleming, the governor of Finland, a steady adherent to the principles and interests of Sigismond; who, far from relinquishing his government at the summons of the Administrator, had begun to make open preparations for maintaining it by force of arms. But the Senate, perhaps already jealous of the Administrator's power, were in no haste to place him at the head of a force, for the purpose of compelling a general submission to the decree of the Estates of Söderköping, and Charles, after a long altercation, was obliged once more to have recourse to a national assembly, to enable himself to act with vigour, for the preservation of those rights he had been called upon to defend. At a second meeting at Arboga, the Estates conferred upon him a power little less than dictatorial; and the senators and nobles, who had done most to deserve his resentment, now seriously apprehensive of the consequences to themselves, fled into Poland, to lay their complaints before Sigismond, and represent to him the danger by which the royal authority was threatened in Sweden, from the increasing popularity and influence of his representative, who had already earned the title of "King of the peasants," from the devoted attachment shown by the lower orders to his person and cause.

Sigismond was in want of little persuasion to come

to an open rupture with his relative, on whose proceedings he had long been looking with jealousy and distrust. With the professed intention of re-establishing his rights, which he pretended had been impaired, as well by the Administrator's conduct, as by the resolutions of the last Diet, he landed in Sweden, at the head of a considerable army, composed of Germans and Poles; preceding his arrival by a manifesto, in which he denounced the conduct of the Administrator in terms of unmeasured violence. The latter, after vainly attempting to avert the threatening storm, by every expedient short of an unreserved submission to the king's pleasure, began to levy forces in his turn, and marched with a numerous host, which affection had gathered to his standard, to finish as soon as possible a dispute, which the sharp arbitrement of the sword could now alone determine. The first battle was entirely to the disadvantage of the Administrator, but the fortune of war was speedily changed by a second engagement, in which the royal troops received so severe a defeat, that Sigismund was obliged to bargain for a safe retreat, at the price of delivering the senators, who had persuaded him to the expedition, into the hands of the opposite party, and consenting, on his own part, to whatever terms the victors should propose. He agreed to reinstate the Administrator in his favour,—to bury all past grounds of offence in oblivion, and to convoke an assembly of the Estates within four months, at which deputies from the Emperor, and such of the Electors of Germany as might be prevailed upon to take a part in determining the dispute, should act as umpires between the contending factions, and assist in settling the affairs of the nation, according to the rules of moderation and equity. The intention of Sigismund, however, was only to gain time by this arrangement.

At the first opportunity, he effected his flight to Dantzic, where he had no sooner arrived, than he gave a fresh demonstration of his unabated hostility towards his uncle, by sending a body of four hundred men to reinforce the garrison of Calmar. In addition to this, he did not refrain from openly professing his intention of returning to Sweden on the first favourable opportunity, to chastise his rebellious subjects, together with their leader, and once more reduce them to that allegiance to which, notwithstanding all that had passed, he still considered himself to possess an unalienable right. The Swedish Estates, finding that no other course remained open to preserve the kingdom from the protracted horrors of a civil war, resolved to proceed at once to extremities with a monarch, under whose government nothing could be expected but the desire of avenging past defeat on the one side, and continued apprehension or resistance on the other. They therefore assembled at Jonköping, from whence they wrote to the king, requesting him to return and re-establish his residence among them—to put in force the best measures for quieting all internal dissensions—to remove evil counsellors from his presence—and, finally, either to embrace the protestant religion himself, or at least to send his son Udislaus to Sweden, to be brought up in accordance with its doctrines; declaring, that if he neglected to comply with these requisitions, they would consider the throne to be virtually abdicated, and pass without delay to the election of a new sovereign, in whose hands their liberties would be secure from injury.

These demands, which were hardly expected, and perhaps never meant to be accepted, had only the effect of inflaming the anger of Sigismund to a still higher pitch. He did not even deign to vouchsafe an answer to the message of the Estates. The con-

sequences were easy to be foreseen. A fresh Convention at Stockholm declared him deprived of the regal dignity, but, at the instigation of the Administrator, made a second offer of reserving the crown for his son, on the conditions previously specified. The term for the final acceptance or rejection of this offer, on the part of Sigismond, was limited to twelve months, and afterwards extended to six months more, in compliance with the Administrator's urgent request, who perhaps saw that his power ran little hazard of being impaired by such a sacrifice to the appearance of moderation. At the expiration of that period, no answer had been returned to their proposal. Udislaus was still detained in Poland; and the Estates assembling at Norköping, proceeded to carry their threat into execution. They entreated the Administrator openly to accept the title which his nephew had justly forfeited by his aggressions upon the national rights, and contempt for the remonstrances of their defenders; and that magistrate, thinking the time arrived at which all remaining scruples must be thrown aside, or his own chance of succession transferred to another, ascended under the name of Charles IX. a throne which had probably long been the object of his secret ambition, if not the chief motive of his unwearied advocacy of the popular cause.

Ten years previously to his accession, an event had occurred in his family, which gave him a greater claim to the notice of posterity, than any possession of external dignity could confer. On the 9th of December, 1594, his second wife, Christina, daughter of the Duke of Holstein Schleswic, gave birth to an infant son at the royal palace of Stockholm, who was shortly afterwards, in memory of the great advocate of Swedish freedom, christened by the name of Gustavus, to which that of Adolphus was at the

same time added, in honour of his maternal grandfather. The celebrated* Tycho Brahe was employed, in conjunction with other astrologers, according to the custom of the time, in the calculation of his nativity; and is said, after a careful examination of his horoscope, to have predicted a course of extraordinary greatness and splendour, and the complete humiliation of his enemies, to the child whose destinies were the subject of his investigation; while he qualified an opinion, so favourable in its general outlines, by dark denunciations of a sudden and violent death, and the subsequent extinction of his illustrious house†; a prophecy, perhaps, suggested by one which had been afloat ever since the presence of the singular star in the northern heavens, which, towards the close of the year 1572, attracted the attention of the whole of civilised Europe. This extraordinary luminary, the appearance of which still remains, and must probably continue, an inexplicable mystery amidst all the extended observations and discoveries of science, was first observed in the constellation Cassiopeia, shining with a light not exceeding that of a fixed star of the fourth magnitude. Its lustre, however, progressively and rapidly increasing, soon became such as far to surpass that of the planet Jupiter when arrived at its utmost brightness, and was long plainly visible to the naked eye at noonday. Its colour then changed into a deep crimson‡, and next to an ashy paleness; after which, it began gradually to fade away, until it became scarcely perceptible to the sight, and at length wholly invisible. The most interesting circumstance connected with it in the eye of modern philosophy is, that during the whole of this time its place remained unchanged, and that it

* Puffendorff, History of Sweden.

† Histoire de Gustave Adolphe.

‡ The New Star in the North shining on Gustavus Adolphus.
4to. London, 1632.

did not present, under repeated observations, the slightest sensible parallax. To ascertain its prophetic meaning was then more easy than to account for its presence; and the voice of astrology accordingly pronounced that this phenomenon portended the birth of an extraordinary individual among the northern nations, who should stand forth as the defender of the protestant faith, and astonish the whole world with feats of martial enterprise. The subsequent career of Gustavus seemed to impress the full stamp of fulfilment upon a prediction, founded, in all probability, more upon the wishes than the belief of those who first propagated it; and few were inclined to doubt that the principal events of his life had been prefigured by a meteor, whose phases so exactly corresponded with his sudden rise to greatness, the extent and rapidity of his conquests, the dazzling character of his military genius, and lastly, the circumstances of his early and calamitous death.

One or two traits of character, exhibited during the infancy of Gustavus, are mentioned on respectable authority. It is said that, when only five years of age, he accompanied his father to Calmar, where an armament was in the process of being fitted out against the town of Lubeek*—and that, as he was gazing with childish curiosity on the ships of war which were preparing to put to sea, an officer of distinction approaching the spot, inquired which vessel he preferred among all he saw lying at anchor before him. "That," replied the child, stretching his hands towards one named Swartza Riddaren, or the Black Knight, which presented to view a formidable battery of the largest guns then in use. "And why?" said the officer, continuing the conversation. "Because," replied Gustavus with eagerness, "it is better furnished with cannons than all the rest†."

* Anno 1599, Loccenius Hist. Suecana, L. 16, vii.

† Mauvillon.

On another occasion, it is said, that he was walking with his father in the meadows near Ny-Köping, with a number of the nobility and attendants upon his court. While they pursued their promenade, the child made frequent excursions from the company, and sometimes ran into the skirts of a wood close at hand, thickly beset with tangled briars and shrubs. One of the nobles present, fearing that his clothes would be torn to pieces by this amusement, and thinking to terrify him from pursuing it, informed him that the wood before him was tenanted by venomous serpents of extraordinary magnitude, who would not fail to resent in a fatal manner any sudden intrusion into their haunts. Gustavus only smiled at the information. "Give me a large stick, then," said he, "that I may immediately go and kill them all." Most of those who were near laughed at the reply, which they seemed to think nothing more than a vainglorious affectation of courage. But the duke was inclined to treat the circumstance more seriously. "Do you think," he asked, "that what that child has threatened he is afraid to perform? I assure you, if that is your opinion, you know but little of his real character."

A peasant of Oeland had brought for his use one of the most beautiful of the small breed of horses peculiar to that province. Gustavus was highly delighted with the present, but his first thoughts were turned to recompensing the donor. "I must not suffer you," he said, "to go away unpaid, for it cannot be your intention to give me this horse for nothing; at any rate, you may be in want of money." And so saying, he drew forth his little purse, filled with ducats, and immediately proceeded to empty its contents into the peasant's hands.

Trivial as these anecdotes may appear, they are all that history has preserved respecting the infancy of

one, whose actions were destined to fill so large a space in its annals. Those who delight to trace the child as father to the man, may discover in them the germs of those qualities which, when developed, formed the principal features in his character. The childhood of few, however, has passed without many such words and actions, as might by observers be interpreted as signs of future greatness. It is the course of subsequent events alone which ultimately determines whether these shall be esteemed in the light of indications of dawning eminence or as manifestations of feeling common to most in early life, and therefore presenting no claim to be rescued from oblivion.

As soon as the age of Gustavus permitted, he was placed under the care of tutors unexceptionably qualified, by their moral character and literary attainments, for the important task of his instruction.* The general superintendence of his education was committed to Otho de Mœrner, a gentleman of a distinguished house in Brandenburg. The principal preceptor under him was the learned John Skytte, who, in addition to a profound knowledge of ancient literature, was celebrated as a skilful diplomatist, and possessed all the information which a residence for nine years at different courts in Europe could supply. Under the direction of this able instructor, Gustavus made a rapid progress in the study of the classical poets and historians, to which was added that of geometry, rhetoric, and the principles of jurisprudence. The extent of his memory, and the powers of genius which he displayed at this time, are said only to have been equalled by his extreme docility, and the avidity with which he pursued every branch of learning subjected to his notice. His attainments at an early age must indeed have been

* *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, vol. i. p. 55.

extraordinary, if unlimited credit is to be given to the writers who have recorded them; since we are informed that, when only twelve years old, he wrote and spoke with as much facility as his native tongue, the Latin, French, German, Flemish, and Italian languages, in addition to possessing an extensive acquaintance with those of Poland and Muscovy. Gustavus was so sensible of the advantages he had derived from the knowledge and abilities of his tutor, that he subsequently raised him to the dignity of count and senator, and intrusted him with some of the most important offices of the kingdom.

During the twelve years' truce, concluded in 1609, between the contending powers in the Low Countries, the court of Charles was visited by a number of officers, French, German, English, Scotch, and Flemish, who had been actively engaged in that famous theatre of war, and were anxious to improve the interval of leisure by travelling among the northern nations, or desirous of offering their services to the Swedish crown. Their arrival was highly acceptable to the young Gustavus, who, with an interest hardly to be expected from his years, questioned them upon the resources, manners, and customs of their respective countries; their several methods of constructing fortifications, disciplining troops, or building and equipping ships of war. Those to whom his questions were addressed, could not help expressing their astonishment at the talent shown in his observations upon their information, in the presence of his father, and Charles took the opportunity of venturing a prediction, which after events proved to be strictly correct. After enumerating several plans, which he had in contemplation, for advancing the glory and prosperity of Sweden, he added: "As for myself, I hardly dare indulge in the hope of accomplishing them; but the youth, whose abilities you have so

justly been admiring, will one day certainly carry them into effect."

But among the numerous mental and moral qualifications already so remarkably displayed by the subject of this history, it would be unpardonable to omit one of incomparably more importance than the rest. The piety and devotion of Gustavus, and his unaffected reverence for all the ordinances of religion, were conspicuous from almost the earliest period of his life. Much of this quality, which constitutes the grand distinction by which he is separated from a crowd of illustrious monarchs and conquerors, many of them his equals, and some few perhaps his masters in policy and war, is undoubtedly to be attributed to the instruction and example of those in the company of whom his childhood was spent; still more to that mysterious influence of the Divine agency, which, sometimes suffering almost a whole life to pass away before it is effectually felt, is often pleased to impress a character of attention to the interests of an untried state upon an age which, more than all others exposed to the allurements of the outward senses, is naturally least willing to turn from their attraction to the contemplation of invisible realities.

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the reign of Charles the Ninth—Swedish Conquests in Livonia—Condition of Muscovy, and successive revolutions in that country—The Czar Basil Ivanovitz Zuski invokes the assistance of Sweden—Jacques de la Gardie takes the city of Novogorod by assault—Jealousy of Christian the Fourth of Denmark at the Swedish successes—He declares war and lays siege to Calmar—The King of Sweden marches to its relief—Surrender of Calmar to the Danes, and singular correspondence between Charles and Christian—First military exploits of Gustavus Adolphus—Death of Charles the Ninth—Council of Regency—Assembly of the States General at Ny-Köping—Law respecting the age of succession to the throne abrogated in favour of Gustavus Adolphus, who is declared King—His address to the States on that occasion.

ALTHOUGH the accession of Charles IX. seemed to promise an end to the continual dissensions which had distracted the kingdom of Sweden, the aspect of affairs with respect to surrounding nations was far from being such as to encourage the hope of a tranquil reign. War, indeed, had for some time previously been carried on in Esthonia and Livonia, and it was evident that its flames would not long be confined to these districts alone. The latter province, while forming the last possession of importance retained by the Knights of the Teutonic Order, had been incessantly ravaged by the armies of Sweden, Muscovy, and Poland, until it was ceded by Godard Kettler, the last Grand Master of Livonia, to the Poles, in exchange for the duchy of Courland. It was afterwards rendered tributary to the crown of Sweden, and continued in that condition until the contentions between Sigismond and his subjects afforded it an opportunity of again returning under the dominion of its former masters, whose govern-

ment was in all probability preferred more from fear than affection, the Poles being likely to prove far more dangerous enemies than the Swedes, in consequence of their nearer neighbourhood, and the power afforded by their situation of pouring their armies into the country, whenever it should be occupied by a rival force. Charles, in the year before his coronation, had made an effort to recover this valuable possession from the hands of Sigismund, but had suffered a signal defeat from the Polish army, and had been compelled to retire to Sweden, after losing three thousand of his best troops, and being only saved from death or captivity by the interposition of a faithful follower, who sacrificed his own life to his preservation. A second and more successful expedition in the first year of his reign turned the balance again in his favour; but while he was continuing hostilities in this quarter, a still more favourable opportunity for striking an effectual blow at the interests of the King of Poland appeared to present itself in the direction of Muscovy. The condition to which that kingdom was then reduced, and the prominent part it afterwards took in exercising the Swedish arms during the reign of Charles IX. and the first part of that of Gustavus Adolphus, may justify a slight digression upon some points of its previous history.

Basil,* the son of John, and grandson of Basil, surnamed the Blind, was the first grand duke of Muscovy who assumed the title of Czar. He deprived the Poles of the principality of Plescow, together with the duchy of Smolensk, and died in 1523, leaving as his successor John Basil, his son, who conquered a part of Livonia, and the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan. This prince died in 1534, leaving two sons, Feodor Ivanovitz, by his first wife

* Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, vol. i. p. 150.

Anastasia, and Demetrius, the unfortunate offspring of a second marriage.

The reign of Feodor Ivanovitz was principally distinguished by his fatal attachment to an unworthy favourite, Boritz Goudenow, who gained such an ascendancy over the affections of his sovereign, that, after raising him to the first dignities of the kingdom, he bestowed upon him his own sister in marriage. The ambition of Boritz was so far from being satisfied by these honours, that he was only excited by them to aspire to a yet more exalted station. As Feodor Ivanovitz was childless, and Demetrius consequently stood next in succession, his first object was to remove the latter from impeding the way to the advancement he contemplated. He therefore hired a band of assassins to set fire to the town and Castle of Uglitz, in which Demetrius resided, and to murder the object of his jealousy as he attempted to escape from the flames. Having thus, as he imagined, secured himself from all danger on the part of the heir-apparent, his next crime was the murder of his benefactor, Feodor Ivanovitz, himself, which he accomplished by means of the more secret agency of poison. After this, it was a matter of no great difficulty to obtain possession of the throne, and he was shortly afterwards proclaimed Czar of Muscovy, in the room of the deceased Feodor, rather amidst the inaction than the approbation of the nation at large. An unexpected competitor soon appeared to contest with him the possession of his newly-acquired dignity. A young monk of noble extraction, but who, by his constant excesses and prodigality, had been driven to take shelter from their effects beneath the monastic habit, determined to venture upon a daring experiment for retrieving his ruined fortunes. He boldly assumed the name of the deceased Demetrius, whom he exactly resembled in person, declaring that he had escaped the swords of the assassins commis-

sioned by Boritz; and the mother of Demetrius herself, instigated by the desire of taking vengeance upon the murderer of her son, was easily persuaded to second the imposture by her testimony. The false Demetrius began his career by an alliance which formed the basis of his subsequent good fortune. George Mnizak, Palatine of Sandomir, was so charmed with his engaging manners and address, that he willingly consented to his marriage with his daughter Marina, a woman of great beauty and still greater ambition, and immediately began to levy troops for the purpose of chasing the usurper Boritz from the kingdom, which he considered of right to belong to his son-in-law. In this undertaking he was seconded by Sigismond, who readily allowed him to raise recruits in his dominions. Boritz, alarmed at the storm he saw gathering against him, at first attempted to avert it by negotiation, but finding all his overtures rejected, and his endeavours to excite the Muscovites to arms in his cause totally ineffectual, he determined upon anticipating the fate which he was certain of experiencing from his enemies in the event of his falling into their hands, and put an end to his existence by swallowing poison. Demetrius advanced to Moscow in triumph, saluted by the people as their deliverer during his whole march towards the capital, where he was crowned, with his wife Marina, as the true brother of Feodor Ivanovitz, and considered to possess an additional claim upon the allegiance of his subjects, from the favour of Providence manifested towards him in his miraculous preservation.

The imposture of the false Demetrius, however successful for a season, was not calculated to withstand the close scrutiny to which he was subjected, after the first sense of exultation had subsided on the part of the people, and the nobles who composed his court found themselves at leisure to examine more

deliberately the circumstances by which his identity with the prince he represented appeared to be supported. Whispers of the true state of the matter began to circulate among the better-informed orders, and additional evidence which continued to transpire, changed at length what had at first been a feeling of suspicion only, into one of positive certainty. The conduct of the impostor and his queen was not such as to ensure the affections of the only class who were likely to befriend them at the crisis which was evidently at hand. The nobles had been previously disgusted by their excesses, insolence, and extravagance; and the indignation of the common people was now so excited by the heavy imposts laid upon them to furnish the means of administering to their indulgences, that even had the counterfeit Demetrius been actually the person he pretended, they would willingly have believed him an impostor, as the best excuse for the defection they were planning. In this condition of general discontent, Basil Ivanovitz Zuski, a Muscovite noble of the first rank, was induced to entertain the design of avenging the insulted credulity of the nation, and appropriating the crown to himself. At the head of a chosen band of conspirators, he seized the gates of the royal palace, and rushed with a train of armed attendants into the apartment where the Czar was sitting. His intended victim, at no loss to guess the meaning of this startling intrusion, threw himself from the window of the chamber into the court beneath; but receiving only a few slight injuries from his fall, was dragged into the presence of Zuski, and confronted with his supposed mother, who, terrified by the threats of instant death if she refrained from making a satisfactory confession, disclosed the whole plot, in which she had been an accomplice. After listening to all she had to divulge, Zuski coolly turned towards his detected

prisoner, and presenting his pistol, shot him dead upon the spot. He then proceeded to commit Marina to close confinement, and to put to death, under a very slight resemblance to a judicial process, more than two thousand persons, who were chiefly implicated in the late imposition upon the kingdom.

Zuski, after playing a part so nearly resembling that of Darius Hystaspes in the early Persian history, was not so fortunate during the rest of his life, as his celebrated prototype. He was indeed chosen Czar by the influence of a numerous and powerful party; but scarcely had his coronation been performed, when a third Demetrius appeared upon the stage, endued with as much ability, and backed by the same power as his predecessor. This new aspirant asserted that he had escaped the attempts of Zuski upon his life, and that the ball by which he was believed to have perished, had proved fatal only to an attendant, whose body had been buried as that of the Czar. Marina herself having escaped from prison, and hesitating at no deceit to forward her own interests, affirmed positively that he was her husband, and Sigismond rejoicing at a fresh pretext for hostilities against a country, part of which he hoped to secure to his own crown, during the confusion which he plainly saw approaching, affected to receive the story of this new impostor with full belief, and immediately set his forces in motion against the recently elected Czar.

As it was in vain to think of making head against the arms of Sigismond by his own unassisted strength, Zuski did not scruple, at so dangerous a juncture, to have recourse to foreign assistance. Well aware of the enmity which existed between the King of Poland and his uncle, he earnestly entreated the latter to prevent the further aggrandizement of his rival by the acquisition of any part of Muscovy, and for that

purpose to send a body of troops to act as his auxiliaries in the approaching contest. However disposed Charles might be by his own inclination to comply with his request, he was determined to afford no assistance for which he was not likely to receive a substantial recompense. He stipulated that all that part of Carelia attached to Muscovy should be yielded up to him in remuneration of his services; and Zuski, willing to purchase the aid of so powerful an ally upon any terms, made no difficulty in acceding to the demand. An army of ten thousand men was therefore despatched to his assistance, under Jacques de la Gardie, Constable and Field Marshal of Sweden, who, before commencing operations, required the Czar to fulfil his part of the agreement by the cession of the stipulated province. Zuski, however, had either no intention to comply with the demand, or had in this instance undertaken more than he had the ability to perform; and De la Gardie, after transmitting information to his sovereign of the Czar's breach of faith, was instructed instantly to make war upon him in behalf of Sweden, and to render himself master of as extensive a territory as possible, to serve as an indemnity to the nation for the trouble and expense incurred by fitting out an armament to so little purpose.

Muscovy, by the ambition of its neighbours, and its own intestine divisions, was thus rendered a prey to war and desolation under their most frightful forms. No less than four different armies disputed for the possession of its cities, and ravaged every province within the scope of their operations with ruthless and unsparing barbarity. The Poles, advancing with rapid and uniform success, drove before them in confusion such hastily levied forces as Zuski could oppose to their progress, and soon compelled that chief to shut himself up within the walls of

Moscow, of which they immediately commenced the siege. The inhabitants, terrified at the prospect of an assault, offered to acknowledge Udislaus, the son of Sigismond, as Czar, on condition that he should embrace their religion, and that Zuski should be allowed to retire from the city in safety; but the Poles disdainng to listen to any terms from those whom they considered already at their mercy, only replied by pushing their advances with redoubled vigour. Moscow fell, after an obstinate resistance, by a general assault, and experienced that treatment which the horrible licence of war is accustomed to inflict on such occasions. Thousands of its inhabitants were promiscuously massacred by the victors, a great part of the city was laid in ashes, and Zuski with his two brothers were sent prisoners in chains to Poland.

While such were the successes of the Poles, the Swedish general on his part was not inactive. After subjecting a great part of Carelia, and reducing the town of Kexholm, he extended his conquests still further, and receiving the submission of many places of less importance, ultimately formed the siege of Novogorod itself. The fortifications of this famous city long defied his utmost efforts, and baffled every plan for its capture which courage or ingenuity could suggest. It was, nevertheless, at length taken by storm, and sacked without mercy by the conquerors, astonishing by its fall the whole nation of the Muscovites, and silencing the boasting adage which had long been current among them, "Who can prevail against God, or Novogorod, the great city?"*

But as if it had been fated that all the northern powers should successively be involved in this sanguinary struggle, the kingdom of Denmark, hitherto

* "Quis contra Deum, aut magnam Novogardiam potest."

Loccinius Hist. Suecana.

neutral, now began to manifest a disposition of entering seriously into the contest, and checking the progress of the Swedes by affording employment for their armies nearer home. Christian IV. had been long anxiously watching the course of events in Livonia, and the recent conquests in Muscovy were not likely to allay the apprehensions already caused by the extension of the territories of his warlike neighbours. Since the time of Christian II., indeed, the enmity between Denmark and Sweden had never been altogether laid aside. The last treaty, concluded between the two nations at Stettin, was considered as little more than an armed truce, and the Danes had since been guilty of frequent infractions of the articles upon which it was based. Still the Swedes, involved in a war which demanded their whole attention and called for the full exertion of the national strength, were naturally averse to embroiling themselves with a fresh enemy, and were satisfied with answering by complaints and remonstrances alone to the fresh injuries by which they were almost daily provoked. The King of Denmark, therefore, finding that all his endeavours were fruitless to induce the Swedes to issue an open declaration of war, determined upon placing himself in the position of the party aggrieved. He issued a manifesto, in which the most unfounded or frivolous pretexts were made use of to justify his taking up arms: and having concluded a league with Muscovy and Poland, gave immediate demonstration that he was not likely to be an inactive member of the confederacy, by a descent upon the isle of Oeland, which, after a slight resistance, he reduced to submission.

Nothing could apparently be more unequal at the time of this invasion than a contest between Denmark and the nation whose territories were thus unjustly assailed. The treasury of Sweden was almost

exhausted, her best troops employed on a distant service, the Estates already indisposed to increase the public burdens by granting additional supplies, and Charles, at their last meeting, while vehemently expostulating with them on their reluctance to furnish his government with such funds as the exigencies of the war imperatively demanded, had been seized with a fit of apoplexy, by which both his mental and bodily powers were seriously impaired. The national spirit alone, provoked by the late unjustifiable proceedings of the Danes, and inflamed by the ancient spirit of hatred against the former oppressors of Sweden, proved amply sufficient to supply all deficiencies. The Estates, when assembled at Orebro on the occasion, unanimously declared the war with Denmark to be sanctioned by the voice of national approbation, and promised to assist their king in vigorously prosecuting it with all the resources at their command. At this convention, Charles, according to a custom long established among the northern kingdoms, formally presented his son Gustavus to the Estates, and declared him to have attained his majority, which by the constitution of Sweden was fixed at the age of seventeen years. He had previously been created Grand Duke of Finland, Esthonia, and Westermania, and invested with the government of the town of Westeraas. He was now thought fully capable of aiding his father in taking an active part in the approaching war, an employment for which he had been prepared from his childhood, by a course of severe discipline, and an early introduction to the hardships and privations, the scantiness of sustenance, and exposure to the inclemencies of weather almost inseparable from a military life. His mother herself, like Jeanne d'Albret while rearing Henry IV. of France, had taken every means to render his constitution robust and vigorous, and long before being entrusted

with a command, he was compelled to pass through the course of exercise pursued by the commonest soldier, to acquire dexterity in the management of the pike and musket, to handle the spade and mattock, and to submit, instantly and without a murmur, to the orders of his superior officers. Thus qualified for the arduous life upon the first duties of which he was about to enter, he was despatched by his father to levy as many troops as he could collect in the province of Ostrogothia, and to forward the march of some foreign regiments in the pay of Sweden, which were quartered in that district.

In the meantime, the Danish fleet, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the Isle of Oeland, made all sail towards Calmar, the strongest fortress which the Swedes possessed, and casting anchor in the harbour, landed a numerous army with Christian in person at their head, for the investiture of the place. Two attacks were repelled by the courage of the besieged; but the third assault was attended with better fortune, and the Danes gained possession of the town, although with the loss of fifteen hundred of their men*. The castle, however, with great natural and artificial means of defence, and well supplied with everything requisite to sustain a siege, was expected to make a long and vigorous defence; and scarcely had the Danish batteries, erected against it, opened their cannonade, when the Swedish army under the command of Charles and Gustavus was descried from the ramparts, advancing hastily to its relief. The Danes were soon exposed to a double fire, from the artillery of the garrison and that of the army which had just arrived, and not only harassed by frequent sallies on the part of the besieged, but threatened daily with a general attack on their lines of contravallation. But while Charles was anxiously watch-

* Puffendorff.

ing for a favourable opportunity to make his intended assault with advantage, all his expectations of success were suddenly frustrated by the treacherous surrender of the castle, which was given up by the governor before a single breach had been effected, and in the actual presence of the forces raised for its assistance. Charles, at the sight of the Danish ensign once more floating over the defences of a citadel, which had before constituted one of the strongest fetters of the liberty of Sweden, was hurried into a transport of the most vehement indignation; and stung to the quick by the loss of a strong-hold, from the walls of which he had hoped to drive the enemy in confusion, immediately despatched a trumpeter to the head-quarters of the Danish king, for the purpose of challenging him to single combat; a proceeding in which, absurd as it may appear, he was but imitating the example which the two greatest monarchs of their time, Charles V. and Francis I., had previously set to the world on a somewhat similar occasion*. This last cartel of defiance, sent from one European monarch to another, is singular enough to deserve transcribing at length. Its contents are as follows:—

“ Charles, by the grace of God king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, to Christian IV., king of Denmark. We give you to understand that you have neither acted as a Christian king, nor as a man of honour, in that, without necessity or reasonable pretext, you have violated the treaty of Stettin, concluded fourteen years ago between the two crowns, and advanced an army before our fortress of Calmar, where you have surprised the town, and taken possession of the castle by treason, as also of the isle of Oeland, and fort of Borkholm; thus giving occasion to an effusion of blood, which will not speedily be

* After the successes of the French under Lautrec in the Milanese war, anno 1527.

stayed. We trust, however, that the all-powerful God, who is also a God of justice and truth, will find means to punish you for these your iniquitous proceedings. And whereas we have already employed every just and laudable expedient to bring about a mutual accommodation, which you have hitherto uniformly rejected, we now propose to you a last and extreme remedy, understanding that you are personally present in our neighbourhood; and hereby invite you, in order to spare further bloodshed, to present yourself in fair and open field, according to the praiseworthy custom of the ancient Greeks, accompanied by two of your officers, gentlemen by descent, there to engage with us in single combat. We on our part, attended also by two officers, will meet you without defensive armour or headpiece, wearing only a buff coat, and sword in hand, expecting that you will be equipped in a similar manner. As to the two seconds who attend us, they will be armed at all points, and carry, the one two pistols and a sword, and the other a single pistol, a sword, and a musket. Let those, therefore, who accompany you to the field be provided with the like weapons; and know, that should you refuse consent to this our proposal, we will from henceforth neither consider you as a king possessed of any sense of honour, nor even as deserving the name of a soldier.

“Given at our camp at Riezburg, Aug. 12, 1611.”

The answer of the king of Denmark, far exceeding the defiance of his rival in violence and personal insult, may remind the reader of the speeches addressed to their enemies on the field of battle by the Homeric heroes:—

“We, Christian IV., by the grace of God king of Denmark, give you, Charles IX., king of Sweden, to understand, that your indiscreet and insolent letter has been delivered to us by a trumpeter. Such a

message on your part we were far from expecting, but we observe that the dog-days are not yet past, and conclude that they are still shedding their full violence upon your head.

“As to your assertion that we have not acted as a Christian king or as a man of honour, and that we have infringed upon the articles of the treaty of Stettin; in this you are guilty of a shameless falsehood, and act in the character of a base slanderer, who has recourse to insult, when he dares not maintain his rights by force. Extreme necessity alone has compelled us to undertake this war, for which we hope to be able to answer before God at the final judgment, where you also will be called upon to account for the blood you have compelled us to shed, as well as for all the tyrannical actions which in late times you have committed, both against your own enemies and other unhappy persons.

“You say that we have surprised Calmar, and taken the castle by treason, as also Oeland and Borkholm. In this you have uttered the falsest of all imaginable falsities. The fortress we have gained in brave and honourable warfare; but it becomes you to blush, as often as you think upon this subject, at your carelessness, in leaving the garrison unprovided with necessary supplies, and amusing yourself elsewhere, instead of immediately coming to the relief of the place; and finally, permitting us to take it before your very beard. And after this you have the assurance still to make pretensions to the character of a great captain.

“With regard to the single combat you propose, this appears to us altogether ridiculous, knowing as we do that you have already been sufficiently chastised by the hand of God, and that a warm chamber would be far better for you at present than the field of battle. You have too much need of a physician

to re-settle your senses to think of any such an encounter. But you ought to sink with shame, ancient dotard that you are! at having insulted a person of honour; imitating those feeble old women who, having no other means of offence, are reduced to assail each other with a thousand scurrilous and abusive epithets.

“In the mean time, we warn you to send back to us our two trumpeters, and our herald, whom you have retained contrary to the usages of war, an action by which all may be able to judge of the innate injustice of your disposition. Be assured, however, that if you do them the least injury, you are nothing the nearer obtaining by this means the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway. Be careful, therefore, in this respect to act as you ought. Such is our reply to your ill-advised and insolent letter.

“Given at our castle of Calmar, Aug. 14, 1611.”

Notwithstanding the fierce tone which pervaded this angry correspondence, the two kings remained for some time in presence, without the occurrence of any important act of hostility, and finally separated after a few indecisive skirmishes. Christian, embarking on board his fleet, set sail for the Danish coast, and Charles, first driving into Calmar a detachment of the enemy which had lingered behind the rest, set out for Ny-Köping to attend the opening of a Diet of the Estates. Yet the campaign was not brought to a close before Gustavus had given proofs of his skill and courage, by the conduct of his first enterprise, which was attended with singular success. At the head of a small body of troops, he landed on the Isle of Oeland, which, together with the castle of Borkholm, he speedily recovered from the Danes; and a fortunate accident shortly afterwards occurring, induced him to make an attempt to surprise the strong fort of Avesker in Blekingia. A dispatch

from the governor was intercepted by the Swedes, in which he requested the King of Denmark to send him a body of 500 horse, to stop the progress of the enemy, who were laying the whole of the surrounding district under contribution. Gustavus, after reading the letter, disguised an equal number of his own cavalry with Danish dresses and ensigns, and assuming the command of the detachment in person, set out at nightfall towards the fortress. The sentinels stationed on the walls, imagining the body of horse they saw before them advancing in the glimmering twilight to be the expected reinforcement, suffered them to approach near enough to affix a petard to the gates; and the assailants, rushing in, sword in hand, immediately after the explosion, easily bore down all opposition, and made themselves masters of the place. In this attempt, however, Gustavus met with an accident which had nearly cut short his military career at its very commencement. While passing over a frozen morass, the ice suddenly gave way beneath his horse's feet, and the animal plunging still deeper into the mire in his attempts to extricate himself, placed his rider, who was encumbered with his armour, in a situation of great peril, from which he was not released without considerable difficulty.

The prince would probably have pushed his successes in this quarter still further, had he not been unexpectedly recalled from the scene of operations by news of the sudden and increasing indisposition of his father. Charles, it is supposed, had been so deeply affected by the loss of Calmar, and the insulting manner in which the King of Denmark had replied to his challenge, as to invite, by mental anxiety and unceasing regrets, the return of disease to a constitution which, impaired by numerous infirmities, had scarcely been able to resist the malady which two

years previously had assailed it. On his way to Ny-Köping, he was seized with so severe a fit of illness that the physicians who attended him did not hesitate to declare his recovery hopeless; and Gustavus was immediately sent for to receive his last injunctions and parting benediction. As the dying monarch was thus waiting for the approach of his dissolution, which was almost momentarily expected to take place, he received intelligence from Jacques de la Gardie, who still commanded his armies in Muscovy, which at any other time would have proved in the highest degree gratifying to his ambition. The people of that country, reduced to despair by their useless resistance to their opponents, and thinking the friendship of Sweden likely to be more easily conciliated than that of the Poles, had offered to raise Charles Philip, a younger brother of Gustavus, to the dignity of Czar, on condition of a cessation of present hostilities, and a subsequent alliance against the common enemy. Charles, however, was now in a condition in which all considerations of earthly advantage were lost in the contemplation of subjects of much more important and absorbing interest. "The affairs of this world," he replied to the messenger who had been intrusted with the dispatches, "no longer possess any attraction for me; I am content to leave them," he added, smiling on Gustavus, who was watching by his bed-side, "in far more able hands." Shortly after uttering these words he expired (Oct. 30, 1611). He was attended to the grave by the general regrets of his subjects, who, notwithstanding his somewhat hasty temperament, and too great fondness for foreign conquest, had invariably found in him the character of a zealous promoter of their interests, united with that of a kind and benevolent sovereign.

The legal age at which majority was considered to

be attained in Sweden was, as has been already mentioned, fixed by the constitution of the country at seventeen years; but although at this period the human intellect was supposed to be sufficiently matured for the management of ordinary affairs, the interests of the kingdom were thought to be of too weighty a character to be intrusted to any one who had not previously arrived at the age of one-and-twenty. This had been determined as a fundamental principle of the state by the diet of Nor-Köping, held in 1604, which paid especial regard to the question of the royal succession. The testament of Charles, therefore, appointed the affairs of the kingdom to be managed, until his son had attained the requisite age, by a Council of Regency, composed of six senators, under the chief direction of Christina the queen-mother, and John Duke of Ostrogothia, first cousin to Gustavus. Among the number of those intrusted with this important office was Axel Oxenstiern, a name of which history now makes mention for the first time, but which was afterwards to be inseparably connected with that of the great Gustavus, whose designs met with a fitting instrument for their accomplishment in a minister who, for profound sagacity, extensive attainments, and all the best qualities of political wisdom, has never yet found a superior in the annals of nations. Oxenstiern was at this time about twenty-eight years of age; but his talents had long been known to the deceased monarch, who thus bestowed the highest mark of approbation upon his merits which it was in his power to confer.

The Diet of Estates held at Ny-Köping, two months after the death of Charles IX., was the most important in its results, which Sweden had for some years witnessed. The members, after earnest deliberation upon the general state of the kingdom, and

the position in which it was placed with respect to foreign powers, were of opinion that a single hand would be far more effectual in guiding it through the perils by which it appeared to be surrounded, than a council composed of any number of individuals, however eminent for their abilities or zeal for the public welfare; and the shining talents which Gustavus had already displayed appeared to point him out, notwithstanding his youth, as the only person to whom they could with confidence intrust the interests of the state in its present critical condition. They, therefore, determined, in this instance, to abrogate a law which appeared to be rendered unnecessary by the early development of all the qualities of a matured intellect in the character of the prince, and presented this result of their deliberations to the Council of Regency, requesting them not to raise any impediment on their part to the fulfilment of the wish of the nation.

The queen-mother, and members of the council, so far from opposing their desire, expressed themselves unanimously in favour of their proceedings, and hastened to divest themselves of the authority conferred upon them by the late king's will, in proof of their readiness to comply with the request of the people, as expressed by their representatives.

The Duke of Ostrogothia, who, as the son of an elder brother*, seemed to possess a better right to the succession than Gustavus, according to the laws of primogeniture, at the same time made a solemn renunciation of all claim or title to the throne. It is probable that this prince saw it would be in vain to attempt urging an hereditary right, when the incli-

* This prince was a younger son of John the Third, and consequently brother of Sigismond, King of Poland. He had been educated in Sweden, and brought up according to the Lutheran persuasion.

nations of the nation were so strongly directed towards his relative ; but a feeling, which in some few instances has proved superior to the allurements of ambition itself, had no small share in influencing his decision. John was strongly attached to the Princess Elizabeth, the sister of Gustavus, and expected by this sacrifice to ensure his consent to the marriage ; a hope in which he was not mistaken, since he was shortly afterwards united to her, with the full approbation of her brother, receiving at the same time the addition of a great part of Westrogothia to his fief, as some compensation for the exalted prospects he had foregone with so little apparent reluctance.

Gustavus, thus invested by universal consent with the full powers of a sovereign, appeared before the Estates for the purpose of publicly accepting the proffered dignity. In an eloquent speech he expressed his obligations to the assembly for the honour they had conferred upon him by their late decree. He assured them that considering his extreme youth, and the present condition of public affairs, he would willingly have acquiesced in the regulations formerly established by the Diet of Nor-Köping ; but that since his mother and the Duke of Ostrogothia desired to be free from the responsibility lately conferred upon them, and the assembly of the national representatives had requested him to take upon himself the duties of the general government, he believed it to be his duty to comply with their pressing instances, and therefore entered upon the office, thus devolved upon him, in the name and trusting to the support of the most Holy Trinity ; at the same time promising to all his faithful subjects, that it would be his chief care to protect equally all orders of the state ; to maintain the evangelic religion received throughout the kingdom, and contained in the pure word of God ; and to use all his efforts for the preservation to the

several members of the community of the immunities, rights, and privileges secured to them by the laws of Sweden.

All who were present at the delivery of this address were not only gratified by the sentiments expressed in it, but filled with admiration of the grace and modesty of the speaker; who, in addition to very considerable oratorical powers, which he was naturally fond of exercising, was gifted with many of those external advantages, which are at all times so apt to conciliate the popular favour, independently of the character of their possessor. In after times, the pressure of that care, which is the speediest and surest destroyer of endowments of a personal nature, gave a cast of seriousness and anxiety to a countenance, originally of a free and open expression; while a constant exposure to toils and hardships at the same time changed the graceful movements of the youthful ornament of a not unpolished court, into the bearing of the grave and practised warrior. Yet at this period of his life, all writers agree in describing Gustavus as well deserving the appellation of handsome*. He is mentioned as being of a height considerably above the middle size, with limbs active

* Fuit in Gustavo proceritas corporis, capitis majestas, oris dignitas, fulgor oculorum protuberantium, rubescentes genæ, veneranda pariter et grata majestas, quæ perstringat simul et invitet aspectus. Samsonius, Oratio Funebris.

The description of Gualdo is much to the same effect. Era huomo di statura grande, corputo, di maestosa sembianza che riverenza ammirazione, amore e timore induceva ne i cuori. Il suo volto bianco col vermiglio tramischiato; il crine e la barba bionda e in tal modo, che da molti chiamavasi il Re giallo. Historia delle Guerre di Ferdinando II. lib. v. p. 156. His daughter Christina says of him, Il étoit beau prince, mais trop gros, et trop replet; ce qui commençoit à l'incommoder. This observation of course applies to the latter part of his life, at which time it is said to have been difficult to find a horse strong enough to support his weight when in full armour.

and well proportioned ; hair of a light brown colour ; a ruddy and healthy complexion, and eyes singularly bright and piercing. Few could approach him without being struck with the mixture of dignity and courtesy which pervaded his whole manner, and continued through life to ensure him both the respect and affection of all in his service. With so much to attract the approbation of the people on his first introduction to their regards, it is not singular that his subjects should have anticipated no diminution of the power of the Swedish nation, under a monarch who seemed so well fitted to advance its interests and maintain its dignity. The States, after thus placing the public administration upon the most satisfactory basis, and passing a resolution to assist their young monarch in his government to the utmost of their ability, declared their sittings at an end. The coronation of Gustavus was deferred, until a time of peace should afford greater leisure for the due performance of the solemnity.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of the War with Denmark—Unsuccessful attempt of James I. of England to mediate a Peace—Gustavus is compelled to raise the siege of Helsingburg—Christian IV. reduces Elfsburg, but is foiled in an attempt upon Stockholm—Renewed interposition of England—Peace of Knaredh—Gustavus reforms the Civil Code of Sweden, and founds the Town of Gottenburg—His private Studies—His Attachment to the Countess of Elbe Brahe—First and second Expeditions into Muscovy—Peace with the Czar Michael Fædorovitz—Coronation of Gustavus Adolphus—His Visits to the Courts of Berlin and Heidelberg—Marriage of Gustavus—Renewal of the War with Poland.

At the time when Gustavus Adolphus assumed the reins of government, the task before him might well have perplexed the prudence, and discouraged the exertions, of the most experienced monarch long

accustomed to the difficulties and troubles which have always been found to be close attendants upon a throne. His first care was to raise his former guardian, Axel Oxenstiern, to the office of Grand Chancellor of the kingdom, and having secured the assistance of this able coadjutor, he proceeded earnestly to consult with him upon the best plan to be pursued for ensuring the safety of the nation, which, under the most favourable view of existing circumstances, still appeared to be threatened with imminent peril. Sweden, so far from being likely to retain her recent acquisitions, was now called upon to combat for her very political existence upon her own frontiers. The most skilful of her enemies, a prince of great energy and resolution, as well as of considerable military talents, improved by the practice of years, had already obtained possession of her strongest fortress; and the first approach of the season for renewing hostilities threatened to bring him, confident from the recollection of the last campaign and at the head of a more numerous force, to pursue the career of conquest he had already so successfully begun. Still the courage of the young King of Sweden was far from being daunted at the unpromising aspect of his affairs, and having made all the preparations for defence which his finances permitted, he thought it most advisable, instead of waiting for the approach of the invaders or endeavouring to regain Calmar, as was generally expected, to begin operations by an expedition against such of the Danish territories as were nearest to his own kingdom.

At this time an attempt at mediation between the two rival crowns, was made by James I. of England, who, in his character of general pacificator of the age, would have well deserved the gratitude of his own times, and the applauses of posterity, had not his conciliatory efforts appeared to be rather the

result of a vanity desirous of displaying constitutional timidity to the best advantage, than of any abstract principle of charity ; or had not James himself been ignorant of one of the first lessons in the king-craft he professed—that the most effectual way of maintaining peace between differing powers, is the assuming a position calculated to enforce it. Denmark was too much elated with recent victory, and Sweden too little accustomed to defeat, to listen to the remonstrances of a third party ; nor had the kings of the two nations yet gained that acquaintance with each other's strength, which afterwards proved the firmest bond of concord between them. The war was therefore recommenced, and gave promise of being sustained with vigour.

As the Danes were suspected of having formed a design upon Elfsburg, a town in West Gothia of no considerable size, but of great importance to Sweden as the only port by which her commerce by the northern sea was maintained, the Duke of Ostrogothia was detached to watch over its safety, while Gustavus advanced into Scania, where George, Duke of Lunenburg, an auxiliary of Denmark, was stationed with a considerable army. After raising contributions from the open country, he advanced against the town of Helsingburg, and having summoned it to surrender without effect, began to make preparations for opening the siege in form. The Duke of Lunenburg, however, who was much better able to acquire intelligence than his antagonist, having ascertained that the Swedes kept but a careless watch, determined on a night attack upon their quarters, and having approached close to their camp without exciting any alarm, assailed them at several points at once, with all the effect of a complete surprise. Amidst the profound darkness which prevailed, Gustavus, who had mounted on horseback at the first

alarm, was only able to collect a small band of attendants about his person. With these he for some time maintained a desperate resistance; but finding it vain to contend with the immense superiority of numbers, by which he was every moment in danger of being overwhelmed, he was at length obliged to retire, leaving the royal standard and the kettle-drums of his own regiment of cavalry in the hands of the enemy. The siege of Helsingburg was effectually raised by this spirited diversion, and the King of Sweden himself was for some time reported to be among the number of the slain.

Although baffled in one quarter, Gustavus was not yet deterred from maintaining the offensive. His next attempt against the Danes was made on the side of Norway; but before his operations there had been attended with any decisive result, he was again forced to return into Sweden, by news of the alarming progress the enemy were making in his own dominions.

The Danish monarch had put to sea with a fleet consisting of thirty ships of war, and having on board 8000 select troops, with the intention of making a descent at Elfsnaben, a port situated about twelve miles from Stockholm. The Swedish navy, far inferior in number, uniformly retired into their harbours as he approached, and Christian, preparatory to the grand object of his expedition, found himself at liberty to reduce Elfsburg, as Gustavus had apprehended, notwithstanding the resistance of the garrison. From thence advancing still farther into West Gothia, he directed his march towards Jon-Köping*, with the design of drawing the attention of Gustavus to its defence; and after allowing sufficient time for the effect of his movements to be produced, returned to the coast, and immediately re-

* Puffendorff.

embarking his men, sailed through the Sound, and steered for Elfsnaben, according to his original intention. When abreast of that place, however, imagining that, by a sudden attack, he might be fortunate enough to gain possession of Stockholm itself, he determined to hold on his course as far as Wapholm, which is situated in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, and commands the strait by which its harbour is connected with the Baltic. Gustavus in the meantime had arrived in Smaland, and stationed his army in the neighbourhood of Jon-Köping; but finding the country evacuated by the enemy, and gaining some information of the direction the Danish fleet had taken, he at once guessed their object, and hastened at the head of 1200 men, who had lately been levied for his service in the Low Countries, to the immediate relief of the capital, from which he was separated by a space of more than eighty leagues. The inhabitants of Stockholm were transported at the sudden appearance of their king among them, at the moment when they had begun to give themselves up for lost. They had already raised a respectable force of burgher guards, and armed the peasants who had flocked in from the country, with such weapons as the public arsenals afforded. After uniting these with the troops who had accompanied him, and allowing himself but two hours' rest after the fatigues of his march, he led his forces towards the Danish lines, and offered battle to the invaders. But Christian had no intention of compromising his own safety and that of the army he commanded by the fortune of a single field. Having failed in his design of surprising Stockholm, he determined upon an immediate retreat, and the next day embarked his troops with some precipitation, having, with the exception of the capture of Elfsburg, effected nothing commensurate with the hopes he had entertained, or

the expense incurred in fitting out so considerable an armament. It is said that the veteran General Spinola, after hearing of the activity and conduct of Gustavus on this occasion, pronounced that if he lived to attain the age of manhood, he would vie with the most illustrious commanders of modern times.*

These were the principal events of the campaign of 1612, at the end of which both the belligerent powers were far more inclined to listen to a compromise, than at its commencement. The mediation of England, together with that of Holland, was once more offered, and this time accepted. Sir James Spence and Sir Robert Anstruther, who had been despatched as ambassadors extraordinary by the British court, were the principal persons by whose instrumentality the articles of peace were settled. The possession of Calmar and Elfsburg, by which the Danes were enabled to invade Sweden at pleasure, either on her eastern or western coast, authorised them to assume the tone of superiors throughout the negotiation. The Swedes were obliged to repurchase these fortresses at the price of a million of crowns, to be raised by a capitation tax, and paid within six years; to renounce their pretensions to a great part of Lapland; and to allow the King of Denmark to retain the three crowns as his armorial bearings, which since the time of Christian II. had been a subject of perpetual complaint on the part of Sweden, and sometimes the occasion of far from bloodless controversy. The King of Denmark, on his part, undertook to resign all personal pretensions to the throne of Sweden, contenting himself with the sum paid for the ransom of Calmar and Elfsburg, and the heraldic honours he had been suffered to retain.† The Swedish Estates, assembled at Stockholm, expressed themselves in full

* Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus.

† This peace was signed at Korarcdth, Jan. 19, 1613. Puffendorff.

approbation of the peace, and immediately advanced part of the stipulated sum to the King of Denmark, who, in return, commenced the fulfilment of his engagement, by the evacuation of Calmar. Gustavus, freed by this prudent compromise from an enemy too powerful for the yet unmaturing energies of his government, was left at liberty to turn his whole attention to the state of affairs in Muscovy and Livonia. The Estates voted 500,000 crowns for the expenses of the war in these countries, and preparations were made for an expedition thither on a scale of corresponding magnitude.

Yet, notwithstanding this outward promise of a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, many months were suffered to elapse before the king again determined upon taking the field in person. The war in Livonia gradually slackening, at length subsided into an armistice, concluded between Gabriel Oxenstiern the Swedish governor of Revel, and the commander of the Polish forces. The Muscovites, hard pressed by Sigismund, who, during the contest between Sweden and Denmark, had turned almost his whole force in that direction, became daily more urgent in their proposal of the election of Charles Philip to the dignity of Czar, and more anxious to secure the protection and alliance of Sweden. It is difficult to find a satisfactory reason for the apparent reluctance on the part of Gustavus to suffer his brother to depart for the purpose of taking possession of the throne thus offered for his acceptance; but whatever may have been his motive, whether respect for the feelings of his mother, who was unwilling to expose the life of her son among a people whose rulers had been so often sacrificed to the impulse of popular caprice, or the desire of ascertaining, by a longer lapse of time, how far such an elevation was likely to meet with the approbation of the majority of the nation, Charles Philip

was not permitted to set out for Wiburg in Finland until the close of the year. By that time all chance of the subjection of Muscovy to a Swedish prince was dissipated beyond the hope of recovery.

During this interval, Gustavus, if inattentive to the progress of foreign conquest, was engaged in promoting the interests of the people he governed, by means much more likely to be attended with permanent benefit than the acquisition of additional territory abroad. In conjunction with the Chancellor Oxenstiern, with whom he had now contracted that friendship which remained unimpaired until the hour of his death, he revised the whole civil and judicial code of Sweden; and many of the most important improvements introduced into the new body of laws, subsequently published in 1618, are known to have been adopted at his immediate suggestion. The commercial interests of the country next became the objects of his serious attention. Two confidential agents, Jacob Van Dyke and Abraham Cabelliau, were despatched into Holland with powers to conclude a treaty of alliance for fifteen years with the United States, and to establish certain conditions of trade to the mutual advantage of the two nations. The same proposal had previously been made to the people of Lubeck, and but coolly received; but on finding the interference of Holland likely to exclude them from a commerce from which they had hitherto derived extensive advantages, they hastened, by early concessions, to satisfy the Swedish monarch, and were allowed to continue their ancient mercantile intercourse with his subjects on terms similar to those which the Dutch had declared their willingness to accept. About the same time, Gustavus, who was well aware of the advantages of a convenient port in Westrogothia, to enlarge the communication of Sweden with the Northern Ocean, formed the project of founding a new

town in the vicinity of Elfsburg, the plan of which was furnished by his own hand. This was the first origin of Gothenburg, which, by the superior advantages of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbour, and the privileges conferred upon its inhabitants by Gustavus, who was naturally attached to a town which owed its existence to his directions, and rose to importance under his immediate care, soon reduced Elfsburg to a state of comparative insignificance. But while Sweden was thus improving in conveniences for the reception of imports from foreign countries, no less pains were taken in enabling her traders to dispose advantageously of the productions of their own. Amidst the facilities and encouragements afforded by the royal ordinances for their construction, a numerous fleet of merchant ships was soon completed, and the want of a force for their protection, which had been so grievously felt during the late war, speedily obviated by a navy little inferior to that of the most powerful states of Europe. The minor details of finance underwent the same careful inspection, and were found to be susceptible of equal improvement. The currency of Sweden was greatly augmented in value, and the burthen of taxation more equitably adjusted. Gustavus crowned his public labours at this period by the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, which took cognizance of appeals from all the minor tribunals, and was vested with the power of deciding absolutely in many subjects of dispute between the sovereign and the subject. The impartiality of this court was soon afterwards manifested by the decision of several doubtful cases to the disadvantage of the crown; and the king, so far from feeling dissatisfied, expressed the highest pleasure at such instances of the equal administration of justice, although displayed to his own detriment.

The institution of so many beneficial arrangements

dictated by the soundest wisdom, and no sooner determined upon than vigorously carried into effect, cannot but excite surprise, when it is considered that they were almost exclusively designed and executed by a monarch in his nineteenth year, assisted principally by a minister who had not yet attained the age of thirty. An inspection of the private life of Gustavus at this time is not less likely to elicit a feeling of admiration. The leisure which remained after the numerous public duties of the day had been fulfilled, was divided between devotion and the prosecution of studies, which were often continued to an hour when the greater part of his household had retired to rest. Gustavus, who no doubt saw that the short interval of rest afforded him must soon be interrupted by a demand for new and increased exertions, eagerly employed it in fitting himself for the task he expected shortly to be called upon to discharge. He industriously applied himself to such branches of mathematical science as were then known, and considered serviceable in the theory and practice of fortification; and, aided by his previous acquaintance with classical literature, perused with greater attention those authors who have most extensively treated of the military discipline and tactics of the ancients. The course of reading thus commenced in early life was never afterwards abandoned; and, in after time, amidst the midnight stillness of the Swedish camp, when pitched in the actual presence of the enemy*, the lamp was frequently observed burning in the royal tent, while its occupant was still intent upon the pages of Polybius or Cæsar. The Commentaries

* In ipsis etiam castris et in hostium suorum quasi conspectu ab optimorum auctorum lectione non abstinuit. *Extract from a Letter of John Skytte, quoted by Archenholze in his Mémoires de la Reine Christine.*—The celebrated Treatise of Grotius, “De Jure Belli et Pacis,” was the subject of his almost daily study, and of its author he used to speak in the highest terms of panegyric.

of the latter, indeed, seem to have been constantly in his hands, and before his imagination; and there is no doubt, that many of the improvements which he introduced into his armies, and some of the most celebrated actions in his own life, were suggested by the example of that consummate master of the art of war. The leaguers of Wirben and Nurenberg in later times, for instance, were but imitations of the famous lines of Alesia and Dyrraehium; and the custom of supporting cavalry by small bodies of infantry interspersed among them, was evidently borrowed from the contrivance of Cæsar, which ensured his success at the battle of Pharsalia. Other resemblances will easily suggest themselves to the reader in the course of this history, in the fondness of Gustavus for the minute details of eastrametation, his rapid system of manœuvring, whenever circumstances enabled him to assume the offensive, and his care to fill up the vacant moments of his soldiers with such occupations as, during the intervals of service, were thought necessary to retain the Roman legionary in habits of obedience and order.

Amidst these pursuits, the attention of Gustavus was for some time diverted from the objects with which it had been so deeply engrossed by the interposition of a passion, which seldom fails to form an important episode in the life of every individual, however apparently sheltered from its influence by active employments, or the arduous cares and responsibilities of public life. The young Countess of Elbe Brahe was the most celebrated for her beauty among the many daughters of noble houses in attendance upon the queen-mother Christina, at Stockholm, but her personal attractions are represented as being among the least of her claims to general admiration. The attainments of her mind were fully equalled by the unpretending modesty of her deportment, and the

accomplishments in which she had been carefully instructed served but to lend additional grace to an amiability of disposition, which had gained her the universal affection of the court in which she resided. Gustavus, whose attention had been at first attracted by the charms of her person, was much more deeply influenced by the mental endowments and engaging qualities which every day's acquaintance more extensively discovered. His attentions soon became so marked as to be incapable of being mistaken, and the countess beginning to be apprehensive of the consequences, made preparations for quitting the court, in which she thought it no longer possible to remain without detriment to her reputation. But the young king, finding an opportunity of addressing her in private, assured her that his intentions were of the most honourable character; and professed his resolution, if the affection he confessed should prove mutual, of sharing the throne of Sweden with a person, for whose merits no situation could be deemed too exalted. The Countess of Brahe might well be excused, under the circumstances, for confessing a regard, which the character of her admirer was so well calculated to inspire: and Gustavus, overjoyed at finding the feelings he had thus openly avowed not likely to be chilled by indifference on the part of their object, soon afterwards made his mother acquainted with the step he had taken, entreating her, as she valued his peace of mind, not to raise any obstacles to a union, with which his future happiness was inseparably connected. Christina, although averse to a match which she thought liable to many objections, prudently forbore to make any direct opposition to her son's wishes; hoping that the lapse of time and more serious occupations might prove effectual in weakening a feeling, which difficulties have generally the effect of strengthening. The

lovers were therefore permitted to enjoy each other's company; and a correspondence was established between them, part of which has been preserved to the present time.* Those who have had an opportunity of inspecting the letters of Gustavus, dictated under the influence of this his first attachment, represent them as replete with the most noble and dignified sentiments, united with expressions of the greatest tenderness; and characterised throughout by that simple and humble piety, which seems to have entered into every emotion and action of his life, and which he was never ashamed of openly avowing. Yet the result to which this intimacy seemed so likely to lead, was never destined to take place. Gustavus, removed by the course of after events from the presence and attractions of the person on whom he had bestowed so many marks of his esteem, was gradually drawn by the more absorbing and exalted prospects which opened upon him, to indulge higher designs of matrimonial aggrandisement than his union with a simple subject was calculated to afford. Most of his biographers have bestowed unqualified praise upon his resolution in this respect, as if the result of a laudable victory over his own inclinations.† It is not easy to see on what grounds the commendation is to be awarded. If it was the effect of the remonstrances of the queen-mother, the motive is certainly worthy of respect; but if personal ambition was the principal cause of his making this sacrifice of inclination to external advantage, such a choice is surely as little deserving of eulogy as of imitation.

The first interruption to this short-lived dream of

* Mauvillon, who states that copies of several of these letters were left among the papers of M. Archenholz. It is to be regretted that he has not inserted any of them in his Memoirs. The same author states that the love of Gustavus for the Countess of Elbe Brahe has formed the subject of innumerable ballads in Sweden.

† Mauvillon—Schiller. Thirty Years' War.

pleasure, was caused by the urgent demands of De la Gardie, whose despatches continued to represent to the king the necessity of his taking the personal management of a war which had lately begun to assume too important a character to be conducted upon his own responsibility alone. The Muscovites, finding that Charles Philip appeared in no haste to possess himself of the honour they had assigned him, determined upon the election of another ruler, and chose Michael Fæderovitz, the son of Ivanovitz Zuski, as Czar in his stead.* When Charles Philip at length actually appeared at Wiburg, almost the whole of Muscovy had sworn allegiance to his rival. The province of Novogorod alone, probably overawed by the Swedish armies, tendered its submission, and invited the prince immediately to present himself before the sight of his subjects in its capitol. In order to repress this refractory spirit, and to recover so valuable a portion of his dominions, Michael Fæderovitz made preparations for reducing the rebellious province by force of arms. De la Gardie, on his part, advanced his forces for its protection, and wrote to request immediate reinforcements, at the same time laying numerous reasons before the king for his own appearance upon the scene of action. Gustavus was not unwilling to comply with his request, but before his departure, by the advice of Oxenstiern, he made overtures to the king of Poland for the purpose of converting the armistice in Livonia into a truce, to remain in force till the year 1616. Sigismond, who, fortunately for the Swedes, was at this time engaged in hostilities with the Turks, willingly acceded to the proposal; and Gustavus, having made such regulations for the government of the kingdom in his absence as he thought necessary, and which are distinguished by that prudence which pervaded most of

* Short Survey of the Kingdom of Sweden. London: 1632.

his political arrangements, recalled his brother from Finland, and immediately afterwards set out for that province. The events which followed, although eclipsed by his after reputation, were sufficient to draw upon him the general attention of Europe. Having effected a junction with the army of De la Gardie, and assumed the chief command, he took the town of Angdoa by assault, and shortly afterwards received the submission of the entire province of Ingria. His next undertaking was the investiture of Pleskow, which from the strength of its fortifications was deemed impregnable: but it is not clear from history, whether his attempt to reduce it proved effectual, or whether it remained blockaded until the end of the war. Ivanogorod* was next besieged, and compelled to surrender; and the campaign was closed by the reduction of Notteburg, a town situated on a small island at the mouth of the Neva, and sufficiently distant from either bank of the river to be beyond the reach of ordnance. After these conquests, Gustavus returned to Sweden, having fully realised the expectations which his subjects had formed from their previous knowledge of his military talents, and encouraged them to entertain still higher anticipations of his future successes, which in their turn were also to be far surpassed by the actual performances of their sovereign.

He was not long without receiving a satisfactory proof of the estimation in which his name had begun to be held by neighbouring nations, by the arrival of two important embassies at Stockholm. The first consisted of a deputation from the University of Heidelberg, headed by David Paræus, one of the most eminent theologians of his time, requesting him to use his good offices in bringing about a union of the Calvinistic and Lutheran churches, between which

* Survey of the Kingdom of Sweden.

the protestant world was to its no small detriment divided. The second embassy had been despatched by Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, to invite him to assume the chief guardianship of the Evangelic League, lately formed in Germany. The King of Sweden had prudence enough to comply with the request of neither. He was well aware of the impossibility of successfully interfering to reconcile contrary opinions upon the most mysterious truth propounded for the faith rather than the investigation of mankind, and his own force was as yet far from being sufficiently matured for an encounter with the House of Austria, had such an intention at that time been formed in his mind. The members of both deputations were accordingly dismissed, after having been loaded with presents, and still farther confirmed, by personal observation, in the favourable opinion they had formed of the Swedish monarch. After their departure, Gustavus applied himself with increased activity in making preparations for a second campaign in Muscovy, and having completed the necessary levies, again set out for Finland. An assembly of the Estates of that duchy was summoned to meet at Helsingford; and, under the influence of an eloquent harangue, which he pronounced to justify himself from the imputation of having entered upon the war without sufficient cause, agreed to furnish him with the requisite supplies for its prosecution. But the pacific genius of James I. of England, which had already been so happily exerted in mediating between Sweden and Denmark, was not idle on this occasion. By his suggestion, the Muscovites sent such offers to the king of Sweden as seemed worthy of his serious attention, and induced him to suspend hostilities, preparatory to negotiations for a short peace. A great part of the year 1616, during which Gustavus fixed his principal residence at the town of Abo, was

employed in preliminary discussions ; and it was not until the commencement of 1617, that the articles of pacification were finally ratified at Stilbova. These were such as amply to gratify the national pride of Sweden, and to afford sufficient recompense for such claims as were thought best to be relinquished. The Museovites ceded all pretensions to Livonia, as well as to Kexholm, and the adjacent district, and Novogorod with all its dependencies, and agreed to pay the sum of 500,000 rix-dollars, as a compensation for the expenses of the war. The Czar of Muscovy further engaged to lend no assistance to the Poles, in the event of the war being renewed on their part against Sweden. To this engagement he faithfully adhered, and, during the rest of the reign of Gustavus, continued on such friendly terms with the Swedes, as to make every intelligence of their successes a matter for general rejoicing throughout his dominions.

Towards the close of this year, the ceremony of the coronation of Gustavus was performed with great magnificence. An immense concourse of people attended, and testified by enthusiastic acclamations their joy at this public confirmation of the authority of a sovereign, from whose government they had already derived numerous important advantages. About the same time, his popularity was still further increased by the pains he bestowed upon the re-establishment of the University of Upsal, which, during the reign of Charles IX., had been suffered to fall into decay, and by his munificent donation of an extensive library, for the benefit of such as should pursue their studies in that celebrated seat of learning.* On the side of Poland alone appearances were still such as to promise a renewal of the storm which necessity, rather than inclination, had for a short time allayed.

* Scheffer. Memorabilia Sueciæ Gentis.

Sigismund, with the feelings of hatred he had borne towards Charles IX., still rankling against his son, used every indirect means to diminish his authority, by sowing the seeds of internal commotion in the kingdom of Sweden, through the instrumentality of his secret emissaries, and exerted himself, without intermission, in prejudicing the minds of foreign powers, by misrepresentations of the actions and policy of Gustavus. The government of Sweden resorted, by issuing severe edicts against the Jesuits, and rendering it capital for any subject to visit Poland, without express permission. Gustavus, moreover, having gained intelligence that his enemy was endeavouring to gain over the king of Denmark, to enter upon a fresh war against the Swedes, sent to that monarch to propose a personal conference, for the removal of any grounds of difference which might yet remain. The interview took place at Halmstadt, a town upon the Danish frontier, and ended to the mutual satisfaction of the two monarchs, who, with many qualities in common, were easily induced, by an interchange of civilities, and the expression of similar sentiments, to convert the feeling of respect, which each entertained for the other, into one of personal esteem. The king of Sweden then prepared to pass into Livonia, at the expiration of the truce which was fast drawing to a conclusion. An unexpected diversion, by a new and formidable enemy, however, compelled Sigismund to entreat for a still longer suspension of hostilities. In virtue of an alliance with the Emperor, Ferdinand II., who was at that time engaged in a war with Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, he had sent a considerable force to his assistance—an act of interference which was instantly avenged, by the appearance of 40,000 men, sent by the powerful enemy he had provoked, to ravage his own territories in Moldavia. Sigismund thus

compelled to forego, for the present, his long cherished hopes of taking vengeance upon Sweden, was even forced to appear in the character of a suppliant to a prince, whom he had expected, by harassing his possessions abroad, and exciting seditions among his subjects at home, shortly to humble into complete submission. Gustavus, who was never averse to listen to terms of pacification proposed by an antagonist, showed no disposition to turn the perplexities of his cousin to his own personal advantage, and willingly consented to negotiations for a reconciliation. The truce was, therefore, prolonged, and promised to terminate in a lasting peace. Yet, the fire thus seemingly quenched, was only smouldering under its ashes, soon to burst forth in a fiercer and more extensive conflagration.

This suspension of warlike operations, and interval of rest from foreign enterprise, seemed to the queen-mother and senate of Stockholm, a favourable opportunity for urging a request, suggested by a true sense of the interests of the nation, and which the wishes of all classes of society supplied with additional force. The young king was earnestly entreated to give his attention to the forming such an alliance, as might encourage his subjects to hope for the succession of his immediate issue to the throne, in the event of its becoming vacant by any of the casualties incidental to human life. The Princess Maria Eleanora, sister of George William, Elector of Brandenburg, was mentioned as the most eligible person to whom his hand could be offered, and as she was known to be possessed of considerable personal beauty, and an amiable disposition, Gustavus, who probably anticipated great political advantages as the result of such a connection, expressed no aversion to the proposal. Yet, before taking so important a step, he resolved upon ascertaining, by actual observation, the qualities

of the person who had thus been selected as his partner for life ; and, as he was apprehensive that, if his intentions were generally known, some obstacle would be thrown in his way by Sigismund or the Emperor, who were in close alliance with the court of Berlin, he determined upon making his journey thither incognito. His intention was communicated to Oxenstiern, and one or two confidants alone, and, accompanied by a few trusty domestics, he passed into the territories of the Elector without recognition, and was received at Berlin with such marks of friendship, as augured a successful issue to his undertaking. Gustavus apparently soon found sufficient attractions in the Princess of Brandenburg, to induce him to determine to make no opposition to the advice of his counsellors at home. His proposal was accepted by Maria Eleanora, and the Dowager Electress, her mother ; and, after making the necessary arrangements for his marriage, which it was thought best to delay for a few months, the king returned to Stockholm as secretly as he had left it. In the ensuing year he was induced to repeat his visit to Berlin, under the same concealment of his rank, and accompanied by John Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who had married his younger sister, the Princess Catherine. Availing himself of his guidance, he pursued his travels still further into Germany, and he is even supposed, by some writers, to have crossed the Alps, and penetrated into Italy, as far as Padua*, where, it is said, that he was introduced to the celebrated Galileo. At any rate, his name has been preserved in the registers of that University, which the Italians then fondly designated the "Athens of Europe†;" and since, the greater part of his previous life had been too much occupied with

* Archenholtz. Harte fixes this circumstance some years earlier.

† Gualdo, Vita de Valstain.

serious concerns, to allow of an absence from his dominions long enough for such a visit, it seems most natural, if the event ever really took place, to refer it to this period, although the Swedish historians are totally silent upon the subject. It is certain, that before his return to Berlin, he spent some time in Heidelberg, at the court of the Elector Palatine, Frederick, so famous for his aspiring projects, and their disproportionate punishment. To all, except one or two especial confidants, he was represented as an officer in the Swedish service, and was generally known by the name of Gars, a travelling appellation made up of the initial letters of his ordinary signature, Gustavus Adolphus, Rex Sueciæ.

According to arrangements previously made with the Elector of Brandenburg, a fleet was despatched from the ports of Sweden, immediately after the arrival of the king in his own country, to convoy the princess to Calmar, where she disembarked on the 7th of October, 1620, accompanied by the electress her mother, and a select train of attendants. On the 25th of November of the same year, she made her public entry into Stockholm, and the royal nuptials were celebrated shortly afterwards with great pomp and amidst universal expressions of satisfaction on the part of the people. Her coronation took place in the beginning of the year following. At the same time that this marriage was celebrated, a general jubilee and thanksgiving was held throughout the kingdom, in commemoration of the delivery of Sweden from the yoke of the Roman Church, which had been effected a hundred years previously. Maria Eleonora is described as a woman of a pleasing person, graceful manners, and not without considerable taste for the fine arts. Her daughter, Christina, whose assertions, however, are never to be taken without some little qualification, mentions her as possessing all the

virtues and all the failings of her sex*. The king seems to have considered her as inadequate to the labours of government, since in all his regulations for the management of the nation, during his absence, or in the event of his death, he took care to exclude her from possessing too extensive an influence on public affairs. There is no doubt, however, that his attachment towards her was tender and sincere, and that a connexion, probably entered into from motives of policy, resulted in a feeling of reciprocal affection equally creditable to both parties; a circumstance which is not much to be wondered at, when the many qualities likely to conciliate regard in the character of Gustavus are considered, and when it is known that his queen, if unendowed with the stronger qualities of mind most suitable for the duties of public life, was, at least, possessed of an unqualified devotion to her husband, and that gentleness of temper which forms the most solid basis of happiness in the married state.

As the prolonged truce with the King of Poland had by this time nearly expired, the thoughts of Gustavus were soon diverted from the festivities attendant upon his marriage to the necessary preparations for renewing the war with advantage. Sigismond had been frequently invited, since the last suspension of hostilities, to conclude a definitive treaty, but continued to observe a gloomy silence upon the subject. Although still maintaining a dubious war with the Turks, he resolved to stand the hazard of encountering the additional force of Sweden, rather than submit to the alternative of a peace with his former subjects, which must leave one whom he considered as the usurper of his rights in possession of a crown which he was not yet without

* *La Vie de la Reine Christine, faite par elle-même et dédiée à Dieu.*

hope of recovering. All his efforts to excite a rebellion in Sweden had failed. The Duke of Ostrogothia, whom he had secretly urged to a revocation of his former concessions in favour of Gustavus, had laid the whole of his correspondence before the king, and it was evident that the Swedes would now be satisfied with nothing less than a formal recognition of their sovereign, nor suffer themselves any longer to be deluded by delays, evidently assumed with the intention of striking a more effectual blow on the first favourable opportunity. He, therefore, determined to abide the issue of the contest, however apparently unfavourable the circumstances under which it was renewed. On the part of the Swedes the most strenuous efforts were made to raise such a force as should bring the struggle to a speedy termination. A fleet, far surpassing any armament which had hitherto issued from their harbours, was speedily equipped and manned, and received on board an army fully supplied with all necessaries for an active and arduous campaign. The king, notwithstanding his reluctance to part with the bride to whom he had recently been united, deemed the expedition of so much importance as absolutely to demand his personal direction. Previously to his setting out he took leave of the Estates, in a speech, in which he justified himself from all responsibility on the score of having provoked the contest in which he was about to engage, and protested in the sight of Heaven, that, as he had been reluctantly compelled to have recourse to the last expedient which remained to preserve the interests of the kingdom from injury, he would gladly avail himself of the first proofs of moderation on the part of his enemy, to adopt a more pacific method of determining the differences between them. He then repaired to the coast, where the vessels appointed for the conveyance of his troops

were already assembled, and awaiting his arrival; and having ascertained by his own inspection, that all the arrangements he had made for the voyage had been carefully complied with, repaired with his attendants on board the fleet, which immediately weighed anchor and spread its sails for the coast of Livonia.

CHAPTER IV.

Operations in Livonia—Gustavus lays siege to Riga—Prince Radzivil is despatched to its relief—Ineffectual attempt of the Poles to succour the place—Radzivil retires—The Swedes assault the town without success—Preparations for a second assault—Riga capitulates—The Swedes enter Courland and take Mittau—Gustavus returns to Stockholm—Death of the Prince Charles Philip—Sigismond at Dantzic—Negotiations for peace, which are broken off by Oxenstiern—Second invasion of Livonia—Defeat of the Polish general Sapieha at Walhoff—Marriage of Bethlem Gabor with the Princess Catherine of Brandenburg—Gustavus resolves to invade Prussia—Takes Pillau, Elbing, and Dirschau, and prepares to invest Dantzic—Sigismond marches against him, and forms the siege of Mcaw—Obstinate skirmish between the two armies—Retreat of the Poles, and termination of the campaign of 1626—Birth of the Princess Christina, who is acknowledged as the successor of Gustavus by the Swedish Estates—Exploits of Coniecpoliski—Gustavus returns to Prussia.

THE province, which was now about to become the field of the renewed contest between Sweden and Poland, has already been incidentally mentioned as having often afforded to these powers a fertile cause of dissention, and a convenient stage for bringing their mutual forces into collision. In later times, religious enmity infused additional bitterness into hostilities which had originated in an opposition of political interests; and the people of Livonia, divided between the Roman and the reformed faith, eagerly took part in a quarrel, which enabled them to gratify the angry feelings, excited by polemical controversies, in the

character of zealous allies of either of the contending parties. The town of Revel was the principal stronghold in the hands of the Swedes, and Riga the most important possession under the power of their rivals. It was against the latter that the efforts of Gustavus were now directed. In forming the plan for its reduction, it is probable that he was influenced by the hope of being seconded by a numerous party within its walls, who were supposed, from a community of belief, to be more attached to his interests than to those of Sigismund. Riga, while under the government of the Teutonic knights, in the latter days of their power, and especially in the time of William de Furstemburg, Prince of Livonia, and Grand Master of the Order, who was himself a convert to the Lutheran doctrines, had shown a strong bias towards the principles of the reformation. During the reign of Etienne Bathori, King of Poland, however, the Catholics were placed in circumstances of decided superiority to their Protestant fellow-citizens. Under his auspices, a College of Jesuits was founded, and endowed with extensive privileges, and the great number, unhappily to be found in every city, whose religious views are in great measure regulated by prospects of external advantage, had, owing apparently to their zealous exertions, been induced once more to enter within the pale of the ancient church. It might reasonably be expected, therefore, that if Riga contained within its defences numbers who were resolutely determined to uphold the cause of Poland, there were at the same time several among its inhabitants who would look forward with no great reluctance to the prospect of a change of rulers.

With these expectations the Swedish fleet approached the mouth of the Duna. While preparing to stand up the river, it was encountered by a furious storm, which dismasted some of the ships, damaged

the rigging of others, and for a short time scattered the whole armament over the face of the Baltic. The vessels, however, by the exertions of the Admirals Gildenheim and Fleming, were soon re-collected; and in their second attempt to ascend the Duna met with no opposition, except from the guns of the fortress of Dunamonde, which, ranging across the channel, and threatening every sail with destruction which approached Riga with hostile intentions, were supposed to be a sufficient defence to the town on the side next the sea. Under a heavy cannonade incessantly kept up by this fort, but which, contrary to general expectation, was productive of little actual mischief to the invaders, the disembarkation of the troops, together with their battering artillery, and stores necessary for the intended siege, was in three days entirely effected. The Swedes then proceeded to attack the post from which they had experienced so rude a greeting, and speedily compelled it to surrender*. Having by this means secured a safe passage for all such reinforcements and supplies as should be sent them up the river, they immediately invested the town and began to labour at the lines of circumvallation. The king himself, with a mattock in his hand, was the first to set his soldiers an example of cheerful and unremitting exertion until the necessary work was completed. The army employed in this service was far from appearing, either in point of number or equipment, inferior to the importance of the enterprise it had undertaken. Immediately under the king, the Prince Charles Philip, the Chancellor Oxenstiern, and the veteran Jacques de la Gardie, together with the Generals Horn, Banner, and Wrangel, names afterwards well known in the Ger-

* Loccenius, whom Harte has followed, affirms that the Swedes left Dunamonde unreduced. The statement of Mauvillon has been preferred.

man wars, and the Colonels Ruthven and Seaton, Scottish officers in the pay of Sweden, were each in the command of separate detachments. The whole besieging force amounted to more than 24,000 men, for the most part long inured to service, and carefully selected for the occasion. On the other hand, Riga had been supplied with a numerous garrison, to which the armed burghers made a very respectable addition, and was strongly defended by bastions, wet ditches, and numerous half-moons, a favourite kind of outwork in the old systems of fortification.

As the assailants pushed their advances nearer the main defences of the town, the efforts on each side became more vigorous, and the loss both to besiegers and besieged increased in proportion. The King of Sweden attracted the universal attention of his army by the fearless exposure of his person to danger, and the activity and vigilance he displayed in the conduct of every operation. A short repose of two hours upon the bare earth, amidst the soldiers who were labouring at the trenches, was frequently the only rest he allowed himself during the night; and if at anytime he indulged himself so far as to retire to sleep in his own quarters, he was invariably on horseback with the first glimpse of day, visiting the outposts, or anxiously ascertaining the progress which had been made during his absence. On one occasion, having taken his station at that part of the trenches where Colonel Seaton commanded, several men were struck down at his side by a shot from the ramparts; and at another time, Lieutenant-Colonel Stakelburg was killed so near him, that his blood was sprinkled upon the king's clothes. His officers, alarmed at the prospect of his falling a sacrifice to his too great forwardness, entreated him to refrain from such a perilous vicinity to the enemy for the future. Gustavus jestingly replied, by quoting the words of the Emperor Charles V., that neither cannon

balls nor musket bullets were cast for kings ; an assertion to which, in more instances than one, he was about to give a practical refutation.

The King of Poland, on gaining intelligence of the progress of the Swedes, and alarmed for the safety of a place which he considered among the most valuable of his possessions, was resolved to make an attempt at all hazards for its relief. At this time he was compelled to tax his resources to the utmost to withstand the forces of the Turks, who had made their appearance on his frontiers with an army reckoned at 300,000 men. Yet, although hardly able from day to day to make head against this invading torrent, composed of the hereditary enemies of his crown, he contrived to detach a force of 14,000 of his best troops under the command of the Prince Radzivil, General of Lithuania, and one of the principal nobles of his court, with instructions to make a diversion in favour of Riga ; and, if possible, to introduce fresh succours into the town to increase the number of the garrison. Radzivil was not wanting in endeavours to execute his commission, but his success was not equal to his efforts. The Polish light horse manœuvred in all directions to draw the Swedes from their entrenchments, with the hope of finding a passage into Riga during the skirmish, to which they thus endeavoured to entice them, but their evolutions were only answered by the artillery of the enemy, which was pointed with great effect against their squadrons whenever they came within reach. They then attempted, by sending a number of armed boats down the stream of the Duna, to effect the purpose they had in view. The flotilla was commanded by Burke, an Irish officer, and set out in good order, but before it reached the town the river was found to be so completely commanded by batteries which the Swedes had raised in anticipation of the design, as to render its proceeding

an act of rashness approaching to madness itself. Radzivil, therefore, after a slight parting engagement with the outposts of his antagonists, was compelled to relinquish his undertaking in despair, and returned to Sigismond with his army, leaving Riga once more to defend itself as it best might by its own resources.

These were by this time apparently reduced to the lowest possible condition. The Swedes had gained, although with some loss, a half-moon in advance of the principal fortifications, and had now effected a practicable breach in the body of the place. Several mines, the work principally of the Dalecarlians, accustomed from their infancy to labours of this description in their own country, had been sprung beneath the counterscarp with ruinous effect. It was evident that a general assault was at hand; but from a willingness to spare the town the infliction of this last calamity, the King of Sweden, who had already twice summoned it without effect, despatched a third messenger to invite a surrender on favourable terms. The first two offers had been indignantly rejected by the garrisons; to that now laid before them they did not even condescend to reply. The only expedient left, therefore, was an attempt to carry the town sword in hand. In order to pass the fosse, which, notwithstanding the quantity of fascines thrown into it, still contained water to a considerable depth, Gustavus had contrived a floating gallery, supported upon empty casks. The roof was made musket-proof to protect the assailants against the fire from the rampart above, and the flooring covered with cloth, and studded with nails, to afford a firm footing. On the night appointed for the attack, this machine was safely launched, and a communication with the breach speedily effected. The Colonels Seaton and Horner were appointed to lead the storming party, and a crowd of soldiers followed, each endeavouring to be the first to

establish himself upon the rampart. This excessive eagerness proved the failure of the whole design. The planks which composed the flooring gave way beneath the weight of the throug, in complete armour, who were pouring across it. Numbers were precipitated into the ditch; and the besiegers the next day completed at their leisure the destruction of a fabric which had cost so much time and labour in its preparation.

Nothing discouraged by his ill success at this point, the king gave immediate orders for assaulting a formidable work called the Sand Half-moon*, which was occupied by 3,000 soldiers, the bravest and most experienced in the garrison. The attack was made by a chosen detachment, under the Generals Horn and Banner, accompanied by Mostyn and Chapelle, the former a Scotch colonel, and the latter a French officer of distinguished merit. After a fierce combat, maintained on both sides with determined bravery, the Swedes, who suffered greatly from the beams and stones which the defenders showered upon them without intermission from above, in addition to maintaining a furious fire of cannon and musketry, were repulsed in this attempt also; but the garrison, who had now had sufficient experience of the unconquerable resolution of their opponents, and who were made aware of the fact that Gustavus was preparing two fresh bridges to replace the one they had destroyed, while his Dalecarlians, who had run their galleries completely under the ditch, were laying their mines beneath the escarp itself, were at length induced to signify their willingness to enter into a capitulation.

The terms proposed were highly creditable to the clemency of the victors. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and the privileges they had enjoyed under the government of

* Loccenius, viii. 539.

Poland, were solemnly guaranteed to the citizens. The only severity shown was directed against the Jesuits, who were commanded to quit the town within eight days; and, notwithstanding their violent reclamations against the mandate, the sympathy of surrounding nations was little excited by this act of necessary vigour towards an order of men, who, however widely the pale of toleration may be extended, are assuredly deserving of being only included within its extreme limits.

Gustavus entered Riga on the 16th of September, 1621, and immediately proceeded to the church of St. Peter, where divine service was performed in his presence, and the *Te Deum* chanted amidst a general discharge of artillery from his own camp and the ramparts of the town. He then received a deputation of the magistrates, who came to thank him for the mildness he had exercised towards them, and to take the oath of allegiance as representatives of their fellow citizens. The king's reply was moderate and conciliatory. "I am willing to forget," he said, "all your irregular proceedings towards me, and your obstinacy in persisting in your defence, although deprived of all hope of succour. In this you were no doubt actuated by a praiseworthy motive. I forget also the number of indecent libels, and insulting satires, which have been circulated by the ill-intentioned among you to render me odious in the eyes of the people of Riga. I consider it beneath me to inquire the names of the authors. I only expect from you the same fidelity which you have manifested towards my cousin the King of Poland, and, so far from endeavouring to diminish your privileges, I shall be ready to avail myself of every opportunity to increase them."

Immediately after the submission of Riga, the Swedish arms were transferred to the neighbouring province of Courland. But little further resistance

was made to their progress, and Mittau, the capital town, was no sooner summoned than it surrendered at discretion. From thence the King of Sweden wrote anew to Sigismond, with fresh offers of compromising the difference between them by negotiation, and offering to conclude an armistice for any length of time in furtherance of such an object. The King of Poland, who was but too happy to be able to turn all his efforts to his defence against the Turkish armies, consented to a truce till the end of the following year, on condition that Gustavus should immediately evacuate Mittau ; and the Swedish monarch at once complying with his demands, retired into his own country to await the result of the correspondence between his ministers and those of Sigismond, on the subject of a peace, which he was no doubt sincerely anxious to obtain. He was followed thither by unwelcome news. His brother, Charles Philip, whom he had left in Livonia, had been seized with an illness which shortly proved fatal, notwithstanding all the exertions of his physicians to preserve his life. Gustavus was deeply affected by the loss of one, who in addition to his close relationship had been so long his familiar confidant and companion in arms. It is probable that he also saw in this event an additional inducement to Sigismond to continue the war ; since he had now one rival the less to contend with in following the ambitious designs which, he no doubt flattered himself, would one day terminate in his repossessing the throne of Sweden.

Much as he found the interests of Poland injured, and his own power impaired, by the fruitless contest he had now so long maintained, that prince was yet far from being sufficiently humbled to lend his sincere assistance to bring about an accommodation. He was further encouraged in his obstinate resistance by the secret exhortations and promises of Ferdinand the

Second, his brother-in-law*, who, while pursuing his oppressive projects against the liberties of Germany, was anxious to avoid the possibility of the interference of Sweden in behalf of the Protestants. The Court of Spain, in strict league and accordance with the policy of the House of Austria, was not backward in urging him to pursue the same course. Excited by the flattering hopes suggested by the emissaries of these allies, and their promises of open assistance, if such should be necessary, he repaired towards the end of the truce with his whole court to Dantzic, which, although a free city, had substantial reasons for continuing on friendly terms with Poland; since it was ostensibly under the protection of that nation, and at all times exposed to serious consequences from its enmity. He there began to make preparations for invading the dominions of his rival in his turn, by engaging the people of Dantzic to furnish him with a number of ships for the transport of his troops, and at the same time sent his agents to Holland and the Hanseatic towns to purchase additional vessels. But Gustavus, upon gaining intelligence of his proceedings, immediately put to sea with a powerful squadron, and suddenly appearing before the harbour of Dantzic, summoned the magistrates instantly to choose between accepting him as a friend or an enemy. It was in vain that the citizens in their reply proposed a neutrality until the expiration of the truce. Gustavus sent back the secretary, Mitten-dorf, who had been deputed to confer with him as the envoy of Dantzic, to insist upon an immediate determination in favour of peace or war. Yet, understanding the King and Queen of Poland were both present in the city with the Prince Udislaus, who had dis-

* Sigismund was married successively to two sisters of the Emperor, Anne, Archduchess of Austria, and Constance. His marriage with the former took place in 1592, with the latter in 1605.

tinguished himself by his impetuous valour on several occasions, he did not omit to blend his accustomed courtesy with his resolute but necessary demand. When his conference with Mittendorf was finished, and the envoy was on the point of taking his leave, he said, "I have to request you, M. Mittendorf, to present my compliments to my cousin, the King of Poland, and his Queen, and to assure the latter, that I should have been happy to invite her on board my fleet, were I not prevented from offering such an invitation by a feeling of respect; in addition to which she would see but little about me, but faces tanned by the sun, and disfigured by exposure to the weather; but do me the favour of informing the Prince Udislaus, that if he will be content to visit me, with as little ceremony as one soldier should use towards another, he shall be heartily welcome. We may confer on several important subjects, which are equally interesting to both, and in a manner to our mutual advantage.*"

Although this invitation was not accepted, the firmness which Gustavus had evinced induced the magistrates of Dantzic to agree to the peace which was offered them, and to put an immediate stop to the equipment of the fleet, which was collecting for the invasion of Sweden. Gustavus having effected his object, speedily quitted the coast of Prussia, while Sigismond, whose naval preparations were thus unexpectedly frustrated, returned into Poland to convoke a general Diet of the Estates, to determine upon the course to be adopted at the close of the truce, and upon the means of raising the requisite supplies, if a further prosecution of the war should be determined upon.

In the assembly from which he had expected to receive an expression of approbation of his late pro-

* Mauvillon.

ceedings, and encouragement to pursue his intended exertions against the Swedes, he was doomed to experience still further disappointment. The delegates of the clergy, indeed, were almost unanimous in exhorting him to continue the contest; and Lipski, bishop of Cujavia, even proposed that no offer of accommodation should be listened to until the Swedes gave up their conquests in Livonia, and until their king, divesting himself of the authority he had usurped, should surrender his person into the hands of Sigismond, to be dealt with as might afterwards be thought proper. Such extravagant sentiments found but few to support them, while serious remonstrances were made by the great majority of the members of the Diet, against the daily increasing burdens to which the nation was obliged to submit, the exhaustion of its strength in a fruitless war, and the folly of dreaming of reducing to subjection a kingdom beyond the Baltic, while the Turks with increasing forces were threatening the utter subversion of Poland. Sigismond, finding that little was to be expected from a convention which seemed more inclined to censure his past conduct, than to furnish him with the aid he required, abruptly dissolved the Diet; and was so far humbled by his unsuccessful appeal to his subjects, as to consent to continue the truce until the autumn of the year 1625, and to send ambassadors to the town of Daler, on the frontiers of Livonia, to confer with the deputies of Sweden on the preliminaries to a peace.

During the season of comparative tranquillity which ensued, the last of any consequence he was ever fated to enjoy, Gustavus continued to devote himself with constant assiduity to increasing the internal resources of the kingdom, and to forming such laws and regulations as should best tend to the permanent benefit of his people. To the University of Upsal, which was again become eminent throughout the north of Europe

for the learning of its professors, he gave another mark of the most liberal patronage, by bestowing upon it the whole of the private estates of the House of Vasa, which he had inherited from his father, and John, Duke of Ostrogothia, some time since deceased; and his nobles, imitating this example, soon raised the funds at its command to a condition which placed it beyond the likelihood of again falling into neglect, from the want of sufficient resources. The commercial relations of Sweden with other countries were greatly extended and improved, and a spirit of enterprise excited, which, besides other beneficial undertakings, was directed towards the establishment of a Company for carrying on a trade to the West Indies, afterwards chartered in the year 1627. Gustavus, by his famous military code, issued two or three years previously, had placed the nation in a condition of defence likely to inspire the European powers with respect for his government, as well as to protect it in case of need from injury or insult. The Swedes, although jealous to a high degree of their liberties, had readily, from the strong personal regard they bore to their sovereign, consented to the institution of a standing army, and the setting apart of certain public lands for its maintenance, entertaining a confident expectation that the concession would never be abused by their present king to their disadvantage. The religious instruction of his people was not likely to be overlooked by a prince of such conspicuous piety, and was accordingly more extensively provided for than at any preceding period. The care of Gustavus was even extended to the inhabitants of the wilds of Lapland. Commiserating the wretched condition of these people, immersed in the deepest ignorance, and slaves to the grossest idolatry, he sent a chosen body of missionaries among them, to recommend by their precept and example the blessings of

the gospel to their acceptance. At the same time, a ready reception and efficient shelter was afforded to the numerous protestants, who, persecuted in other parts of the world, fled into Sweden, as to a place of general refuge. When the activity of Gustavus is considered in promoting these and similar objects, and the eagerness with which he pursued them, during every intermission of the fatigues of war, the splendour of that military pageant in which, through life, he was the principal actor, and to which he is chiefly indebted for his estimation in the general opinion of posterity, must be reduced in comparison to unimportance; and the glittering trophies, reared by his successes upon the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, can but suggest a deeper feeling of regret, that talents originally bestowed for advancing the best interests of mankind in a condition of peace, should have been almost wholly engrossed by the task of humbling oppression, and of checking the progress of a haughty and overweening ambition by dint of armed resistance*.

By this time Sigismund, who had again repented of his conciliatory resolutions, began to think his resources sufficiently recruited to hazard the event of another campaign. His ambassadors at Daler, therefore, received instructions to change their tone, and to insist upon the most preposterous conditions as the only basis of the projected peace. The Chancellor Oxenstiern, who conducted the negotiations on the part of Sweden, clearly perceiving the drift of this design, abruptly broke off the proceedings in disgust; and immediately upon the expiration of the truce, both sides were once more engaged in active prepa-

* With respect to the abilities of Gustavus Adolphus for the duties of civil government, the testimony of Nani may be considered as embodying the praises of a host of other eulogists. *Stando le virtu di Gustavo consolidate ed unite; non si sapeva discernere se alla militare proutia o alla civile dovesse la palma.*

rations for the contest. The king of Sweden was the first to appear in the field, and his former success attended him throughout the whole of his operations. In Livonia, the towns of Dunaburg, Seelburg, Nidorp, and Pernau, successively fell into his hands. The duchy of Courland was speedily overrun by his victorious troops, and Mittau a second time opened its gates without resistance. The Polish general, Sapieha, advanced with the intention of putting a stop to this career of conquest, and presented himself before the Swedes at Walhoff, an unimportant village in the district of Semigallia. Of this first pitched battle in which Gustavus commanded, historians have left but a very imperfect account; almost all that is certainly known, is, that the Poles were quickly driven from the field in confusion, and that the Swedes, following fast on the track of the flying enemy, speedily reduced Posloven and Bierze, two of the strongest towns in Poland, and the keys of the grand-duchy of Lithuania*. Before his return to Stockholm, at the close of this campaign, the king, according to his usual custom after victory, demanded passports from Warsaw for his ambassadors to lay fresh proposals before Sigismond for an amicable arrangement. Oxenstiern, John Salvius, and Horn, were despatched upon this new mission. The two latter, while on their way, were taken prisoners by the Cossacks†; and, although they were afterwards released upon the indignant remonstrances of Oxenstiern, who exclaimed against this outrage as an open violation of the law of nations, the deputies returned to Sweden without making any further effort to acquit themselves of the proposals with which they had been charged.

It is not irrelevant to the subject to mention here the occurrence of an event, which promised to the

* Mauvillon.

† Loccenius, lib. viii. p. 550.

Swedes, at no distant period, the assistance of a zealous and powerful ally. While Gustavus was still at Stockholm, an embassy arrived at Berlin from the Transylvanian prince, Bethlem Gabor, to demand the hand of Catherine of Brandenburg, sister to the Queen of Sweden. The nuptials were celebrated by proxy with singular state and magnificence; and soon afterwards, the princess, whose inclinations had been but little consulted in the matter, set out in tears to join a husband already more than fifty-five years of age, and to exchange the comforts and civilisation of the court in which she had been educated, for the desolate wildness of the Bannat, and the barbaric magnificence attendant on the court of a chieftain, who, residing on a debateable land, constantly alternating between the dominion of the Cross and the Crescent, had made himself by turns formidable to both, and was of too restless a disposition to remain long in amity with either. There is no doubt that Gustavus, who maintained a constant correspondence with this prince, from henceforth was greatly influenced in forming his design of invading Germany, by the hope of his effecting a powerful diversion in his favour, and as little doubt that it would have been made in such a manner as greatly to further his plans, had not the death of Bethlem Gabor, in 1629, suddenly disappointed his expectations of further aid from that quarter. The name of the singular potentate who has been thus casually mentioned, will again occur when we have to consider the causes and commencement of the Thirty Years' War.

As soon as the spring appeared sufficiently advanced to admit of the commencement of military operations, Gustavus set sail from Stockholm, with a fleet consisting of 150 vessels, on board of which had been embarked an army of not less than 25,000 men.

His design was soon ascertained to be against the Polish possessions in Prussia. This district, which has since given its name to one of the greatest and most powerful monarchies of Europe, was then a territory of comparatively little note; partly in the direct occupation of Poland, and partly held in fief by the Elector of Brandenburg in dependence upon that crown. In* the year 1239 it had been conquered by the Knights of the Teutonic order, and while their power was yet unimpaired, is said to have been able to send a force of 60,000 horsemen completely armed into the field; but in process of time this splendid chivalry became so enervated by a long continuance of peace, that their more enterprising neighbours found but little difficulty in wresting from them the fairest part of their dominions. In the year 1458, the cities of Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, transferred their allegiance from the Grand Master, Conrad of Erlichhausen, to Casimir King of Poland. This occasioned a war which lasted thirteen years, and ended in the annexation of Marienberg, Culm, Wermland, and Pomerellia, to the Polish territories, under the name of Prussia Royal. The remainder, or Ducal Prussia, was still retained by the Teutonic Knights, under the condition of their doing homage to Poland, for its possession. As in the province of Livonia, this order, on the first preaching of the doctrines of the Reformation among them, at once embraced its tenets. The whole of Ducal Prussia followed their example; but since Royal Prussia continued constant to the religion of its conquerors, it suffered no further molestation from the Poles on this account, until in the year 1618 it was, without opposition, bequeathed, by the will of the last Duke Frederic Albert, to his son-in-law, Sigismond Elector of Brandenburg†.

* Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.

† Ibid.

The Court of Warsaw was well aware of the quarter in which the approach of the enemy might be expected; and instructions had been sent to the Elector of Brandenburg, as interested in the safety of his ficf, immediately to repair the fortifications of Pillau, which from its situation at the entrance of the long gulf, called the Frische Haffe, was naturally expected to be first attacked by the Swedes; and was, in fact, a possession almost indispensable to their commencing operations with any chance of a favourable issue. The elector, either from circumstances over which he had no control, or from a secret inclination towards the cause of his brother-in-law, of which he was afterwards bitterly accused by the Poles, proceeded but slowly in the task assigned him, and before any considerable preparations for defence had been made, the Swedish fleet, appearing in sight of the fortress, at once awed it into a surrender. After this important acquisition, the invading armament sailing across the Frische Haffe, dropped anchor at the mouth of the river Passarge, and safely disembarked the troops and stores with which it was freighted. On his first arrival in Ducal Prussia, the King of Sweden had sent a proposal of neutrality to the elector; but the latter, fearful of offending the Poles, returned an uncertain answer. Gustavus then addressed himself to a General Assembly of the Estates of the Duchy, and easily induced them to come to a resolution which was most consistent with their interests. The negotiations had scarcely been concluded when the Swedes made themselves masters of Frauenberg and Braunsberg, from which, as at Riga, the Jesuits were formally banished, and their libraries seized, with the intention of being presented to the University of Upsal; a spoliation which was supposed to be sufficiently warranted by the example set by the Catho-

lies in the Palatinate, who had sent a great part of the noble library of Heidelberg to the Vatican, and wantonly destroyed the rest. They then invested Elbing. Although this place was not ill fortified, the garrison amounted to no more than 400 men, and was, consequently, utterly unable to make a serious resistance to the army which was on the point of besieging them. The inhabitants, therefore, sent to Sigismond to request immediate succour, but received no further answer to their demand than an exhortation to defend themselves to the last extremity, and the promise that a proposal for their relief should be laid before the Diet of Estates, which was expected immediately to assemble. In the meantime Gustavus summoned the town, assuring the inhabitants that his only intention in introducing a garrison into it, was to secure a safe retreat in the event of a reverse. The day after this summons had been sent, Elbing surrendered; and the Swedes shortly afterwards invested Marienburg, which, together with Christburg, Stuhm, Wormdit, and Strasburg, fell into their hands with little or no resistance. Of all Polish Prussia, Dirschau and Dantzic alone, with the country immediately adjacent, remained unsubdued, and the motions of Gustavus soon indicated his intention of adding these to his other conquests. To the latter city he had addressed a proposal at the commencement of the campaign, of directing the course of the war from its neighbourhood, on condition of being supplied with corn from thence at a fair price, and provided all Polish vessels were immediately compelled to quit its harbour. It was also insisted that a small toll should be paid to the Swedes by all boats passing down the Vistula*. The people of Dantzic, confident in the strength of their fortifications, rejected the neutrality proffered to them on

* Loccenius.

these terms. Gustavus prepared, therefore, to reduce their city by force. With this intention, decamping from Marienburg, he transported his army across the Nogath, into the island called the Grand Werdcr, formed by the junction of that river with the Vistula, where he remained entrenched a short time in expectation of reinforcements. As soon as these had arrived, after throwing a bridge across the Vistula at Lissau, he laid siege to Meaw and Dirschau, which opened their gates before the batteries raised to reduce them had been completed. A slight inspection of any map will show the importance of the above places in preventing supplies from being sent by the Poles into the town against which this series of movements was intended.

It was now obvious that, if any resolution had been formed for the relief of Dantzic, not a single moment was to be lost in carrying it into execution. Sigismund, stimulated by the earnest entreaties of his son Udislaus, who was desirous of the honour of measuring himself with the King of Sweden, and unwilling to suffer the disgrace of allowing another of the richest dependencies of Poland to fall without a serious attempt at its rescue, had at length determined upon taking the field in person. His army amounted to 30,000 men, and was composed in a great measure of hussars, pandours, and cossacks, who, exercised by continual wars with the Turks, were supposed, in the celerity of their movements, and their efficiency for all the important duties which usually devolve upon troops of this description, to be unequalled by any similar force in Europe. His march was at first directed upon Graudentz, with the intention of recovering Marienburg from the Swedes; but after a partial engagement with one of their divisions, from which he sustained considerable loss, he suddenly formed the design of passing into

Pomerellia, and proceeding without further delay against the main army of Gustavus, from which he was still separated by the Vistula. His cavalry, unencumbered with heavy armour, plunged fearlessly into the river; and, notwithstanding the force of the current, succeeded in swimming their horses to the opposite side, while the infantry were more leisurely conveyed across by a bridge which had recently been constructed at Newenburg. The next step was to form the siege of Meaw, which Sigismond was unwilling to leave in his rear, while advancing to the battle he was now resolved upon provoking by every means in his power.

The Swedes were still stationed in the vicinity of Dirschau, where the king had just been joined by 10,000 German troops under the command of Count Thurn, the son of that nobleman whose name is so celebrated in the history of the commotions of Bohemia. By this reinforcement his army was increased to 20,000 men, a force still inferior by one-third to that of the enemy. Upon gaining intelligence of the design of Sigismond against Meaw, he was induced immediately to attempt strengthening the garrison by the addition of such a force as might render all the attempts of the Poles to reduce it ineffectual. To accomplish this, however, was a matter of no ordinary difficulty. The Polish army was encamped between Meaw and Dirschau, on a plain of some breadth, the only access to which was by a steep path over a hilly and tangled country. Their left flank was secured by a thick wood, which covered the face of a similar acclivity, while the deep and rapid stream of the Vistula flowing between precipitous banks on their right, was conjectured to afford sufficient protection against an attack from that quarter. Gustavus, after diligently reconnoitring their position, detached a body of infantry, under the Count Thurn and Colonel

Hepburn, to gain possession of the wood ; while he himself, with a force of 3000 foot and 500 cavalry, set out at nightfall from his camp, accompanied by a large convoy of ammunition and provisions, which he hoped, after surprising the Poles by a sudden assault upon their quarters at daybreak, to find the means of introducing into the town amidst the confusion which might naturally be expected to ensue. The division under Thurn and Hepburn accomplished their undertaking during the night. The soldiers holding their weapons with one hand, and with the other grasping the trunks and branches of the trees which shaded the ascent, succeeded in gaining the plain at its summit, and in throwing up an entrenchment for their defence without attracting the notice of the enemy. The other division proved less fortunate. Owing to the difficulties which impeded their progress, it was not until the dawn began to break, that they cleared, after a slow and laborious march, the pass in front of the Poles, and placed themselves on a level with the investing army. As the day brightened, their approach became plainly visible to the clouds of Cossacks who were hovering in all directions over the plain ; and the information conveyed by numbers of horsemen galloping into the camp and shouting that the Swedes were at hand, enabled the Poles to form in order of battle to meet them, and to plant twelve pieces of cannon in such a position as to inflict great damage upon their ranks as they advanced to the attack. The action soon became general, Gustavus repeatedly charging in front, while Hepburn and Thurn appearing to take their share in the contest, suddenly opened a severe fire of musketry upon the left flank of the Poles. This drew upon them almost the whole fury of the enemy, and an overwhelming force of cavalry was instantly impelled against them, with the intention of sweeping

them at once from the field, and preventing the mischief which it was anticipated would be the result of suffering them to remain any longer in the advantageous post they had occupied. Thurn and his division, upon seeing this movement, immediately began to retire, with the view of drawing their opponents still farther from the main body; and their retreat being interpreted as the effect of fear, they were instantly assailed by the Polish cavalry, who rushed upon them with wild cries of defiance; mutually exhorting each other to hasten forward and complete the destruction of enemies already routed, and shrinking like dogs from the blows of the Polish sabre*. Their exultation, however, was but of short duration. The Swedish infantry, suddenly facing about, and levelling their long pikes, presented an insurmountable obstacle to the further advance of their pursuers; while their ranks were additionally protected by the erection of portable chevaux-de-frise, which rose simultaneously along their front†. It was in vain that the gallant nobility of the Poles, and furious chiefs of the Cossacks, spurred their horses against this bristling rampart with the hope, by the sacrifice of their own lives, to effect a passage for their followers. The attempt only exposed numbers among them to certain destruction from the Swedish musketry, which, maintaining a close and heavy fire from behind the line of pikes by which it was guarded, struck down whole ranks at each successive discharge; and they were at length obliged to draw off the wrecks of their cavalry in despair, and leave the Swedes in possession of the ground they

* Loccenius.

† *Alios prætentis sarissis, alios pilis suillis, sic ea nuncupabant quod cuspidè ferratâ præfixâ rigentia et erecta instar setarum horrent intrepide excepèrc.* Loccenius.—These pila suilla are the Swedish feathers of the renowned Captain Dugald Dalgetty. See “Legend of Montrose.”

had so resolutely held. In other parts of the field, the contest was not less obstinate, although partaking more of the character of a tumultuous skirmish. Gustavus fearlessly exposed himself by fighting in the thickest of the combatants. He was twice taken prisoner, and as often rescued, and a third time brought into imminent peril by generously leading a party to the assistance of a soldier who had been one of the most active in effecting his deliverance, and had now become a captive in his turn. In the midst of this desperate contention, the convoy and troops intended for the relief of Meaw were safely introduced into the town.

The loss of the Poles on this occasion is said to have amounted to 3,000 men. Their prince Udislaus had distinguished himself during the engagement by acts of undaunted courage; but neither his example nor his exhortations proved of sufficient avail to counteract the effects of the severe check which the forces under his command had received. The siege of Meaw was abandoned as hopeless, and preparations were made for an immediate retreat. The King of Sweden, after ascertaining that nothing further was to be apprehended from his enemies in their present state of consternation, entered Meaw in triumph. Among the first to welcome him was his chaplain, John Bothwid, who had accompanied him on his march, and who, while the battle lasted, had been observed at a short distance from the contending parties, fervently engaged in devotion. Gustavus replied to his congratulations by a characteristic and not inelegant compliment. He said, "I had no longer any doubt of the issue of the day, when I perceived you, sir, like Moses of old, employed in offering up prayers for our success."

The campaign of 1626 was terminated by the operations before Meaw. A few days after the town had

been relieved, commissioners were appointed to meet between the camps of the two nations under an armed escort, and once more to endeavour to establish negotiations for a peace. Oxenstiern, as before, was at the head of the Swedish deputies. The interview, at its very commencement, however, seemed to give little promise of a reconciliation. The commissioners upon meeting regarded each other for a long time without any salutation, or expression of courtesy passing between them, neither party being willing to compromise the dignity of those whom they represented, by being the first to break silence. The Poles, at length, condescended to express the terms which Sigismond proposed. They were such as at once to put an end to all hope of bringing the conference to a favourable issue. The recognition of the right of Sigismond to the crown of Sweden was peremptorily insisted upon. It was further demanded that he should be suffered to retain the title of king, although Gustavus was to be permitted, during his lifetime, to continue the exercise of the authority with which he had been invested. After his death the kingdom of Sweden was to revert to the children of Sigismond, while the heirs male of Gustavus, if any such should happen to be born, were to be satisfied with the appanage of Sudermania. The Swedes were also required to give up all their possessions in Prussia and Livonia, in return for which the Poles offered to withdraw from Esthonia and Finland. These conditions have appeared so extravagant to all historians, that Gustavus has even been suspected of misrepresenting them with the intention of exasperating the Swedish Estates still more against the King of Poland. It is difficult to believe an accusation so utterly at variance with the whole tenor of his conduct, and which, moreover, has no other basis than mere conjecture to support it. A much more probable solution of the

mystery is to be found in the well-known character of Sigismond, who seems to have determined upon again encountering the chances of the dangerous game which had hitherto uniformly turned against him, in the spirit of the gambler, who is only induced to double his stakes by his near approach to the brink of ruin. On the failure of this overture towards conciliation, the Poles retired into winter quarters, and the Swedes, following their example, withdrew into Meaw, Dirschau, Elbing, and Pautzke, in such a manner as still to hold Dantzic in a loose circle of investment. It was evident that the siege of this city would form the most prominent feature in the operations of the ensuing year; and Gustavus, after making such dispositions as he thought would conduce most to the comfort and security of his troops, set out for Sweden, where he had appointed a meeting of the States to assemble as soon as possible, to lay before them the late proposals of Sigismond, and to ascertain their sentiments on the question of a further continuance of the war.

Shortly after the return of the king to Stockholm, his queen, who had experienced several miscarriages since her marriage, was safely delivered of an infant daughter. (December 18th, 1626.) This was the celebrated Christina, whose shining abilities, and apparent contempt of worldly honours in early life, drew forth so many enthusiastic encomiums from the poets and philosophers of her time; but whose conduct in after years proved how readily the wisest, as well as the weakest of mankind, are led, by the appearance of anything extraordinary in persons of an exalted station, into forming false estimates of character, while exhibited only amidst the splendours of external advantage, and yet unsubjected to the test of time and altered circumstances. Her parents had long eagerly desired the birth of a son; and Maria

Eleanora had been flattered by the solemn predictions of the astrologers, whom she consulted, that her wishes were on the eve of a certain fulfilment. A report was spread through the palace, a few minutes after her delivery, that the infant was of the male sex; and it was some time before any one would venture to acquaint the king, who was anxiously waiting for a confirmation of the rumour, with the real state of the case*. His sister, the Princess Catherine, at length taking the child in her arms, carried her into the presence of her father, who, contrary to what had been anticipated, displayed no outward signs of disappointment. He observed, "My sister, let us return thanks to God. I trust this daughter will be as valuable to me as the son I had expected; and since God has given her, I pray that he will continue to preserve her." He then commanded the usual rejoicings to be made;—happy at that moment in the gift of blindness to the future; and little anticipating the course of folly, levity, and crime, by which the heiress of his honours, cradled, as she herself expresses it, amidst the laurels of her illustrious parent, would one day bring disgrace upon the house from which she was sprung; and afford, by her open apostacy, a cause of triumph to the enemies of that religion, for the defence of which he laboured to his dying breath.

The States General of Sweden assembled early in the year 1627. The result of their meeting was a unanimous expression of their opinions in favour of the war with Poland, until terms of peace should be offered more consistent with the honour and interests of the nation to accept. With a view of disappointing still more the ambition of Sigismund, and of destroying all his hopes of recovering the kingdom of Sweden for himself or his posterity, they declared the infant

* Mémoires de la Reine Christine, faites par elle-même, &c.

Christina the nearest heir to the crown, and bound themselves, under an oath, to acknowledge her as queen in the event of Gustavus dying without male issue. The king had no sooner received this testimony of the public esteem, than he hastened forward the necessary preparations for his return to Prussia with the first appearance of spring. In the midst of his exertions he received intelligence which had the effect of stimulating him to still greater haste.

During the war which the Poles had lately maintained with the Turks, many of their successes had been owing to the bravery and conduct of their general, Coniecpoliski, who, on more than one occasion, had exhibited military talents of the highest order. This officer had been left in command of the army during the absence of Sigismond, and it was now intimated to him by a message from the court that it might be possible to inflict a severe blow upon the Swedes, before their monarch could arrive to throw the weight of his superior genius and example into the scale. An efficient aid was at the same time daily expected from the Emperor Ferdinand, who had permitted a body of his own troops to serve pretendedly as mercenaries in the Polish army, although the Imperial Eagle was openly displayed on their banners. Coniecpoliski, therefore, recommenced hostilities, before the severities of a rigorous winter had subsided; and, after collecting his forces, fell suddenly upon Pautzke, which, although a town of inconsiderable size, was of the greatest service to the Swedes towards completing the investment of Dantzic on the west. In this place the Commandant Nicholas Horn and 400 men, who composed his garrison, after a gallant defence, were obliged to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war. The Polish general next proceeded against a body of 8000 Germans, which he understood was marching to reinforce the Swedish

armies, under the Colonels Streif and Teuffel, the former distinguished as having commanded the cavalry of the right wing in the army of the Elector Palatine at the battle of Prague. The troops thus unexpectedly attacked, retired to Hammerstein through defiles supposed to be impassable to the cavalry of the enemy; but if they had reckoned upon making their escape by this movement, they were speedily undeceived by the appearance of the whole Polish army, which had succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties of the country, and now threatened to invest them in the town. The only resource left was to accept of a capitulation offered them, by which they were allowed to effect their retreat in safety, on condition of entering into an engagement not to serve against Poland for the space of two years to come. Flushed by these successes, Coniecpoliski was preparing to carry on his offensive preparations on a more extensive scale, when he was informed of the approach of the King of Sweden, who, after having been long detained by contrary winds, had at length landed in Prussia, with considerable reinforcements.

CHAPTER V.

Preparations for the investment of Dantzic—Gustavus wounded—Coniecpoliski approaches the quarters of the Swedes—Severe skirmish between the two armies—The King receives a second wound—Defeat of the Swedish Fleet under Stiernskiöld—Gustavus recruits his Navy—Capture of a Dantzic Squadron off the mouth of the Vistula—The Swedes prepare to pass into the Lesser Werder—Novel kind of Artillery, first used by Gustavus Adolphus—Other improvements in the arms and discipline of his soldiers—Swedish Articles of War—Severity of Gustavus against duelling—Scottish officers in the service of Sweden—Coniecpoliski again defeated—Sudden rise of the Vistula, in consequence of which the Swedes abandon the siege of Dantzic—Gustavus advances into Lithuania—His successes—He despatches a body of troops under the command of Sir Alexander Leslie to the relief of Stralsund.

THE people of Dantzic, long ago warned by the proceedings of the Swedish armies of the danger to which their city was exposed, had not been idle in making preparations for their defence during the winter. Great pains had been taken in adding to the strength of their fortifications; and their navy was so far increased, as to give rise to a confident expectation of their being at all times able to secure supplies by sea. Thus prepared to make the best resistance which their ample means afforded, and in expectation moreover of speedy relief from the neighbouring army of Coniecpoliski, they resolutely awaited the issue.

The King of Sweden, on arriving at his camp near Dirschau, gave orders for concentrating several scattered detachments, and proceeded forthwith to take up a position more in the immediate vicinity of Dantzic. Being desirous for this purpose of becoming

better acquainted with the country around the walls of the city, he spent several days in examining it in person, and while thus employed, his too great neglect of his own safety had again nearly deprived history of some of the most striking events in her annals, and Europe of the benefits it was shortly to receive through his instrumentality. At the distance of a few miles above Dantzic, the Vistula is divided into two branches, one of which discharges itself into the Frische Haff, while the other flows into a gulf, to which the city has given its name. Upon the angle where these streams separate lies the village of Kesemark, near which a strong fort, called the castle of Hoefft, commands the course of the river to a considerable distance. The king, desirous of reconnoitring the opposite bank of the Vistula, had embarked in a small boat, and was imprudent enough to venture within musket-shot of the fortress, from the battlements of which he was immediately saluted by a shower of balls, directed against the vessel in which he was conveyed. One of these struck the king a little above the right hip, but having been fired in an oblique direction, after taking its course between the muscles and integuments, it passed out at the other side by a corresponding wound. Gustavus, however, who imagined he had been shot completely through the body, believed that his last hour was now come, and calmly prepared to meet his end. Without any appearance of discomposure, he ordered his attendants to row him on shore, and summon his chaplain and physician as soon as possible to the spot, while he employed the interval in such devotions as he thought called for by the near approach of death. On the arrival of the physician, however, the real nature of the wound was soon discovered, and after a few days' confinement, the king judged his cure sufficiently advanced to allow of his return to the army ;

but he had scarcely reappeared on the scene of action, when a second injury, far more serious than the first, renewed the apprehensions of his subjects on his account, and seemed to justify them in anticipating the most calamitous consequences.

On the 18th of August, 1627, Coniecpoliski pushed a considerably body of cavalry close to the Swedish lines, for the purpose of reconnoitring their position. These were speedily charged by several squadrons of horse, which Gustavus in person led out against them, and after a severe conflict were compelled to betake themselves to flight. The Swedes followed closely upon the fugitives, but Coniecpoliski had taken effective measures to protect their retreat. At the entrance of a defile through which the Poles were obliged to pass to rejoin the main body of their army, he had posted a strong force of infantry in a small village, which was carefully entrenched, and further defended by several pieces of cannon. As the routed cavalry began to disappear through the pass, a heavy fire of musketry and artillery was opened from the village upon the pursuers, who, warned by the sudden ascent of volumes of smoke in their front, and the destruction which began to be spread among their ranks, that their further career would be impeded by a dangerous obstacle, immediately drew up in expectation of additional orders. Gustavus, who from the sound of cannon in the direction the enemy had taken, at once conjectured what had occurred, was quickly upon the spot, followed by a few field-pieces, which he at once placed in position to answer the Polish artillery. He then dismounted, and with his perspective glass in his hand, advanced to examine more narrowly the post before him. Before he had finished his observation, however, a random shot discharged from the village took effect in his shoulder and prostrated him upon

the earth, jarring his right arm at the same time so severely, that he at first believed it had been carried off by a cannon ball. The wound, when examined, was found to be of a most dangerous description, since the bullet had passed close beneath the clavicle, and within two fingers' breadth of the windpipe; while, from the quantity of blood which the king continued to discharge from his mouth and nostrils, it was feared that some of the more important vessels had been injured, and that it would be impossible to stop the hæmorrhage. This accident immediately ended the battle. Gustavus was slowly conveyed to Dirscham, still bleeding copiously the whole way, to the consternation of those about him, who had placed a rude dressing upon the wound until better medical aid should arrive. As soon as the king's surgeon had taken off the bandage, and perceived the extent of the mischief done to his patient, he could not help bursting out into angry exclamations, repeating that he had long ago predicted the consequences of his rashness, and that his words were now on the point of being verified. Gustavus contented himself by replying, with a smile, in the words of the old Latin proverb, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*" We are also informed, that when the surgeon expressed his opinion that the ball had penetrated too deep to admit of extraction, he said, "It is well. Let it still remain, as a monument that my life has not been spent in inaction, or in a manner unworthy my station. A resolute mind, and a body unweakened by luxury, best become the character of a king." To Oxenstiern and a deputation of general-officers, who waited upon him a few days afterwards to prefer their request anew, that he would be more careful of his safety for the time to come, he entered more at length upon the necessity which is incumbent upon every commander, who wishes to gain the confidence

of his soldiers, to shrink from no danger which they are required to encounter ; and after thanking them for this new mark of their affection, he added, “ God has committed to my hands a charge which I must not be deterred from fulfilling either from fear, or love of repose. And what more glorious end could be imagined, than to fall while fighting for the honour of God and the benefit of my subjects !”

Amidst all the care and attention bestowed upon his recovery, three months passed away before the king was able to make another effort in the field. While still weak from the effects of the long confinement to which he had been subjected, he attacked and carried the town of Pautzke ; but this advantage was compensated in the estimation of the people of Dantzic, by a victory, which their navy gained nearly at the same time over a Swedish squadron cruising off the mouth of the harbour. The two fleets encountered on the 28th of November, 1627. After a long and sanguinary combat, Stiernskiöld, admiral of the Swedes, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and without any hopes of escaping captivity, attempted to blow up the vessel he commanded. The explosion proved fatal to himself and most of his crew, but his ship, without having sustained any very material injury, fell into the hands of the enemy, who towed it triumphantly into their port. Gustavus received the news of this defeat with some marks of impatience, and apparently little aware of the difference between naval and military operations, could not help expressing his surprise that a city of merchants should be able to dispute the sea with men who made a profession of war. He, at the same time, although admiring the rest of his conduct, testified the severest displeasure at the virtual suicide his admiral had committed. The subsequent recapture of Wormditt, which had again fallen into the

hands of the Poles, by assault, and the arrival of an embassy from England to invest the king with the order of the garter, are the only circumstances of importance which remain to be mentioned among the transactions of this year.

Sensible, at length, that little could be done against Dantzic, without first obtaining some advantage over its fleet, Gustavus exerted himself during the winter, at Stockholm, in refitting his navy, and preparing to assert his superiority on a new element. On his return to Prussia in the spring of 1628, he was accompanied by a fleet of thirty ships of war. These were met off the mouth of the Vistula by seven sail bearing the flag of Dantzic, which, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, long maintained a fierce and obstinate contest with the Swedish vessels. But neither skill nor courage on the part of the intrepid mariners, who thus exposed themselves, could counterbalance the advantages afforded by the overwhelming force opposed to them. Of the Dantzic squadron four ships were compelled to strike their colours, one was sunk, and the other two, seriously damaged in the engagement, only escaped by dint of superior sailing.

Immediately after this action, the reinforcements which the king had brought with him were landed, and sent forward to the camp at Dirschau, whither the king quickly followed them, and after reviewing the whole force under his command, gave directions for preparing to pass into the island formed by the two branches of the Vistula, and generally called the Lesser Werder. His commands were speedily obeyed; and as soon as the bridges which his engineers had been employed to construct were reported to be finished, the army in several divisions began to defile across the river, with their baggage and cannon, among which were included several

light pieces of a new construction, now for the first time introduced into warfare, and of which Gustavus Adolphus was unquestionably the first to make use, if indeed he was not, as some authors have asserted, the actual author of the invention.

The novel kind of artillery in question has only been described in general terms by contemporary writers. Those of later date have given a more minute explanation of its construction, but it is believed that a great part of their statement is founded upon conjecture alone. According to the most common account, a thin tube of copper was first prepared, of a width sufficient to receive a ball of four pounds weight. The part, intended for the chamber of the gun, was then strengthened by bands of iron and strong cords, and the whole afterwards encased by a thick cover of boiled leather, which as soon as it had become sufficiently hardened, was richly ornamented with gilding and blazonry. The weight of each piece amounted to about six hundred and fifty pounds, and when furnished with a light carriage, it required but two men for its management; while it was easily transported from place to place by a single horse. The advantage of such an invention must be obvious, when the cumbrous character of the ordnance of that time is considered; and when it is remembered, that field artillery was moved with so much difficulty, that troops were often prevented from an advantageous change of position, by a fear of masking the fire of their own batteries, which, once fixed by the judgment of the general, were for the most part intended to remain as he had placed them until the battle was decided. The Swedish pieces, on the contrary, were capable of being immediately shifted in any direction as circumstances might require, and in addition to being quickly loaded and discharged, possessed the further

recommendation of never becoming heated, however rapid the fire they might be employed to maintain. In the present day, when the practice with metal guns of small calibre has been carried to such perfection as almost to exceed belief, the fashion and material of these singular instruments of destruction may excite some surprise. There is no doubt, however, that Gustavus derived the most important benefit from their use on more occasions than one, and that he was so convinced of their efficiency as to retain them in his armies to the last.

But this was not the only improvement in the arms of his soldiers which the genius of the king had pointed out as deserving of adoption. He had long ago become sensible of the disadvantage of the defensive panoply by which the cavalry of his time, often sheathed in iron from head to foot, and defying the dint of musket or pistol balls, unless discharged close at hand, were rendered utterly unfit for those rapid and vigorous movements in which the chief use of horse consists. Among the Swedish squadrons a hat, or open morion, was almost universally substituted for the ponderous helmet with complete vizor and gorget, to which they had been accustomed; and the buff coat with stout leather gloves reaching to the elbow, for the cuisses and gauntlets, which during the sixteenth century were considered indispensable to the full equipment of a cavalier. The lance, which Spinola had termed the queen of weapons, was wholly abandoned, and the long musket shortened to a carbine, which, however, was rarely employed, since, as the cavalry of Gustavus was mostly composed of Finlanders, a race of men below the middle size, although well formed and active, and who were mounted on horses inferior in weight and bone to those bred in Germany, he did not wish to encumber them with superfluous

weapons. He also abolished the habit of skirmishing with pistols in front of bodies of horse, which was so systematically carried on, that the first rank, after delivering their fire, passed by a caracol to the rear, and were succeeded by the second, who made a similar discharge, and effected a retreat in the same manner. Gustavus trusted more to the weight and effect of a direct charge; and allowing his foremost rank only to make use of their pistols while in full career and immediately before the shock of the encounter, ordered the remainder of the combat to be determined by the sword alone.

As his principal strength, however, consisted in infantry, he reserved his chief attention to improving the discipline and efficacy of this kind of force. Before the time of Gustavus, almost all battles were decided by the success or failure of the cavalry on either side. The foot regiments, blended together in heavy and unwieldy masses in the centre of the line, manœuvred with great difficulty, and were equally unable to press forward to complete the discomfiture of a retiring enemy, or to effect anything towards recovering the day, if the horse which flanked them happened to be routed. Gustavus was the first to restore this most essential part of every army to its due importance in the field. Instead of forming his infantry in square bodies, he usually disposed it in two parallel columns, supported by reserves. Each regiment consisted of eight companies, and every company comprised one hundred and twenty-six men, seventy-two of whom were armed with muskets, and fifty-four with pikes. Two such regiments composed a brigade. The column was formed six deep, but did not generally present a continuous line, since it was broken into several smaller divisions resembling the cohorts of the Roman legion; while the several brigades were distinguished from each

other by a difference of colour, in the dress of the officers and soldiers attached to them. The advantage gained from the superior flexibility and power of this arrangement soon caused it to be generally adopted. From the Swedish armies it gradually passed into those of the other states of Europe, everywhere superseding the ancient method, which however was still retained by the Spaniards up to the battle of Rocroi, where, affording to the eloquent Bossuet* the imposing image of a tower, which constantly repairs its own breaches, it was finally abolished by the success of the great Condé on that famous and decisive field.

To this alteration in the disposition of his infantry were added others in the weapons with which they were supplied. The clumsy arquebuse-à-croc, usually propped by a rest four feet long, was superseded by the musket, which, from its lighter make, required no such support, and the bandeliers, or cylindrical powder-boxes, containing each a single charge, and slung round the body by a belt, exchanged for a leathern pouch filled with cartridges, similar to those now in use†. The handle of the pike, which had been made of a preposterous length, was considerably shortened, and the head manufactured of a different shape. Among officers of the infantry heavy armour was still commonly worn, especially in assaults, or such services as seemed attended with more than ordinary risk. Their offensive weapons, in addition to their swords, were usually pikes or partisans. As respects other points in the equipment of his troops, it may deserve to be recorded, that the King of Sweden was always anxious that their health should be as much as possible secured from the effects of the inclemencies of the weather by supplying them with

* Oraison Funèbre de Louis de Bourbon.

† Scheffer : Memorabilia Suecicæ Gentis.

warm and comfortable clothing. On the approach of winter, he gave orders that each man should be furnished with a dress thickly lined with fur, and took care to ascertain by personal inspection that his directions had been fully complied with. In all other matters connected with their personal comforts he showed no less interest. The Swedish troops in such respects afforded a striking contrast to the soldiers in the Imperial armies, who, in consequence of their late dazzling successes, were then considered the models of all others. Among these a ferocious negligence in dress and aspect was almost studiously cultivated, as a necessary sign of their profession. They delighted in ostentatiously displaying their armour rusted with rain, and indented with the balls of their enemies, as well as their tattered clothing and tangled locks, before the eyes of the peaceful and neatly-dressed burghers, among whom they were quartered; and awing them by these indications of hard service into the profoundest respect for their fierceness and prowess. This negligence, indeed, was not extended to their discipline, in which the most rigid exactness was required, and unsparingly enforced, but provided their weapons were in an efficient state, and their exercise performed with the usual mechanical exactness, little attention was paid either to their dress or demeanour.

It is, however, more by his attention to the tone of moral feeling and personal character among the troops he conducted, than by any superior management and application of the physical force at his disposal, that Gustavus Adolphus has justly obtained a renown superior to that of all other generals, either of ancient or modern times; and if too fond of the melancholy occupation of war, a charge of which, notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, he certainly cannot be altogether acquitted, it must be acknow-

ledged that he was desirous of softening its horrors as much as possible by infusing sentiments of moderation and humanity into the breasts of those about him. Wherever stationed, or in whatever service employed, the public worship of God formed one of the most important duties of the army under his guidance. At the first appearance of morning, each regiment, assembled by beat of drum, formed a circle around the chaplain who had been appointed to attend it. Suitable prayers* were then read, and a psalm

* Some of these, in propriety of sentiment and expression, may vie with parts of the sublime liturgy of the Church of England. The following specimen, selected from among many in use during the invasion of Germany, is translated from the *Arma Suecica* of Arlanibæus.

“ Almighty and Everlasting God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, we, thine unhappy offspring, beseech thee, in the name of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, so to govern the whole Christian church, with all its ministers, by the power of thy Holy Spirit, that they may increase unto the end in faith, hope, charity, and patience; and finally attain to thy salvation. Bountifully impart thy grace to all Christian princes and rulers, particularly to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to all their counsellors and magistrates, that they may govern their subjects, thy people, in conformity with thy will, so that peace, justice, and equity, may be everywhere established; and tumults, injustice, and evils of all kinds, may be banished and taken away.

“ In thy mercy regard our enemies also, and all who persecute us; and grant that we, as well as they, may seriously repent of our sins. Grant to them, to us, and to the whole Christian world, minds desirous of peace, that we may serve thee, O righteous God, in all piety and sincerity.

“ We beseech thee to comfort the afflicted, the poor, the sick, the suffering, together with all captives and persons dejected in mind, and those who suffer persecution or temptation. Grant that they may bear their cross with patience, and obtain a joyful and wished-for issue to their afflictions. Bless the earth also with increase necessary to the sustenance of our bodies, and keep from it all mischief and tempest. Above all, be present with us in this our journey of life; pardon our sins; and, in thy mercy, turn from us the punishment of our transgressions.

“ Especially we entreat thee to preserve the King our Sovereign from all danger both of body and soul; all our officers and com-

or hymn chanted by all present ; after which a short discourse was frequently delivered by the officiating minister. The children of the soldiers, whose presence in his armies the king always encouraged, that they might be trained under his own eye, and accustomed from infancy to the employments of a military life, were then sent to the school, which was regularly opened in a part of the camp reserved for the purpose. The rest of the audience, if no more important duties intervened, dispersed to pursue various useful occupations. During the remainder of the day a perfect order and regularity prevailed through the quarters assigned to the respective divisions of the army. It was only by the appearance of the arms piled in different directions, and the guarded palisade without, that the multitude they contained would have been supposed to be congregated for any other purpose than the peaceful performance of some of the ordinary transactions of life ; and the hardy soldiers, who had proved superior to the victors of a hundred fields, and whose cannon, first heard upon the shores of the Baltic, were ultimately to awake the echoes of the Swabian Alps, were often observed sitting quietly for hours, busied in the task of knitting, or weaving their own point-lace. At sunset the roll of the drum was again heard, summoning the several regiments to

manders of every rank, and the whole army of our fellow-soldiers. Bestow upon us, O Lord God, sincere minds and friendly dispositions, prudent counsels, a happy advancement, and a wished-for success in all our undertakings and actions, for the glory of thy most holy name, and for the peace, tranquillity, comfort, and welfare, temporal and eternal, both of our own nation and all who profess the true Christian faith. Show us a token for good ; that they who hate us may see it and be ashamed, because thou, Lord, hast holpen and comforted us.

“ We, thine unworthy children, beseech thee to confer these blessings upon us of thy fatherly goodness, and for the sake of the death and passion of thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee for ever. Amen.”

prayer ; and after the watch had been set, the armed host which had thus invoked the assistance of a safeguard far more effectual than the protection afforded by human vigilance, committed itself tranquilly and confidently to repose.

By the articles of Swedish discipline, profane swearing and blasphemous language were forbidden, under pain of severe penalties. The same restriction was placed upon the practice of gambling. All women of light character were prohibited from appearing within the lines, while insult or injury towards that sex, which, altogether guiltless of producing or contributing to the miseries of war, is often most exposed to their infliction, was met by prompt and certain punishment. The peasants, in that age of military licence considered as little better than beasts of chase, and frequently massacred by the lawless bands, who, after plundering their villages of everything worth carrying off, frequently amused themselves by perpetrating the most wanton barbarities upon the inhabitants, were protected in their persons and property by the edicts of Gustavus, which strictly enjoined a just payment to be rendered for every article furnished to his troops. Death was denounced against every one who should assault a burgher in his own house ; and when any number of his army were quartered at a distance from the main body, the king required a certificate from the chief people of the place in which they had been stationed, stating that their conduct had been marked by no violation of the rules of social order and propriety.

No less strictness was shown in suppressing the custom of duelling, which had become throughout Europe an evil of so enormous a magnitude, that the waste of human life in consequence of its prevalence was little less than could have been occasioned by the fiercest war. Every slight, whether unintentional

or premeditated—every action which could be warped by implication into an offence against the fastidious vanity of the day, which, displayed in childish and punctilious ceremonies, was as easily offended as it was implacable in its resentment—a careless word or an unguarded look—was considered sufficient cause for mortal enmity, and could only be expiated by the life-blood of the transgressor. Some idea of the extent of the mischief may be formed by an estimate presented to Henry IV. of France, by his minister Sully, in which it was stated that since his accession to the throne no less than four thousand of the nobility had perished in what, by a fearful perversion of terms, are generally designated affairs of honour*. This pernicious habit was spreading fast among the Swedes, when a severe ordinance of the king at once

* Memoirs of the House of Bourhon. See also Sully's Memoirs, and Lord Herbert of Cheshury, *passim*. A single extract from the latter author will be sufficient to demonstrate the light in which duelling was regarded by society in the seventeenth century, and is a striking instance of the power of fashion in sanctioning the most atrocious offences against all laws, whether human or divine. The scene is laid at a mask given by Margaret of Valois, queen of Henry IV. :—

“All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next the queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door, somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person; when he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, ‘C'est Monsieur Balagny,’ or, ‘'tis Monsieur Balagny;’ whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen, one after another, invite him to sit near them, and which is more, when one lady had his company a while, another would say, ‘you have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now:’ at which hold civility of theirs, though I was astonished, yet it added unto my wonder that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half gray, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain gray cloth. Informing myself by some standers by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of

arrested its further progress. A court of honour, composed of the principal officers of the army, was established, to decide upon those questions which, generally considered to be of too subtle a nature for legal disquisition, are believed to be more satisfactorily settled by an appeal to the personal strength or dexterity of the disputants. By this tribunal, a fitting reparation, by verbal apology or otherwise, was after a fair trial ordered to be made to the party aggrieved, but to send or accept a challenge, was a crime which, if detected, was liable by the code of Gustavus Adolphus, to no less a punishment than death itself. On one occasion he ordered the generals Todt and Wrangel, towards whom he had frequently shown marks of the highest esteem, to be committed to prison on suspicion that they were meditating an infringement of his law on the subject; and an anecdote has been recorded by a creditable writer, which sets in a still stronger light his thorough abhorrence of an absurd and murderous practice, which it would be well if all persons in the highest ranks of life exerted themselves equally to discourage.

Two Swedish officers, distinguished for their long services, and who had risen to considerable eminence in the army, had fallen into a dispute upon some trivial subject, which after many angry expressions, terminated in direct personal insult, and the mutual exchange of defiance. As they were well aware of the consequence of attempting to gratify their hostility by the violation of an express law to the contrary, they adopted the somewhat hardy expedient of him; it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour."

It is one among the many proofs of a retributive Providence occasionally displayed in this life, that the ruffian thus mentioned was himself soon after slain in a combat similar to those by which he had acquired so extensive a reputation.

petitioning the king to abrogate in their favour his prohibition of the only method of settling the dispute, by which both considered the wound inflicted upon their honour might be redressed. Gustavus, dissembling his indignation at such a request, and apparently moved by the earnestness of their representations, pretended a willingness to gratify their wishes, stipulating at the same time that he himself should be present as an eye-witness to the fair termination of the quarrel. At the appointed hour, the parties suitably armed and attended, presented themselves at the place assigned for their meeting, and were soon sensible of the approach of the king, who advanced at the head of a body of infantry which he immediately formed in a circle round the spot. After the necessary preparations had been made, and the two combatants were confronting each other with their weapons drawn, their attention was diverted for a moment, by the appearance of a sinister-looking personage, who, with a heavy sabre in his hand, walked into the ring and seemed ready to take an active part in the proceedings. "Do not be surprised, gentlemen," said the king. "According to the laws of your country, your lives are already forfeited in consequence of the offence to which you have endeavoured to make me a party. You will, therefore, take notice, that the instant either of you falls by the sword of his antagonist, the executioner, whom you perceive yonder, has orders to strike off the head of the survivor." It is recorded that the subjects of this address immediately threw themselves at the feet of Gustavus, and, struck with shame at their past conduct, entreated his forgiveness, which was granted on condition of their reconciliation and solemn engagement to refrain from all similar acts of disobedience for the future. The king took advantage of this opportunity, to declare publicly that he

would on no other occasion relax the severity of the edict against contests of this description. "It is my wish," he said, "to have soldiers under my command, and not gladiators. If any man is desirous of freeing his character from the imputation of cowardice in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, let him do so at the expense of the common enemy*."

Such were some of the regulations by which the Swedes, hitherto considered as of little importance in the eyes of Europe, were speedily raised under the commanding genius and example of their monarch, to a degree of military power, which bid fair to place them, at no distant period, in the position of the arbiters of its destinies. In their ranks, at this time, were found adventurers from all Protestant nations, whom the increasing reputation of Gustavus had attracted to offer their services in a quarter where merit was likely to be met with due appreciation, and experience in arms acquired under the most able guidance. Of these the majority consisted of natives of Scotland, who, finding little promise of employment for their swords at home, and belonging, in several instances, to families which, although poor, would have considered any attention to mercantile pursuits an indelible disgrace to any one connected with them by the ties of near relationship, had no other resource to obtain a livelihood than to wander abroad to seek employment in foreign service. Many volunteers of this description speedily rose high in the estimation of the King of Sweden, who was not slow in discovering the valuable qualities for which soldiers of their nation are generally acknowledged to be distinguished. Accordingly, the names of Sir Alexander Leslie, Sir John Hepburn, Sir James Ramsay the Black, Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, Monro of Foulis, and a host of others, not a few

* HARTE; MAUVILLON.

among them descended from fierce border chieftains, whose love of a martial life had been transmitted unimpaired to their posterity, are constantly occurring in the annals of the Thirty Years' War*. Colonel Robert Monro, who has had the honour of sitting to the unrivalled author of the Waverley Novels, as the original of Captain Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket, and whose work is one of the most curious and valuable commentaries upon the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, has given a list of no less than thirty colonels, fifty-two lieutenant-colonels, and fourteen majors, employed in the Swedish service in the year 1632 †.

A reinforcement of such auxiliaries, increased by the junction of a body of German troops to the number of 9000 men ‡, reached the King of Sweden while meditating the closer investment of Dantzic, and were of essential service towards the accomplishment of this design. Yet before it could be fully effected, it was necessary once more to encounter the army of Conieepoliski, which, swelled by recent levies, had again assumed a threatening attitude, and had approached near enough to be seen from the walls of the beleaguered city, with the full intention of effecting its relief. A spirited action followed, in which the Poles once more suffered a severe repulse. Three thousand of the vanquished remained dead on the field; fourteen standards and four pieces of cannon

* The communications of these officers to their friends at home, furnished much of the matter contained in the British Intelligencer, a work in four parts, which is supposed to have been edited by Sir Thomas Roe. This work contains an account of all the operations in Germany during the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, and for some time after his death, and deserves to be extensively consulted. From the strong tinge of party spirit, however, which pervades it, its statements are not to be received without some caution.

† MONRO'S Expedition, Part I.

‡ HARTE: Life of Gustavus Adolphus.

fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Coniecpolski himself received a wound which was at first believed to be mortal. No further obstacle now remained to prevent the Swedes from opening the siege of Dantzic in form, and preparations were accordingly made for the purpose.

All circumstances connected with the undertaking were now such as to encourage the king to make every exertion for the speedy possession of a place on the fate of which apparently depended the early or remote conclusion of the war. The Polish army, dispirited by one defeat after another, was in no condition to make any diversion of consequence to retard the operations of the besiegers. The citizens of Dantzic, who saw the rising grounds in their neighbourhood beginning to be crowned with the batteries of the Swedes; whose inland commerce, moreover, was altogether annihilated, and who apprehended nothing but utter ruin from a further continuation of their defence, began seriously to debate upon the policy of negotiating a surrender on favourable conditions, before the opportunity of doing so should be altogether lost: while the Estates of Poland were loud in their protests against the protraction of a contest from which no one substantial advantage could accrue to the nation. A circumstance, however, beyond the reach of human prudence to foresee, or of any ability or perseverance to remedy, suddenly intervened to restore Sigismund to fresh hope, and to disappoint his adversaries of a prize which seemed already within their grasp. The river Vistula, suddenly increased to an unprecedented extent by violent and continual rains, laid almost the whole of the works constructed against Dantzic under water, and compelled the Swedes hastily to retire from the ground they occupied, and to remove their camp to such a distance from the city, as indicated a virtual aban-

donment of the bloekade. It was evident that before the posts then lost could be regained, and the damage occasioned by the flood repaired, the season would be too far advanced to admit of a renewal of the siege. The King of Sweden, therefore, however disappointed he might feel at the unexpected frustration of a design so long cherished, at once changed his plan of operations, and reserving the reduction of Dantzic for a future opportunity, advanced by forced marches towards the Duchy of Lithuania, receiving the submission of several towns, as he pressed rapidly forward in his new course of conquest. Conieepoliski, who had given up all hope of resisting the Swedish infantry in the field, hovered upon the flanks of the invading army, and by falling upon its advanced parties, and those who were separated from the main body for foraging and other purposes, endeavoured to make the best use of the kind of forces in which his chief strength consisted, and to reduce the war to a series of harassing skirmishes, and combats of outposts. As the Swedes, however, had lately been joined by the Rhinegrave Otho Louis, one of the best cavalry officers of the time, at the head of 2000 cuirassiers, they were able to meet his irregular assaults without suffering much interruption in their progress. Lemburg, Strasburg, Schwitz, and Dribentz, were yielded with more or less resistance, and the Swedish General, Bauditzen, whose fiery valour was afterwards well known in Germany, was daring enough to penetrate to the very gates of Warsaw, with a lightly armed force, striking terror and dismay into the population of the first city of Poland. Gustavus, in the meanwhile, carried Massovia by storm, where he displayed his customary humanity during the fury of the assault, by throwing himself into the midst of the incensed victors, and rescuing a number of Polish ladies from outrage, at the same time severely up-

braiding his soldiers with their unmanly violence. These prisoners were shortly afterwards dismissed, upon their verbal engagement to forward a stipulated ransom to their captors. While the main force of the Swedes was thus employed, the division under Bauditzen was surprised and totally routed by Coniecpolski's cavalry, who after making their leader a prisoner, pushed forward to throw themselves upon the route by which the Swedes maintained their communications with Elbing, and posted themselves so advantageously as to intercept all supplies transmitted from thence to their camp. The king on gaining information of these movements, immediately set a force in motion to dislodge them. Under cover of a thick mist, he forded the river Druenna, along the banks of which a detachment of the Polish army had been stationed. These were put to flight at the first onset, and the Swedes following up their success, dispersed in confusion a large body of Cossacks and Croats, who were carelessly quartered in an adjoining village. The communication with Elbing having been thus re-established, Gustavus returned to his camp, with a large convoy of provisions, which had for some time been hindered from reaching him by the commanding position lately assumed by the enemy.

Amidst these operations, the year 1628 drew towards its conclusion. A much more important event, however, connected with this period than any hitherto mentioned has still to be recorded. The town of Stralsund, on the point of being abandoned by the troops of the king of Denmark, and hard pressed by the forces of the Imperial General Wallenstein, had sent a deputation earnestly entreating the aid of Sweden, and had received from Gustavus a body of Scottish auxiliaries under the command of Sir Alexander Leslie, by whose resolute valour it

was again enabled to defy all the fury of its assailants. As with this famous siege may be said to commence the actual collision of Sweden with the armies of the Empire, it is necessary to enter into a brief retrospect of the occurrences of several preceding years, that the relative positions of the parties thus suddenly placed in opposition may be better comprehended.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes and Origin of the Thirty Years' War—Treaty of Passau—Ecclesiastical Reservation—Other grievances complained of by the Protestants—Disputes concerning the Succession of Cleves—Evangelic Union—Catholic League—Commotions in Bohemia—Letter of Majesty granted by the Emperor Rodolph II.—He is forced to abdicate the Crown of Bohemia, in favour of his brother Matthias—Reign of that Prince—His Resignation in favour of Ferdinand of Gratz, afterwards Emperor—Rebellion under Count Thurn—Violence committed on the persons of the Imperial Deputies Martinitz and Slavata—War commenced—Frederick V. Elector Palatine chosen King of Bohemia—He is defeated before Prague—Severities exercised by the Imperialists towards the vanquished—War transferred to the Palatinate—Which is defended by Count Mansfeld—Christian of Brunswick appears in arms in Westphalia—Mansfeld defeated by the Bavarian army under Count Tilly, who take Heidelberg and Mannheim—Diet of Ratisbon—New League against the Emperor, headed by Christian IV. of Denmark—Count Albert of Wallenstein raises an army for the Emperor—His character—Battle of Lutter—Mansfeld is repulsed by Wallenstein at Dessau—Retires into Hungary—His death—Conquest of Holstein and Jutland by the Imperialists—Wallenstein besieges Stralsund.

By the treaty of Passau, signed in 1552 by the Emperor Charles V., at the instigation of his brother, afterwards Ferdinand the First, and through the immediate instrumentality of Maurice of Saxony, the Protestant princes of Germany were apparently raised, from the condition of an oppressed party, to

an equality with those who had despised their increasing influence and underrated their power, until it was too late to think of restraining either by open force. This convention, however, prepared under the influence of necessity, and accepted by the contending parties rather as a means of quelling present disturbances than as a firm basis of future concord, could hardly be expected to meet all the occasions of dispute which might afterwards arise among the members of a body politic, the rights and privileges of which, before intricate enough to confound the most subtle judgment, were now involved in still greater uncertainty by the introduction of religious distinctions. Both sides in a few years began to repent of their too great readiness to enter into a conciliation; the Catholics on the one hand imagining they had conceded too much; and the Protestants on the other, that they had not sufficiently insisted upon the various demands, which the vantage-ground they had once occupied would have enabled them to urge, with every prospect of their being complied with.

The enforcement of the clause generally known under the name of the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which, indeed had been left to a certain extent indeterminate, was the first cause of disagreement which interrupted the ill-adjusted truce between the opposite religions. By this provision in the treaty, it was enacted, that, although the church property already secularised by the princes who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg should be suffered to remain with its present possessors, the future apostacy of any member of the Empire invested with spiritual dignity, and in consequence holding title to any territory or domain, should be followed by the loss of the whole of such estates; which were in this case to revert to the Roman Church, to be bestowed as should afterwards be appointed. The Protestants, as soon as

their eyes were opened to the check which such an enactment would necessarily impose upon numbers who might be willing to become converts to their principles, if the change were not followed by the loss of their worldly property, were earnest in pressing the repeal of a restriction asserted to be in the highest degree unjust; while their opponents were neither deficient in the will, nor in the ability, to discover and insist upon various plausible reasons in support of its continued operation.

Another unexpected difficulty arose from the subsequent propagation of the doctrines of Calvin and Zuinglius. For proselytes to such opinions, no provision whatever had been made by the Treaty of Passau. Those whose faith was regulated by the Confession of Augsburg, were the only persons allowed to be comprehended within the meaning of that instrument. All other Protestants were considered to be still as liable as at any other period, to the pains and penalties inflicted upon those who heretically separated from the communion of the Roman Catholic Church; and remained exposed to its vengeance, whenever its ministers might think proper to inflict it. Yet the Calvinists in Germany had within a short time so far increased, as to form no inconsiderable part of its population; and one of the Electors of the Empire, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, had already placed himself at the head of the churches of this denomination.

During the reigns of Ferdinand I. and his successor Maximilian II., the personal characters of these emperors prevented in a great measure the evil effects which threatened to arise from such causes of dissatisfaction; but no sooner had Rodolph II. assumed the reins of government, than they were accelerated by still further aggressions*. Many causes properly

* SCHILLER: Thirty Years' War.

belonging to the jurisdiction of the Council of Spire, in which an equal number of Lutheran and Catholic judges were accustomed to sit, were transferred to the Aulic Council at Vienna, where, the judges being all Catholics, every action between parties of different religions was invariably determined in favour of their own persuasion. The City of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the Protestants had obtained the nomination of the principal magistrates, was required by this despotic tribunal to substitute a number of Catholics in their stead, and on its refusal to comply with the requisition, was at once formally proscribed. The Elector of Cologne, who had embraced the reformed religion, and still attempted to retain his possessions, was driven from his territories, in which the Bishop of Liege, a prince of the House of Bavaria, was forcibly established in his stead. Donawerth, a free city in Swabia, in consequence of a too violent display of popular feeling during a religious procession, was placed under the ban of the Empire, attacked by the Duke of Bavaria, and punished by the total abolition of the Protestant religion within its walls, as well as the loss of its liberties, by being reduced into the condition of a municipal town, and added to the dominions of its conqueror. In consequence of these and other instances of oppression, the Protestant princes, whose quarrels among themselves upon different points of doctrine had hitherto prevented them from acting in concert, were beginning to feel inclined towards an association for mutual defence, when their determinations upon the subject were hastened by a more palpable display of the imperial ambition in its designs upon the Duchy of Cleves.

In the year 1609, the possessor of the rich territory under this title, which comprehended the counties of Juliers, Berg, Cleves, Marck, and Ravenstein*,

* Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.

died without issue, and according to a facetious expression of Henry IV., leaving all the world as his heirs*. Among the crowd of competitors who appeared to urge their pretensions on this occasion, the Duke of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg were considered to possess the most satisfactory claims. The emperor, however, granted the investiture to the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, and began to make the necessary preparations for asserting his title by force. In this undertaking he was fortunately anticipated by the combined armies of France and the United Provinces, which under the command of Prince Maurice and the Marshal de la Châtre, took the town of Juliers in defiance of the Spanish general Spinola, and established the two princes in whose cause they had appeared, in full possession of their rights. Although the valuable prize in question was thus rescued from the stoop of the Austrian eagle, the heads of the Protestants in Germany, now fairly alarmed into unanimity by the daring ambition which was manifested by the attempt, were induced to form the celebrated Evangelic Union, of which the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, the Count of Nassau, and subsequently, the Elector of Brandenburg, were the principal members. On the other hand, the Duke of Bavaria, and the three ecclesiastical Electors of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne, united in the society called the Catholic League, to oppose their efforts. Saxony, the remaining electorate, still stood aloof from the Protestant confederacy, induced no less by the promises and intrigues of the court of Austria, than by a dislike towards the Calvinists, which no sense of the common danger was able to subdue.

These were but the mutterings of the distant tem-

* SULLY'S Memoirs, book xxvii.

pest. Various insurrections in Moravia, Hungary, and Transylvania, during the reign of Rodolph II., were indications of its nearer approach. It was in the kingdom of Bohemia, however, that the elements of discord were finally to break forth with a fury proportioned to the time during which they had been collecting.

Bohemia, it is well known, at the first propagation of the principles of the Reformation, afforded both a shelter and a favourable field of exertion to such as devoted themselves to the arduous and perilous task of exposing the corruptions of the church of Rome; and was distinguished by the honour of giving birth to some of the most eminent martyrs to that cause, which was doomed to pass through a long ordeal of persecution, before the talents of Luther, and the increase of knowledge among mankind, rendered it powerful enough to inspire respect into its adversaries, even where it was not altogether triumphant. Under the name of Utraquists, or Calixtines, an appellation conferred upon them in consequence of their insisting upon partaking of the Holy Sacrament in both kinds, the Bohemian Protestants at length, after a severe struggle, succeeded in obtaining nearly equal privileges with those of their countrymen who still adhered to the Roman faith. When Matthias, afterwards Emperor of Germany, had succeeded in wresting almost all the hereditary dominions of the house of Hapsburg from Rodolph II., and was proceeding to add Bohemia to his usurped possessions, that unhappy prince, in the hope of conciliating the Protestant party in his favour, issued what is generally termed the Letter of Majesty, by which the independence of the nation, long sacrificed to Austria, was apparently re-established, and converts to the reformed religion vested with privileges even superior to those once exclusively claimed by members of the

Roman church. This concession, however, came too late to be of much service to his cause, and he was moreover suspected at an early opportunity of an intention to violate it. Matthias, supported by the strong tide of popular opinion in his favour, was declared King of Bohemia, to the exclusion of his brother Rodolph, who, stripped of everything but the empty title of Emperor, did not long withhold the addition of this unsubstantial honour from his more fortunate and enterprising rival. Rodolph died in 1612, and was succeeded without opposition by Matthias, who soon found the task of acquiring power by submission to popular demands, a much more satisfactory labour to an ambitious spirit, than that of retaining it by similar means.

As Matthias had been chiefly assisted in obtaining the imperial dignity by the exertions of the Protestants in his cause, he was no sooner in possession of the object of his aspiring efforts, than he was naturally addressed by petitions in favour of the reformed churches in various parts of his dominions. These, however, he was no longer in a humour to grant, and his Protestant subjects had quickly cause to discover, that their temporal interests had been but little forwarded by a change of sovereigns. Like every other treaty devised by the ingenuity of man, the Letter of Majesty contained many clauses capable of different interpretations, according to the contending interests of the persons concerned. There were others which seemed to have been purposely left indefinite, until the superior power of one or other of the contracting parties should authoritatively determine their meaning. Matthias had already shown a strong inclination to construe several of such dubious points in favour of his own religion, and the Bohemians to give vent to those murmurs which are generally the precursors of resistance,

when the extraordinary steps taken in favour of his nephew Ferdinand of Gratz, threw down the only barrier which still prevented the dissatisfaction, long expressed by words, from issuing in open violence.

This prince was the son of Charles, Duke of Styria, and brother of Maximilian II. His early years were spent under the superintendence of the Jesuits, and his first actions displayed upon a smaller scale the bigoted and intolerant disposition which was afterwards productive of such disastrous consequences. In private life he is said to have shown himself neither destitute of humanity nor of many of the more honourable feelings, for which it is in vain to search in the generality of his public actions; and perhaps, his character is rather to be considered among the many instances of a feeble judgment perverted to injustice and persecution by the force of prejudice, than as stamped by any natural tendency towards oppression. Whatever the motives, however, which actuated his conduct, the results could not have been more calamitous. His arbitrary proceedings towards the Protestants in his hereditary dominions of Styria and Carinthia, in which the reformed religion was strictly forbidden and rigorously prohibited, had already drawn upon him the dislike and suspicion of the members of that communion throughout the whole of Germany, when Matthias formed the impolitic resolution of abdicating the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia in his favour. At a meeting of the Estates of the latter kingdom, this determination was carried into effect, January 6th, 1618. The deputies, surrounded by the imperial soldiers, and astonished at the suddenness of the proposal, manifested less opposition than could have been expected from their knowledge of the character of Ferdinand. He was elected King of Bohemia, on the express condition of confirming all edicts pre-

viously granted in favour of the civil and religious liberties of the nation, and more especially those sanctioned by the Letter of Majesty ; a concession, which, as it cost nothing more than verbal promises, was made without any appearance of reluctance by the new monarch.

The Bohemians had scarcely had time to reflect upon the probable consequences of their late Diet, than they began to repent of their too great precipitation. If no other reason for regret had existed, the policy pursued by Ferdinand at the very commencement of his reign would have been sufficient to justify all the compunction they felt upon the occasion. Every important office in the government was immediately filled by Catholics, and the courts of justice influenced by partial judges, who strained every point in favour of the royal prerogative. The recently erected Protestant churches were demolished, and the religious privileges stipulated in the Letter of Majesty, hourly violated. It was evident that the kingdom of Bohemia was to form no exception to the plan which Ferdinand had already carried into effect in the management of his hereditary domains. In this unpromising state of affairs, a spirited effort was made by Matthias, Count Thurn, to arrest the approaching subjugation of his country. On the 23rd of May 1618, he entered the palace where the Council of Regency appointed by Ferdinand during his absence, were sitting, and represented in vehement language the sense of the nation in general upon the late conduct of the king and his ministers. At the same time he presented, in the name of himself and his followers, a protest against all the acts of injustice by which the Protestant interests had been injured since the meeting of the last Diet. A furious altercation ensued, which was terminated by an act of unjustifiable violence on the part of the defenders of liberty.

Slavata, the Imperial Deputy and President of the Council, and Martinitz, Burgrave of Carlstein, both particularly obnoxious to the Protestants, and who were accused of having driven their vassals with hounds to the celebration of the mass, were precipitated from the window of the Council Chamber into the ditch below, a height of above fifty feet. The preservation of their lives is to be considered little less than miraculous, but as they happened to fall upon a heap of earth and rubbish immediately beneath the window, the actual injury they received was comparatively trifling. With this action commenced the Thirty Years' War.

As if the violence committed upon the persons of the Imperial Councillors had been the signal for a preconcerted insurrection, it was no sooner generally known, than Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, and Austria itself, became the field of a widely extended revolt. Thurn and his confederates, who were convinced they had now gone too far to recede, began to levy troops in all directions, and to form such alliances as might enable them to face the vengeance of the emperor, which, it was reasonable to apprehend, would not be slow in descending upon them. The insurgents were quickly joined by Peter Ernest, Count Mansfeld, who having commenced his military career against the Protestants in the Low Countries, proved afterwards one of the fiercest opponents of their enemies, and the most successful partisan leader of his age. But their principal reliance was upon Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania. This formidable chieftain had by degrees raised himself, from the station of a private gentleman, to that of an independent monarch. The Emperor, however, had refused to ratify his title, and as his followers professed the doctrines of the Reformation, he had the double motive of personal and religious enmity to encourage him to enter with

spirit into the war. It is to be recorded to the honour of the Emperor Matthias, that at the commencement of the contest, as if seized with compunction on witnessing the effects of his imprudence, he used every effort to induce the revolted to return to their allegiance by pacific means. The quarrel however had by this time become too serious to be settled by negotiation; and Ferdinand was earnest in exerting himself to prevent an accommodation. The armies on both sides accordingly took the field, the imperialists acting under the conduct of the Counts Dampierre and Bucquoi, both officers who had seen severe service in the Low Countries, but who on the present occasion could do little to stop the progress of the insurgents. Thurn and Mansfeld received the submission of almost the whole of Bohemia, and Bethlem Gabor bursting into Hungary at the head of an immense force, overran the whole of the open country without resistance.

At this juncture occurred the death of Matthias, an event which augured no speedy termination of the existing disputes; since the Bohemians, dreading the succession of his nephew to the dignity he had left vacant, were excited to make more strenuous efforts towards the re-establishment of their independence, before it should be exposed to additional danger from the increased resources which such an elevation would immediately array against it. As soon as the Electoral Diet had been summoned, Ferdinand prepared to set out for Frankfort as the representative of the kingdom of which he was still the nominal sovereign. The Bohemians, however, after first protesting against the validity of his vote, endeavoured to prevent his appearance at the meeting by force; and had nearly succeeded in accomplishing their object. Under the guidance of Count Thurn, a considerable party advanced to the gates of Vienna,

and entering the city without opposition, surprised the object of their hatred in his own palace. A deputation composed of sixteen of the leaders of the insurgents rushed into his presence in arms, and insisted upon his signing an agreement which contained an amnesty for past offences against his authority, and a formal acknowledgment of the ancient constitution. Ferdinand, although not possessed of the active courage which is essential to the conduct of an army in the field, was not without that cool resolution which is able to look civil discord in the face without emotion. He resolutely persisted in refusing their demand, although actual violence was on the point of being added to tumultuous clamours, and one of the deputies, with the exclamation, "Wilt thou not sign it, Ferdinand!" had already seized him by the vest, as a signal to his companions to have recourse to the more serious method of compulsion. In the midst of the growing tumult, however, he was unexpectedly rescued from the hands of the confederates by the sound of the trumpets of a regiment of Dampicrre's cuirassiers*, who were on the point of entering Vienna, preceding the march of a detachment of infantry closely following in their rear. The deputies, startled by this intimation of the vicinity of an enemy, of whose force they were entirely ignorant, suddenly withdrew in confusion, and retired to their camp without the city. Ferdinand, thus delivered from a situation from which he was fully justified in anticipating a very different issue, soon afterwards pursued his way to Frankfort, where his election was carried without much difficulty, and his coronation performed with the customary solemnities.

Since their efforts had hitherto proved uniformly successful, the Bohemians now began to deliberate seriously upon the necessity of strengthening them-

* Schiller, Thirty Years' War.

selves by the alliance of the Protestants in other states ; and, above all, by electing a sovereign in the place of Ferdinand, to whom they no longer considered themselves bound by any ties of allegiance. Frederick the Fifth, Count Palatine, was the individual selected for the honourable but perilous exaltation. This prince was possessed of many qualities calculated to ensure him the affection of his subjects, and had distinguished himself on many occasions by his zeal in defence of the reformed interests. As the son-in-law of James I. of England, and nephew of Christian IV. of Denmark, it was natural to suppose that he would not be left destitute of foreign assistance ; and in his character of chief of the Evangelic Union, it was expected that he would be materially aided by the united resources of that association. Frederick was not destitute of personal bravery ; he was generous, affable, and endued with a taste for external splendour and magnificence ; but he was at the same time thoughtless and imprudent, and totally unqualified to cope with the cool resolution and subtle policy of his rival. In an evil hour, and principally instigated by his princess, the unfortunate Elizabeth, who is represented as having stimulated him by all her influence to grasp the dazzling prize offered to his acceptance, he was induced to accede to the wishes of the Bohemian ambassadors.

The new monarch was received with enthusiasm by the brave people, by whose voice he had been summoned to the throne. His coronation was performed at Prague with great state, and the Bohemians present at the ceremony imagined, they at length beheld the day in which their independence as a nation was fully and permanently established. The accession of Frederick, however, and the hopes which seemed warranted by the occasion, proved but a momentary gleam of sunshine before the descent of the

tempest which was about to lay their cherished liberties prostrate for ever. James I., who was busily engaged in his visionary scheme of marrying his son to the Infanta of Spain, began the example of defection, which was soon universally followed. He was so far from entertaining a design of succouring his son-in-law, and so anxious to exculpate himself from all participation in his projects, that he protested his utter ignorance and disapprobation of the design before the Spanish ambassador, with vehement oaths and curses*. Denmark showed little inclination to take part in the quarrel, and the Evangelic Union, misled by the intrigues of France, undertook by the Pacification of Ulm to maintain a strict neutrality. Bethlem Gabor, the last ally who remained on the side of Bohemia, was at the same time induced by the policy of Ferdinand to assent to a truce for six months, and Frederick was left to maintain single-handed a contest, which it would have been difficult enough to wage successfully, even if all the aid he relied upon had been faithfully supplied.

In addition to the forces previously levied, the army of the Catholic league had now entered the field, headed by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, under whose tutorship Ferdinand is said to have imbibed those notions of intolerance in which he afterwards far surpassed his instructor. Maximilian was one of the profoundest politicians of his age; attached to the fine arts, in which he had made considerable proficiency; and considered an accomplished scholar, at a time when no limited attainments were necessary to ensure the title. He was at the same time arbitrary and bigoted, and imbued with a thorough hatred of the civil principles as well as the religion of the Protestants. At the head of an army amounting to 50,000 men, and having under his command many

* Von Raumer: History of the 16th and 17th Centuries.

of the officers whose names became illustrious at a subsequent period of the contest, he advanced, after effecting his junction with Bucquoi, upon the capital of Bohemia, in the vicinity of which the troops of Frederick were busied in entrenching themselves, when the Catholic forces appeared in sight. The engagement which followed, known indifferently as the battle of Prague or of the White Mountain, has been too often described to demand a particular notice*. Although Frederick himself exerted great spirit, and the courage of his general, the Prince of Anhalt, was displayed in a trifling success gained over the cavalry of the enemy in the early part of the conflict, the Bohemians were unable to stand the shock of the veteran bands, who assaulted them with all the advantages of superior discipline and experience. In a single hour, Frederick was deprived of his crown, and Bohemia of the freedom for which it had made so determined a struggle. Five thousand of the vanquished party were slain during the battle or in the pursuit, exclusive of numbers who were drowned while attempting to pass the river Moldau. The loss of the imperialists was estimated at something less than four hundred men.

No sooner had the fortune of the revolted nation been thus decided in the field, than the victors began to make a terrible use of their advantages. In Prague and in other cities, the scaffolds were speedily red with the noblest blood of Bohemia, while hundreds of the lower orders who had taken part in the insurrection expiated their zeal for liberty beneath the sword, or upon the gibbet†. Of forty-eight of the principal leaders tried before a special commission, twenty-seven were found guilty and condemned to

* November 9th, 1620.

† "Reliqui inferioris ordinis ferro aut laqueo finiêre."—Brache-lius.

death with the attendant horrible circumstances, then usual in cases of high treason. Immediately after these sanguinary executions, Ferdinand tore the letter of Majesty with his own hand, and burned the seal, as a sufficient indication of what his Bohemian subjects had to expect under his resumed authority*. The exercise of the Protestant worship, under every form, was at the same time abolished throughout the kingdom by a severe edict. In other countries the blood of patriots, like that of the witnesses to religion, has generally proved a seed of unfailing efficacy in producing the blessing for which the lives of its confessors have been sacrificed. Bohemia has unfortunately afforded an exception to the rule. From the consequences of the fatal battle of Prague it has never recovered, and remains to the present day the most subject to the absolute rule of Austria of all the provinces under her extensive dominion.

The vengeance of the emperor was now turned from inferior objects, to the person who had been the most conspicuous actor in the past commotions. On the 20th of January, 1621, an edict of proscription was issued against Frederick V., in which, together with all his associates, who had hitherto escaped the hands of the imperialists, he was declared guilty of treason against the empire, and sentenced to the forfeiture of all his dignities and possessions. By the same instrument, the task of reducing the Palatinate was assigned to the crown of Spain, as vested with the sovereignty of the circle of Burgundy, and to the Duke of Bavaria as head of the Catholic League. This act, which was a direct and flagrant violation of one of the provisions of the Golden Bull, then considered as the palladium of the Germanic Constitution, in which it was expressly declared, that no Elector should be deprived of his title and estate, until his

* Scbilller, Thirty Years' War.

cause had been previously heard by a General Diet of the Empire, and his condemnation approved by that assembly, opened the eyes of all Europe to the resolute ambition with which the house of Austria was advancing to absolute and irresponsible dominion. At present, however, so great was the terror diffused by the battle of Prague, that no steps were taken either by the Evangelic Union, or the other Protestant powers, whose interests were more immediately threatened, to prevent its full operation. Count Mansfeld alone, who was still stationed at Pilsen in Bohemia, determined upon confronting the armies of the League upon a new field, and his movements for that purpose were conducted with such skill and intrepidity, as ensured him the applause of all who were capable of estimating military talent. After effecting his retreat from Bohemia, he threw himself into the Upper Palatinate; but being unable to make head against the Duke of Bavaria, who was over-running that district with far superior numbers, he directed his march towards the Lower Palatinate, constantly eluding by his superior address the Bavarian general, who endeavoured to overtake and bring him to a general engagement. But by this time, Ambrose Spinola, at the head of the Spanish forces, had obtained almost entire possession of the country he had intended to relieve, and on hearing of his approach, moved rapidly forward with the hope of enclosing him between his own army and that of the League, which was still following upon his footsteps. Mansfeld, however, again effected his escape, and took up his quarters in Alsace, with the intention of refreshing his men, and of watching for the first favourable opportunity of renewing his attempts for the rescue of the Palatinate. This was not long in occurring. Spinola, on the expiration of the twelve years' truce between Spain and Holland, was recalled into the

Low Countries, leaving a force of about 4,000 men to preserve his recent conquests under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Mansfeld, upon hearing of his departure, instantly recrossed the Rhine, and commenced afresh his favourite system of harassing operations with so much effect, that the Spaniards sent repeated and urgent messages to the Duke of Bavaria, to hasten to their assistance, before they were driven from the posts they had been appointed to guard. At the same time, a scarcely less active partisan of Frederick appeared in the person of Christian of Brunswick, Administrator of Halberstadt, who had begun to imitate the conduct of Mansfeld on a smaller scale in Westphalia. This chieftain, who united much of the wild spirit of chivalry with the skill of a practised leader, after entering upon the war from a love of enterprise, was afterwards induced by a strong personal regard to the Queen of Bohemia, which he did not scruple openly to profess, to devote himself with double ardour to the sinking cause of her husband. He constantly wore her glove attached to his helmet, and many of his banners were inscribed with the singular motto, "All for God and You*," while others bore the significant sentence, "Friend to God, and enemy to the Priesthood†," one clause of which at least he was anxious not to falsify, by a systematic plunder of all the rich abbeys

* Schiller: Thirty Years' War.

† Ibid. Brachelius. The latter author relates a curious anecdote of the eccentric spirit of this enthusiastic adventurer. In an obstinate encounter with Gonsalvo de Cordova, which occurred after his defeat by Tilly, he was so seriously wounded by a musket shot in the hand, that its amputation was deemed indispensably necessary. The operation was successfully performed, but with a singular accompaniment of pomp and circumstance, and amidst the martial music of the trumpeters of the army, who were assembled round the tent, and commanded by their general to continue sounding the charge, until his medical attendants had finished the task they had undertaken.

and church lands, which lay in his path. Nor were these the only adherents whose assistance at this time seemed to render the cause of Frederick not altogether desperate. The Margrave of Baden Durlach was in arms, in Alsace, at the head of 14,000 men, ready to advance to his support, and his former ally, Bethlem Gabor, although his title of King of Hungary, which he had gained by a temporary occupation of Presburg, was not directly contested by the emperor, was too well aware of the crafty disposition of Ferdinand, to expect that he should long be unmolested in his new honours; and was prepared to recommence hostilities with Austria, upon the first chance of a diversion of part of its forces in another direction. Encouraged by these prospects in his favour, Frederick left Holland, where he had taken shelter since the ruin of his fortunes before Prague, and traversing the intermediate territory in disguise, presented himself suddenly in the camp of Mansfeld, more as a spectator of the renewed efforts about to be made for his restoration to his hereditary estates, than designing to take any active part in the command.

If his adherents had been opposed by a leader of ordinary abilities, their devotion to his interests might have been attended with a different result; but the Bavarian army was then under the entire disposal of the famous Tserclas de Tilly, who, after accompanying Maximilian into Bohemia, where his conduct materially contributed to the success of the imperialists, had since been elevated to the chief command. Before the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus as his opponent, Tilly was considered altogether invincible, a reputation which his invariable success in every battle in which he was engaged seemed in some respects to justify. His own party were fond of comparing him with Hannibal, and of pointing out the similarity which his military genius bore to

that of the Carthaginian general, in the subtlety of his designs, the vigour of his movements, his self-possession in danger, and his readiness in perceiving and availing himself of every error committed by his enemies. In a moral point of view, however, his character must certainly be considered as somewhat superior to the Carthaginian general, if credit is due to the delineation given by the Roman historian of the great enemy of his name and nation. He was remarkable for an ascetic abstemiousness from all external gratifications, and a personal disinterestedness almost unequalled among the more prominent personages of his age. His soldiers found in him a liberal commander, and those whose interests he maintained, a zealous and incorruptible ally. But he cannot be acquitted of the guilt of that cold and deliberate cruelty towards all who professed the Reformed religion, which has caused him to be recorded as one of the most terrible agents ever employed by the spirit of false zeal in fulfilling its most unjust and merciless requisitions. His personal appearance was far from prepossessing. His complexion was wan, his cheeks hollow, and his eyes of a wild and troubled expression. He was generally clothed after the Spanish fashion, in a green satin doublet, and wore a small hat with a long red feather, which fell down as low as his waist; and in his general bearing is said to have frequently reminded those about him of the sanguinary Duke of Alva, whom he was perhaps ambitious of imitating in manner and carriage, as well as in the severities by which that dreadful instrument of a no less formidable master had acquired so general a reputation. In his ordinary demeanour he was cool, distant, and reserved, with an aspect of imperturbable gravity, which was considered as the effect of his education among the Jesuits, by whom he had been brought up. His influence among those

of his own persuasion was greatly increased by strict reverence towards all the outward forms and ceremonies of the Roman Church ; and, apparently passionless himself, he had succeeded in obtaining an almost boundless influence over the passions of others.

By the exertions of Tilly, the Palatinate was soon once more cleared of the partisans of Frederick. The Margrave of Baden-Durlach was first defeated in an obstinate engagement. Count Mansfeld, who marched to his assistance, met with no better success. He twice offered battle to the Bavarian general, and was as often driven in confusion from the field. Christian of Brunswick, who advanced hastily from Westphalia to check the enemy in the pursuit of his allies, was encountered by Tilly before he could effect a junction with the remains of Mansfeld's army, and compelled to betake himself, with his companions in arms, into Alsace for refuge. Heidelberg was shortly afterwards compelled to surrender, after a brief show of resistance ; and the subjugation of the Palatinate was completed by the capture of Mannheim, after a vigorous resistance on the part of Sir Horace Vere*, who had been entrusted with the command of the garrison. In the former city, the favourite abode of Frederick, in which he had delighted to please the taste of his queen by every improvement of which the natural beauties of the place were capable, in addition to architectural embellishments erected at immense expense ; as well as to gratify his own inclination for literature, by numerous additions to the collection of books, for which it was celebrated, Tilly's soldiers committed the most barbarous and wanton ravages. The Electoral Palace was left little better than a pile of ruins, and the parks in its vicinity levelled to the ground, while the Bavarian dragoons made litter for their horses of part of the noble library, and sent the

* Brachelius.

rest to increase the treasures of the Vatican. The Protestants in the city and its vicinity experienced the usual treatment, to which they were obliged to submit, when vanquished, throughout the Thirty Years' War. On the side of Hungary, appearances were no less unfavourable. Bethlem Gabor, after experiencing a severe defeat from the imperialists under Bucquoi, was once more driven into Transylvania to re-model his ambitious plans, and make preparations for inflicting an early retribution.

The Emperor Ferdinand, freed from all apprehensions by this uniform course of victory, now proceeded to place something like a legal sanction upon the severities inflicted by his late edict of proscription. Frederick, induced by the exhortations of James I., who was still miserably deceived by the Spanish ambassador at London into the belief that the clemency of the Emperor would certainly be extended towards his son-in-law, in the event of his unqualified submission, openly threw himself upon the mercy of his implacable enemy, and awaited the sentence of a General Diet, convened at Ratisbon to determine upon his fate. He was not suffered long to endure the miseries of suspense. Although the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had both absented themselves from the assembly, a circumstance in itself sufficient to nullify any decree upon the subject of its deliberations, the power of the Emperor so far overawed the members of the Diet who were present, as to procure their recognition of the justice of the imperial ban by which Frederick had been stripped of the Palatinate. He was declared rightfully condemned to the forfeiture of all the fiefs which he held under the Empire. These were without reservation bestowed upon the Duke of Bavaria, who was at the same time inducted with due form into the Electoral College in his stead. The Margrave of Baden-Dur-

lach and Christian of Brunswick, who had both been included in the edict of proscription, were, with a little opportunity of defending themselves, involved in the same condemnation.

This act of arbitrary influence was productive of more serious effects than had probably been contemplated by the principal agents concerned in it. James I. of England, now on the brink of the grave, saw in the result of the Diet of Ratisbon a full development of the system of deceit by which he had been deluded into a quiet acquiescence with the policy of the house of Austria, and at once lent himself, with all the busy petulance of wounded vanity, to the project of forming a new and more powerful league against the Emperor. In the midst of this design, he was arrested by the hand of death, but his son Charles I. continued the negotiations on the subject which his father had begun. France, now under the vigorous management of Richelieu, and apprehensive from a recent attempt of Spain upon the Valteline of further encroachments on the part of that ambitious power, entered zealously into the project. The Protestants of Lower Germany at the same time, terrified by the severities which the imperialists were showing towards all who professed a faith contrary to their own in the countries which had recently fallen under their dominion, united in a formidable confederacy, of which the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, and Christian William, Administrator of Magdeburg, were the most conspicuous members; and, through the agency of Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, Bethlem Gabor was again induced to array the fierce hordes under his command, for an irruption into Hungary on a more extensive scale than any he had yet attempted. It only remained to seek for a leader of sufficient abilities to assume the chief direction of the whole war; and it

was for some time debated, both in France and England, whether the King of Sweden or Christian IV. of Denmark should be invited to accept the honour. Separate negotiations were carried on with both, and Oxenstiern was despatched as ambassador extraordinary to London, under the pretence of offering the condolence of Gustavus to Charles I. on the death of his father, but with secret instructions to listen to the terms on which the British court were willing to treat with his master upon the subject. By the representations, however, of Sir Robert Anstruther, the English envoy at Copenhagen, or perhaps from the circumstance that the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, was more immediately concerned in checking the progress of the Imperial power, and seemed to possess more direct facilities for conveying his troops into Germany, the preference was at length given to Christian IV. He was accordingly elected Colonel-General of Lower Saxony, and immediately commenced an extensive levy of troops throughout the district. Christian, like James I., had interceded with the Emperor in behalf of Frederick, who was closely connected with him by his marriage with his niece Elizabeth, and indignant at the conclusions of the Diet of Ratisbon, now hastened on his preparations for the war with a spirit which seemed intended to make up for his past inactivity. At a former period he had shown himself an able rival of Gustavus Adolphus, and from the extent of his talents, both in peace and war, as well as from his numerous personal and mental accomplishments, he has been justly reckoned one of his most illustrious contemporaries. He had now, however, embarked in an undertaking beyond his strength. The re-establishment of the liberties of Germany, and the humiliation of the house of Austria, was a task reserved for abler hands.

Ferdinand, speedily acquainted with the increasing

manifestations of hostility in Lower Saxony, was not backward in preparing to meet the gathering storm. As his messages to ascertain the cause of the levies carrying on under the King of Denmark met with replies exceedingly unsatisfactory ; and that monarch, after being joined by Christian of Brunswick, and Count Mansfeld, who, like the fabled Antæus, seemed only to have gathered fresh vigour from his defeats, had given a sufficient indication of his warlike intentions by advancing his army as far as Bremen, he at once despatched Tilly with the troops of the League to commence operations upon the Weser. An additional force of 20,000 men was soon afterwards sent to join him. This fresh army had been levied at the sole expense of the Bohemian baron, Albert de Wallenstein, who had seized the opportunity of offering his services, at the moment when Ferdinand was reduced to the greatest perplexity with regard to the means of raising men, and procuring the necessary funds to maintain them ; and thus entered upon the theatre, on which he was soon to attract the eyes of Europe towards his great achievements.

This individual was the son of a private gentleman of Bohemia, and was brought up in the principles of the Protestant religion, which, in consequence of escaping from a dangerous accident, he was afterwards induced to abandon for the Roman Catholic faith. After passing through the usual preliminary course of study, he travelled for the purpose of further improvement in France, England, Spain, and Italy, and completed his education by residing for some time in the university of Padua. In that city he formed an acquaintance with Argoli, an Italian astrologer of great eminence, and at once plunged deeply into the mazes of the vain and delusive science, to which he continued devotedly attached during the rest of his life, seldom undertaking any business of importance

until he had first consulted those luminaries, which he believed the mysterious indicators of the decrees of Heaven, with respect to the fortunes of the human race. During the Bohemian commotions, he was remarkable for his attachment to the cause of Ferdinand; and although not present at the battle of Prague, gained shortly afterwards a great increase of reputation by defeating, at the head of only sixteen cornets of horse, an army of 6000 Hungarians who had invaded Moravia*. By his marriage with his first wife, a widow possessed of the largest estates in Bohemia, he was raised to a condition of affluence; and after her death, by a second union with a daughter of the Count de Harrach, increased his already ample possessions, and was entitled to take his place among the principal nobility of the Imperial court. In a few years his revenues were so far augmented, that he was able to vie in the splendour and costliness of his establishment with the most powerful monarchs in Europe. His table was seldom furnished with less than a hundred covers, and none but a noble of ancient family was entrusted with the office of superintending his household. An armed guard of fifty men was kept stationed in his antechamber, and the ramparts of his castle were lined with sentinels like the walls of a regal fortress. Six barons, and as many knights, were daily in attendance upon his person, with no less than sixty pages, whom he maintained and carefully educated at his own expense. His servants were distinguished by the most gorgeous costumes †; and his chamberlains, like those of the Emperor, were equipped with chains and keys of massive gold, as the insignia of their office. The interior of his palace at Prague is represented as realising all the magnificence of Eastern romance. The stalls in his stables are said to have been built of marble,

* Gualdo : Vita di Valstein.

† Ibid.

and furnished with racks of polished steel ; and when he travelled, his suite and baggage were transported by a hundred waggons, while his court followed in sixty coaches, accompanied by fifty led horses. To this profusion of outward pomp, he added an unbounded munificence in rewarding such of his followers as appeared to have merited his favour. His least presents amounted to a thousand crowns, and frequently far exceeded that sum. On one occasion he bestowed two thousand crowns on Isolani, the celebrated general of the Croats—and on hearing that the whole had been lost the same evening at play, replaced it the next day with an equal gift. With him prompt obedience was sure of meeting with an immediate recompense ; and as an instance of his regard for respect shown towards him in trifles, it is mentioned that, after issuing an order forbidding any scarfs to be worn by his officers, but such as were plain, and of a scarlet colour, he rewarded with a colonel's commission a captain of cavalry, who in his presence divested himself of a rich scarf, adorned with embroidery, and trampled it under his feet, in token of his obedience to the ordinance. But if his liberality towards those about him was such as to ensure their ready obedience to his commands, they were no less deterred from disobeying him by the prompt and terrible punishment which immediately followed every detection of a neglect of duty. " Hang me yon brute," was his laconic sentence of condemnation ; and the mandate of death was executed without delay upon the spot. He is accused of having thus summarily put to death one of his pages who had been so unfortunate as to wake him somewhat earlier than the time appointed. This anecdote is probably an exaggerated calumny of his enemies ; but if every other evidence were wanting of the heartless severity of his disposition, it would be abundantly proved by the

cruel and sanguinary executions among his soldiers, which took place under his direction after his defeat on the plains of Lutzen.

The person of this hasty and despotic arbiter of life and death was above the middle height. His eyes were small, but quick and penetrating, and his features of a stern and repulsive expression. His manners were in the highest degree haughty and formal*. Master of two of the most powerful agents which regulate the conduct of mankind, avarice and fear, he thought it unnecessary to attach them to his interests by affection, and perhaps felt too much contempt for them generally, to descend to employ the influence of such a feeling. Accordingly, although surrounded by many instruments blindly devoted to his will, he was without a single friend. Even with those who were considered to enjoy his greatest familiarity, he seldom entered into a continued conversation; and his love of solitude was frequently shown by his secluding himself from general observation for days together, in company with his astrologer, Baptista Seni, either for the purpose of interrogating the stars with respect to his future destinies, or of pursuing his dark and subtle policy by a closer meditation upon the events which were passing around him, than a firm reliance on his favourite study

* The character of Wallenstein is briefly but admirably described in the *Mémoires du Maréchal de Grammont*:—"Ce Walstein était vaillant et judicieux à la guerre, admirable à lever et à faire subsister les armées, sévère à punir les soldats, prodigue à les récompenser, pourtant avec choix et dessein; toujours ferme contre malheur, civil et affable dans le besoin, d'ailleurs orgueilleux et fier au delà toute imagination; ambitieux de la gloire d'autrui, jaloux de la sienne, implacable dans la haine, prompt à la colère, cruel dans la vengeance: plein d'ostentation, libéral à l'excès lorsqu'il s'agissait de sa gloire, et de se faire des créatures pour parvenir à ses fins. En un mot, Walstein était un de ces hommes nés pour commander aux autres, et pour donner beaucoup de crainte à son maître, quelque puissant qu'il pût être."

might appear to render needful. During these seasons he showed a nervous horror of every sound, which might disturb his mental abstractions. The streets near his castle were barricaded with strong bars and chains, and sentinels purposely employed to preserve an uninterrupted silence; while all the officers admitted to an audience were obliged to twist silk around the rowels of their spurs, before they were suffered to enter into the presence of their general. By this singular conduct, as well as by the air of mystery which pervaded his whole demeanour, he acquired among the vulgar the reputation of being in strict compact with the powers of darkness; and it is probable that he purposely countenanced a report which caused him to be regarded with a deeper feeling of awe and terror. He was said to wear a charmed life, and to be invulnerable by lead or steel; while his own household gave out that his intercourse with the world of spirits was maintained by messengers who were not always careful of concealing their visits from the eyes of ordinary mortals!

It is not necessary to enter into a minute account of the operations of the ensuing campaign, in which all the talents and courage of the King of Denmark and his allies were wholly unavailing against the skill of Tilly, and the cold prudence of Wallenstein, supported by the disciplined valour of the veterans under their command. The great object of the Danish monarch was to penetrate into the Palatinate, and for this purpose he made the most vigorous efforts, at the same time carefully declining a pitched battle with his adversaries. This, however, it was at length no longer possible to avoid. The imperialists, under Tilly, encountered his forces at the village of Lutter, and after a short but furious struggle gained a complete and signal victory. The Danish cavalry, with their king, effected their escape from the field*, but

* Brachelius, Hist. sui temporis.

the infantry, abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, were either cut to pieces upon the spot, or forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Count Mansfeld, at the head of a separate division, experienced a disaster no less calamitous. With the intention of joining the Administrator of Magdeburg, he attacked Wallenstein at the bridge of Dessau; but was met with so terrible an opposition as speedily compelled him to change the position of an assailant for that of a fugitive. The victors gave him little time to rest after his defeat. He was driven successively through Silesia and Moravia, everywhere accompanying his flight by frightful devastations committed upon the surrounding country, until he entered Hungary with his shattered forces, where he hoped to effect a junction with Bethlem Gabor. But the operations of that prince had been as unsuccessful as his own; and finding the cause in which he had embarked utterly desperate, he determined as a last resource to offer his services to the republic of Venice. His adventurous career was now on the point of being terminated. In the vicinity of the town of Zara, in Dalmatia, he was seized with a fever, from which he was soon convinced his recovery was hopeless. His death partook of the wild and daring character for which his life had been distinguished. As he felt his end drawing near, he gave orders to his attendants to array him in complete armour, and breathed his last in a standing posture, supported by two of his officers; thus imitating the old Norwegian heroes, in common with whom he probably imagined that such were the only circumstances in which it became the spirit of a warrior to pass from its mortal tenement.

Tilly, in the mean time, had been no less active than Wallenstein in turning his successes to the best advantage. The King of Denmark, attempting to no purpose to make head against the imperialists, by

calling in his detached parties, was forced to retire across the Elbe. The pursuit, however, was still unslackened. Tilly pressing hard upon his track, and gaining one advantage after another, followed him without a moment's intermission to the frontiers of Holstein. The further operations of the imperialists were then entrusted to Wallenstein, who had by this time returned from Silesia, and by his skilful generalship, the king, after a series of desperate encounters, was at length compelled at Oldenburg, where he attempted a last stand, to embark with such precipitation, that another considerable division of his army was left behind and forced to surrender without firing a shot*. Holstein and Jutland, thus left undefended, were instantly inundated by the imperial troops, who further prepared, by collecting and equipping vessels in the ports of the principal Hanse Towns, to carry the war into Denmark Proper on the first favourable opportunity. Wallenstein, who for his important services had been created Duke of Friedland, and invested with the whole of Mecklenburg, which the emperor thus disposed of in consequence of the assistance lately afforded by its dukes to the Kings of Denmark,

* Monro, then in the service of Denmark, has left a concise account of this transaction:—"My colonell's ship being under sayle, layde up to the winde, attending my coming with the last fraughte, and then we followed the rout of the fleete, seeing the enemies' army drawn up in battell, horse, foot, and cannon, and our army of horse and foote opposite unto them; where I did see six-and-thirty cornets of horse, being full troopes, without loosing of one pistoll, give themselves prisoners in the enemies' mercy, whereof the most part took service. As also I did see above five regiments of foot, being forty colours, follow their examples, rendering themselves and their colours, without loosing of one musket. Judge then, judicious reader, though we were sorrio for the loss of our armie, if we were glad of our own safety: I thinke we were, and praised be God with no discredit to us or our nation; for none can be blamed that does what he is commanded."—*Monro's First Expedition.*

next proceeded to distribute his troops along as much of the coast of the Baltic as was comprehended within his new territories, as well as through a great part of Pomerania. While making this disposition, the importance of occupying the town of Stralsund had not escaped his notice, as likely to conduce greatly to the security of his possessions on the sea-side, as well as to afford great facilities for the meditated invasion of Denmark, from the vicinity of its port to the coasts of that kingdom. Stralsund was a free town under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania, and throughout the late war had observed the strictest neutrality between the contending powers. Yet, notwithstanding the absence of every pretext for such a proceeding, it was now summoned to receive an imperial garrison, a requisition which the inhabitants, who were well aware of the consequences of their compliance, respectfully but firmly refused. Wallenstein, without further ceremony, proceeded to reduce it by force, and commanded his general, Arnheim, immediately to commence the siege. But as the imperialists were destitute of a naval force to effect a blockade by sea, the King of Denmark had by this time hastened to its assistance, and thrown a body of Danish troops, together with a Scottish regiment in his service, into the town, by whose valour, Arnheim, after effecting a practicable breach in the works, was repulsed in several furious assaults. This unexpected and vigorous resistance inflamed the anger of Wallenstein to the highest pitch. In the first transports of his indignation he swore that he would make himself master of the town within three days, though it were attached to heaven by chains of iron*, and instantly proceeded to superintend the

* Schiller. Monro's Expedition. "Forgetting," observes the latter, quaintly, "to take God on his side, he was disappointed by Him who disposeth of all things at his pleasure."

operations against it in person. Notwithstanding this haughty boast, he succeeded no better than his lieutenant in the renewed attempts which were undertaken immediately upon his arrival. Months passed on and Stralsund remained unconquered, and though the Danish garrison was withdrawn in the midst of the siege, its place was immediately supplied by a Swedish and Scottish force, commanded by Sir Alexander Leslie, who continued the defence with equal resolution and success. This interference of Sweden was partly owing to the urgent entreaties of the citizens of Stralsund, and partly to the foresight of Gustavus Adolphus, who was apprehensive that his own dominions would materially suffer by the establishment of the imperialists in the strongest port on the southern shore of the Baltic. Under this impression he had commissioned the Chancellor Oxenstiern to repair to Copenhagen, and conclude a treaty with Christian IV., which had for its especial object the protection of the trade of both nations against any power which should manifest a design of injuring it. The defence of Stralsund against Wallenstein formed a clause in this treaty, which a long previous alliance with that town further justified the Swedes in undertaking.

CHAPTER VII.

Prospects of the Emperor Ferdinand on the defeat of Christian IV. —Excesses of the Imperialists under Wallenstein in Mecklenburg and Pomcrania—Treaty of Lubeck—Insults offered to the Swedish Deputies—Wallenstein sends ten thousand men to the assistance of the King of Poland—Edict of Restitution—General disgust throughout the Empire in consequence—Dissatisfaction of the Elector of Saxony—The Swedes obtain fresh Victories in Prussia—Advance of Arnheim with the Imperial Auxiliaries—Obstinate Engagement near Stuhm—Hercules de Charnacé arrives in the Polish Camp—He induces Sigismond to consent to a Truce for six years—Meeting between the Deputies of the Belligerent Powers at Altemark—Conditions of the truce—Charnacé persuades the King of Sweden to invade the Empire—Disputes between France and Spain respecting the Duchy of Mantua—Gustavus makes Preparations for his Expedition—Embassy of Count Falkenberg—The King of Sweden convokes the Estates-General of the kingdom previously to his departure—His farewell Speech, and parting with the Princess Christina—Arrival of the Swedish fleet off the Isle of Rugen—Devotion of Gustavus at his landing—The Swedes establish themselves in Usedom and Wollin—Forces at the disposal of the Empire—Prodigies observed in Germany.

IF the ambition of Ferdinand II. had been of an ordinary character, it might have been amply gratified by the prospect which presented itself before him, on the retreat of the King of Denmark from Germany. A war, which had been kindled almost at the gates of Vienna, and which had at one time threatened the utter ruin of his house, was now fast verging to a successful conclusion; and even promised to leave him in the possession of an absolute dominion, which few of his predecessors had dared to contemplate. Of the powerful confederacy formed against him, not a single member remained, with

strength or resolution to hinder him from making any use of his victories which he might deem proper. The Protestant League was humbled in the dust; and its leader, deprived of his own estates in addition to the crown to which he had aspired, driven a second time into exile, with little prospect of again disquieting the Imperial councils; while the establishment of Maximilian of Bavaria in his forfeited possessions and honours had given a powerful preponderance to the Catholic interests in the Electoral College. Count Mansfeld and Christian of Denmark, the two most able generals who had entered the field against him, were both removed from his path, and Hungary had been effectually recovered from the arms of Bethlem Gabor. The armies, however, which had been raised to encounter these several antagonists still remained, under commanders of singular ability and equal devotedness to his service, and might be rendered available to repress any symptoms of resistance to the yoke he was preparing against the liberties of Germany. If his attention was turned towards the condition of foreign powers, the review could be no less satisfactory. A kindred branch of the House of Austria was ruling with absolute dominion in Spain and Portugal, as well as in the kingdom of Naples; the Milanese, and the Netherlands; and although the characters of Philip IV. and his minister Olivarez were not such as to promise the most effective assistance which the resources at their disposal might supply, their alliance might at least be expected greatly to raise his importance in the eyes of Europe. England, already involved in the furious dissensions which ended in the great civil war, was little likely to take a deep interest in foreign politics. France, if its condition had latterly been somewhat improved by the able administration of Richelieu, was still bleeding from the

wounds occasioned by the disputes between the Catholics and the Huguenots, and far from having recovered from the effects of the languid government, under which, during the early part of the reign of Louis XIII., its resources had been suffered to run to waste, and its numerous factions to exercise their jealousies and enmities as extensively as they pleased, to the detriment of their common country. Nor was much to be apprehended from Holland, engaged in a tedious war of blockades and sieges with her old oppressors, and almost in the condition of an exhausted combatant, whose blows manifest rather the will than the power of inflicting serious injury. From the character and known abilities of Gustavus Adolphus, some opposition might have been expected in the direction of Sweden; but that monarch was yet contending on the banks of the Vistula with an obstinate enemy, who was expected to afford sufficient occupation for his arms, until the ambitious designs of the Imperial court should be fully effected. The only grounds for disquietude which might be supposed to interrupt in the slightest degree the complacency with which it was natural for Ferdinand to regard this prospect of general promise, were the ineffectual siege of Stralsund by Wallenstein, and the murderous loss inflicted by the defenders upon his army at every repulse. It was little anticipated that, from the walls of this beleaguered town, the tide of conquest was on the point of ebbing with a celerity even surpassing that with which it had advanced; and that the monarch, who was believed at Vienna to have found sufficiently able opponents in the Poles to divert his attention entirely from the affairs of Germany, was about to inflict such a blow on the colossal power, which had thus raised itself amidst the subjugation or apprehensions of inferior states, as must inevitably have proved its destruction, had not the errors of its enemies afterwards afforded it a

relief, which it would vainly have looked for in its own shattered means of resistance.

These events, however, were still hidden in the darkness of futurity. As yet the House of Austria seemed equally to defy the efforts of open foes, and the machinations of more secret enemies. It had been well if this extensive power had been accompanied with corresponding clemency towards those from whom nothing farther was to be apprehended. But Ferdinand was utterly a stranger to that generous feeling which scorns to take advantage of a fallen adversary. In his youth, moreover, he had bound himself by a solemn vow at Loretto to devote all his energies to the extirpation of the Reformed Faith, and the engagement was not now forgotten in the exultation of success. Accordingly, the first cessation from the anxieties naturally attendant upon the uncertain aspect of the war in which he had lately been engaged, was devoted to maturing a plan, the execution of which he hoped would prove the utter destruction of the reformed interest throughout the Empire. In the meantime, his armies, scattered through the north of Germany, oppressed in the most relentless manner the wretched inhabitants of the towns and villages in which they were quartered. Wallenstein, in particular, distinguished himself by enormous exactions throughout Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania*. Since the force he had raised was

* *Silesios tantâ miserâ pressit ut famelicis glandes radices gramina et alia quæ sub esum non cadunt cibus fuerint; parentes non raro liberos comederint, et frater fratrem famis amplius tolerandæ impatiens suspendo, necaverit, sibi itidem violentas manu es inferens.*

Miserrimè omnium Pomeraniam divexarunt pecuniam imperantes longe maximam, verberibus quo qui jussa detrectabant ad necem usque accipientes.—HEYLMAN, *Leo Arctous*.

The author of the *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg* states, that Wallenstein was said to have drawn, from the Electorate of Brandenburg alone, the sum of twenty millions of florins. Since this country was at the time friendly to the Imperialists, their conduct in hostile districts may easily be imagined.

entirely maintained from his own funds, he took care to make up for the expense he had incurred by levying heavy contributions on the slightest pretexts, which were so ruthlessly enforced, that the provinces in the occupation of his soldiers were almost reduced to deserts by the flight of the inhabitants, or by the extensive devastations of the famine and disease which followed close upon his merciless requisitions. The sufferings of many districts were still further increased by the presence of the Croats, who formed a great portion of Wallenstein's army; and who, accustomed to the licence of Turkish warfare, behaved with a cruelty and violence scarcely credible. Thus miserably oppressed, every part of Germany, subject to the avarice or insolence of the Imperialists, whether Catholic or Protestant, began to look anxiously towards the King of Sweden, as the only person left from whom relief could be expected.

Circumstances were already fast combining to bring about an interference which they had scarcely dared to anticipate. The Swedes, whose well-founded jealousy at the recent progress of the arms of the House of Austria has been already mentioned, were daily becoming more alarmed at the threatening attitude the Imperialists were assuming opposite their coasts; and apprehensive that the power of the Empire would soon be directed to the annihilation of their commerce, as a step preparatory to the invasion of Sweden itself. The former suspicion was amply justified by the conduct of Wallenstein, who had now assumed the proud title of Admiral of the Baltic, and summoned a Spanish fleet from Dunkirk to assist him in his proposed operations, at the same time establishing a close intercourse with the people of Dantzic, with whom the Swedes were openly at war: the latter apprehension was suggested by certain indications of hostility on the part of the agents of

the Imperial Court, which were too obvious to be mistaken, and which followed shortly after the alarm occasioned by the naval preparations of Wallenstein.

The early part of the year 1629 is memorable for the peace of Lubeck, by which Christian IV., after a few feeble efforts to divert the invasion threatened by the Imperialists, concluded his contention with the Emperor on somewhat better terms than might have been expected from the exhausted state of his kingdom. Historians have related that the king of Denmark was chiefly induced to sign this peace by the occurrence of a tremendous thunderstorm, during which a flash of lightning struck down the funeral trophies suspended over the tombs of the ancient kings in the royal chapel at Copenhagen*. There is little necessity, however, to have recourse to any very marvellous incident to account for his willingness to finish a war in which he must long ago have considered success to be hopeless. After many difficulties raised on both sides, the provinces of Jutland, Holstein, and Sleswig, were given up by the conquerors and restored to his dominion; while the Danish Monarch, on his part, tacitly abandoning the cause of Frederick V., of whom no mention whatever was made, promised strictly to avoid for the future all interference with the affairs of Germany, and to abstain from supplying the enemies of Ferdinand either with advice or assistance. By the treaty between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, in consequence of which Gustavus Adolphus had undertaken the defence of Stralsund, it was expressly stipulated that no engagement of importance should be entered upon with a third power, without the full consent of both nations. This clause was now manifestly violated, since Christian had sent no official information to the Swedes of his intention to conclude

* BRACHELIUS, lib. iii.

a peace with the Emperor. The latter had therefore some reason to complain of the slight shown towards them in the negotiations carrying forward. But an open insult was shortly afterwards added to their other causes of dissatisfaction. The King of Sweden, on hearing of the approaching convention, had sent an embassy to Lubeck to intercede with the Imperial commissioners for the restoration of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and to protest against the unjustifiable conduct of Wallenstein in his attempts upon Stralsund. These ambassadors, after experiencing a treatment little short of actual violence, were positively refused admittance into the presence of the deputies of Ferdinand, and precluded from every opportunity of delivering the despatches with which they had been charged. A second attempt, and a more earnest appeal, were attended with the same ill success, and the Swedes were ultimately compelled to return to Stockholm without experiencing the common civility of an audience.

Wallenstein, as if determined to push matters to the last extremity, followed this cool and studied contumely by a proceeding which might be considered as an open commencement of hostilities on the part of the empire. No sooner had the treaty of Lubeck been concluded, than, eager to revenge himself for the check his ambition had sustained by the resistance of Stralsund, the siege of which he had at length been forced to raise, after a loss of 12,000 men*, and careless how far the interests of his master were compromised by his conduct, he detached Field Marshal Arnheim at the head of 10,000 of his best troops, to effect a junction with Sigismond as soon as possible, and assist him in expelling the Swedes from Prussia, at the same time publicly assuring him that if he should be unequal to the task, he would him-

* Twenty thousand, according to the *Mercure François*, 1630.

self speedily appear to scourge Gustavus and his army back into Sweden. The king, on receiving intelligence of the destination of this force, sent immediately to Wallenstein to demand the reason of his unprovoked interference, and to request the immediate recal of Arnheim and the detachment under his command; a message to which the Imperial general condescended to make no other reply than, that the Emperor, having no immediate occasion for part of his forces, could not employ them better than in the defence of his friends. To this contemptuous answer, which, to a hasty temperament like that of the King of Sweden, must have been particularly galling, he added other expressions marked by the greatest insolence, designating the Swedish monarch, in his despatches to Vienna, the Snow King, who would infallibly be melted by the summer heats if he advanced farther southward. It is a singular mark of the prudence of Gustavus, and of his power in mastering the suggestions of his indignation, to the indulgence of which he was constitutionally subject, and sometimes to a degree which bore down all restraint, that he still contented himself with devoting all his efforts, for the present, to the prosecution of the war before him. The time for requiring satisfaction, however, was not yet fully come, and fresh wrong committed towards others were far to outweigh his own, before he could be induced to risk the safety of Sweden in so unequal a struggle, as a contest with the numerous armies and apparently boundless resources of the Empire, seemed likely to prove.

The season was now arrived which Ferdinand had long been anxiously expecting, for the purpose of pouring the hoarded vials of persecution, without fear or restraint, upon the heads of his Protestant subjects. Shortly after the convention at Lubeck, he

issued a mandate, by which all who professed the reformed religion were commanded upon pain of death to remove from the Austrian dominions. It was not enough that the outward manifestations of their sentiments were suppressed; a point at which his bigotry on former occasions had been contented to stop. No choice, but that between apostacy and banishment, was left to the objects of his hatred; and to show that he was in terrible earnest in his intention to inflict the extreme penalty he had threatened, he sent officers into several towns to erect gibbets in the market-places, as signs of what might be expected by any one who should venture to disobey the decree. Yet this proceeding, violent as it was, proved only the prelude to a more despotic exercise of power. The Protestants had scarcely time to recover from their astonishment at so unexpected an act of rigour, when the famous Edict of Restitution made its appearance to complete their consternation, by which, notwithstanding the most solemn treaties, confirmed, or at least unviolated, by every Emperor in succession, since the time of Charles V., they were required to surrender, without reservation, all ecclesiastical property obtained since the date of the Confession of Augsburg, whether consisting of bishoprics, abbacies, or priories, into the hands of commissioners appointed by Ferdinand, to be again restored to the service of the Roman church.

The whole of Germany was convulsed by this tyrannical edict, and violent protests were immediately made against it, not only by the Protestants, but by numbers of Catholics, who saw, in the unconstitutional step just taken by the Emperor, a manifest proof that he considered his dictate sufficient to cancel all existing laws; and knew not how soon what remained of their own liberties might fall a sacrifice, if they quietly submitted to such an arbitrary

extension of the imperial prerogative. Even the Duke of Bavaria, although at the head of the League, which had lately forwarded with so much zeal all the designs of Ferdinand, remonstrated loudly against his impolitic proceedings. The two Protestant Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony expressed as forcibly the sentiments they naturally felt in anticipation of the effects of the Edict of Restitution. The latter, who had hitherto uniformly espoused the interests of the Imperialists in opposition to those of his own persuasion, now fully sensible of the mischievous consequences of his selfish policy, began bitterly to repent the services he had rendered the Emperor; but even before the appearance of the obnoxious edict, a private grievance of his own had proved no slight stimulus in prompting him to a sudden change of policy. It has already been noticed that Christian William, Administrator of Magdeburg, was one of the foremost leaders of the confederation in Lower Saxony, which had sided with the King of Denmark in the late war. As a natural consequence, he had been placed under the ban of the empire, and condemned to the forfeiture of all his estates. The rich Archbishopric of Magdeburg thus became vacant, and the chapter in whose hands the right of election was vested, apprehensive of a design on the part of the Emperor to appropriate the dignity to his own family, resolved to anticipate him by choosing a son of the Elector of Saxony, in the place of Christian William*. Ferdinand, however, had in the mean time procured a bull from the Pope, conferring the archbishopric in question upon his son, the Archduke Leopold William, whom he proceeded to induct into the honours of his new preferment, notwithstanding all the protestations of the Elector of Saxony to the contrary. By this action another powerful

* BRACHELIUS, lib. iii. SCHILLER, Thirty Years' War.

enemy was added to the number of those already disgusted with the conduct of the Imperial House, while the Protestants were further encouraged by the addition of a new ally. With his assistance and that of other princes, who were daily declaring in their favour, they continued to urge their remonstrances against the Edict of Restitution with a zeal so strongly contrasted with the indifference of the Catholics, that Ferdinand, although some of the smaller states had testified their submission to the Imperial decree, thought it best to defer its full enforcement for the space of a whole year, and in the meantime appointed a General Diet to meet at Ratisbon, for the settlement of all differences, and the adoption of such means as should ensure the permanent pacification of the Empire.

While such was the state of affairs in Germany, the Swedes still continued the war in Prussia with increased success. Early in 1629 a battle was fought near the village of Gorsnof *, in which the Poles were completely defeated by General Wrangel, who, during a temporary absence of Gustavus at Stockholm, had been left in command of the army. Negotiations upon this were again established, and as usual without effect; since Sigismund, encouraged by receiving information that Arnheim was at length at hand with the succours despatched by Wallenstein to his assistance, suddenly returned to his former exorbitant demands, and broke off the conference. The King of Sweden reached his camp nearly at the same time at which the Imperial commander effected his junction with the army under Coniecpoliski; and since it was the desire of both parties to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion, the only manœuvring which took place was carried on for securing a favourable position in which to offer battle. The

* Mauvillon, vol. ii., 239.

Poles being at the time stationed on ground covered with underwood, and rendered difficult by numerous declivities, they determined upon shifting the scene of operations to the open plains, on which their cavalry might act with greater facility, and with the view of effecting this object, decamped from before Graudentz, and directed their march towards the Grand Werder, while the King of Sweden followed closely upon their rear, in the hope of falling upon them with advantage by the way. Accident, rather than design, gave rise to the battle which followed, and which, as it was the last considerable action in which Gustavus was engaged with the forces of Sigismund, was at the same time more furiously contested than any that had preceded it. The Rhinegrave, Otho Louis, who commanded the cavalry of the advanced guard, had been sent with two regiments to seize a defile, which it was anticipated that Coniecpoliski would endeavour to occupy. He arrived too late to effect his object, and found the pass already in the possession of the enemy; but seeing a division of Croats and light cavalry before him, he at once forgot the orders he had received to return to the main body without an engagement, if the design on which he had been sent forward should be frustrated, and after falling upon them with headlong fury, was carried so far in the ardour of pursuit, that he was assaulted in flank by an overwhelming force, and compelled to retire at full speed, with the loss of five standards and a considerable number of men.

The King of Sweden came up in time to cover his hasty retreat, but it was only at the expense of a general action; since fresh reinforcements were successively sent to the assistance of the contending parties, until the two armies at length found themselves fairly in presence. The ground on which the

battle took place, situated in the vicinity of the town of Stulim, and consisting of numerous sand hills intersected by hedges, afforded little opportunity for those skilful evolutions by which the fate of a contest is often determined with comparatively little loss to the forces engaged. A series of sanguinary combats accordingly ensued, more remarkable for the desperate valour of the soldiers and the personal courage of their leaders, than for any great display of generalship on either side. The King of Sweden plunging, as was his wont, into the hottest of the fight, encouraged his men by an example of self-devotion scarcely equalled by any of his followers. The marks of five musket-balls were found upon his armour after the engagement, and he was twice upon the very point of being made prisoner. He was delivered in the first instance by slipping the scarf, by which he had been seized, over his head, and extricating himself by violent struggles from the hands of those who were endeavouring to take him. On the second occasion he was preserved by the interference of one of his own captains, who shot dead a Polish dragoon, who was enforcing a peremptory summons to surrender, by placing a pistol close to the king's head. On the other side, the Imperial cuirassiers and infantry under Arnheim, showed themselves to be antagonists not unworthy of the reputation they had acquired. All their efforts, however, with those of the best troops of Sigismond, could not prevent the Swedes from remaining masters of the field. After the battle had raged for some hours, they were compelled to fall back to a position considerably to their rear, leaving the honours of the day and seventeen colours with five standards in the possession of their opponents. The Polish army, however, although it had received a severe check, was far from being totally discomfited, and boasted

of having taken eleven standards and as many pieces of light artillery from the Swedes. Arnheim sent the scarf of Gustavus, taken in the action, together with his hat, which had fallen off in the heat of the combat, to Wallenstein, as trophies, together with a letter, in which he took care to magnify the loss of the enemy, and to extenuate his own to the utmost.

If the issue of this obstinately-disputed field was not so decisively in favour of the Swedes as to constitute a signal victory, its results were at least equivalent to all that could have been anticipated from the most splendid success. Sigismond was now convinced, that, even with the assistance of the Imperialists, he could do little to stop the progress of Gustavus, who was daily in expectation of new reinforcements, while his own forces, already considerably reduced by the recent action, were still more enfeebled by an epidemic disorder which had suddenly broken out among them. In addition to this, the soldiers of Arnheim, returning to the old system of licence, to which they had been accustomed in Germany, wasted the country in which they were stationed to an extent which could hardly have been expected from declared enemies. The whole of Poland was filled with renewed clamours against a monarch, who still persisted, from a mere principle of obstinacy, in sacrificing the lives and properties of his subjects in a war which had long become desperate; and it was evident, that, unless the protestations of the nation were speedily listened to, a revolt among his own subjects would speedily be added to the other evils which were daily gathering around him. At this juncture, the arrival in the Polish camp of Hercules Baron de Charnacé, who had been sent by the Cardinal Richelieu to effect, if possible, a reconciliation between Sweden and Poland, decided his still wavering resolution in favour of an accommoda-

tion, on such reasonable terms as the King of Sweden would be likely to accept. The Frenchman, with the usual diplomatic talent for which his nation have always been justly celebrated, represented to Sigismond in such strong terms the folly of a further continuation of the war, the little probability that more extensive succour would be afforded by the Emperor, and the selfish policy of the House of Austria, which, by encouraging him to persist in his obsolete claim to the throne of Sweden, was evidently sacrificing his interests to its own views of aggrandisement, that the King of Poland at length expressed his consent to appoint a place of meeting, at which the respective deputies of the two crowns might determine upon the articles either of a solid peace, or at least of a truce of long continuance. The convention which finally ended the disastrous war in which Sweden and Poland had been reluctantly engaged for so many years, but which had notwithstanding been carried on with that resolution which might have been expected from the bravery of both nations, at length took place near the village of Altemark. The deputies on the part of Sigismond were some of the most illustrious among the Polish nobility; and on the side of Sweden, the Chancellor Oxenstiern, and the Generals Wrangel and Banner: the French and Dutch Ambassadors, together with the envoy of Brandenburg, and Sir Thomas Roe on the part of England, presented themselves at the same time in the character of mediators.

The conference at its first commencement was remarkable for the usual stiffness and attention to punctilio, which had distinguished former meetings for a similar purpose. The ambassadors advanced towards each other with a measured pace, carefully refraining from uttering a word which might be considered as the first salutation, and afterwards sud-

denly halting, remained for some time motionless and in a standing attitude. At length the Chancellor of Poland, an aged nobleman, bowed down with infirmities, and fatigued by this painful sacrifice to his dignity, ventured to break the protracted silence. "Since I perceive," he said, "illustrious Lords of Sweden, that the first act of politeness must proceed from us, be pleased to receive the customary salutation: we wish you a good day." Oxenstiern, probably ashamed at the indirect reproof conveyed in the words of the Polish Chancellor, immediately replied: "That we may not appear ungrateful for the compliment, most illustrious Deputies of Poland, we also on our parts, pray that on the present occasion you may possess sound judgments and friendly dispositions." After this exchange of courtesies, the whole assembly took their seats at the same moment, and proceeded to business with an earnestness on both sides which promised a speedy termination to their deliberations.

By the Treaty of Altemark, a truce was agreed upon between the kingdoms of Sweden and Poland for the space of six years, with a power of extending it to a still longer period, if it should be agreeable to the contracting nations. Sigismond renounced all pretensions to the Swedish Crown, and fully acknowledged the title of Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedes were also allowed to retain their conquests in Livonia, together with the towns of Elbing, Memel, Pillau, and Bransburg in Prussia. The remainder of their late acquisitions in that country were to be restored to the King of Poland and the Elector of Brandenburg. These were the principal features of a convention, in consequence of which Gustavus was left free to turn his attention to enterprises more important, and to the furtherance of a nobler design than had hitherto been presented to his attention.

From henceforth his abilities were to be transferred to a theatre, in which the support of the Reformed Religion, and the permanent establishment of the liberties of Europe, were to be the prizes towards which his exertions were directed ; and the plaudits of all civilised nations, the reward of his unexpected and dazzling successes.

As soon as the truce between Sigismond and the King of Sweden was fully ratified, Charnacé proceeded to disclose to the latter the more secret commission with which he had been charged. From the known character of Richelieu, it might easily have been conjectured, that no abstract love of peace or refined principle of humanity had induced him to send an envoy into a remote kingdom, to bring about a pacification between two monarchs whose jarring interests could in nowise affect the interests of the nation under his government. But France had now begun to revive more seriously the design of humbling the House of Austria, which had been the favourite project of Henry IV. In the present instance, the feeling was more immediately connected with a principle of self-defence. The dispute respecting the succession to the Duchy of Mantua, had by this time reached a point which threatened nothing less than a war between France and Spain, in which case the latter power might be expected to be backed by the full force of the empire. That the last observation may be more fully understood, it is perhaps necessary to observe, that the Duke of Nevers, as son-in-law to the last sovereign of Mantua and its dependencies, after entering upon his inheritance, was opposed by the jealousy of the Spaniards, who were unwilling to see a French Prince established in the neighbourhood of their Italian possessions, and who after entering his dominions in a hostile manner, besieged him closely in the town of Casal. Louis XIII. in answer to this attempt crossed the Alps in person,

and speedily compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege. He had, however, no sooner returned to France, than an army, under the command of Spinola, and assisted by the Duke of Savoy, poured afresh into the disputed duchy, and again invested Casal. At the same time, the dreaded interference of the Emperor began actually to take effect, in the march of a German army under Count Colalto, to assist in the operations of the Spaniards. Richelieu, who was determined at all hazards to re-establish the Duke of Nevers, now prepared for a second expedition into Italy; but before taking this step, which might produce a declaration of war from the Emperor, he resolved, if possible, to find sufficient employment for his arms in another direction. With this end, he had sent Charnage to Lubeck, to use all his arguments to prevent the King of Denmark from agreeing to the projected peace; but the French envoy having failed in this design, he was next directed to proceed to Prussia, and if successful in effecting an accommodation between Sigismond and the King of Sweden, to employ every argument to induce the latter to undertake the invasion of Germany.

Charnage was not backward in forwarding the designs of Richelieu. He represented to the King of Sweden, with all the eloquence at his command, the imminent danger with which his dominions were threatened by the establishment of Wallenstein upon the coast of the Baltic, and the presence of a Spanish fleet destined to act in full obedience to his commands; from which it was evident, that the Emperor meditated nothing less than the reduction of the last power which remained, after the defeat of the King of Denmark, to interfere with his designs against the Protestants in Germany. He reminded him of the desire already expressed by the Swedes, to enter at once upon a war in which it was certain that they must sooner or later be engaged; and the superior ad-

vantages offered by the plan of carrying on hostilities in the empire, in preference to awaiting the attacks of the Imperialists at home, while the Edict of Restitution, and the persecutions in Austria were fresh in the memories of men, and an extensive revolt might be again expected to take place, the moment the Swedish standard should appear to form a rallying point for the numerous malcontents, whom the late successes of Ferdinand, and the severe use he had made of them, had rather awed into inactivity, than disarmed of any portion of their former enmity towards him. The ambassadors of England and Holland earnestly seconded the reasoning of the representative of France, and promised large subsidies on the part of their respective nations. At the same time, the wishes of the Swedes themselves were every day more loudly expressed in favour of an open rupture with the Emperor. Thus importuned on all sides, the king, whose only hesitation had arisen from the uncertainty of foreign aid towards sustaining the expenses of a war, to which the revenues of his own kingdom were inadequate, determined, without further delay, to assume the part of the armed assertor of the liberties of Germany, which the voice of thousands of its oppressed people had long ago assigned him.

In considering the motives which finally induced Gustavus Adolphus to resolve upon his celebrated expedition against the empire, it is perhaps impossible to refuse all credit to the charge, that the temptations of personal ambition, and the wish of acquiring distinction on a field where so many before him had signally failed, were, to a certain extent, united with the more honourable inducements which he himself alleged, and possibly believed to be, the sole causes of his entering upon his hazardous enterprise. It is certain, however, that on all occasions, and almost to the last moment of his life, he protested that his invasion of Germany had been undertaken with no

other view than to place the professors of the religion towards which he showed so many marks of sincere attachment, in a condition of security from persecution, by ensuring the blessings of civil liberty to their possession.

An undertaking of such moment, however, was not to be lightly or imprudently encountered. The first care of the King of Sweden was to send an ambassador to ascertain the actual condition of the Protestant states of Germany, as well as their general opinion upon the design he was meditating, and the actual support they were likely to afford in the event of his making his appearance among them. It must not from this be supposed, that the interference of Gustavus Adolphus in the affairs of Germany had not been directly requested by the oppressed party in that country. So far was this from being the case, that, since the year 1614, no less than four formal appeals*, couched in the most earnest language, and signed by various Protestant princes and representatives of imperial cities, had been made to secure his protection; and there was little probability that their sentiments had undergone a change from recent events. The agent at present charged with the commission of re-establishing a communication with them, was Theodore Count Falkenberg, afterwards famous for his defence of Magdeburg—who was further instructed, first to spend a short time at Copenhagen, and endeavour to ascertain the policy which the King of Denmark was likely to pursue with respect to the impending war.

Christian IV. assured the envoy of his good-will towards the King of Sweden, but expressed his wish that hostilities should not commence until every effort had been made to settle the dispute in a friendly manner; and offered his services as mediator between Gustavus and the emperor. Neither party could with

* Mauvillon.

any decency refuse his proposal, and some slight attempts at negotiation took place at Dantzic; but these were so far from leading to a peaceful result, that they only served to embitter the hostile feeling on both sides, and to precipitate the contest they were ostensibly commenced to obviate. The Emperor did not deign to confer the title of king upon Gustavus Adolphus in his instructions to his deputies; and Oxenstiern, incensed at the insult, instead of appearing at Dantzic to meet the Imperial Commissioners, transmitted from Memel the ultimatum of the King of Sweden, of which the restoration of the Dukes of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania in full to their dominions, the abandonment of the naval preparations carrying on in the ports of the Baltic, the evacuation of Lower Saxony by the troops of the Emperor, and a satisfactory guarantee for the future safety of the town of Stralsund, were the principal features—terms which the obstinacy of Ferdinand could scarcely have allowed him to listen to, if the Swedish forces had been already in sight of Vienna; still less while an army of 170,000 men was ready to act under his directions, and while his confidence was raised to the highest point by the vain-glorious boastings of Wallenstein, who threatened to inflict such summary chastisement upon Gustavus on their first encounter, as should leave him little inclination for a second expedition across the Baltic.

During the absence of Falkenberg, Gustavus submitted his proposed plan of an invasion to the examination of Oxenstiern, and requested his opinion as to its practicability. The cool and wary temperament of the chancellor was at first startled by the boldness of the design, and rather disposed in favour of a defensive war; but at length, either apparently or really convinced by the arguments of the king, he expressed his full acquiescence in the project. A similar appro-

bation was procured from a council composed of the chief senators, to whom it was next submitted. Gustavus then proceeded to summon a General Diet of the Estates, in order that the sanction of the nation might be added to that of his ministers. In this assembly the proposal of an offensive war against the empire was carried almost by acclamation; and the deputies of every rank expressed their determination to stand by their king to the last, in his efforts against the enemies of their religion and independence. The result of the embassy of Falkenberg tended not a little to increase the confidence of the king in the resolution he adopted. Through him the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Margrave of Baden, the late Administrator of Magdeburg, and numbers of the inferior nobility of Lower Saxony, pledged themselves to Gustavus to join him upon his first arrival in Germany, or to assist the Swedish army by every means in their power. To this was added the information, that extensive levies were carrying on in Holland, under the express sanction of the government; and that the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg had promised to advance a considerable sum of money to cover the first expenses of the war, on condition of future payment from the proceeds of the mines of Sweden.

Gustavus now began to carry on his preparations with increased activity. By dint of constant exertion, a fleet, consisting of 30 ships of war, and 200 transports, was furnished with all necessaries from the different arsenals, and brought to an anchor near the city of Stockholm, where an army of 15,000 men was at the same time collected. The defence of the kingdom was entrusted to the national militia, and that of the recent acquisitions in Prussia to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who was stationed in that province with 10,000 select troops. The king next appointed

a council of regency to manage the affairs of the nation during his absence, the chief place in which was held by his brother-in-law, the Prince Palatine, John Cassimir, whom, as a necessary measure of precaution, he strictly enjoined not to suffer the queen to take any active part in the deliberations of the council. In order to secure the safety of his dominions on the side of Denmark, he confirmed, in a personal interview with Christian IV., the treaty of alliance already in existence between the two nations, and finally wrote to the Electoral College a detail of his grounds of complaint against the Emperor, requesting them at the same time to entreat Ferdinand to afford him the satisfaction he required. The electors answered in vague and general terms; and in their letter carefully avoided addressing him under his title as king, a slight of which Gustavus took but little notice when acknowledging the receipt of their communication. His real reply might be read in the immediate descent of Sir Alexander Leslie upon Rugen, an island in the vicinity of Stralsund, of which the king had commanded him to take possession. The imperial garrison, to whom its defence was intrusted, after an ineffectual resistance, embarking with precipitation on board their vessels, retired to Stettin; and the war between Sweden and the Empire was at length openly begun.

Nothing remained to prevent the king from following up in person this first demonstration of hostility, but the ceremony of taking public leave of the Estates of Sweden before his departure. A General Diet was convoked for the purpose, and appointed to meet at Stockholm on the 30th of May, 1630.

During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, his whole intercourse with this assembly, which most of his predecessors had found endued with a spirit sufficiently refractory, and at all times opposed to the

extension of the royal prerogative, had been remarkable for the unanimity with which compliance had been yielded to his slightest wishes, and the absence of all jealousy of his power on the part of the national representatives; a fact only to be accounted for by the many excellent qualities possessed by this great monarch, and his singular influence over the affections of all about him, whether the camp or the chamber of legislation was the scene of its exercise. His last meeting with the deputies of his people was distinguished by the same kindly feeling and confidence in his prudence, for which all the previous Diets assembled in his name had been remarkable. After the convention had been opened with the usual ceremonies, the king entered the assembly in full military costume, leading by the hand the Princess Christina, then only in the fourth year of her age. He commenced his address to the Estates, by reminding those present of the decree of a former Diet, by which his infant daughter had been declared his successor in the event of his decease without male issue; and desired a new act to be read confirming this order of inheritance and sanctioning the plan which he had designed for the guardianship and education of the princess after his death, in the event of his falling during the expedition in which he was about to engage. He then took his daughter in his arms, and recommended her to the protection of the nation in such terms, as drew tears from the eyes of all present,* after which the oath of allegiance to the future queen was taken by the several deputies in succession. As soon as this ceremony was finished, the king again resumed his address. He thanked all his faithful subjects for the attachment and fidelity they had uniformly displayed towards him, and explained at length the actual condition of Sweden with

* Mémoires de la Reine Christine.

respect to foreign powers, and the articles of the six years' truce concluded with the King of Poland. The remainder of this remarkable oration, in which he justified himself in regard to the existing dispute with the Emperor, and solemnly bade farewell to the several orders of the state before him, was couched nearly in the following words:—

“ Let no one imagine that I have undertaken this war lightly, or without sufficient provocation. I take the Almighty God, in whose presence I this day stand, to witness, that on entering upon it I am actuated neither by any private feelings of my own, nor by any natural inclination towards military enterprise. But the insults we have received have been many and often repeated. Our ambassadors have been treated with insolence and contempt: the Emperor has given assistance to our enemies, and persecuted our allies; and our brethren, the Protestants, who are groaning beneath the tyranny of Rome, are loudly-requesting that succour at our hands, of which, with God's blessing, they shall no longer be deprived.

“ With regard to myself, I am not ignorant of the extent of the danger I am about to encounter, and that it is far from improbable that I am on the point of setting out upon an undertaking from which I shall never return. On many previous occasions my blood has been freely shed, and although by the mercy of God my life has been hitherto preserved, I feel convinced that it will one day terminate upon the field of battle. It is with this view that I recommend all present to the protection of the Almighty, beseeching him to bestow upon you every blessing, spiritual as well as temporal, on earth, so that after this fleeting existence we may meet again in those heavenly and eternal mansions which he has prepared for us.

“ Lords and Senators of the kingdom, I pray in an especial manner for your welfare. May God be pleased to enlighten your minds, that you may continue to fulfil your important charges with success, and to the glory of that Being who will one day demand an account of all our actions. May He inspire you with wisdom in your councils, for the peace and safety of the kingdom. You also, remaining representatives of the nobility present, I solemnly commend to the Divine guidance. May both yourselves and your posterity prove worthy scions of those ancient Goths, whose reputation once filled the whole earth, but which is now nearly forgotten, or all but regarded with contempt by foreign nations. Continue to behave as nobly as you have done since the beginning of my reign, and be assured that you will thus secure, not only a lasting renown, but all other rewards which constitute the recompense of valour.

“ Gentlemen of the order of the clergy, permit me to exhort you to cultivate unanimity and concord, and to inspire among your hearers, whose hearts you may dispose at your pleasure, a love for all civil and Christian virtues, and a submission to the government of their superiors. Let your own example display those excellencies which you require in them, and may your lives be holy and irreproachable. Continue to preach the sacred Gospel; beware of pride and covetousness; be humble, modest, and charitable. It is thus that you will maintain your flocks in a peaceful and tranquil condition, and in that order so necessary to the salvation of souls and the well-being of society.

“ Deputies of the commons and of the order of peasants, may God bestow his blessing upon the labours of your hands. May he grant fertility to your fields; may he fill your granaries, and supply you at all seasons with unfailing abundance.

“I offer, lastly, my most earnest and unfeigned supplications for the subjects of this kingdom universally, whether present or absent. I bid you all an affectionate adieu, and it may be for ever, since who shall tell whether after this meeting we may be allowed to see each other again upon earth”——

At this point the king's voice, which had hitherto been firm and unflinching, was choked with the violence of sudden emotion. A pause of some minutes ensued, only interrupted by the sobs of the assembly, many of whom were compelled to give vent aloud to those feelings which all expressed by their tears. The king was the first to recover himself, and concluded the meeting with the following prayer in the words of Scripture, of which he was known to make frequent use on occasions of public importance :—

“Turn thee again, O Lord, at the last ; and be gracious unto thy servants. Oh satisfy us early with thy mercy ; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

“Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us ; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us ; yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it. Amen.”

The meeting of the Estates was followed by a splendid banquet, to which the king invited all the deputies present, mingling freely with his guests of all orders during the repast, and delighting them no less with the affability of his manner, than with the unaffected ease and intelligence of his conversation. He then prepared for his immediate embarkation, but his feelings were previously to be subjected to another severe trial. While he was engaged in giving the necessary directions to his officers, the Princess Christina approached for the purpose of delivering a little speech upon his departure, in which she had been

carefully instructed by her tutors. The king, whose mind was fully occupied by the busy scene before him, was not for some time aware of her presence, and the child, finding herself still disregarded, at length plucked him two or three times by the skirts of his buff coat, with the hope of attracting his attention. Gustavus turned suddenly round, and on thus unexpectedly beholding his daughter in the attitude of commencing an address, was unable to prevent his paternal feelings from displaying themselves in a sudden burst of uncontrollable emotion. He suddenly caught her up in his arms, and after bestowing repeated caresses upon her, hung over her for a long time in tears, as if willing to delay till the last moment the final pang of separation. Christina, although not much inclined by disposition to an indulgence of the melting mood, informs us that she was so much affected with the king's words and manner, as to weep incessantly for some hours afterwards, notwithstanding all the efforts of her attendants to console her. Long afterwards this pathetic parting was remembered, and classed with the other omens, which were supposed to have indicated the fate of her parent.

As soon as the embarkation of the stores and artillery was completed, and the troops destined for the expedition conveyed safely to the transports appointed to receive them, the king himself repaired on board the fleet, and gave the signal for putting out to sea. He was accompanied by a gallant train of officers, many already distinguished for their exertions in his service, while others were yet to earn their reputation on fields more severe than any on which the royal banner of Sweden had yet been displayed. The vessels which composed the armament left their anchorage, and stood out of the road of Elfsnaben in succession, amidst the thunder of artil-

lery from the forts on shore, and the acclamations of an immense multitude, who watched with eager eyes the sails of the departing fleet. The wind, however, which had at first proved favourable, suddenly changed, and the flotilla after vainly struggling for some time against it, was obliged to return to Middelsten, a port at no great distance from Stockholm, where it remained at anchor three weeks longer. It was not until the 24th of June 1630, a day already memorable in history, for the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg to Charles V. a hundred years before, that after effecting the navigation of the Baltic without accident, the transports and ships of war were safely moored off the small Isle of Ruden situated at the mouth of the Oder, and close to the two larger islands of Usedom and Wollin, the former of which had been selected as the point for the disembarkation of the army.

Gustavus was foremost among those who leaped on shore at Ruden. It was already sunset, and the fires, kindled by the imperialists upon the opposite coast, to spread the intelligence of the approach of the Swedish fleet, were plainly discernible. The conduct of the king, immediately after landing, was in strict conformity with his character. He threw himself on his knees upon the beach, and in a short but energetic prayer, which has been preserved by contemporary historians, expressed his thanks for the providential mercies afforded him during his late voyage, again calling upon that God "who searches the hearts and tries the reins of the children of men," to witness the purity and disinterestedness of his intentions; at the same time, earnestly imploring such an issue to his undertaking, as might most redound to the Divine glory. Perceiving his officers much affected by this act of devotion, he is recorded to have observed that sincere prayer comprehended at least half the means

requisite to ensure victory, and that the best soldier would always be found to be the most devout Christian.

After ascertaining that the Isle of Ruden was unoccupied by the Austrians, the king returned to his fleet, which he directed to be steered forward to Usedom. During the ensuing night, eleven regiments were landed and safely entrenched before daybreak*. There was, however, little need of the latter precaution. The Imperialists were far from entertaining the design of preventing the descent of the invaders, and after a few slight skirmishes withdrew to the continent, leaving both Usedom and Wollin in the hands of the Swedes. A formidable position was thus secured at the mouth of the Oder; and it became evident that the king had determined to act along the line of that river, in pursuing his future operations. The plan evinced his usual penetration and soundness of judgment, since, if successful, it would enable him speedily to strike a blow at the very heart of Austria; or at any rate bring him into those districts which had been most oppressed by the tyranny of Ferdinand, and might naturally be expected to burst out into a general revolt, on the first appearance of a deliverer. Yet it may be as well to take a short review of the forces which might, if necessary, be successively brought against him, before this design could be fully accomplished.

Pomerania and its coast were occupied by Turquato Conti, an officer of Italian origin, terrible for his lawless depredations and exactions, which had earned for him the name of the Devil among the common people of the North of Germany, as well as in Jutland and Holstein. The army under his command, and that of the Duke of Savelli, a soldier of similar or even of worse character, was reckoned at 16,000

* Swedish Intelligencer.

men. That of the League with Tilly in Lower Saxony, where William Landgrave of Hesse, still refusing submission to the emperor, kept alive the last sparks of revolt, amounted to at least 30,000. The force under the command of the Counts Colalto and Gallas in the Duchy of Mantua, might be calculated at the same number. Wallenstein's army, cantoned partly in Suabia, and partly in Mecklenburg, must have far exceeded it. 10,000 Spanish troops were quartered in the palatinate, and 8,000 in the Ecclesiastical Electorates. The Austrians in Bohemia amounted also to 8,000, and in Silesia and Lusatia to as many more; while the Archduke Leopold was stationed in Suabia with a separate force of 10,000 men. To all these must be added the garrisons quartered in the imperial cities and fortified towns, before a just idea can be formed of the enormous disproportion of force between the Swedish army of invasion, which at this moment could not possibly have exceeded 16,000 men, and that of the power which might be expected instantly to rise with collected strength to repel the daring aggression.

According to the authors of those times, signs and prodigies were not wanting to warn mankind of the sanguinary character of the struggle now on the point of taking place. In many parts of Germany, the clang of arms and the tumult of battle were heard at the dead of night, on wild heaths and in solitary valleys, far remote from human habitation. Armies were seen encountering in the heavens in regular array, marshalled by aërial leaders and with banners distinctly displayed. The usual portents of monstrous births, mock-suns, and showers of fire, raised the feelings of men to a still higher pitch of awful expectation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Assembly of the Diet of Ratisbon—Intrigues of Richelieu—General clamour against Wallenstein, and petitions to the Emperor for his dismissal—Policy of the Catholic League—Arrival of Gustavus Adolphus at Stettin—He is received into the town by the Duke of Pomerania—Disgrace of Wallenstein—Gustavus publishes his manifesto—Ferdinand writes to the King of Sweden—Torquato Conti falls back upon Gartz—He entrenches his forces—Treachery of Quinti del Ponte—The Swedes reduce Wolgast—Cruelties of the Imperialists at Passwalk—Lieutenant-Colonel Monro surprises Rugenwalde—Expedition of Gustavus Adolphus to the Duchy of Mecklenburg—Colberg invested—Torquato Conti repulsed in an attempt to recover Stettin—Gustavus defeats the Duke of Savelli—Dissolution of the Diet of Ratisbon—Letter from the King of Sweden to Oxenstiern—Torquato Conti resigns his command, and is succeeded by Count Schaumberg—Greiffenhagen taken by the Swedes—Schaumberg sets fire to Gartz and retires to Frankfort—Excesses of the Imperialists in the March of Brandenburg—Arrival of the Administrator Christian William in Magdeburg, and revolt of the city in his favour—Insurrection excited by the Duke of Saxe Lunenburg, who is defeated, and taken prisoner by Pappenheim—Tilly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial armies—Investment of Magdeburg, and preparations for the defence of the city.

THE long expected Diet of Ratisbon was opened on the 29th of June, 1630. Ferdinand was accompanied by the Empress Eleonora of Mantua, whose public coronation was to make part of the approaching solemnities. His son, Earnest Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and afterwards Emperor, and the two arch-duchesses Anna Maria and Cecilia Renata*, the Electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, Maximilian of Bavaria, in his capacity of Elector Palatine, and the Counts Tilly and Anhalt, attracted in turns the

* *Mercure Français*, vol. 16.

admiration of the populace by the number of their attendants, and the gorgeous liveries in which they were arrayed. But all were shortly afterwards eclipsed by the arrival of Wallenstein, preceded by 600 horse, whose superb and lavish equipment far exceeded that of the imperial escort itself, a circumstance which was not forgotten among the clamorous accusations about to be raised against him. On the part of foreign powers, Sir Robert Anstruther attended as the representative of England, to second the exertions of Rusdorf the minister of the ex-king of Bohemia, who waited for the opening of the Diet in the vain hope of softening the stern resolves of Ferdinand, with respect to his exiled master. A Spanish embassy presented itself to espouse the interests of the League, and Leon de Bruslart, as the deputy of Louis XIII. In the train of the latter was to be seen the Capuchin friar, Father Joseph, the well-known instrument of Richelieu.

France, indeed, was by this time reduced to look to the wisdom of her representatives at the Imperial Court, as the only means remaining to compensate for the discredit which had recently fallen upon her arms abroad. It was daily becoming more evident, that the cause of the Duke of Nevers was all but desperate in Italy. Louis XIII., with Richelieu as his generalissimo had, by taking Pignerol and Chamberri, in some measure avenged himself for the hostility of the Duke of Savoy; but almost the whole of his good fortune was comprised within these successes. The Spaniards were uninterrupted in the siege and reduction of Casal; nor could all the efforts of the French prevent Mantua from falling into the hands of the Counts Gallas and Altringer, who had for some time closely invested it. Either from the prevalence of sickness*, or treachery within its walls, the city

* Bisaccioni, *Historia delle Guerre in Alemagna.*

was at length taken by assault. The Austrians displayed their usual cruelty in the hour of conquest, and their rapacity and insolence to such an extent afterwards, as to alarm the State of Venice into a secret connexion with Sweden, and even to induce the Papal Government to express an indirect sympathy with the heretical arms, which were on the point of being moved against the Holy Roman Empire.

Richelieu was not ignorant of the estimation in which Wallenstein, now considered the principal favourite of Ferdinand, was regarded by the members of the Catholic League, and more especially by the Duke of Bavaria. The latter, one of the most ambitious princes of his age, although carefully concealing his designs under a mask of profound dissimulation, had long looked with feelings of hatred and jealousy upon a rival, whose services and devotion to the Imperial interests were at least considered equal to his own in the general opinion. The other electors, stimulated, in addition to the feeling of enmity, which those who have made rapid advances in the favour of courts are tolerably certain of exciting, by the consciousness of being completely outshone by the grandeur and wealth of Wallenstein, which had now become common topics of conversation throughout Europe, were additionally disgusted by his haughty and disdainful bearing in all his intercourse with the secondary powers of Germany, and his unhesitating assumption of superiority over those in possession of the most ancient dignities of the Empire. After a reciprocal communication of these sentiments, it was finally agreed among them, that before affording any assistance to Ferdinand, or entering upon any deliberation on the general condition of public affairs, the removal of the Duke of Friedland from the command of the Imperial army should be strenuously insisted upon, and the dismissal of the force under his direction, if

possible, effected. In pursuance of this object, the whole weight of the Spanish influence had been promised, and was confidently relied upon. The agents of France had been carefully instructed to aid the members of the League by every means in their power, in fomenting the general hatred against Wallenstein; from which the twofold advantage was expected, of weakening the power of Ferdinand with his own consent, by the loss of his most zealous general at the moment when an invasion of his dominions was on the point of taking place; and of securing at the same time the interest of a strong party in the Empire towards a settlement of the dispute respecting the Duchy of Mantua, on conditions favourable to France.

The first symptoms, from which the inutility of the present Diet to compose the existing differences throughout the Empire was inferred, was the absence of the two Protestant Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. Both were still highly incensed at the late proceedings in regard to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg; the former on account of the rejection of his son notwithstanding his appointment by the chapter; and the latter, by the imperial ban, which had deprived his uncle Christian William of that rich diocese. Instead, therefore, of obeying the summons of the Emperor, although it had been couched in the most urgent terms, they alleged that their dominions had been so utterly exhausted by the armies of Ferdinand, as to be wholly unable to furnish them with the funds requisite for their appearance at the Diet in a manner consistent with their rank, adding at the same time the most forcible description of the excesses committed by the troops of Wallenstein, and the misery occasioned by the insatiable rapacity of their general. Heavy accusations were added on the part of the Duke of Pomerania, who asserted that ten

millions of florins had been drawn from the principality of Stettin within the space of twelve months. The Duke of Wirtemberg, the deputies of Nuremberg, and those of several other cities, made similar complaints. At the same time a printed account, enlarging upon the magnificence observable in the household of Wallenstein, and the vastness and splendour of his new palace at Prague, alleged to have been built upon the site of a hundred houses, expressly pulled down for the purpose by his order, was industriously circulated to increase the popular odium. The Duke of Bavaria and his faction, with the ambassadors of France and Spain, were not backward in aiding the accusations of the Protestant party: and Ferdinand, suddenly assailed by remonstrances and invectives against his favourite from all directions; astonished at the unanimity with which his dismissal was insisted upon, and perhaps thinking that the sacrifice of Wallenstein might prove a means of conciliating the Diet to consent to the election of his son to the dignity of King of the Romans, one of the principal objects for which he had convoked the assembly, was, after wavering for some time in his resolution, at length induced to listen favourably to the recommendation of a step, than which nothing could have been more detrimental to his real interests.

In the mean time, the subject of all this obloquy, who had retired to Memingen on his first discovery of the combination formed against him, awaited, with an appearance of stern composure, the sentence of removal from his command, which he was in daily expectation of receiving. Before the scrutiny into his conduct was finished, intelligence reached the Diet, from the Elector of Saxony, of the landing of Gustavus Adolphus. The Emperor had made but little mention of the preparations of the King of Sweden in

his opening speech to the Assembly ; as slight notice was taken of his actual appearance in Pomerania by the Catholic Electors, who were too eagerly engaged in effecting the humiliation of a political rival, to pay much attention to the descent of a foreign enemy in a distant quarter.

While the Diet of Ratisbon was yet fully occupied with the intrigues of the French and Bavarian factions, the King of Sweden was actively employed in making preparations for transporting his army from the island of Wollin to the vicinity of Stettin, of which it was his intention to obtain immediate possession, before the Imperialists had time to fortify it against him. A violent storm took place, while his troops were on the point of embarking for this expedition ; but the soldiers, for a moment dispirited by the omen, were quickly restored to confidence by a favourable wind which sprung up immediately afterwards, and carried them so rapidly over the wide expanse called the Frisch Haff of the Oder, by which that river discharges itself into the Baltic, that in the course of two hours the armament was anchored beneath the walls of the capital of Pomerania. Immediately on the landing of Gustavus, Danitz, the Governor of Stettin, sent a drummer to inform him of his resolution to turn his cannon against him, unless he instantly re-embarked and retired from before the town ; a threat to which the king only replied, by expressing his sense of the indignity shown him by the employment of such a messenger, and requesting the governor, if he had any communication to make, to favour him by delivering it in person. After some hesitation, Danitz appeared at the head of a deputation sent by Bogislaus, Duke of Pomerania, then present in Stettin, and, changing his first tone of resolute defiance into supplication, earnestly entreated the king to choose any other point for entering the

Empire than the territories of his sovereign. To this demand Gustavus refused to give any definite answer, until he had first obtained an interview with the duke himself. Danitz was accordingly dismissed into the city to make known his resolution. While expecting his return, the king amused himself by freely conversing with the crowds who had flocked out of Stettin from motives of curiosity; and, after saluting their burgoinaster*, who was pointed out to him among the multitude, and familiarly taking him by the hand, informed him at some length of the reasons which had induced him to leave his kingdom, and his strong confidence in the ultimate success of his undertaking; a condescension which, with his engaging manners, quickly gained him the affection of the first auditory by which he was surrounded in Germany.

The evening was drawing on, before Bogislaus, surrounded by a strong body of his guards, and attended by the principal members of his court, at length approached the spot, where Gustavus was expecting his arrival. An animated conversation ensued, in which the king urged every argument to induce him to consent to the occupation of Stettin; while Bogislaus, terrified by the vengeance which had been inflicted upon the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and all who had hitherto set themselves in opposition to the enormous power of Austria, attempted, by every excuse which presented itself, to evade his demand. The king, however, was not to be discouraged by a first repulse. He turned to the counsellors of Bogislaus in attendance, and reminded them of the atrocities which the Imperialists had committed in their country; of all the wrongs inflicted upon the Protestants in other parts of the Empire; and of his own persuasion that he was cho-

* *Mercure François*, vol. 16.

sen by Divine Providence as the instrument for humbling the power of Ferdinand. He next professed his intention of evacuating Stettin the instant such a proceeding should be consistent with his safety, and clearly demonstrated the impossibility of its resistance in the present condition of its fortifications; at the same time pointing to the windows of the town, which were crowded with ladies, who were anxiously observing the scene below, and humorously observing, that the reduction of such a garrison as then presented itself would be a task involving but little difficulty in its accomplishment. In conclusion, he urged the necessity of a speedy decision in his favour, adding, "The night is fast approaching, gentlemen, and I am not accustomed to plant my sentinels in the dark; besides which, allow me to remind you, cousin," again turning towards the duke, "that every man who hesitates is not entitled to the reputation of a Fabius." Whether convinced by the arguments of the king, or, which is far more likely, overawed by the presence of the Swedish force, the courtiers of Bogislaus seconded this appeal with so much effect, that the constancy of the duke at length gave way. "Then be it so, in God's name!" he exclaimed, and ordered the gates of Stettin to be thrown open without further delay to the Swedes. The king contented himself for that night with placing a few sentinels upon the ramparts, and again repaired on board his fleet, observing, "That while his men were still afloat, it ill became a general to indulge himself on shore." The next morning, however, he disembarked his whole army, and instantly set about repairing the fortifications of the town. The plan was furnished by his own hands, and the soldiers, encouraged by the example of their sovereign, who laboured with his spade as diligently as the commonest pioneer, pursued their work with such good-will, that

in the space of four days, Stettin was in a condition to resist any force that could be suddenly brought against it.

By this time, the fall of Wallenstein had been fully effected at Ratisbon. Ferdinand, overcome by the clamours of the assembly, and partly influenced by an understanding that the forces of the League, commanded by Tilly, should be placed at his disposal to resist the Swedes, instead of those acting under the Duke of Friedland, was not only induced to consent to his removal from his service, but even to the disbanding of his whole army. The Baron de Questenberg and the Count Verdenberg, were immediately sent to intimate the resolution of Ferdinand to the disgraced favourite. Contrary to the general expectation, Wallenstein received the information with perfect composure, and after coolly observing that the Emperor was betrayed by the advice of evil counsellors, intimated his intention of immediately obeying the mandate. It is said, that his astrologer Seni assured him, on the authority of his favourite science, that a period would shortly arrive, when he would be requested to re-assume, with far greater honours, the post he was now about to abandon*. Whether influenced by his representations or not, Wallenstein, after a last act of munificence to the deputies who had conveyed to him the news of his dismissal, retired to Prague, and quietly re-assumed his favourite habits of gloomy and sequestered grandeur. The immediate consequence of his disgrace was, that numbers of the soldiers who had composed his army, flocked to take service with the King of Sweden, who readily received and incorporated them with his own troops; while he, at the same time, took care to prevent any of the consequences of their old habits of disorder, by compelling them at once to

* Schiller.

submit to the same rigid discipline, which prevailed among the rest of the forces under his command.

Gustavus dated from Stettin his famous manifesto, in which he, at length, formally avowed the motives which had induced him to enter the Empire in arms. This document was little more than a recapitulation of grievances, which he had already made public in his communication with his own Senate, and the Electoral College. After commencing with the undeniable truth that no power, however pacifically disposed, can remain at peace longer than is consistent with the pleasure of its neighbours, he proceeded to specify anew the various causes of offence given by Ferdinand to the Swedish nation, without any provocation on its part. He stated that his despatches to Bethlem Gabor had been unceremoniously seized and read before the Cabinet of Vienna, and a false construction placed upon their contents; that the war with Sigismond had been strenuously kept alive by the intrigues and open assistance of the Emperor; that throughout Germany it had been publicly forbidden to furnish the Swedes with supplies, and that the Imperial eagle had twice been openly displayed against them; first in 1627, when a body of troops in the pay of Ferdinand, and led by the Duke of Holstein, had been allowed to act in conjunction with the Poles, and more recently in 1629, when Arnheim had been publicly dispatched by Wallenstein, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king, to the assistance of the enemy. To these accusations were added the encroachments of the Imperialists on the coasts of the Baltic; the assumption of the title of Admiral of that sea, on the part of Wallenstein, an honour hitherto only claimed by the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; the insults offered to the Swedish deputies at Lubeck, and the sufferings to which the Protestants had been exposed through-

out the whole German Empire, as well from the excesses of the Imperial troops, as from a violation of the most solemn treaties formerly confirmed in their favour. The king stated in conclusion, that, compassionating the miserable condition of the people of Pomerania, with whom the Swedes were connected by the bonds of ancient friendship, and their sufferings under the calamities inflicted upon them for the last three years by the armies which were still occupying their country, he had determined to take Stettin under his protection, and with this view had concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the Duke of Pomerania. Amidst all his charges, Gustavus took care to confine his complaints to the conduct of Ferdinand and the generals acting under his immediate orders; obviously designing to place the war in the light of a quarrel with Austria alone, in which neither the members of the Catholic League, nor the other states of the Empire could with any justice participate.

Bogislaus, at the same time, wrote to the Emperor in justification of his conduct in admitting the Swedes into Stettin, and in entering into the treaty to which Gustavus had alluded in his manifesto. He stated, that the Imperialists having abandoned the Islands of Usedom and Wollin, which might be considered the outworks of his capital, it was no longer in his power to refuse an entrance to an army, which would instantly have effected it by force, had he made any opposition to the demand; while the city must in that case have been uselessly exposed to all the horrors of an assault. The Emperor, by the advice of his counsellors, pretended to consider the letter of Bogislaus as a piece of specious sophistry, which was meant to cover a wilful and premeditated revolt to the Crown of Sweden; and proceeded to treat him as a declared rebel to his authority, by sending immediate

orders to his generals, to give quarter to none of the Pomeranians who should be found with arms in their hands. This command was as remarkable for imprudence as for inhumanity, since Bogislaus was at once induced, in order to ensure his own preservation, to change the part he had at first assumed, of a person who timidly acquiesces in the exertion of a force which he is unable to resist, for that of an avowed and strenuous ally.

Ferdinand next forwarded a letter to the King of Sweden, in which, although he could not at the time have been ignorant of the appearance of his manifesto, and still less of his complaints to his own ministers at Lubeck, or of his appeal to the College of Electors, he affected the utmost surprise at the appearance of an army of invasion in Germany, which he accused Gustavus of leading against his subjects, without any of the communications usually entered into by civilised nations, before the commencement of an open war. He expressed his ignorance of having afforded the slightest pretext, since his accession to the Imperial dignity, for the present aggression on the part of the Swedes; and demanded, in accordance with a principle better comprehended by the jus-publicists of the present day, than in that age, when the laws of international justice were somewhat less accurately determined, what right a foreign power possessed to interfere with the internal Government of Germany, with which its interests could not possibly be connected. He concluded by warning Gustavus instantly to withdraw to his own country, before he was assailed by the whole force of the Empire, which, in the event of his persisting in his design, would be instantly sent against him.

Although this letter was dated from Ratisbon, on the 18th of August, it was not delivered into the hands of the King of Sweden until the 6th of Octo-

ber following. On receiving it, he is said to have observed to the messenger: "I shall not fail to return an answer to the Emperor, as soon as I have recovered from the wound which an eagle has lately inflicted upon my right arm." He probably alluded to the injury received in Prussia, from the effects of which he seems never to have entirely recovered, and for which he considered himself in some measure indebted to the interference of Ferdinand. In his reply which followed shortly afterwards, he contented himself with again stating the motives which had induced him to commence the war, and specifying the terms on which he was willing to consent to a peace. These were the same which had been before proposed, during the unsuccessful attempt to mediate a reconciliation on the part of the King of Denmark, and, as on the former occasion, could hardly have been seriously expected to attract the consideration of the Emperor for a moment. With this feeble attempt at negotiation, all diplomatic correspondence between the two parties ended.

The sword, however, had not been idle in the interval. Immediately after the occupation of Stettin, the Swedes, whose ranks were daily increased by the arrival of numbers, who, having formerly served in the armies of the Elector Palatine, Count Mansfeld, and Christian of Brunswick, resumed their arms with enthusiasm in support of the old cause, proceeded to reduce the town of Damen, which the Austrians abandoned on their first approach. Stargard was taken by surprise by a Pomeranian corps, enlisted for the service of Sweden, and afterwards celebrated under the name of the White Brigade, from the colour of its banners, and the uniforms of the men who composed it; and the imperial Colonel Piccolomini compelled, after losing the town, to retire from the citadel in which he in vain endea-

voured to maintain himself. By this success, a quantity of corn and military stores fell into the hands of the victors. Cammin was shortly afterwards won in a similar manner, and by its fall rendered the Swedes masters of the best part of Pomerania.

Torquato Conti, on his part, immediately after receiving information of the design of the Swedes upon Stettin, had increased his forces by summoning to his assistance several bodies of Imperialists stationed in the March of Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Bohemia; and decamping from Anclam, where he had hitherto fixed his head-quarters, for the purpose of guarding the coast, advanced with forced marches in the hope of anticipating Gustavus in his design upon Stettin, by occupying the town before his arrival. Owing to the diligence of the Swedish monarch, however, the town was already in a condition to repel his utmost efforts before he arrived in its vicinity. The Italian general, finding himself frustrated in his first intention, determined upon rendering Stettin of as little use as possible to his adversary. For this purpose he drew back as far as Gartz, where he so skilfully entrenched himself beneath the cannon of the place, as completely to bar the advance of the Swedes by the direct line of the Oder, as long as he should continue to hold his position. He then called in all his detachments from Lower Pomerania, with the exception of the garrisons in the principal fortified towns; resolving to remain upon the defensive, until the arrival of the reinforcements which he had earnestly requested from Tilly. This plan is considered the best that could have been adopted, but it was effected at the cost of terrible sufferings inflicted upon the wretched inhabitants of the country. The Imperialists, as if desirous of interposing a desert between themselves and the Swedes, set fire to every

village through which they passed, and wantonly destroyed all the means of sustaining life which chance threw into their way. The conduct of the invaders afforded a remarkable contrast to this barbarous system of warfare. Gustavus, by his public edicts and proclamations, entreated the people of the neighbouring towns and villages to remain in their houses without fear of being molested by his soldiers, and appropriated great part of his own stores to feeding numbers who were perishing with hunger, in consequence of the desolating ravages of the enemy.

As soon as he had ascertained the direction in which the main body of the Imperialists had retired, the king gave immediate orders for marching upon Gartz, in the hope of tempting Torquato Conti, by drawing up his army in order of battle before his entrenchments, to issue forth and hazard a general engagement. The wary Italian, however, who was fully conscious of the imprudence of such a movement, was not to be diverted from his proposed plan of operations. Notwithstanding the approach of the Swedes, he continued quietly within his lines, which were too formidable to be lightly assailed, partly employed at the same time, if the dark charge made against him by historians is correct, in forming plans for removing the active enemy, whom he declined encountering in the open field, by the less honourable means of secret treachery. Quinti del Ponte, an officer in his own army, and Giovanni Baptista, a captain in the regiment serving under Count Falkenberg, were the first agents employed in this hazardous undertaking. The former, pretending to have received some occasion of disgust in the Imperial service, passed over to the Swedish camp, where, in conjunction with his confederate, he projected a design against the life or liberty of Gustavus, which nothing but accident prevented from being crowned

with success. In a conversation with the king, he asserted, that it was in his power to point out a part of the Imperial lines, on which an attack might be made with the certain prospect of advantage. Gustavus, highly gratified with the intelligence, immediately called out a slight guard of twenty-five horse, and appointing a picquet of cavalry, amounting to about a hundred in number, to wait at some distance, requested his informant to accompany him to reconnoitre the spot. The traitor willingly complied with the requisition; but as soon as the king appeared sufficiently near the position of the Imperialists, after insensibly withdrawing himself from the rest of the company, and putting spurs to his horse, he galloped to the quarters of Torquato Conti, and informed him that, by stationing a detachment at a certain defile, he would infallibly intercept his antagonist on his return. Five hundred Neapolitan cuirassiers were accordingly dismissed in haste, with Del Ponte at their head, upon this errand, and reached the place appointed for the ambuscade without discovery. The king, after having completed his observations, was slowly returning to his quarters, when he was furiously assailed on all sides by an overwhelming multitude, against whom resistance appeared to be entirely hopeless. With the desperate resolution, however, of selling his life as dearly as possible, he instantly drew his sword, and encouraging his guards by his voice and example, continued to maintain the combat so long, that the assailants, who had been strictly charged not to make use of their fire-arms, were at length provoked to have recourse to their pistols and carbines, as the surest means of effecting their object. This circumstance proved the ruin of the whole design. The Swedish picquet, attracted by the sound of the firing, arrived on the field of action at the moment when the king, whose horse

had been shot under him, and who, after having been made prisoner, had been only rescued by the most devoted bravery of his attendants, was on the point of sinking beneath the crowd of enemies which had closed around him. A single charge delivered him from his perilous situation, and restored the battle on somewhat less unequal terms; and after a few minutes' hard fighting, the Neapolitans, who no doubt expected every moment to be attacked by an additional force, rode off the ground in confusion, and hastily retired to their lines. Baptista, whose close connexion with Del Ponte pointed him out as an accomplice, was instantly seized; and, since full evidence of the conspiracy was found among his papers, subsequently condemned to death by a Swedish court-martial. A few days after this occurrence, a monk of Amberg, who had been observed for some time lurking about the king's person, was apprehended on suspicion of a design upon his life, which was fully confirmed both by papers found about him, and his own confession at the place of execution.

After these narrow escapes, Gustavus, finding himself unable to draw his antagonist from his position by the offer of battle, resolved upon attacking the fortified towns occupied by the Imperialists in Pomerania, in the hope of inducing him to make some movement for their defence. General Kniphausen, at the head of a separate division, laid siege to Wolgast, which was desperately defended by Colonel Schlechter, who, after the town had been carried, continued for a fortnight longer to maintain his post in the citadel. Three hundred infantry were at the same time sent to occupy the town of Passwalk, which they quickly effected, and commenced throwing up entrenchments for their defence. But before these were completed, they were surrounded by an immensely superior force, which Torquato

Conti had sent to surprise them, and cut off to a man. The Austrians are accused on this occasion, not only of having refused quarter to the Swedes, but of having exercised the most brutal atrocities towards the townspeople. It is certain, that Passwalk was pillaged and laid in ashes before it was abandoned by the victors. Some compensation for this check, however, was derived by the capture of Rugenwald by Lieutenant-Colonel Monro, at the head of 700 men of Lord Reay's regiment, who had been sent from Pillau by the Chancellor Oxenstiern for the purpose of joining the king. This exploit was one of the most daring recorded in the whole war. The Scots, on their passage to Wolgast, were encountered by a furious storm, which drove their vessel upon the coast, where it speedily became a complete wreck, the men escaping with the greatest difficulty to the shore, after having left behind them their provisions and ammunition, as well as all their arms, with the exception of a few swords and pikes, and two or three wet muskets. Notwithstanding the destitute condition of his soldiers, Monro, on learning that Rugenwald was held by an Imperial garrison, who had displaced that stationed there by the Duke of Pomerania, sent word to the former governor that, if he would furnish him with some fire-arms and a supply of ammunition, he would engage speedily to clear the town of its unwelcome visitors. The governor replied by sending fifty muskets to the Scots, and promising to admit them secretly into the castle at midnight, on their presenting themselves beneath its walls. Monro arrived with his band at the appointed hour, and suddenly sallying forth upon the Imperialists, who were quartered in the town below, drove them from one post after another, although resolutely disputing the ground after their first surprise had subsided, until they at length

retired through the gates, and left the Scots in full occupation of the town. He then set about repairing the fortifications, in apprehension of being immediately assailed from Colberg, which was held by the Austrians in force, and only seven miles distant, while the army of the king lay at least twenty German miles from the place; and sent a mounted express by night to the Swedish head-quarters for further orders. Gustavus desired him to maintain his post at all hazards, and Monro, not contented with obeying this order, after breaking down the bridge between himself and the enemy, and strongly besetting the passes with bodies of armed peasantry, in a short time brought the whole country about him into subjection, to the distance of twenty miles along the coast*.

Gustavus had now turned his attention in the direction of Mecklenburg, and finding that Torquato Conti still continued inactive in his front, he was induced to make a resolute attempt to deliver that duchy from the tyranny of the Imperialists. After detaching General Kniphausen to blockade Colberg, and directing Colonel Monro, who had been relieved at his post of Rugenwald by the regiment of Sir John Hepburn, to act under his orders, he set out for the western frontiers of Pomerania, leaving Gustavus Horn, one of the most able of his generals, to command in Stettin during his absence. In this march, the Swedes, although they had long been inured to the horrors of warfare, were filled with indignation at the destruction and ruin which presented themselves at every step. Nothing was to be seen in all directions but wasted fields and smoking villages, or the blackened walls of mills and farm-houses, which had been destroyed by the Imperialists after they had plundered them of everything valuable; while, in

* Monro's Second Expedition.

many places, the rivers were covered with the floating grain which they had thus endeavoured to render useless, either to the enemy, or the people of the country they were abandoning. The Swedes endeavoured to remedy these evils as much as possible, by freely paying for every article furnished them, while the king continued to distribute corn to all who applied to him, from a fresh supply which had lately been brought over by his fleet, although all his efforts at relief still bore a lamentable disproportion to the extent of the recently-inflicted calamities. The investment of Demmin was the ostensible object of his march; but, on mature consideration, the king deemed it more advisable to embark his troops, and make a descent upon Mecklenburg from the sea. Anclam, which lay in his path towards the coast, was accordingly reduced, and secured by a Swedish garrison. During the ensuing voyage, through a channel rendered particularly dangerous by the rocks and shoals with which it abounds, the king paid a visit to Stralsund, where he was received with all the honours which the gratitude of the inhabitants could invent. From thence he steered for the mouth of the Trebel, and establishing himself in Ribnitz and Damgarten, which were carried sword in hand, issued a proclamation to the people of Mecklenburg, in which, after reproaching them for their late quiet submission to the usurped power of Wallenstein, he invited them immediately to return to their allegiance to their former rulers. His attempt, however, for the present was attended with little success, beyond the possession of the two important posts above mentioned. The Duke of Savelli poured his forces in such multitudes into Mecklenburg, as completely to overawe the people from any attempt at an insurrection; and occupied Rostock with so great a superiority of numbers, as to compel the Swedes to give up all hope of

effecting any further progress, until they had received additional reinforcements. Gustavus, therefore, again resumed his plan of acting along the Oder, and returned with his fleet to Stettin; leaving a strong garrison at Ribnitz, under the command of General Pommer. It was from the latter place that he dated his letter to the Emperor, which has been already mentioned.

While Gustavus was occupied in his expedition into Mecklenburg, Torquato Conti had not been inactive in endeavouring to derive some advantage from his absence. As soon as he was informed that his fleet was proceeding on its voyage, he left his encampment at Gartz, determined to make at least one resolute effort for the recovery of Stettin. The fortifications which had been thrown up to cover the town under the direction of Gustavus, were accordingly assaulted by the greater part of his army, under a vigorous and well-sustained cannonade from his numerous artillery. But, notwithstanding the bravery with which his troops, after two successive repulses, returned a third time to the attack, he was at length baffled by the dispositions of Horn, and the strength of the works he attempted to carry, and retired afresh to Gartz, leaving the field covered with his dead and wounded. Around Colberg, hostilities were carried on with no less vigour. The Imperialists, despising the loose investment which the Swedes had formed about the place, laid waste the neighbouring country at their leisure, and attempted, though without success, to carry the town of Scheffelbein, at that time occupied by Colonel Monro, who, although he calls the place "a scurvie hole for any cavalier to maintain his credit by,"* obstinately held his position, until he was relieved by a strong detachment, which the king, on his return to Stettin, dispatched under

* Monro's Second Expedition, p. 8.

Bauditzen, to invest Colberg more closely. A series of fierce skirmishes ensued, in which the personal valour of the Swedish General, who, frequently at the head of his horse alone, charged both the cavalry and the infantry of the enemy with success, was eminently conspicuous; and in spite of their most strenuous efforts, the Imperialists, after losing ground step by step, were at last once more closely shut up within the town. An attempt on the part of the Duke of Savelli to relieve Demmin, around which the Swedes were gathering, with the intention of effecting its investment, was considered important enough to demand the presence of Gustavus in person. He accordingly set out from Stettin, determined, if possible, to bring Savelli to a general action; and, after collecting about 3,000 men together, marched at once in search of the enemy. The Italian, on his approach, formed his army, which was greatly superior in number, after the fashion of his country, in a long and extended line, with the design of outflanking his opponent. Gustavus, who instantly perceived the error, prepared with promptness to avail himself of it. The Swedes were formed into a dense column, which, rapidly and steady advancing, in spite of the artillery of the Imperialists, bore down at once upon their centre; and, after severing it by the violence of their charge, deployed to the right and left, and completed the destruction of the wings. A few battalions, which still remained firm, were soon afterwards dispersed by their own cannon, which the Swedes, after seizing without resistance, immediately turned against them.

Amidst these movements, the winter of 1630 set in with unusual severity. The Imperialists, who had intended to withdraw into their quarters towards the end of the autumn, and who were now only keeping the field until their antagonists should set them the

example of retiring, were surprised to find the Swedes undertaking new enterprises, at a time when the rigours of the season seemed to preclude all possibility of active operations. They were still further astonished, on attempting to open a communication with the enemy, for the purpose of fixing the exact positions which the contending armies should occupy until the return of spring, at being informed, that whatever plan the Imperialists might adopt, the Swedes had no intention of suspending hostilities throughout the winter. The latter, indeed, had everything to gain by such a determination; since, in addition to having been inured at an early age to the severities of a northern climate, they were well supplied with warm clothing, and provided, by the foresight of their king, with everything which could conduce to their comfort. Their adversaries, on the other hand, who had been left, by the neglect of their generals, to clothe themselves as they could, and who by their own imprudence had exhausted all the supplies afforded by the neighbouring country, were placed by this means in a condition of inferiority to their enterprising opponents, which it was now too late to remedy, and for which even victory itself would scarcely have afforded any compensation.

The Diet of Ratisbon, after continuing its sittings without intermission during the autumn, finally broke up in the beginning of November, after scarcely fulfilling a single object which Ferdinand had expected from its convention. The election of the King of the Romans, which he had strenuously urged upon the meeting, was precluded by the continued absence of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who, in answer to his repeated messages to request their attendance, only replied by renewed protestations against the Edict of Restitution, and the grievances under which the Protestants throughout Germany

were labouring. Maximilian of Bavaria, and the Electors of the League, were as much disinclined to listen to the proposal; and the opposition of the former was so actively displayed, as to give rise to a suspicion that he was ambitious enough to entertain the hope of acquiring the dignity in question for himself at an early period. The only solid advantage gained by the Emperor, if such it was to be esteemed, consisted in the tardy substitution of the troops of the League, and their general, to act against the Swedes, in the place of Wallenstein and his forces; and with this, and the empty pageant of the coronation of his Empress, he was obliged to content himself for the present. A second Diet was appointed to meet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in the ensuing year, to be entitled the Diet of Composition, to which all parties agreed without reluctance; the Catholics hoping that the army of Tilly would by that time have proved successful in restoring the former preponderance of force in their favour; while the Protestants entertained as confident an expectation of a favourable issue to the diversion made by the Swedes for their deliverance. With these contrary anticipations, the Diet of Ratisbon was dissolved. France, however, had previously obtained the full advantage of her policy, in a treaty, by which the Duke of Nevers was left in unmolested possession of the Duchy of Mantua, and the German troops under Colalto and Gallas recalled. The cause of the Elector Palatine, which had been pleaded in a pathetic speech by the English Ambassador, seconded by all the zeal of Rusdorf, was scarcely listened to, and coldly dismissed, after a recapitulation on the part of the Emperor of the terms on which he might hope to be re-admitted into favour: and of which it is enough to remark, that the education of his children in the Catholic religion was one of the principal features.

Torquato Conti, who, during the protracted disputes of this assembly, had been left to struggle, single-handed and destitute of all supplies, with the Swedes in Pomerania, now no less disheartened by his ill success, than disgusted at the neglect which he imagined he had experienced, requested the permission of Ferdinand to resign his command, and retired into Italy. Annibal Count Schaumberg, a soldier of long experience, was appointed to succeed him, but the fortune of the war was little altered by this change of leaders. The King of Sweden, who had established his head-quarters at Golnow, advanced from thence, and invested Greiffenhagen on the Oder on the 23rd of December. Don Ferdinand of Capua, who commanded in the town, after a few days' resistance abandoned it during the night, and leisurely retired across the Oder in the direction of Gartz. On the following morning Gustavus entered Greiffenhagen; and, after sending his cavalry to follow the garrison, who were speedily overtaken, and lost their commander, with several of their rear-guard, in a skirmish with the pursuers, proceeded to demolish the fortifications, and make preparations for an immediate advance upon Gartz, to endeavour once more to dislodge the Austrians from the position in which they had pertinaciously remained for the last three months. Before quitting Golnow, he had written a letter to Oxenstiern, which, as it is the only part of his extensive private correspondence preserved by his biographers, and moreover throws additional light upon the sincerity of the feelings by which he professed to be actuated, as well as upon many amiable points in his disposition, may not be thought destitute of interest if inserted entire. Its contents are as follows* :--

* This letter is given by Mauvillon, *Histoire de Gustave Adolphe*, and by Archenholtz, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved Chancellor,
“ Grace and especial favour.”

“ I have received your communication with respect to the operations of the war for the ensuing year, as a proof of your continued fidelity towards myself and our common country. Whoever survives, will see its results in our increased success, and posterity will celebrate your praises, if to the wisdom of your counsels you add your ordinary zeal and application in carrying them into effect. It were greatly to be desired, that we had many about us endued with the same fidelity and ability for business as yourself. The prosperity of the state, and the advancement of the national interests, would be the certain consequences. But, partly from the unequal manner in which the Almighty is pleased to distribute his gifts, and partly in consequence of those defects to which all men are subject as the natural effects of a sinful nature, I observe so many essential deficiencies in several of my ministers, in the management of public affairs, that I have reason to despair of their favourable issue, unless, indeed, God assists us where human succour is not to be expected. Continue your praiseworthy exertions, without suffering yourself to grow weary in your efforts, to deserve my gratitude and that of the nation generally. Above all, endeavour to complete your proposal respecting the traffic in corn, for I have more confidence in your judgment in this matter than in that of any one else. I had abandoned all expectations of deriving any advantage from this source, not because I was insensible of the benefit which might be expected from it, but because I knew no one who, after securing the grain to himself, would leave me more than the husks. Now, however, that you have expressed an inclination to take upon yourself the management of this affair, I am not only rejoiced at your determination, but con-

fident that I shall find in you an able assistant, to aid me thus far in sustaining the weight of government, by which I am already too much oppressed.

“If it be God’s will that we should pass the winter prosperously, I flatter myself that, with your efficient support, the summer will terminate in a manner still more to our advantage. I beseech that Almighty Being who has hitherto granted us success, although attended with much trouble and difficulty, to cause our just undertaking to triumph, and to crown it with success, to the glory of his holy name, the repose of his church, and the furtherance of our salvation.

“I would describe to you our condition at length, but my hand is yet stiff with the wound received near Dirschau. Of this much, however, I must inform you, that the enemy, although weak both in cavalry and infantry, has a great advantage over us, since the whole of Germany is before him, to plunder as he pleases. I am assembling my forces close to the river, with the intention of attacking him speedily, and driving him from his winter-quarters. Yet, although our cause is good and just, the issue of the war, in consequence of our sins, is still uncertain. It is impossible to reckon upon the continuance of the life of any man, and it is for this reason that I now exhort you, by the love of Christ, if any untoward accident should happen to myself, not to feel disheartened on that account. I conjure you, also, in such a case, to show your regard to my memory by consulting the interests of my family, and to do for me all which it might be your desire that I should do for yourself, under similar circumstances; which I should assuredly perform, if it were the pleasure of God that I should survive you, and those left behind you should stand in need of my assistance.

“I reflect at this moment, that I have already sustained the labour of government for the space of

twenty years, not without many anxieties, but still, God be praised, with some reputation; cherishing and honouring the constitution, as well as all those who faithfully obey it; and having for their sakes hazarded my life, and sacrificed my possessions and ease, seeking nothing in this world but properly to fulfil the duties of my station, and of that condition to which God was pleased that I should be born. If that fate, which is the common lot and portion of humanity, should now be near at hand, my family are well worthy of your compassion, not only for my sake, but from every other consideration. Remember of whom it principally consists—an aged mother without a counsellor, a daughter yet in infancy; both of a sex which demands protection; unfortunate if they govern themselves; and in peril if governed by others. The affection natural to a husband and a father, induces me to communicate to you freely my sentiments upon this subject—to you, whom I consider an instrument granted by God not only to sustain the burden of public business, but also to meet any emergency which may take place, and to regulate affairs nearest my heart of all the concerns of this world. All those, however, I am ready to submit to His holy will, as well as my own life, and everything I possess as the fruit of his goodness, hoping for the best in this stage of existence, and in the next for repose, joy, and eternal salvation, which I beseech Him to grant that you also may experience at his own appointed time and hour. I remain, and shall ever remain during life, your very gracious and affectionate,

“GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

“Golnow, 4th Dec. 1630.”

The result of the plan of Gustavus for disturbing the Imperialists in their winter-quarters, alluded to in his letter to Oxenstiern, has been already partly

seen in the reduction of Greiffenhagen. The long-wished occupation of Gartz followed almost immediately afterwards, Schaumberg abandoning that important position. The town, however, according to the usual custom of the Imperialists, was first sacked, and afterwards set on fire ; and the Swedes, on their approach towards it, were met by a miserable multitude, composed in great measure of women and children, flying from the flames which were consuming their habitations, and destitute of provisions or shelter. The little which remained of Gartz unconsumed by the fire, was entirely destroyed by a tremendous explosion of several barrels of gunpowder, which the Austrian General had left in the town-house, for the purpose of completing its ruin. Schaumberg himself, with his best troops, fell back, vigorously pursued by the Swedish cavalry under Bauditzen, towards Frankfort upon Oder. A considerable portion of his army, however, retired in the direction of Landsberg, while others, pouring into the March of Brandenburg, and dispersing over the country, committed such fearful devastations, that the Elector, George William, after issuing a manifesto against them, called upon all his subjects to arm for their mutual defence. The Swedes would have carried their pursuit to the walls of Frankfort, and possibly have taken possession of the city, in the general panic of the enemy, had not the governor of the fortress of Custrin closed his gates against them, and thus erected a temporary barrier between the pursuers and the pursued. The results of their late exertions, however, were highly gratifying. Throughout all Pomerania, Colberg, Greifswalde, and Demmin alone remained in the occupation of the troops of the Emperor. Of these, Gustavus was contented to reduce the former by famine, since there was now little chance of an attempt being made for

its relief. The siege of Demmin was reserved as one of the principal operations of the ensuing year.

It may appear surprising that, amidst such successes on the part of the Swedes, the army of Tilly still remained without making a single effort to impede their progress. The inactivity of the veteran general may be accounted for by various reasons. During the continuance of the Diet of Ratisbon, he was restrained by the members of the League from any important operations, since they had not yet determined how far the Emperor should be assisted by the resources at their command. It is certain also, that Tilly was well aware of the danger of encountering such a leader as Gustavus Adolphus, of whose abilities he wrote in the highest terms to the Emperor; comparing the events of war to a game of chance, and the King of Sweden to a player, of whom, although he himself might gain everything in the contest, nothing could possibly be won. At the same time the revolt of Magdeburg, and the insurrection excited by the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, in Lower Saxony, were additional motives for preventing him, before he had accurately ascertained the extent of the danger in that quarter, from quitting the frontiers of Hesse.

Magdeburg, or the Maiden Town, had long been no less distinguished for the antiquity of its origin and the extent of its commerce, than for the almost uninterrupted good-fortune it had experienced for centuries. The inhabitants, who are said to have been converted to Protestantism by the preaching of * Melchior Muzius, in the year 1522, were at all times among the foremost to maintain the interests of that religion, and had the honour of being besieged by the celebrated Maurice of Saxony, in consequence of refusing obedience to the Act of Charles V., gene-

* *Arlandæus Arma Suecica.*

rally called the Interim. More recently, the city had provoked the enmity of Wallenstein *, by refusing to defray the expenses of raising a regiment of Imperialists, and had for some time been blockaded by the Croats in his service.

A few weeks after the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, the former Administrator, Christian William, the forfeiture of whose dignity, in consequence of his assistance afforded to the King of Denmark, has been recently noticed, after an interview with the King of Sweden, in which the latter promised to assist him to the best of his power, arrived at Magdeburg in disguise, and entering the town-house with Stallman, the Swedish representative, who had accompanied him on his journey, made himself known to the magistrates who were seated there in deliberation, and subsequently to the common people. A revolt in his favour, and an open alliance with Sweden, were the immediate consequences. In the excited state of feeling, caused by the harangues of the Administrator, Gustavus was represented as already almost at their gates, to second the citizens in their exertions. The *Te Deum* was chaunted in the churches: arms were freely distributed to all who were willing to enrol themselves in the public service; and the people of Magdeburg, not content with remaining on the defensive till their deliverer should arrive, boldly sallied forth, under the conduct of the Administrator, into the neighbouring districts of Mansfeld and Halle, and, attacking several scattered posts of the Imperialists, returned to the town in triumph, and laden with the booty they had acquired. Almost simultaneously with this movement, Francis, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, endeavoured to assemble an army to act along the Elbe, in favour of the King of Sweden. This attempt was principally

* Brachelius, lib. iii.

made in the neighbourhood of Hamburgh and Lu-beck, and was at first attended with some success. Boitzenburg, Lauenburg, and Neuhaus, fell successively into his hands, and an attempt upon Ratzeburg, the residence of his brother, the Duke Augustus, placed that town at his disposal. Here, however, he was attacked by the Count Pappenheim, commanding under Tilly, at the head of 6000 Imperialists, and compelled to surrender at discretion. With his capture ended all hopes of a successful issue to the revolt; and Pappenheim, after clearing the banks of the Elbe of his adherents, and placing a strong guard at the bridge of Dessau, to hinder all relief from approaching Magdeburg in that direction, commenced a series of attacks upon the advanced posts round the city, with the intention of compelling their defenders to take refuge within the walls and closely besetting it on all sides.

The officer above-mentioned was, of all the leaders in the Imperial service, the most remarkable for his chivalrous bravery, and for his reckless exposure of his person in action. Gustavus Adolphus, when jocularly discoursing of the principal generals whom it had been his fortune to encounter in Germany, used to distinguish Tilly by the title of "the old corporal." Wallenstein, he designated as "the madman;" while upon Pappenheim, he bestowed the title of "the soldier," in allusion to his impetuous valour, in the exercise of which he often forgot the more important duties of the commander. He was descended from a noble family, from which he inherited at his birth, the dignity of Grand Marshal of the Empire, and had, on many occasions since the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, attracted attention by his zeal in the service of the House of Austria. The service on which he was now employed could not have been entrusted to better hands,

and the people of Magdeburg, who beheld one position after another carried by his furious assaults, began to make preparations for sustaining with constancy the regular siege which they plainly saw to be at hand. Their efforts were now somewhat more scientifically conducted than at first, under the direction of Count Falkenberg, whom the king of Sweden, although he scrupled not to express his opinion that the revolt was premature, had despatched to their assistance. By his advice the fortifications were strengthened, the burgher guards regularly assigned to their respective posts, and such a quantity of provisions brought into the public storehouses, as, whatever might be the result of the open force of the enemy, at least placed Magdeburg beyond the probability of being speedily reduced by famine.

According to their usual practice, the historians of that day have mentioned several portentous warnings, which not obscurely intimated to the devoted city the result of the struggle into which it had thus fearlessly plunged. On the 6th of December*, a tremendous hurricane, commencing at sunset, swept over Magdeburg and its vicinity with such violence, that several houses and mills were speedily laid in ruins. Count Falkenberg was blown from his horse, and dashed to the ground with such violence as to be severely injured by the fall. The church of St. John was almost entirely thrown down; those of St. Anne, St. Gertrude, and St. Catherine, materially injured, and a great part of the town-wall precipitated into the fosse below. Shortly after this occurrence, the inhabitants were startled at midnight by a sound resembling the explosion of heavy artillery, and appearing to proceed from a white cloud in the heavens, which was slowly and distinctly repeated more than

* Bisaccioni. According to the author of the *Arma Suecica*, this tempest took place on the 29th of November.

a hundred times at regular intervals. A far more ominous sign, however, of the danger to which they were exposed, than warnings either from the earth or the skies, was the investment of Count Tilly with the full authority of Generalissimo in the Imperial service, and his proceeding to summon various detachments stationed in different quarters of the Empire to effect a junction with the troops of the League under his command. As soon as these had arrived, he broke up from his quarters on the confines of Hesse; and the result of his approach was soon observed by the burghers of Magdeburg, in the closer gathering of the Imperial eagles around their city; clearly indicating that its investment was now completed, and that no alternative remained between a speedy surrender, or a resolute defence of their walls.

CHAPTER IX.

Assembly of the Protestant States at Leipzig, convoked by the Elector of Saxony—Conclusions of the Diet—Treaty between Gustavus Adolphus and Louis XIII.—Demmin besieged by the Swedes—Feeble resistance of its Governor, the Duke of Savelli—Surrender of Demmin—Tilly advances towards Mecklenburg—His cruelty at Neu Brandenburg—Returns to Magdeburg—The Swedes advance to Frankfort on the Oder, which is carried by Assault—Terrible Carnage among the Imperialists within the Town—The King of Sweden reduces Lansberg, and prepares to march to the relief of Magdeburg—He demands the Fortresses of Custrin and Spandau from the Elector of Brandenburg—Hesitation of the Elector, which is at length overcome by the entreaties of Gustavus—The Swedes advance to Potsdam—The Elector of Saxony denies them a passage over the Elbe by the Bridge of Wittemberg—They are prevented from relieving Magdeburg in consequence.

THE rapid progress of the Swedish arms in Pomerania had by this time excited the Protestant states of Germany to an attempt at deriving some advantage from the perplexity and confusion in which the affairs

of the Emperor were involved, while it appeared to justify them in assuming a more commanding attitude than any in which they had dared to place themselves, for a long course of years, during which the Imperial troops had been uniformly successful.

John George, Elector of Saxony, who had on former occasions strenuously defended the cause of Ferdinand in opposition to those of his own religion; who had even appeared in arms to suppress various movements in favour of the king of Bohemia, and executed his adherents without mercy as traitors, whenever they fell into his hands, was now the most active agent in fomenting the spirit of disaffection, and in affording facilities for its exercise, to the detriment of the Emperor. The Elector was a man of gross habits of intemperance, and of rude and unpolished manners; but, whenever his faculties were unclouded by his excesses, by no means destitute of that low and selfish cunning, which is often found to accompany a disposition prone to sensual indulgence. His dispute with the Emperor on account of the diocese of Magdeburg has been already more than once alluded to, and while sullenly brooding over this affront, it was his fortune to meet with a counsellor, in every way qualified, both by inclination and ability, to fan his suppressed indignation to an open flame. Arnheim, once Field Marshal to Wallenstein, but who since his disgrace had passed into the service of the Elector of Saxony, was influenced by a strong desire of avenging the fall of his master upon the Emperor, and imagined he had found, in the Saxon prince, a fitting instrument for his purpose. By his advice, John George first publicly disclaimed the consent given by his ambassador to the Diet of Composition, which he affirmed had been expressed without his authority, and next proceeded to summon a General Assembly of Representatives of the Protestant States at Leipzig,

which he appointed to meet on the 6th of February, 1631. He had previously obtained the approbation of a Convention of the Estates of his own Electorate at Torgau to the meeting, and had secured the influence of the Elector of Brandenburg, to second his views at a personal conference at Annaberg. It was in vain that the Emperor by his rescripts endeavoured to prevent this assembly, which he represented as contrary to the fundamental laws of the Germanic constitution. The Elector replied by quoting the Recess of 1555, by which it was enacted, that in the case of any flagrant violation of their public rights, the several States should have power to assemble themselves for the purpose of remonstrating against it, or of adopting such measures as should appear best to secure their liberties, if their remonstrances were unattended with a beneficial effect.

Although John George, in pursuing this line of conduct, was influenced merely by self-interested motives, hoping that, without either affording direct assistance to the King of Sweden, or openly revolting on his own account from the Emperor, he might contrive to hold the balance between the two parties, and ensure a solid advantage to himself during the impending struggle, it was evident, that the cause of Gustavus must be materially benefitted by this new ground of anxiety afforded to the counsellors of Ferdinand, and the disheartening effect it would naturally have upon his partisans. His position was at the same time rendered yet more imposing by a public alliance with France, negotiated after many altercations on points of inferior importance, by Charnace, and finally accepted by Richelieu. The principal grounds of difference consisted in the refusal of the ministers of Louis to confer the title of His Majesty upon the King of Sweden; while the latter, on his part, gave serious cause of offence to the French

Ambassador, by insisting upon his right of retaliating upon the Catholics in Germany, if he should deem it expedient, all the injuries they had inflicted upon the Protestants, as the most effectual means of suppressing the persecuting spirit in which they had so long indulged. The dispute was for some time so animated, as to threaten an open rupture between the two powers; but, by the exercise of mutual concession, Gustavus was at length honoured with the title for which he had contended, and the French, by an express clause stipulating that the Catholics should be unmolested by the Swedes in the exercise of their religion throughout every part of the Empire, saved from the scandal of aiding an heretical monarch in the forcible suppression of their own faith. After these preliminary difficulties had been surmounted, the treaty was formally signed at Bernwalde, in the new March of Brandenburg, by Generals Horn and Banner, as plenipotentiaries of Sweden, and Charnace on the part of France. The King of Sweden undertook to keep constantly on foot, as long as the war should continue in Germany, an army of not less than 30,000 foot, and 6,000 horse. France, on her part, promised to furnish her ally with a subsidy of 400,000 rix-dollars, of which 40,000 were to be advanced on the day of the signature of the treaty, and the remainder furnished by two separate payments, either at Paris or Amsterdam, in the course of the year. The liberty of remaining neutral during the contest, was stipulated for the Duke of Bavaria and the Catholic League; and any of the remaining princes or states of the Empire, who might wish to avail themselves of the privilege, were freely to be admitted as parties to the treaty. The attention of the king, however, was not diverted for a moment by these negotiations from the important military enterprises which he had resolved upon carrying into

effect, while the army of Tilly was yet distant, and before the Imperialists in his vicinity had recovered from the effects of their recent defeats. One division of his army was left with Horn, to check any advance of the enemy from the direction of Lansberg. With the rest he hastened through the march of Brandenburg, and after receiving the submission of Neu Brandenburg and Treptow, and taking Loitz by surprise, prepared, in the midst of an intense frost, to commence the siege of Demmin.

As this town was commanded by the Duke of Savelli in person, strongly fortified and provided with all necessaries for sustaining a siege, it was expected by the Imperialists to detain the Swedes, until Tilly should be able to march to its relief. Tilly himself had written to the Duke, earnestly entreating him to hold out but for fifteen days; and all who were acquainted with the resources at his command were aware that he might continue his defence for a much longer period. The trenches were opened on the 12th of February, although the ground was so deeply frozen, that the soldiers found the greatest difficulty in making use of their tools, and the Swedish batteries, planted on the neighbouring heights, at the same time commenced a heavy fire, which was instantly answered with no less vigour by the besieged. In this siege, the king again narrowly escaped falling a victim to his too great forwardness. In passing over a morass, with the view of reconnoitring the works more closely, the ice gave way beneath him, and before he could extricate himself, more than a thousand musket shots were fired at him from the rampart, although without taking effect*. Encouraged by his presence, and wishing to distinguish themselves in the eyes of their sovereign, the Swedes pressed their attacks with so much vigour, that the

* Monro's Second Expedition.

most important outworks were won on the second day of the siege. A fort, occupied by eight companies of the regiment of Holk, was carried by Todt, at the head of 2,000 infantry from Stralsund, while Baron Teuffel at the same time made himself master of a half-moon, close upon the main fortifications. Immediately after these successes, the besiegers were astonished at hearing a parley beat by the garrison. They could scarcely believe, that, while the principal defences remained uninjured by their fire, and before a summons to surrender had been sent to the Italian General, he would deliver the strong fortress which he commanded into their hands. Such, however, was the case. Savelli, fearful of the consequences of an assault, thought it best to ensure his own safety at the earliest opportunity. He was allowed to march out of Demmin with all the honours of war, and ostentatiously defiled with his army the next day before Gustavus, who politely desired him to carry his respects to the Emperor, and to inform him that, notwithstanding the war in which he was engaged, he was perfectly free from entertaining towards him any feelings of personal hostility. The king could not, however, avoid at the same time making some remarks aside to his officers, upon the flagrant cowardice shown by Savelli, and his forgetfulness of the interests of his master, in his anxiety to place his own person out of danger. Among the articles removed from Demmin according to the capitulation, was the baggage of Quinti del Ponte, and a large sum which he had received from Torquato Conti as the reward of his former treachery. Some of the attendants of the king informed him of this fact, and urged that, as Del Ponte was a convicted traitor, as well as a deserter from his army, there could be no impropriety in seizing his effects. The king, however, received the proposal with indignation: "I have

given my word," he said, "for the security of all personal property, and no one shall reproach me with failing to fulfil it in a single particular."

If the timidity of Savelli had not precipitated the surrender of Demmin, the Swedes would certainly not have been undisturbed in their attempts to possess it. Tilly, after leaving a sufficient force with Pappenheim, to confine the people of Magdeburg within their walls, had in the meantime directed his march towards Frankfort on the Oder, where he arrived with 20,000 men in the early part of February. He then received the remainder of the army of Schaumberg, and leaving 500 men in Frankfort, turned towards the Duchy of Mecklenburg by the way of Alt Brandenburg, Nauen and Ruppin, resolved to hazard a general battle for the relief of Demmin. The unexpected surrender of that town at once frustrated his plan. He received the news with bitter exclamations of indignation against the cowardice of Savelli, and sent a letter of accusation to the Emperor, in which he requested that orders might be given for his immediate arrest; after which, still hoping to induce the Swedes to venture upon a battle, he pursued his march towards Neu Brandenburg, passing in his way not more than the distance of a league from the fortified camp of Gustavus near Passwalk. It was no intention of the king, however, to fight at present, and imagining that Tilly would naturally lay siege to Neu Brandenburg, to provoke him to quit his position, he sent orders to Major Kniphausen, who commanded in the town, to withdraw the garrison, which amounted to somewhat more than 2000 men, including six companies of Lord Reay's regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Lindsay, and join him immediately, before he should be invested by the Imperialists. This despatch never reached Neu Brandenburg; and Kniphausen, imagining it was the

king's intention that he should maintain himself at all hazards, prepared to defend the town to the last extremity. Tilly, after putting to the sword a Swedish post at Feldsberg, soon afterwards presented himself before the walls, and summoned the commander to surrender in due form. Kniphausen returned a resolute answer, and though only able to answer the artillery of the besiegers with a fire of musketry, and a few light field-pieces, repulsed several successive assaults with success.

But his men, worn out with watching and fatigue, were at length unable to sustain the uninterrupted efforts of the enemy. The Imperialists, headed by Count Montecuculi, afterwards the famous opponent of Turenne, after effecting a practicable breach, poured into the place with irresistible impetuosity; and though the besieged beat a parley, it was utterly disregarded by the victors in the transports of their fury, heightened by the intoxication of success. Every living being in Neu Brandenburg—the peaceful inhabitants as well as the armed garrison of the town—was put to the sword without mercy, with the exception of about sixty persons of both sexes, who took refuge in the town-house, and obtained quarter after the conquerors had been sated with destruction. This, however, was the only advantage gained by Tilly in his march towards Mecklenburg. Colberg, which had been blockaded by the Swedish Colonel Todt for the last five months, surrendered in despair of relief; and the Imperial commander, finding that the army of Gustavus was too strongly posted to justify him in an attack upon his entrenchments, retired again to Ruppın, from whence, after sending 6000 men to garrison Frankfort, and 5000 to Lansberg, he proceeded to join Pappenheim before Magdeburg, hoping to reduce that city before any important movement could be made by the Swedes,

whom he suspected from certain demonstrations made purposely to deceive him to be still intent upon penetrating into Mecklenburg; and whom he hoped to allure, by his temporary absence, to advance so far from their stronghold at Stettin into that duchy, as to enable him to throw his army upon their rear, and preclude their return by any other means than by a signal victory over his forces.

From the operations of the contending armies in Mecklenburg, and the neighbouring country, it is necessary to turn to the proceedings of the Diet of Leipzig, which had now drawn up its famous Conclusions, and was preparing to carry them into effect. In addition to the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the records of this assembly contained the names of two Dukes of Saxe Weimar, Christian Margrave of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, the Prince of Anhalt, the Count of Solmes, two Counts of Mansfeld, Adolphus Frederic and John Albert, the deposed Dukes of Mecklenburg and the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg. Several princes of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, although not personally present, were represented by their respective deputies, as well as the cities and towns of Nuremberg, Strasburg, Frankfort, Lubeck, Bremen, Hildesheim, and Mulhausen*. During the whole of their deliberations, which continued from the 8th of February to the 5th of March, Leipzig presented the appearance of a city in expectation of a sudden assault. Barriers were erected, and chains suspended across the principal streets, the gates were watched by numerous guards, and their keys brought every night with great parade to the chamber of the Elector of Saxony. Notwithstanding this appearance of apprehension, however, the resolves of the assembly were characterised by singular boldness

* Swedish Intelligencer. Part I.

and freedom. The conduct of the Emperor since his accession, and his many tyrannical actions towards the Protestants, were commented upon with the greatest severity; and more especially his inordinate ambition and avarice, displayed in the sequestration to his own use of the possessions of the nobles and princes who had at various times advocated the cause of the Elector Palatine. The Edict of Restitution was not forgotten, and came in for its full share of public reprobation. At the same time, the continued violence and cruelty of the Imperial armies—the old and deserved subjects of complaint, were set forth in the strongest oratory. In enlarging upon these reasons for discontent, the Lutheran and Calvinist parties at length forgot their private animosities. It was agreed that both persuasions should from henceforth be known only by the common name of the Evangelical Religion; and under this title they agreed to raise, for their mutual defence, a force of 40,000 men, to be furnished in proportionate contingents by the several states represented at the Diet. It was further determined, that the Catholic Electors should be invited to enter upon a treaty for restoring that state of friendship and confidence which had existed between Catholics and Protestants in former times, and humbly supplicated to lend the assistance of their interest in inducing the Emperor to amend those grievances which had been imposed upon them, contrary to his own oath, the Imperial laws, the privileges of the German princes, and the honour and safety of the Empire. Although Gustavus had written to the Diet after the capture of Demmin, and sent his historian Chemnitz to acquaint them with the event, and of his resolution not to consent to any peace with the Emperor until the Protestants under his dominion were restored to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, hoping by this step to draw

some declaration from the Diet in his favour, no notice whatever was taken of the war then raging in the North of Germany in their resolutions. The Elector of Saxony took upon himself to communicate the result of the meeting to Ferdinand ; and after a solemn religious service, the several princes and representatives who had composed it dispersed for the purpose of immediately exerting themselves to raise the levies which had been just decreed.

On the very day on which the Conclusions of Leipzig were signed, the Protestants assembled received an additional incentive to persevere in their resolutions by the fall of Frankfort on the Oder. As soon as Tilly had commenced his retreat from Mecklenburg, the King of Sweden, who had long been making preparations for a very different expedition, while he amused the Imperialists by concentrating his troops round Passwalk, as if on the point of acting in that direction, embarked his heavy artillery upon the Oder, commanding at the same time a floating bridge, which had been constructed for keeping up the communication between the Swedish corps stationed on both sides of the river, to be towed up the stream ; and rapidly remounting the left bank, while Horn, with the force under his command, kept pace with him on the right, came in sight of Frankfort on the 27th of March. The place itself was but weakly fortified, but the presence of Count Schaumberg, and a garrison of not less than 7,000 Imperialists, the flower of Tilly's army, rendered its reduction no very light undertaking. On the first news of the approach of the Swedes, Schaumberg proceeded to station advanced parties of musketeers in the vineyards surrounding the town, and to make such additions to the works as the time permitted. The main ditch was deepened, and stockades erected at several weak points, filled with his choicest troops.

Thus prepared, and encouraged by the presence of Field-Marshal Tieffenbach, one of the best officers in the Imperial army, who had been expressly sent to take a part in the command, he doubted not to keep the Swedes in check until Tilly should march to relieve him; or at least to compel the enemy to go through the forms of a regular siege before effecting his retreat from Frankfort, a course at all times open to him in case of necessity, by means of the bridge over the Oder in his rear.

Three days were spent in hot skirmishes upon the surrounding heights and among the ruins of the suburbs, which the Imperialists had thrown down, that they might afford as little shelter as possible to the assailants; but, as might be expected from the inequality of the numbers engaged, the Swedes continued, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, and some damage received from the fire of a sheltered enemy, gradually to gain ground. On the evening of the 29th, they had established themselves along the whole site of the ruined suburbs, and commenced working at their trenches, in a great measure covered by their position from the cannon of the town, by which they had hitherto been annoyed. The king then directed a battery of twelve guns to be erected against the gate of Guben, which the Imperialists, as soon as it was finished, made a resolute attempt to carry. They were, however, driven back into their works with considerable loss; while, at the same time, the Swedes gained a churchyard close to the gate*, from which they maintained so heavy a fire of musketry as to overawe the Imperialists from attempting a second sally in that quarter.

On Sunday the 3d of April, the Swedish army was engaged, during the morning, in a solemn service, which the king directed to be publicly performed,

* Monro. Second Expedition.

for the success of the assault he was meditating. The Imperialists, finding that the fire of their opponents had ceased, began to entertain hopes that they had abandoned their enterprise as hopeless, and were preparing to raise the siege. They consequently amused themselves with bestowing the most bitter sarcasms upon the Swedish soldiers within hearing, and tauntingly asked whether they had yet eaten up all their leathern cannon from hunger*, lowering at the same time a wild goose, suspended from a pike, over the ramparts, as a hint that it was time for their adversaries, like those birds of passage, to think of retiring northward with the approach of spring; an insult which was sternly listened to, and too well remembered in the attack about to take place. Shortly after mid-day, the king commanded Banner and Hepburn, with the Scottish brigade, to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service; and perceiving that several of the officers, from an ostentatious courage, had omitted to put on their cuirasses, he requested them not to expose themselves without their armour, saying, "I hold him to possess no friendship for myself who neglects his own safety, for who are to lead my soldiers if their commanders are disabled?" The blue and yellow brigades were destined to a separate attack, and the whole appointed to move forward after a general discharge of all the cannon mounted against the town.

On the given signal, the columns under Banner and Hepburn rushed out of the trenches; and after passing the fosse up to their waists in water, and hewing down a strong palisade planted along the brink, placed their ladders against the rampart, and began to ascend under a scattered fire from the Imperialists, who at first made but a feeble defence, astonished at the suddenness of the assault, and not

* Swedish Intelligencer. Part I.

having received orders for assembling at any given point in case of alarm. The assailants, having made themselves master of the outer wall, rushed on to attack a large gate communicating with the streets of the town, which was blown open by petards hastily affixed to the valves. A severe loss was inflicted upon the assailants at this point, since the Imperialists had gained time to plant two field-pieces and a body of musketeers at the entry, and swept away whole ranks of the Scots on their first attempt to force a passage. But before they had time to re-load, Colonels Lumsdell and Monro, at the head of their pikemen, charged with such effect, that the Imperialists gave way, and hastily retired into the town, omitting to drop the inner portcullis behind them. Banner, with his division, followed closely after, and sending several bodies of his men in close order up the several streets, drove the enemy before him in confusion wherever they attempted to rally. The gate of Guben was then opened, and Bauditzen entering with the whole of his cavalry, the Imperialists, thinking further resistance hopeless, threw down their arms, and made in all haste for the bridge across the Oder. The attack made upon the other quarter was equally successful, although the blue and yellow brigades, on their first entry into the town, met with a desperate and protracted resistance from the Irish regiment under Colonel Walter Butler; who, after their commander was wounded and taken prisoner, were almost all slain upon the spot, disdain to ask for quarter, or despairing of receiving it. During the heat of the conflict, the Imperialists had several times attempted to beat a parley; but either their drums were unheard amidst the unearthly tumult which prevailed, or the Swedes, remembering the late cruelty of Tilly on a similar occasion, were determined to pay no regard to the signal. Little

mercy indeed was shown to any wearing the costume of an enemy, the assailants replying with shouts of "Neu Brandenburg quarter!" to every offer of surrender, unless accompanied by an appeal to the avarice of the soldier strong enough to induce him to forego his desire of vengeance. The streets were choked with the bodies of the slain, and the passage to the bridge rendered impassable by the numbers who had perished there while endeavouring to escape across it. A strong redoubt, built at its farther extremity, was the means of saving Schaumberg and Tieffenbach, with those of the Imperialists who had retired in time from the scene of carnage. The officer who commanded at this post, as soon as he saw the Swedes mingled with the fugitives on the other side, and preparing to cross the bridge after them, checked their further advance by a well directed cannonade from the redoubt, under which he contrived to set fire to the wood-work of the structure; and as soon as he saw it enveloped in flames, after throwing his guns into the river, retired in good order with his men to Glogau in Silesia, where he joined the remaining wrecks of the garrison. During the whole of the ensuing night, the Swedes were engaged in plunder; and as an immense number of waggons, heavily laden, had been left by the Imperialists standing in the streets, the booty they thus acquired was far from inconsiderable. It was impossible to save the town itself from a similar pillage; but it is recorded, to the credit of the victors, who on this, as well as on other occasions, showed a very different spirit from their enemies, that only one unarmed inhabitant was slain in the affray; and that, with this exception, not a single individual had to complain of sustaining any personal violence. A fire broke out in the night, which, after consuming sixteen houses, and appearing likely to destroy Frank-

fort to its foundations, was checked by the exertions of the king, who hastened from post to post with his drawn sword in his hand, threatening instant death to all who disobeyed the summons beating to recal them to their colours. It was not until the next morning, however, that the confusion was at length quelled, and the conquerors at liberty to estimate the advantages they had gained by their resolution. Eighty pieces of cannon, two of them of extraordinary size, and marked with the arms of the Emperor Rudolph, 900 quintals of powder, 1,200 quintals of lead, 700 quintals of match, 1,000 large cannon-shot, and 24 stand of colours, with a vast quantity of arms, were among the more substantial fruits of the victory. Nearly 4,000 Imperialists lay slain in the place, and 800, chiefly officers, had been made prisoners. Such was what Monro terms the "Intaking of Frankfort on the Oder."

The King of Sweden was in hopes that this signal success would have the effect of inducing the Elector of Saxony, and the Protestants still assembled at Leipzig, at once to declare in his cause. Chemnitz, his representative at the Convention, was accordingly directed to urge anew the advantages of prompt alliance with his sovereign, while Charnace, who had been commissioned by Richelieu to attend the Diet to effect the same object, seconded his arguments to the best of his ability. John George, however, notwithstanding every effort to gain him over to the cause of the Swedes, continued to profess a strict neutrality, and his reasons were satisfactory enough, if his own interest had been the only object in question. He asserted that as long as he refrained from open war, his friendship with the Emperor might be preserved, by the strong influence he possessed in Germany, and the power he possessed of throwing embarrassments into the way of Ferdinand, when-

ever he pleased; while the king of Sweden, after embroiling him in a contest with the Empire, might, if his interests required it, return to Sweden at once, and leave him to extricate himself as he could from the difficulties into which he had been plunged. To compensate, however, for the inactivity of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Lunenburg, with several of the inferior Protestant princes, sent secret assurances to the king, that they were only waiting for his further advance into Germany to declare openly in his favour, and to join him with all the troops they could muster.

While the king was on his march towards Frankfurt, intelligence had been hastily sent to inform Tilly of his probable design, and to urge the importance of an immediate attempt at a diversion. The Imperialist hastily retraced his steps at the receipt of this information, but received at Alt Brandenburg the news of the fall of the city he had intended to relieve. He, therefore, a second time returned to the vicinity of Magdeburg, hoping, by continuing the siege he had commenced, to prevent Gustavus from penetrating farther into the Empire, and to compel him, for the preservation of a place of such importance, to deliver the long-expected battle, which, if decided in his favour, he hoped would finish the war at a blow.

The Swedes were by this time engaged in the reduction of Lansberg, the only object of moment which Gustavus thought it expedient to effect, before marching in the direction where Tilly was expecting his approach. As he was well aware of the importance of succouring Magdeburg immediately, he was the more active in pressing his attacks, which were carried on with such vigour, that Lansberg, although resolutely defended by Colonel Cratz, and occupied by a garrison of 3,000 select troops, capitulated four

days after the commencement of the siege. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war, and escorted with their baggage as far as Great Glogau. The king then returned with haste to Frankfort, and prepared instantly to set forward for the relief of Magdeburg, with all the disposable forces at his command.

On the 1st of May he arrived in the vicinity of Coepnick, with ten regiments of infantry and all his cavalry, where he established his camp, and received several expected reinforcements. From his headquarters at this place he sent forward Count Ortenburg to Berlin, to request the Elector of Brandenburg to afford him a free passage through his dominions, and to suffer the forts of Custrin and Spandau to be garrisoned for a short time by the Swedes, faithfully promising to restore them at his return. The possession of these fortresses was absolutely necessary, before he could march with safety to the deliverance of Magdeburg. Gustavus was fully aware that the Imperialists were fast rallying in Silesia, and daily expected the approach of the army of Gallas and Altringer, which Ferdinand some time since had hastily summoned from Italy. If these forces should unite, and occupy the strongholds of Brandenburg in his rear, while he was advancing towards the Elbe, his destruction would be inevitable. He therefore expressed his hope that the elector would comply with a request which was dictated by absolute necessity, and further furnish him with a month's pay and provision for his troops; in return for which, he undertook to observe the strictest discipline on his march, and carefully to refrain from injuring the property of the inhabitants of the country. The elector, unmoved by the earnestness of his appeal, refused to listen to the Swedish envoy, as well as to the representations of Marshal Horn, who

was sent the next day to repeat the request. The king, therefore, as a last alternative, set out in person with a division of his army, and arriving in the vicinity of Berlin, sent to request an interview with the elector. The meeting took place in a neighbouring wood, in which George William found the Swedes, to the number of a thousand infantry and six cornets of cavalry, drawn up in order, with four pieces of cannon in their front*. The king, on his appearance, briefly but forcibly again stated his demand. "I have," he said, "forced the Imperialists to quit the best part of your dominions, and I trust to have it in my power to prevent their return. This service of mine deserves at least some gratitude on your part. Your subjects will have no reason to complain of my troops. They will never see those horrors renewed, which they have been compelled to witness while under the dominion of the enemy. If Magdeburg falls, however, all is lost. The Imperialists will return flushed with greater insolence than ever. They will recover the confidence they have now lost by so many successive defeats. Tilly will deliver himself to all the fury of his bigotry, and the soldiers of the League will be its willing instruments†."

The words of Gustavus had at first as little effect as the previous representations of his deputies. The elector continued firm in his resolution, and deaf to all the arguments used to induce him to change it. The King of Sweden was on the point of returning to his camp in despair, when he was requested by the Dowager Electress Palatine, who, with the principal members of his court, had attended the elector to the spot, to honour Berlin with a visit before his departure. Gustavus, thinking that an opportunity might yet occur of altering the determination of his brother-

* Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.

† Mauvillon.

in-law, at once acceded to the request. A splendid banquet was given the next day to celebrate his presence, and at a moment when the influence of hilarity sometimes opens the heart of the most selfish to a transient feeling of generosity, he for the last time attempted to move the elector to a resolution in his favour. "I advance," he said, to John Albert of Mecklenburg, in a voice loud enough to be heard by the whole assembly, "for the relief of Magdeburg; not that my own advantage is concerned in its deliverance, but since its destruction must involve the ruin of the whole Protestant cause. If unassisted in my attempt, I shall instantly return. I wash my hands of all the consequences which may follow. I shall offer peace to the Emperor, who will be but too happy to grant any terms I may demand, and retire with my forces to Stockholm. As for the Protestants of Germany, I leave them to answer to God for their reluctanee to exert themselves in the cause of the Evangelic Religion. Magdeburg lost, and the Swedes no longer present to act as your allies, you may extricate yourselves as you can by your own efforts from the difficulties which will then surround you*." The elector, who had been thoughtful and absent during the greater part of the repast, returned no immediate reply to this address; but a night of meditation upon it, and the advice of some of his counsellors in the Swedish interests, at length effected the change in his sentiments of which the king had now given up all expectation. On the next morning he sent word that he was willing to intrust Spandau to the Swedes for the space of a month, and afford them the facilities they had desired for their passage through his country. Not a moment was lost in seizing the advantage thus unexpectedly afforded. The Swedish army, on the same day, passed through

* Mauvillon.

Berlin, and defiled across the Spree, and leaving a garrison in Spandau under Colonel Axel Lille, advanced towards Potzdam, which they reached on the 6th of May. On his way, the King of Sweden fulfilled his promise to the elector, of maintaining strict regularity among his troops, by publishing anew the regulations he had caused to be observed in Pomerania and Mecklenburg in regard to their conduct towards the inhabitants, with the addition of several new articles.

From Potzdam two routes presented themselves, by which the Swedes might advance upon Magdeburg, the one to the westward, by Brandenburg and Meckeren; the other to the southward, through Truenbreitzen, to Dessau or Wittemberg, at both which points bridges were laid across the Elbe. The first was at once renounced as impracticable, since the country had been utterly laid waste by the Imperialists, besides which, it would be necessary to throw a bridge over the river in face of the enemy, after arriving upon its bank, while the Swedes had neither the time nor materials at their command for the purpose. The bridge of Dessau would have offered a more convenient point for their passage, but the Imperial Colonel Gratz, who commanded a strong detachment at Zerbst, had blown it up, together with a fort which commanded it, on the first information of their arrival at Potzdam. There remained, therefore, but the bridge of Wittemberg, higher up the Elbe, available for the purpose the king had in view, which was then, as well as Wittemberg itself, guarded by the troops of the Elector of Saxony. Gustavus, therefore, without losing a moment's time, wrote to John George, in terms similar to those in which he had addressed the Elector of Brandenburg, requesting him to place Wittemberg in his hands, until he had compelled the Imperialists to raise the

siege of Magdeburg, or at least, to grant him a passage over the bridge, and allow him to embark his stores and ammunition on the Elbe; urging the necessity of an immediate answer in his favour, before the fall of the city should render the negotiation fruitless. To his surprise and indignation, the elector returned an unqualified refusal, asserting that he had no inclination to draw the arms of the Empire into his country, or to fail in the allegiance he owed to his sovereign. The king, foreseeing the full consequences of the conduct of the elector, could not refrain from openly giving vent to the strong emotions he felt. "Since these people," he said, alluding to the Evangelic Princes, "are determined on their own destruction, let them perish. For myself, I shall return into Pomerania, until they are on the very verge of the precipice, and compelled to entreat me to hasten to their assistance. That men should see a neighbour's house on fire, without attempting to extinguish the flame! Such conduct is incomprehensible! But—I see it too well—that unhappy city will perish, and with it the little that remains of the liberties of Germany." The words of the king on this occasion were unhappily in part prophetic. Before his second appeal to the elector had met with a reply, Magdeburg was beyond the reach of human aid, although three days' march, if John George had consented to the requisition of the Swedish monarch, would have placed its deliverers beneath its walls, and probably ensured its safety. So near to being prevented was that catastrophe which constitutes the most terrible episode in the history of the Thirty Years' War.

CHAPTER X.

Siege of Magdeburg—Arrival of Tilly before the walls—Pappenheim continues the Siege during his expedition to Mecklenburg—He returns—Count Falkenberg retires into the Old Town—Pappenheim pushes on his Approaches—Preparations for a General Assault—Storming of Magdeburg, and horrible atrocities committed by the Imperialists—Tilly enters the City in triumph—The King of Sweden publishes a Manifesto in justification of his conduct in not relieving Magdeburg—Spandau restored—Gustavus marches to Berlin, and compels the Elector of Brandenburg to place the fortress a second time in his hands—He returns to Stettin—Arbitrary conduct of Ferdinand towards the Bishop of Bremen and the Administrator of Wittemberg—Submission of Suabia—Greifswalde surrenders to the Swedes—The King prepares to advance towards the Elbe.

PAPPENHEIM, carrying on his approaches against Magdeburg with but slight interruption to his success, had, towards the end of the year 1630, obtained possession of every post of consequence in its environs, with the exception of the village of Ahlensleben, which the besieged, after it had been once taken, had again recovered, and made strenuous efforts to maintain, since it commanded the road by which they derived the principal part of their supplies. As vigorous exertions were made by the Imperialists for its possession, and the strength of both parties was long actively employed in the attack and defence of the disputed point. Since, however, the assailants were enabled to batter it with their cannon, which the garrison could only answer by the fire of their musketry, the latter were at length obliged to capitulate, obtaining their lives with difficulty from their incensed enemies, who at first clamorously demanded that they should all be put to the sword.

Immediately after the capture of Ahlensleben,

Tilly came up with the joint armies of the Emperor and the League, and stationing his troops in the sight of the city, in such a manner as he thought likely to impress upon its inhabitants the hopelessness of an expectation of relief, sent a haughty and laconic letter to the Administrator, in which, after informing him of his promotion to the command of the Imperial army, he commanded him immediately to return to his allegiance to the Emperor, and place the city and duchy of Magdeburg in his hands without further resistance. The answer of the Administrator was such as became the chief magistrate of a free people, determined upon maintaining to the last the just exercise of their long-conceded privileges and rights.

This answer was immediately followed by an effort which indicated that the Administrator was perfectly in earnest in the resolution he had expressed, of making the most vigorous resistance in his power to the arms of the Emperor. The Magdeburghers, determined upon a resolute effort to recover their communication with Saxony, made a desperate sally from the town, and not only drove the Imperialists from their trenches, but gained the post of Schönbeek, two miles distant, and situated on the banks of the Elbe, where they hastily threw up a fort of fascines and turf, and retired, after leaving in it a considerable garrison. For the space of four weeks, during which they continued to hold this position, every article of which they were in need was freely conveyed to Magdeburg, and the public granaries, already well supplied with corn, were furnished with such additional stores as enabled the citizens, throughout the siege, to experience absolute plenty, while the assailants were experiencing great privations from the scarcity and irregularity of their supplies. During the absence of Tilly, on his march to Meeklenburg, a coolness took place between Pappen-

heim and Mansfeld, the two principal officers left in command of the besiegers, which produced a comparative inactivity in their operations, and gave the besieged a still further opportunity of providing for their defence, which they industriously attempted to turn to their advantage by working without intermission at their fortifications. On Tilly's second approach towards the town, however, matters wore a different aspect. Several advanced redoubts were immediately stormed under his direction. Batteries were erected on both banks of the Elbe, which maintained a ruinous fire night and day against the outworks; and Falkenberg, finding it at length advisable to confine his defence to the Old Town, set fire to the New Town and suburbs, and withdrew the troops who occupied them, to assist in manning the main fortifications. Pappenheim instantly crossed the Elbe with five regiments of infantry, and, establishing his quarters among the ruins of the suburbs, commenced his approaches against the body of the place at four different points, unimpeded by several furious sallies made by the besieged, in one of which his own aide-de-camp was made prisoner close beside him. From the 14th to the 24th of April he continued to advance his trenches nearer to the counterscarp, while Tilly and Mansfeld at the same time were employed in separate attacks. On both sides the fire of cannon and musketry redoubled, as the distance between the combatants was diminished. The batteries of the Imperialists constantly increasing in number, and erected at nearer points, made fearful destruction in the city; while the garrison, no less actively employed in annoying their assailants, filled the trenches with the dead and wounded, by the vigour and precision with which their guns were served. The regular defenders of the works were, however, by this time reduced, in consequence of the

hard service they had sustained, and the numbers who had been put to the sword or taken prisoners, in the several outworks won by the Imperialists, to 2,000 men. The plentiful supply of ammunition with which the town had at first been provided, was almost exhausted by the uninterrupted firing; and the burghers of Magdeburg, who might have been expected, from the interests they had at stake, to have eagerly assisted in the defence to the last, are accused of having considerably relaxed in their efforts towards the end of the siege: which can only be accounted for by the supposition, that, confident of being speedily relieved by the Swedish army, they did not deem the exigency so pressing as to demand any extraordinary exertions. Their spirit was still unsubdued, whatever deficiency they might have shown in seconding their resolutions by their actions. Three letters, sent by Tilly to the Administrator, the Magistracy, and Count Falkenberg, requesting them not to defer their surrender until the Imperial standards were planted on their ramparts, were answered with the unanimous consent of all parties, by the reply, that they were ready to perish rather than submit. On the next day, three sallies were made on the principal attacks of the Imperialists, in which the Magdeburghers filled up a great part of the trenches, carried off a quantity of intrenching-tools, and returned to the town with fifty prisoners. The Imperialists, however, quickly repaired the trifling damage they had sustained; and on the night of the 1st of May, seven new batteries were opened by Pappenheim with great effect, while at the same time saps were commenced for the purpose of sounding the ditch. To the great disappointment of the besiegers, this was found to be, in most places, far too deep to be forded; while, at the same time, the garrison, having mounted two pieces of cannon on a

neighbouring tower, swept the new batteries in reverse with such effect, that it was necessary to silence the fire from this post before thinking of carrying their approaches any further. The heavy artillery of the Imperialists was accordingly directed against it, and employed with such effect, that the pile at length gave way with a tremendous crash; but instead of filling up the ditch, as had been expected, its ruins fell along the ramparts, which they consequently rendered still more precipitous. Notwithstanding the continued exertions of the besiegers, they had not yet succeeded in breaching the curtain of the bastion, against which their principal efforts were directed. Pappenheim, however, had at last reached the foot of the counterscarp, and exploring the fosse more accurately, was overjoyed to find one part more shallow than the rest, at which it was possible to cross without much difficulty. He instantly hastened to Tilly, and proposed an immediate assault, without any further attempt to ruin the works. The Imperial general was little inclined to urge an objection to the plan. He was well aware that the Swedes, whose advanced parties had by this time pushed forward to Zerbst, a distance of but six leagues from Magdeburg, might be hourly expected to arrive in sight of the city, and that if a last attempt to possess the place was to be made, it was time to issue orders for it immediately. He therefore once more summoned the garrison, although in a letter couched in more moderate terms than before, and, receiving no answer, prepared to act upon the advice of his lieutenant. The people of Magdeburg, who saw in the style of Tilly's summons a certain indication of the approach of the King of Sweden for their deliverance, and who never for a moment imagined that the enemy would be so rash as to attempt to carry their town by assault, while their ramparts remained

entire, gave themselves up to the exultation in which it was natural for them to indulge, at the prospect of the honourable termination to their labours, which they could scarcely be charged with presumption in believing to be close at hand.

During the whole of the 8th of May, the batteries of the Imperialists continued to thunder against the ramparts, although apparently with as little effect as before. Throughout the night which followed, immense quantities of carcasses and grenades were thrown from the counterscarp, in the hope of setting fire to the town. The inhabitants, however, were on the alert to extinguish the first symptoms of a conflagration, and so well sheltered, that they suffered the loss of but ten men from the effects of the formidable missiles thickly showered upon them. On the afternoon of the 9th, the fire of the besiegers suddenly ceased, and the cannon were withdrawn from several of the nearest batteries. Tilly was now busied in making preparations for the assault of the following day, and had made use of this artifice to lull the enemy into a false sense of security. As he had expected and desired, the citizens of Magdeburg considered their anticipations of deliverance fully realised by the movements they observed in the camp of the besiegers, and flattered themselves that the next morning would witness the Imperialists in full retreat before the ensigns of the army of Sweden. The ensuing night, affording a remarkable contrast to that which had preceded it, was perfectly tranquil and undisturbed by a single shot, either from the town or the Imperial lines ; and as soon as the dawn was somewhat advanced, the armed burghers, most of whom were exhausted by their recent fatigue and long-continued watching, dispersed to their several homes to indulge in a short repose—the last they were to experience on earth, and from which they were soon

to be startled by the shouts of a merciless foe in possession of their gates, and eager to take vengeance for the protracted resistance of Magdeburg, by the indiscriminate massacre of all who breathed within its walls.

The Imperial officers had been by no means unanimous in their opinions, delivered in the council of war at which the assault of the city was determined. Many among them considered it an undertaking little less than desperate, considering the slightness of the injury which had yet been done to the defences of the city. One of the Austrian colonels, however, citing the instance of Maestricht, which, in the preceding century, had been taken by Alexander of Parma at an early hour in the morning, while the citizens, after a night spent in watching, were yet absent from their posts, it was at length determined that Magdeburg should be assailed, on the first appearance of day-break, at three different points. The conduct of the attacks was given to Pappenheim, Mansfeld, and Adolphus Duke of Holstein, while three regiments were ordered at the same time to distract the attention of the besieged by a feint of entering by a different part of the town. The Imperialists, during the night, occupied themselves, with as little noise as possible, in pulling up a strong palisade, which was likely to impede the assailants in their advance, and in the preparation of scaling-ladders and fascines. Day dawned, however, without the appointed signal, which was to have been made by a general discharge of all the artillery in the Imperial camp. Tilly, seized with a sudden feeling of hesitation on the subject of his enterprise, thought it necessary to call a second council of war, before ordering the execution of the attempt previously resolved upon ; and it was not until seven o'clock in the morning that the several divisions at length moved onward from the trenches,

According to the author of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, a party of Croatians, stationed along the bank of the Elbe, observing the river to be unusually shallow, easily passed over, and were the first to make their way into the town. The common account, however, which assigns the first entrance to the division under Pappenheim, is more probably correct. This officer, crossing the fosse, after he had half filled it with fascines, at the point where he had previously ascertained the water to be comparatively of little depth, was already descending from the wall, which, at that part, was extremely low, and unprovided with a parapet, before the guard in the neighbourhood, many of them buried in sleep at the time, and the others scarcely believing the evidence of their own senses on the unexpected apparition of the enemy, assumed their arms in confusion, and commenced a weak and ineffectual discharge. The Imperialists, speedily silencing this feeble opposition, were pursuing their progress into the town, when they were suddenly assaulted by Falkenberg, who had hastened from the town-house, where he had been employed with the magistrates in dictating an answer to Tilly's last summons, at the head of such a body of troops as could be collected on the emergency, and immediately on coming up, charged the assailants with such determination, that Pappenheim's soldiery were, for a moment, broken and driven back to the foot of the rampart. The combat at this point, however, was speedily re-established in favour of the Imperialists by the aid of the numbers who were now thronging over the wall. Falkenberg fell, mortally wounded by a musket-shot, and his death was soon followed by that of an officer named Schmidt, who succeeded him in the command, and encouraged his men to continue the defence by the most desperate acts of personal valour. After the death of the latter,

but little opposition of consequence was offered to the progress of Pappenheim, since the defenders, disheartened by the loss of their leaders, immediately began to give way, and made every moment a more faint resistance to the overwhelming force of the enemy.

In the meantime the attacks of Mansfeld and the Duke of Holstein were carried on with no less vigour, and encountered by as ineffectual an opposition. By means of flat-bottomed boats, launched upon the Elbe, and on the deeper parts of the ditch, the Imperialists were enabled to plant their ladders against the wall at different points, while many of them ascended by striking into it bars of iron, prepared for the purpose, and swinging themselves up to the crest of the ramparts by this means of assistance. The confusion within Magdeburg continued to rise to a fearful height. All quarters resounded with the clang of alarm-bells, tolling from every steeple, the roll of drums beating to arms, the reports of musketry, and the loud cries and lamentations of women and children, who too truly anticipated the horrible scenes on the point of taking place. The soldiers and burghers, hastily snatching up their weapons, continued to rush to the quarters at which the noise of the battle appeared to be loudest; but their assistance, even if it could have availed at first, was now too late to avert the certain issue of the struggle. Before noon, the ramparts were fully in the possession of the besiegers. Two gates were opened, at which Tilly introduced a large body of infantry into the town, and their officers, turning the field-pieces they had brought with them upon the burghers, who had taken their last stand in the great square, commanded them upon pain of death instantly to retire to their houses. The discharge of two twelve-pounders in the midst of the crowd, procured speedy obedience to this order. In a few minutes all remaining signs

of opposition had disappeared, and the streets were occupied by the conquerors alone, who, resting upon their arms, awaited the further orders of their commanders. An awful pause, broken but by the half-suppressed lamentations of the inhabitants, ensued for some time, during which the fate of Magdeburg hung in suspense. If it had been the intention of Tilly to spare the multitude who now lay at his mercy, there is not the slightest doubt that his interference would have been immediately effectual. No such orders, however, were given, and the Imperial soldiery, finding themselves left entirely to their own disposal, began at length with loud shouts to break open the nearest houses, and to commence the work of indiscriminate massacre; while at the same time the remaining gates were thrown open to give admission to the cavalry and the barbarous Croats, who lay without, like ferocious beasts in grim anticipation of their prey. At this signal of the termination of all hopes, an appalling shriek arose from every quarter of Magdeburg, the despairing cry of a great city, on the point of sinking with its inhabitants, to the number of nearly 40,000, beneath a fate which humanity shudders to contemplate. Neither age nor infancy, neither sex nor station, was able to excite compassion amidst the terrible destruction, which the victors now set themselves industriously to effect, each desirous of surpassing his fellow in deeds of violence and cruelty. On the fate of the women of Magdeburg, it is impossible for a moment to dwell. Those, on whom a speedy death was bestowed, might consider it a merciful infliction; and it is recorded, that after the desolation of the city had been fully effected, no less than fifty-three headless corpses of females, with their hands tied behind their backs, were found in the ruined cloisters of the church of St. Catherine alone, a circumstance from which all the horrors perpetrated in other quar-

ters may easily be imagined. In the midst of this scene of ferocious barbarity and unresisting despair, the city took fire in several places at once, and a general conflagration added its terrors to the unslackening devastation of the sword*. Notwithstanding its rapid progress, however, the Walloons and Croatians continued the massacre to the last, precipitating infants into the flames before the faces of their parents, or immolating their miserable victims on the verge of the blazing ruins, which precluded their further flight. The heat at length became so intense as to compel even these to withdraw, for the purpose of ensuring their own safety; and, retiring to their lines without the walls, they contented themselves with gloomily watching the progress of the fire, which for six hours continued to redden the broad Elbe with its light, until of the once-flourishing city of Magdeburg, containing 6000 houses, many of them built in a style of great magnificence, and six parish churches, the cathedral church, and the monastery of Our Lady, situated in its vicinity, with about 600 fishermen's cabins on the ridge of the river, alone remained distinguishable amidst the general mass of ruins. As soon as the flames had in some measure subsided, the work of pillage commenced anew, and was continued as long as any valuables remained to attract the cupidity of the plunderers. Of the loss of human life inflicted on this dreadful day, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate. 6000 corpses, which encumbered the streets, were thrown hastily into the Elbe, and 24,000 afterwards found among the ruins, buried within three weeks

* Bisaccioni asserts that this fire arose accidentally, from the match attached to the musket of a soldier falling into a barrel of sulphur in the shop of a chemist which he was plundering. The majority of authors, however, charge the Croatians with being the first to commence the conflagration.

after the assault*. About 900 of the surviving inhabitants barricaded themselves in the cathedral church, and providentially remained unmolested during the massacre. Some hundreds more were saved by the Imperialists not engaged in the storm, who pushed off in boats from the opposite bank of the Elbe towards points which the assailants had not yet reached, and took those on board who were able to purchase this means of escape at an enormous ransom. The rest were left to their fate unheeded.

Whatever may be the degree of indignation with which the inferior agents in these melancholy scenes of suffering are to be regarded, the heaviest responsibility must be considered as resting on the head of their general. Shortly after the massacre had commenced, some of the officers of the League, whose feelings revolted at the atrocities they saw perpetrating before their eyes, hastened to Tilly and requested him to put a stop to the excesses of his soldiery. He is reported to have replied, "The men cannot be deprived of the reward of their exertions. The town must bleed; but return in an hour's time, and I will then see what is to be done." No second appeal was made after this repulse, or if made, it was disregarded. The Administrator, Christian William, who had been struck down and made prisoner in the beginning of the affray, when conducted into his presence, boldly reproached him with the enormities he had sanctioned, assuring him that God would not fail to punish him for the crimes of his army, and demand a severe account for the innocent blood he had that day caused to be shed. Tilly heard him without any signs of emotion, or showing that he was in the least moved by his appeal. The next day, however, he sent a drummer to offer quarter to the few inhabitants who remained in the cathedral

* *Mercurc François.*

church, and ordered that they should be immediately supplied with provisions, on being informed that they had remained without food since the morning of the assault. On the 12th of May he made his public entrance into the city, surrounded by a numerous staff of his officers. He was presented at the gate with the standards taken from the garrison and the burgher guards, which he directed to be planted before the doors of the cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was solemnly chaunted in his presence, accompanied with a triple discharge of the artillery of the camp and the town, as well as of all the musketry of the Imperialists. From thence, remounting his horse, he rode through the ruined streets, in which many of the wounded still lay unregarded, and where, as it is recorded by a creditable historian of his own party, living infants were yet seen clinging to the breasts of their slaughtered mothers, or endeavouring to hide themselves from the eyes of the soldiers beneath the piles of dead bodies—a spectacle which is said by some to have caused him to burst into tears, while others report that even in the contemplation of such horrors, he could not avoid showing marks of exultation, triumphantly repeating, with a slight alteration, the words of Virgil:—

“ Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile fatum.

— fuit Ilium, et ingens

Gloria Parthenopes” —

The news of the fall of Magdeburg excited the greatest terror among the Protestants of Germany, and loud murmurs were immediately raised against the King of Sweden, who was considered to have shown a blameable negligence in not advancing sooner to its defence. Gustavus, who on receiving the information was overcome by the violence of his indignation, and repeatedly denounced threats of a severe and speedy reckoning with Tilly for his barbarities,

justified himself by a manifesto, in which he clearly showed the readiness with which he would have preserved the city from destruction, had his efforts for that purpose been duly seconded, as he had expected, by the Protestant princes through whose dominions it was necessary for him to pass. To the accusation of not having furnished Magdeburg with a sufficient garrison, he stated, what was nothing more than the truth, that up to the very moment at which the enemy were close to their walls, the citizens, from a feeling of jealousy or of self-sufficiency, had not only declined to advance the smallest sum for the purpose of raising a mercenary force in their defence, but even refused to allow the soldiers of Sweden, or those of the Administrator himself, to be quartered in their houses. He called upon the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck to witness his exertions before the siege to forward letters of exchange to Magdeburg, since it was not possible to introduce the sum with which he had wished to supply the town in specie; and asserted that if the citizens had derived no advantage from these bills by their conversion into money, the fault must rest with a traitorous faction bribed by the enemy. He, lastly, reviewed and commented upon the whole series of his movements since the siege of Lansberg, where he had at first received intelligence of the danger to which Magdeburg was exposed, the vacillating conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, which had so long delayed his advance, with the earnest appeals he had made to that prince to obtain a resolution in his favour, and finally, the direct refusal of the Elector of Saxony to place the bridge of Wittemberg in his hands, after which, the insurmountable barrier of the Elbe rendered his approach to Magdeburg not merely a task of difficulty, but one which was absolutely impracticable. It is impossible to read this defence of the king's conduct with-

out being convinced by the reasoning it contains ; but even if no justification had appeared, the probable effect of the fate of Magdeburg upon his own interests would be sufficient to remove every doubt of the sincerity of his wishes for its preservation. By its reduction the Protestants would lose one of the strongest bulwarks of their cause, while the Catholics might be expected to be immediately elevated to a higher degree of confidence than ever, and instantly to advance, with forces no longer divided by attention to separate objects, to remove the last obstacle which remained to the permanent establishment of their ascendancy, by the expulsion of the Swedish armies from Germany. In this reasoning the submission of the city, on the usual terms allowed by the laws of civilised nations, is alone supposed to have been contemplated. The dreadful severity exercised by the Imperialists, and their remorseless cruelties, which ultimately injured the cause they were intended to serve, it was, of course, impossible to anticipate.

The embarrassments of the king were shortly afterwards greatly increased, by a demand on the part of the Elector of Brandenburg of the restitution of Spandau, since the time stipulated for its occupation by the Swedes had expired. Gustavus, bent on transferring his operations to the Elbe, was sensibly concerned at this request. Spandau, at that time defended by 150 pieces of cannon, and containing arms for 20,000 men*, with abundant supplies of provisions and ammunition, was too important a possession towards preventing any demonstrations of the enemy in his rear, to be relinquished without serious regret. It was, nevertheless, restored, in compliance with the promise previously given to the elector. The king, however, determined to bring his

* Monro's Second Expedition.

brother-in-law to the adoption of a decided line of conduct, and seeing that little was to be gained by his professed neutrality, followed the restoration of the fortress by an immediate march upon Berlin, and a message to the elector, in which he required him at once to decide whether the Swedes were to consider him for the future in the light of a friend or an enemy. George William would willingly have continued to temporise, but the necessity for a final resolution was now become imperative. On the 9th of June the troops of Sweden were close to the walls of Berlin, against which they had already levelled their cannon. The artillerymen were seen standing with lighted matches in their hands, and a trumpeter entering the city delivered a message in due military form, demanding immediate permission to quarter five regiments of infantry in the town, as a security against its favouring the Imperialists. Notwithstanding his danger, the elector continued to waver for three days longer, at the expiration of which the patience of Gustavus was exhausted. He insisted upon an answer without further delay, adding, that the elector had to choose between acceding at once to his demand, or seeing his capital abandoned to pillage; "for which," he significantly observed, "the signal of a single cannon-shot will be sufficient." All Berlin was thrown into consternation by this message; and as the likeliest means of softening the resolution of the king, a deputation, composed of the ladies of the court, headed by the Dowager Electress Palatine, were sent to make a last effort to dissuade him from his resolution. These able intercessors had been judiciously chosen. By their interference Gustavus was induced to relax considerably in his demands, but on the articles of the greatest importance he still remained inexorable. It was at length agreed that Spandau should be again garrisoned by the Swedish

troops ; that the gates of Custrin should be opened to them whenever they demanded a passage through the fortress, and that the States of Brandenburg should supply him with a monthly contribution of 30,000 crowns.

The late concession on the part of the elector rendered it necessary for him to write a justificatory letter, to deprecate the resentment of the Emperor, and to cover his own conduct by the readiest excuses which presented themselves. George William accordingly dictated an epistle to Ferdinand, in which he attempted his vindication at length—commencing with an enumeration of the ravages of the Imperialists in his territories, which had so far impoverished his subjects as to deprive them of all means of defending themselves ; and ending by expressing his hope that, considering the urgent necessity imposed upon him by the appearance of an army, which he had no means of resisting, he trusted his submission would not be considered a breach of his allegiance to the Empire, or preclude him from the state of neutrality in which it was his wish to remain during the whole of the present war. The Emperor's reply was cold and ambiguous, alleging that the disunion among the members of the Germanic body was the sole cause of the rapid progress lately made by a foreign enemy ; censuring the Conclusions of Leipzig, and complaining that since the meeting of that assembly, his soldiers had been treated in every part of the Protestant states as open enemies.

Ferdinand was, in fact, at the time preparing, while the horrors of Magdeburg were yet recent in the minds of his adversaries, to abrogate, by an absolute decree, the Conclusions which he had such substantial grounds for condemning, but of which, before the late signal success obtained by his arms, he had not dared to express his full disapprobation.

The members of the Catholic League, now considering their cause completely triumphant, and filled with greater confidence than ever in the general entrusted with the conduct of their armies, exclaimed, that the patience of the Emperor had been too long exercised by those whose pretensions would be most efficaciously answered by force of arms, and that it was now high time to employ, to the fullest extent, those means for restoring the public tranquillity which had so manifestly on a late occasion experienced the Divine blessing. Ferdinand was not slow in yielding to the wishes of his Catholic subjects, communicated to him after a general meeting of the principal supporters of the cause at Dinkelsbuhl, and Tilly received orders immediately to advance against any prince or state which should refuse to renounce the Conclusions of Leipzig, and to exercise the same severities, where he found resistance, as had just been experienced by the unhappy citizens of Magdeburg.

A short absence of the King of Sweden at Stettin, whither he had been summoned to give audience to an embassy from the Czar of Muscovy, enabled the Imperial general to commence the immediate execution of the orders of Ferdinand. The bishop of Bremen was the first against whom his threats were directed. "Submit to the decrees of the Emperor!" was the haughty summons of Tilly, "or prepare to encounter the last extremities of fire and sword." The bishop at once gave in his submission, and assented to the decree annulling the proceedings of the Diet of Leipzig. At the same time, the Administrator of Wirtemberg was compelled to a similar course by the Imperial army lately arrived from Italy, and commanded by Count Furstemberg. On the part of the duchy under his government, he promised a ready and unconditional obedience to the

Imperial decrees, consented to the Edict of Restitution, agreed to receive the army of Ferdinand into his territories, and undertook to raise a monthly contribution of 100,000 crowns for their support. The city of Ulm followed his example, and the whole circle of Suabia, which had already raised 3,000 men, was overawed into issuing immediate orders for disbanding them. The Elector of Saxony, provoked at the arbitrary conduct of the Emperor, and the little ceremony with which the resolutions of the Assembly, convened under his auspices, were treated, attempted in vain to urge the powers thus peremptorily addressed to an open resistance. All his persuasion was unavailing to counteract the brief communication by which Furstemberg signified the approach of his soldiers to the Protestant powers he was advancing to disarm. "Renunciation and submission, or no quarter."

The king, after a satisfactory audience with the ambassadors of the Czar, in which they proposed a renewal of the existing treaty with Sweden, now just on the point of expiring, and after expressing the congratulations of their sovereign to Gustavus on his recent conquests, offered him the aid of a body of Muscovites to act as auxiliaries, prepared to set out from Stettin with a numerous train of artillery to assist in the reduction of Griefswalde, the last place in Pomerania which remained unconquered, and which was vigorously besieged by Achatius Todt. On his way he received the welcome intelligence of the fall of the fortress; and, freed from every cause of anxiety with respect to Pomerania, instantly hastened back to pursue his operations in Lower Saxony, with the immediate design of recovering Magdeburg from the Imperialists. Brandenburg had been the place of rendezvous at which the troops destined for this service had been directed to assemble;

and, as soon as he had ascertained that the several divisions of his army had joined him, and were in full readiness to march, the king advanced rapidly towards the Elbe, which he intended crossing, in the neighbourhood of Tangermond.

CHAPTER XI.

Advance of Tilly into Thuringia against the Landgrave of Hesse—Gustavus crosses the Elbe at Tangermond—Tilly marches to meet him—The Swedes retreat to Wirben, and entrench themselves between the Elbe and Havel—Gustavus surprises five Regiments of Imperial Cavalry at Rheindorf—Arrival of six thousand English, under the Marquis of Hamilton, in Pomerania—The Queen of Sweden lands at Wolgast—Tilly approaches the Swedish lines at Wirben, but is compelled to retire with loss—The Swedes overrun the Duchy of Mecklenburg—Reinstallation of the deposed Dukes at Gustrow—Alliance between the King of Sweden and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel—Message of Tilly to the Elector of Saxony—Answer of John George, who declares in favour of the Swedes—The Imperialists ravage Saxony, and lay siege to Leipzig—Surrender of the City—Tilly takes post at Breitenfeldt—Junction of the Swedish and Saxon forces at Duben—They advance to meet the Imperialists—Battle of Leipzig.

As soon as Tilly had sufficiently provided for the defence of Magdeburg, among the ruins of which Pappenheim was left entrenched with a strong garrison, and dispersed a few thousand men throughout the duchy to guard the passages of the Elbe, he turned to the south, and commenced his march against the Protestant powers in that direction, hoping to be able to enforce the renunciation of the Conclusions of Leipzig throughout the districts of Weimar, Gotha, and Hesse Cassel, before the advance of Gustavus Adolphus should render his presence necessary in another quarter. During his passage across the Harz mountains, a partial vengeance was inflicted

upon his army for the cruelties of Magdeburg, by the wild people of that district, who massacred, without mercy, every detached party of Imperialists which fell into their way, and committed such havoc among the stragglers, that the guards of a convoy of provisions, appointed to follow from Wolfenbuttel, were induced to believe, from the number of dead bodies they encountered on their road, that a series of obstinate engagements had taken place for the possession of the mountain passes. On descending from these heights, and entering Thuringia, he immediately recommenced the course of devastation and outrage, to which his soldiers had been so long inured. The country of Weimar was cruelly wasted throughout its whole extent; the town of Frankenhausen pillaged and laid in ashes, and Erfurt compelled to purchase exemption from entertaining an Imperial army by an enormous contribution. Tilly then turned his march towards Hesse Cassel, and, encamping at Mulhausen, sent a letter to the Landgrave, in which he was summarily commanded to admit five regiments of Imperialists into his country; to receive garrisons into Cassel and the fortress of Ziegenhayn, to dismiss his recent levies, or to send them to join the Imperial forces; and to contribute such sums as should be demanded, towards supplying the soldiers of the Emperor with the arrears of their pay, as well as furnishing them with provisions and ammunition.

The Landgrave of Hesse, a prince of a very different character from those with whom Tilly had recently had to deal, replied to the summons of the Imperialists in terms of direct refusal, and was bold enough to couch his answer in a style of ironical pleasantry. He said that he should be especially cautious, after the late behaviour of the troops of the Empire, of admitting them into a single place in his possession, and much more so of allowing them an

entrance into his own residence, and the strongest fortress in his hands; that he had himself full employment for the force he had just levied, and therefore could hardly be expected either to dismiss it, or to place it under the command of another; that his soldiers were, besides, but young recruits, and unworthy of the honour of serving with the practised veterans of the Emperor and of the League, with whom, he moreover feared, they might be disposed to disagree, if troops of such different habits were brought into close contact. As to the article of contributions for paying the army of Tilly, or supplying it with provisions, he sincerely advised the Imperialist to lead back his forces into Bavaria, where all necessaries would no doubt be abundantly furnished him, instead of seeking for them in Hesse, where, in looking for supplies of which he stood in need, he might be so unfortunate as to meet with an opposition, of which he was not in search. The officer to whom this answer was at first verbally communicated, was so astonished at the boldness it displayed, that he refused to deliver it to Tilly unless communicated in writing, and signed by the Landgrave of Hesse, a demand which was readily complied with. Its receipt, as he had expected, exasperated Tilly to the highest pitch of fury. In the transports of his indignation, he swore that he would treat the towns of Hesse worse than the city of Magdeburg, and instantly hastened the march of his troops across the frontiers with the resolution of carrying his threat into full effect. The Hessians, terrified at his advance, and well aware of what they had to expect if they were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, abandoned the whole country threatened by the advance of the Imperialists, after having laid it so completely waste, that the invaders were obliged, for want of provisions, to await the arrival of supplies

from a distance before making any further inroads. This seasonable delay proved the preservation of Hesse, since, before Tilly was again in a condition to move forward, the advance of Gustavus Adolphus towards Magdeburg compelled him to delay the vengeance he was meditating, until a more favourable opportunity.

The movements of the King of Sweden had been for some time masked by sixteen cornets of cavalry under the direction of Bauditzen, which, after reaching Rathenau, and laying the whole surrounding district under contribution, spread themselves along the right bank of the Elbe, and finally crossed the river at Tangermond, driving several scattered corps of Imperialists before them until they were close to the gates of Magdeburg. Pappenheim instantly sallied forth to repulse them, but he was met by the Rhinegrave Otho Louis, and so rudely encountered, as to be obliged to retreat fighting at the head of his cavalry, until he was protected by the cannon of the ramparts. As he justly anticipated this bold demonstration to augur the approach of the king in person, he instantly sent a letter to Tilly, requesting him to hasten to his succour without delay, if he did not wish to see the whole duchy of Magdeburg in the hands of the enemy. Pappenheim had not been wrong in his conjecture, that the king was making directly for the position which he occupied. Gustavus, on the 28th of June, breaking up from Brandenburg, and reconnoitring with a strong division of cavalry the banks of the Elbe up to the bridge of Magdeburg, had selected the vicinity of Tangermond as the best point for passing the river. Tangermond itself was first carried by assault, sixty of the garrison slain by the Swedes on their first entry, and the rest removed until their fate should be decided by the lips of Gustavus himself. The king entered the

town the next morning, after having thrown his projected bridge over the river, when the prisoners were immediately presented before him, with several other Imperial soldiers taken at Stendal, Arnberg, Wirben, and other places in the old march of Brandenburg, which had lately fallen into the hands of the Swedes. As soon as he advanced towards them, the whole crowd, who expected to receive from his hands the same treatment which they had been accustomed remorselessly to inflict upon others, threw themselves upon their knees and demanded quarter. The king, regarding them with a stern look, commanded them immediately to rise. "Such an act of homage," he said, "should be offered to no mortal. Prostrate yourselves before the Almighty, and return Him thanks for the life which I grant you. In this country you have acted the part of banditti. You have been accustomed to allow no quarter to my Swedes, wherever you have proved the stronger party, but have treated them with greater cruelty than would have been shown by Infidels. You deserve immediate death, no doubt, but I pardon you. Begone! take your lives, and praise God for my forbearance."

But whatever diligence Gustavus had shown in his attempt at the recovery of Magdeburg, he was unable to anticipate the march of Tilly, who, on the first intelligence from Pappenheim of the direction he was pursuing, set forward in haste from the frontiers of Hesse, giving out as he advanced that he was at length on the point of bringing the King of Sweden to a decisive action. His expectations, however, in this respect were, for the present, to remain ungratified. The Swedish monarch was as yet too far inferior in numbers to the enemy to encounter the hazard of the battle which had been so long expected, and, on finding his design upon Magdeburg frustrated,

determined upon a different plan of operation. He had lately been struck with the advantageous position for an entrenched camp, offered by the confluence of the Elbe with the Havel, near the town of Wirben, and had openly expressed his astonishment that it had never been previously occupied as a military station, in the course of the operations between Tilly and the King of Denmark. In this post he resolved to establish himself, and wear out the strength of his antagonist by vain efforts to force him from his post, until the occurrence of events of which he was in daily expectation should justify him in meeting the Imperialists in the field. The principal cause of his adopting this resolution was the increasing dissatisfaction expressed by the Elector of Saxony against the Emperor, and the probability that in a short time he would be induced to lay aside the mask of neutrality, and openly to declare for the Swedes. The Imperialists, under Tieffenbach, after having rallied in Silesia, were making fresh movements along the Oder, and having entered the marquisate of Lusatia, were wasting the open country with fire and sword. As the whole district had been given in pledge to the elector for certain sums of money advanced to the Emperor, he loudly exclaimed against this spoliation of his property. His appeals met with as little attention as those of others, in similar circumstances had experienced before him; and it was evident, from the whole tone of his remonstrances, and the vigour with which he was known to be at the same time carrying on his levies and replenishing his arsenals, that the endurance of John George had nearly reached its utmost limits.

The Swedes, concentrated in the neighbourhood of Wirben, were now employed night and day in throwing up the formidable entrenchments, under which the king hoped to withstand all the efforts of Tilly,

although the Imperial army was at this time somewhat more than double his own in number. Before his lines were finished, he received intelligence that his adversary was already at Wolmerstadt, while several of his advanced regiments had taken up their quarters at Rheindorf, which was but four miles distant from his own advanced posts at Tangermond. The king, rightly conjecturing that the troops of the enemy, wearied with the forced marches they had lately been obliged to perform, would keep but a slight watch against surprise; and desirous of giving them such a check as would enable him to finish the work he had in hand at leisure, left his camp at Wirben on the night of the 16th of August for Arnsberg, where he had appointed two regiments of cavalry and 500 dragoons to await his arrival. With these he advanced towards Rheindorf, making prisoners on his way a party of Imperialists, who informed him that the cuirassier regiments of Holk, Montecuculi, Bernstein, Pappenheim, and Coronini, were quartered in the villages in his front without any suspicion of the vicinity of an enemy. The king resolved upon an immediate attack, and dividing his cavalry into three bodies, and committing the conduct of his right to Bauditzen, and of his left to the Rhinegrave Otho Louis, while he himself took charge of the centre, fell at once upon the quarters occupied by the Imperial cavalry, most of whom, when startled at length by the alarm given by the few sentinels who were on duty, had scarcely time to form before the enemy were in the midst of their ranks. The regiments of Pappenheim and Montecuculi, who were the first charged, had not even assumed the appearance of a regular order, and were driven in headlong flight by Bauditzen over the plain in their rear, with a serious loss of men, either overthrown in the shock of the brief encounter they had

attempted to sustain, or cut down by their pursuers, who followed hard upon their rear as far as Wolmerstadt. The king, who had directed his attack upon the village of Rheindorf, experienced a more serious resistance, since, with only 300 men, he had to oppose the whole regiment of Bernstein, which, having taken the precaution to plant a strong picquet in front, was enabled to assume a more respectable array than the rest, and maintained a fierce combat before giving way before the repeated charges which Gustavus headed against it. Holk, at the head of his own regiment and that of Coronini, although his men were as completely surprised as their companions on the left, and thrown into equal confusion, defended himself with still better success against the Rhinegrave; and it was not till after an obstinate and long-continued struggle, during which the Swedish loss was far from inconsiderable, that he at length quitted the field, leaving two standards in the possession of his opponents. Among the slain in this quarter, Gustavus had to lament the loss of the young Prince Palatine, of Lauterech, who was mortally wounded by a pistol ball while mingling with the foremost combatants.

Tilly received the news of this check, the first he had ever received, but which was only to prove the prelude to a long series of reverses, with evident marks of mortification. He consoled himself, however, with the hope of speedily obtaining his revenge from the King of Sweden, whose ardent temperament he hoped would at no distant period offer an opportunity of taking him at disadvantage. Gustavus, having returned to Wirben, availed himself of the momentary panic inspired among the Imperialists, by his late successful skirmish, in carrying forward his entrenchments with double activity. Within the space of four days afterwards, the lines were

entirely completed, and ready for the reception of his army. The works which he threw up upon this occasion, as well as the judgment he had previously displayed in the selection of his position, were considered among his highest claims to the approbation of his military contemporaries. The most perfect order prevailed throughout their extent, and every arrangement was made to enable the several divisions of the troops to act in complete concert with each other, in the event of an attempt of the Imperialists to carry the camp by assault. The brigades of infantry were severally appointed to guard the quarters they had been employed in fortifying, and were sustained by strong bodies of cavalry stationed behind them, with their horses constantly saddled and bridled, for the purpose of sallying forth at a moment's notice, or immediately charging the first of the enemy who should succeed in forcing an entrance. Two sides of the enclosed space were defended by the Elbe and the Havel, and 150 pieces of cannon *, frowning along the rampart which was unguarded by either of these streams, and consequently most exposed, seemed sufficiently to discourage any hostile attempt in that quarter. The whole was commanded by the guns of the citadel of Wirben, which the king had strengthened and furnished with additional platforms for heavy artillery. At the same time, by means of a floating bridge, his communication was still maintained with Havelberg, Perleberg, and Rathenau, and a retreat still open to him in the almost incredible event of the success of the Imperialists in compelling him to abandon his position.

While yet employed in superintending the completion of the celebrated Leaguer of Wirben, as it was generally termed, the king was joined by the Marquis of Hamilton, who had a short time pre-

* Monro. Second Expedition.

viously landed in Pomerania, with 6,000 troops levied in Great Britain for his service, and now presented himself to receive the necessary directions for their employment, having excited general astonishment, during his journey through the North of Germany, by the number of his attendants and his personal magnificence, which was compared with the state of Wallenstein himself. But of all the nations engaged in forwarding the Protestant interests during the Thirty Years' War, England was unfortunately the most feeble and dilatory in her assistance. Gustavus had naturally expected to be vigorously seconded by the subsidies and powerful fleets of Charles I. during his contest with the house of Austria, and hoped that the favourite scheme of the recovery of the Palatinate would have induced that monarch to carry on a maritime war with Spain, simultaneously with his own exertions by land for the humiliation of the common enemy. Charles, however, was contented with empty promises; and still fearful of compromising himself with a power for which—although he himself, as well as his father, had been made the open ridicule of Europe by its treacherous policy—he seems, during the whole of his life, to have entertained a singular respect, afforded little more than good wishes to the cause of Sweden; his only substantial aid being rendered in a few subsidies, which were but scantily granted, and soon ceased altogether. Much of his backwardness in affording pecuniary assistance was undoubtedly owing to the impossibility of raising supplies from his parliament during the contests on the subject of the royal prerogative, which may be said to have commenced with the first day of his reign. The real political situation of his ally was, however, but little understood by the King of Sweden, and a feeling of difference was speedily created between the

two monarchs, which the cold and reserved character of Charles was so likely to inspire, and the ardent and impetuous temperament of Gustavus Adolphus equally apt to resent and increase. In the instance of the late levies made by the Marquis of Hamilton, considerable ground for dissatisfaction presented itself, since Charles, instead of following the example of the King of France, and openly forwarding the enlistment of troops in his favour, cautiously refrained from any approach to an overt act of hostility towards the house of Austria by appearing as a party to the transaction. Although the marquis was aided by him secretly with part of the necessary funds for the purpose, he was publicly declared to have conducted the levies entirely at his own expense; and to separate his expedition as much as possible from the appearance of a national transaction, he was authorised to take an oath of allegiance to the crown of Sweden, on behalf of his troops, before landing in Germany. In all this Gustavus imagined he discerned indications of the resolution of the English monarch to disclaim his alliance on the first occurrence of a reverse, and was determined, on his part, that the newly-arrived auxiliary army should act no such prominent part in the war as should enable Charles to boast of the assistance yielded him, or to claim his gratitude in consequence. He received the Marquis of Hamilton, however, with every appearance of courtesy and respect; took great pains in explaining to him the plan of defence he had adopted against Tilly, and made many apologies for the unpromising character of the quarters he was able to assign for his army. The English were then directed to co-operate in Silesia with the force under Gustavus Horn. It is said that the first intention of the king was to employ them in the duchy of Bremen, a district comparatively unexhausted by

the war, while Silesia had experienced its most wasting effects; but that, since Hamilton, contrary to his directions, had thought proper to land near the mouth of the Oder, he was obliged to desire him to act in conjunction with the Swedes at the nearest point at which his services would be available. The consequences to the English were in the highest degree pernicious, since, either from the scantiness and badness of their provisions, or the prevalence of the many forms of disease which are never slow in following the track of war, but 1,500 soldiers remained, at the end of the ensuing summer, of the well-armed and well-furnished force with which Hamilton had at first appeared in Germany. The marquis fell into constant disputes with the Swedish commanders on points of precedency and etiquette, and after having been removed from the banks of the Oder to the Elbe, where he again contrived to embroil himself with Banner, at that time blockading Magdeburg, led back to England the last wrecks of his army, which then consisted of but 500 men. Among these were several of the cavaliers who afterwards composed the best officers of the royal army during the great civil war. It is almost needless to observe also, that many of the parliamentary commanders learned in the same school the lessons which both parties afterwards practised with an ability so fatal to the welfare of their country.

The arrival of the Marquis of Hamilton in Germany occurred nearly at the same time with that of Maria Eleonora, the Queen of Gustavus, who safely landed at Wolgast with a reinforcement of 8,000 men. These were reserved for the approaching operations which the king meditated in the duchy of Mecklenburg. Favourable news was soon afterwards received from Holland, where 50,000 guilders per month were voted by the states in aid of the

King of Sweden, and his levies not only countenanced, but warmly promoted by the public authorities. All these circumstances greatly tended to increase the confidence of Gustavus, and to encourage him to persist with still greater energy in the prosecution of an enterprise, which was now beginning to be redeemed from the accusation of rashness by the astonishing success with which it had hitherto been attended.

Soon after the preparations at Wirben for the protection of the Swedish army had been completed, and the troops distributed in their respective quarters, the army of Tilly appeared in sight, and drew up in order of battle before the lines. After continuing in this position for some hours, and finding that his enemies gave no indication of an intention to accept his challenge, the Imperialist erected a battery of thirty of his largest pieces of ordnance, and commenced so close and heavy a fire, that the Swedes were compelled to shelter themselves in haste by drawing up close beneath their works*, where they remained till nightfall, in momentary expectation of an assault, returning at the same time the furious greeting of their antagonists with the whole of the artillery mounted along their ramparts. The next day was spent in a succession of skirmishes between advanced parties of Tilly's army and select detachments which issued from the Swedish camp to check them in their approach, during which the fire of the cannon of both parties was maintained without interruption. On the third morning after his arrival, however, the Imperial general, who had by this time sufficiently ascertained the strength of the defences before him to abandon all thoughts of an open attack, and who had for two nights successively lain with his army disposed in the order in which he

* Monro.

intended to fight, discouraged by the obstinacy of the Swedes, and having suffered a severe loss from the long exposure of his men without shelter to the guns of the hostile camp and citadel of Wirben, reluctantly commanded a retreat. A dark and misty morning was expected to conceal his design from the enemy; and for the purpose of deceiving them still further, Tilly commanded all the drums and trumpets of his army to sound as if he were on the point of advancing for a general assault*. The Swedes, however, were quickly aware of his real movements; and issuing from their entrenchments, under the conduct of the king in person, with six field-pieces, made repeated attacks upon the rear-guard of their retiring foes, and only returned when the main body of the Imperialists drew up to receive their routed companions, and to check all further pursuit. In the skirmishes before Wirben, the young Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, the most celebrated pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and who would probably have equalled him in renown, had he not been removed from the scene of his achievements at as early an age and by a less glorious death than his patron, first attracted the notice of the army in which he had recently taken service. Tilly, after having lost 6,000 of his best troops, fell back into Saxony, and the Swedes found themselves at full liberty to turn their whole attention to the recovery of the duchy of Mecklenburg. The next meeting of the two armies was to be followed by more momentous consequences, and to take place upon a more sanguinary field.

The possession of Mecklenburg might be considered the real prize contended for at Wirben, since, if Tilly had forced that important post, the Swedes must not only have abandoned all hope of its conquest, but might have considered themselves

* Monro.

fortunate in escaping utter destruction at the hands of their pursuers. As it was, the whole duchy was instantly overspread by their troops, now increased by the junction of the force lately arrived at Wolgast, which had hastened to co-operate with them from the side of Pomerania. Gustrow and Putzow were abandoned by the Imperialists without resistance, the garrisons retreating to the towns of Rostock and Wismar. Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg, was in consequence immediately besieged. Adolphus Frederic, one of the dukes deposed by the Emperor, hastily setting out from Lubbeck, and collecting a small force in his way, was the first to present himself beneath its walls. Achatius Todt shortly afterwards arrived, with six companies of infantry and four pieces of cannon. By their joint efforts, the Imperial garrison was soon compelled to submit to honourable conditions, and escorted to Demmitz and Wismar.

A few days after the recovery of Schwerin, the ceremony of the reinstatement of its former sovereigns in their dignity was solemnly performed at Gustrow, in the presence of Gustavus, with such a pomp and splendour, as were thought suitable to the importance of the occasion.

After taking his leave of the Duke of Mecklenburg and the magistracy of Gustrow, Gustavus again returned to Wirben. He had scarcely arrived, when William, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, presenting himself in his camp in person, made proposals for a public alliance, offensive and defensive, between his country and Sweden. This was the first open and voluntary avowal of a resolution to support his cause among the Protestant princes, and contrasted singularly with the hesitating policy hitherto pursued by the powerful Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. The landgrave, however, had ample reason for the

course he had adopted. The Emperor had given him serious offence by determining a difference between himself and the house of Hesse Darmstadt, respecting the right of succession to the district of Marburg, in favour of the latter. The Imperialists had drawn a contribution of not less than seven millions of crowns from the limited territory over which his authority extended; and the Edict of Restitution had been carried into effect, enforced in his dominions by the seizure on the part of the Dominican friars of the rich monastery of Geismar, which had been determined to constitute a part of his fief by the Convention of Passau and the Religious Peace, and from the proceeds of which he derived a fourth part of the revenue. An additional cause for his placing himself under the protection of a foreign power, was to be found in the late threatening attitude of Tilly towards his country, and the certain conviction, that the vengeance threatened by that general would be fully remembered at the first opportunity of inflicting it. The articles of the treaty between Sweden and Hesse Cassel were speedily adjusted, and immediately signed. It was agreed that the forces of the king should defend the territories of the landgrave to the utmost of their ability, while those of Hesse were promised to assist the Swedes in all further operations, as soon as their country was delivered from the presence of the enemy. Gustavus further promised, not to enter into any agreement, either with the Emperor, or the Catholic League, until the landgrave was restored to all the rights and prerogatives enjoyed by his house before the troubles in Bohemia. The fortresses in Hesse were to be garrisoned by Swedish troops, if necessary, but restored at the first demand; while the landgrave was, without further delay, to proceed to the levy of some thousands of men, which were to be ready, ou

the earliest opportunity, to co-operate with their new allies. Other articles of minor consequence followed, tending to prevent the possibility of future differences between the parties; and as soon as the signature of Gustavus was obtained, the landgrave departed, actively to fulfil his part of the agreement. The king still continued at Wirben, in daily expectation of a reinforcement of 4,000 men, under Horn, which he had commanded to join him, as well as of several bodies of recently-levied troops, which Banner had succeeded in raising in the Marches of Brandenburg.

If the alliance of the Landgrave of Hesse was to be considered an important acquisition to the cause of Sweden, that of the Emperor was now strengthened by a support which appeared more than sufficient to turn the balance in his favour. Tilly, burning with indignation at his late repulse, by which he had been so far exasperated as to issue orders for giving no quarter to the Swedes who fell into the hands of his soldiers, had no sooner retreated to Wolmerstadt, than he was informed of the approach of the army of Italy to join him. The junction of this redoubted force, composed entirely of veteran soldiers, the late conquerors of Mantua, and justly considered the best of the Imperial troops, raised his army to nearly 40,000 men, while the Swedes, even after the arrival of Horn, could not be estimated at more than 16,000, on the most favourable calculation. Tilly had no doubt, with the increased force he had just received, of speedily finishing the war in favour of the Imperialists. The warlike preparations, however, which the Elector of Saxony continued to carry on, with an activity which gave some reasonable ground for suspicion, determined him, before marching against Gustavus, to come to a definite understanding with John George, on the course he intended to pursue in

reference to the belligerent parties. Before decamping from Wolmerstadt, therefore, he sent the Counts Metternich, Furstemberg, and Cratzen, as ambassadors to Merseburg, complaining, that notwithstanding the decrees of the Emperor, the levies pursued in accordance with the Conclusions of Leipzig were still carried on in several of the Protestant States, which were justified by the alleged authority of the Elector of Saxony. He, consequently, desired him at once to refuse all countenance to proceedings so completely at variance with the constitutions of the Empire, and as a proof of his desire to remain in the exercise of allegiance to its head, to join the forces already raised in Saxony to those who were on the point of marching against the foreign enemy, who, owing to the disunion among the members of the Germanic body, had as yet been uninterrupted in his progress. In order to enforce this command, Tilly, after dismissing his ambassadors, advanced towards Alsleben, and subsequently to Halle, where he awaited the answer of the elector, having previously so disposed his forces as to be ready, in the case of an unfavourable reply, to ravage the whole country as far as the gates of Leipzig, as the first infliction of Imperial vengeance upon his contumacy.

John George, however, was no longer in a temper to be intimidated by threats. His troops already amounted to 16,000 men, and he flattered himself that the Swedes, on the first news of his resistance to the demands of Tilly, would hastily march to his assistance. His virtual answer to the Imperial deputies was given at a banquet, at which, after drinking to excess, according to his usual custom, he felt still more courageously disposed, and better inclined to deliver the defiance he had been meditating. He bluntly informed his guests that his preparations had been made for the defence of the Protestant religion,

and that he was at a loss to know what right General Tilly possessed to interfere with his conduct; adding, that the Imperialists, after devouring the other states, appeared willing to reserve Saxony for the dessert, but that he had taken order, while making preparations for their entertainment, to furnish them with comfits, which would assuredly break the teeth of those who attempted to bite them. With such little reserve did the prince, who a short time before had been complimented by Ferdinand with the title of Pillar of the Empire, now boldly throw off his late mask of allegiance. It has been added, that he afterwards bestowed gross personal abuse upon Metternich, whose health he openly refused to drink, after freely pledging the other deputies. The next morning, however, he showed that he had fully recovered his former quality of worldly prudence, by softening the expressions of the previous night in a letter to Tilly, intended to gain further time, and couched in such terms as still to leave some doubt of the alternate course he intended to pursue. At the same time he despatched his minister and general, Arnheim, to urge the King of Sweden to advance with all speed for the purpose of protecting his country from the ravages of the Imperialists, which, from his acquaintance with the character of Tilly, he was still apprehensive would not be delayed a single moment beyond the reception of his reply.

Tilly, no doubt informed by his commissioners of the words used by John George in the moments of his intoxication, and construing his dubious letter, as the elector had feared, into a certain sign of disaffection, sent a trumpeter to insist once more upon his former demands, at the same time charging the Saxon with the full responsibility of all the evils about to ensue in the event of his refusal. The Imperialists, however, were too eager to commence the spoliation of

the rich province before them, to await the return of their last messenger. On the night of the 2d of September, Tilly broke up from the neighbourhood of Halle; and sending detachments, according to his preconcerted plan, in all directions, to plunder and set fire to the neighbouring towns, while Holk and Gallas, bursting into Misnia, emulated the conduct of their commander-in-chief, by unheard-of barbarities, encamped at Skeuditsch, where he left his main body, and pushing on with his advanced guard to Eutritz, a village distant only a mile and a half from Leipzig, sent forward a trumpeter to summon the city. The magistrates, in their reply, testified the greatest surprise at this indication of hostility, which they asserted they had neither expected nor deserved, and represented that considering the perfect submission they had always testified to the decrees of the Emperor, they flattered themselves that no violence would be shown towards them by troops acting under his commission. The conduct of the Imperial general quickly convinced them of their mistake. He sent back a peremptory message, requiring the city of Leipzig instantly to open its gates to admit an Imperial garrison, and at the same time issued orders to his army to advance from Halle without delay, intending, if his demand was refused, to effect an immediate lodgment in the suburbs. The magistrates, thus threatened, showed more vigour in their defence than could have been expected from the suddenness of the alarm, and their recollections of the fate of Magdeburg. They ordered that part of the suburbs which lay before the gate of Halle to be fired in several quarters, and began to assign their various posts to the burgher guards, who having been enrolled under the name of defenders, were now hastily summoned to man the walls. The main body of the Imperialists arrived in the midst of their preparations, but from the fury of

the flames, which were consuming the suburbs, were obliged to encamp at some distance.

On the 4th of September, Tilly opened two batteries against the walls, from which he maintained a constant fire until the evening of the 7th, at the same time throwing combustibles of all kinds into the town. The besieged replied with their musketry and cannon from the ramparts, as long as the wall remained entire, but on the first appearance of a practicable breach, communicated to the Imperialists a desire to capitulate on honourable terms, under the conviction that they were too weak to withstand a general assault. Tilly at once accepted their offer, since he was alarmed by a report that the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony, having united their forces, were now in full march to raise the siege; information which was soon found to be well founded. The defenders, who only amounted to four companies, were accordingly allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

The King of Sweden, on the first communication through Arnheim of the recent conduct of the Imperial commander, and the request of the Elector for his aid, assumed an air of indifference; and coldly replied, that he had long foreseen all that had occurred, and that if the Elector of Saxony had been gifted with the same foresight, Magdeburg would not at that moment have been lying in ashes. Contrary to the expectations of the Saxon deputy, he did not appear to show the least eagerness to extricate John George from his hazardous situation, and although he expressed a cool condolence with him for the misfortunes of his country, gave no intimation that the Swedish forces would be exposed to peril in an attempt at its deliverance. On Arnheim's attempting to represent more forcibly the circumstances of his master, Gustavus stated briefly the only conditions on which he would advance to his relief. He demanded possession

of the fortress of Wittemberg as a place of retreat in the event of a disaster ; the delivery of the eldest son of the elector into his hands as a hostage ; the maintenance of the Swedish troops for three months, and the surrender into his hands of all his counsellors who had shown themselves attached to the Imperial interests. " On these conditions," he said, " I am ready to march, and on no others. If it does not suit the elector to comply with them, let him deliver himself from his enemies as he can."

John George was but too happy to purchase an escape from the impending danger on such terms. Arnheim was sent back to the king without delay, to inform him that not only Wittemberg, but the whole of Saxony should be placed at his disposal ; and that, if he required it, the elector would send, as hostages, all the members of his family, as well as his eldest son, while he would readily undertake to furnish every contribution for the pay of the Swedish troops, which Gustavus might demand. The king, satisfied by these concessions that the elector might now be depended upon, then laid aside the coldness and reserved manner he had hitherto assumed. He said, that it was not without reason he had at first thought it necessary to act in a cautious manner, when he remembered the former conduct of John George, while he was marching to the relief of Magdeburg ; but that since he had now given full proof of his sincerity, he would acquit him of all other obligations except that of furnishing a month's pay for his army, for which he promised him full compensation in the assistance he would derive from its exertions. The elector, in return, sent a declaration under his own hand and seal, in which, premising that the entrance of Count Tilly into his dominions, contrary to the laws of the empire, had compelled him to have recourse to foreign aid, he promised to join the King of Sweden with all his

forces the moment he should cross the Elbe, and act for the future under his entire conduct and command ; to open to the Swedes all the fortresses in his territories, in the event of their being compelled to retreat ; and to furnish them with quarters and provisions as long as they thought proper to continue in Saxony. Gustavus, on the receipt of this engagement, directed his army by forced marches towards the Elbe, which he crossed at Wittemberg, while John George, after his troops were fully assembled, hastened forward to meet him from Torgau. The two armies effected their junction at Duben. The appearance of the Saxon troops, in point of equipment, and the outward semblance of discipline, was such as to strike their allies with general admiration* ! Nothing was to be seen along their ranks but burnished armour, flowing plumes, and embroidered scarfs ; while the Swedish soldiers, worn with long service, and covered with the dust of a long and painful march, were little in a condition to vie, in outward circumstance, with their well-mounted and splendidly-dressed auxiliaries †. The king, with the Elector of Brandenburg, who had accompanied him thus far on his expedition, then returned with the Elector of Saxony to Torgau, where a council of war was held to determine upon their future movements. John George strenuously advo-

* Monro calls it "the completest little army for personages of men, comely statures, well armed and well arrayed, that ever his eyes did look on, whose officers did all look as if they were going, in their best apparell and armes, to be painted, where nothing was defective the eye could behold."

† "Having lyen overnight on a parcel of plow'd ground, they were so dusty they look'd out like kitchen servants with their uncleanly rags, within which were hidden courageous hearts, being old experimented blades, which, for the most part, had overcome by custome the toyle of wars ; yet these Saxon gentry, in their bravery, did judge of us and ours according to our outsides, thinking but little of us ; *neverthelessse we thought not the lesse of ourselves.*"
—Monro's Expedition, Part Sec., p. 62.

cated an immediate battle, which the king at first appeared to oppose. But, finding the elector at length excited to such a pitch of forwardness, as to declare that if the Swedes refused to fight, he would himself, at the head of the troops of his own nation, bring Tilly to a general engagement, he exclaimed, that he was charmed to find the elector so resolutely bent upon a course so consistent with his dignity. Then, turning to his generals, he cried, "Come, then, my friends; let us hasten to bring on this contest, between the person of an old corporal on the one side, and two electoral coronets and a royal crown on the other."

Tilly, who, before the surrender of Leipzig, had been earnestly advised by Pappenheim to fall upon the Saxons at Torgau before they had time to effect a junction with the Swedes, but who had unaccountably neglected to follow this prudent suggestion, on finding the intelligence of the approach of the combined armies well founded, began carefully to select a favourable position for battle. At a short distance to the north-east of Leipzig, and in front of the small village of Breitenfeldt, a slightly elevated ridge forms the only acclivity visible for many miles on the spacious plain which extends on all sides round the walls of the city. Midway up this ascent the Imperial infantry were arranged in dense masses, forming, with the exception of one or two regiments thrown out in advance, but a single line, and wholly unprovided with reserves. The heavy-armed cavalry were stationed on the wings, having the Croats and Hungarians scattered along the front to act as skirmishers, while the artillery was disposed along the crest of the rising ground, completely commanding the plain beneath, but liable to be masked by the troops it was intended to support, in the event of their advancing from their first position. Tilly has

been charged with three grand errors in conduct at the battle of Leipzig. The first, and perhaps the most considerable, consisted in fighting at all, before his army was increased by that of Altringer, numbering at least 12,000 men, which he daily expected to join him. Pappenheim, it is said, after the ill success of his previous counsel, had entreated his commander to fortify Leipzig, and entrench himself behind it, at least till these succours should come up to his assistance, after which it would have been in his power to give battle on terms of decided advantage; a plan which, whether its rejection arose from jealousy or a confidence in his own superior judgment, the Imperial general can scarcely be excused for not having adopted. Tilly's second error was observable in the faulty and cumbrous array of his infantry; and the third, in the disposition of his artillery above mentioned. The command of the right wing was entrusted to Furstemberg, and that of the left to Pappenheim, who had anxiously solicited the post in the hope of a personal encounter with Gustavus Adolphus, who was known generally to charge at the head of the cavalry of his extreme right. The centre was reserved by Tilly as his own station during the expected engagement. The whole army, comprising both the Imperial troops and those of the League, amounted to about 35,000 men, all of them tried soldiers, and many the veteran conquerors of Prague, Dessau, and Lutter.

The Swedes, with their allies, numbering somewhat less than 32,000, 16,000 of whom consisted of the troops of Saxony, crossed the Mulda at daybreak on the 6th of September; and marching during the greater part of the ensuing day, encamped late in the afternoon at the distance of about two miles from the enemy. From this station they sent back the greater part of their baggage to Duben, now confident of the delivery of a great battle on the following morning.

With the first appearance of dawn on the 7th, the drums and trumpets sounded to arms; and after prayers had been solemnly read at the head of the several regiments, the armies again set forward with banners displayed, and the full pomp of military pageantry. Near the village of Podelwitz some difficulty in the ground, which consisted in parts of a deep swamp, and was intersected by a small rivulet, occasioned some disorder among the troops, and Tilly has been further accused of suffering his adversaries to pass a spot unmolested, where considerable damage might have been inflicted upon them by a few pieces of cannon judiciously posted. Podelwitz, however, was only occupied by a body of Croats, who, after setting fire to the village, returned at full gallop, and carried to their general the certain intelligence of the vicinity of the Swedish and Saxon armies. In the meantime, the combined forces, having reformed their columns, continued leisurely to advance until they came in full sight of the eminence, darkened for the extent of two miles by the close battalions of the Imperialists, and crested with their formidable train of ordnance. An immense flock of crows and ravens, which had been feeding in the fields between the two armies, took wing at their approach; and, after several times circling the plain, swept, in a dense cloud and with loud clamours, directly over the centre of Tilly's army—a natural occurrence, which, however, was regarded as ominous by the spectators, and afterwards recorded as such by historians. Froissart has mentioned a similar circumstance among the preludes to the famous battle of Cressy.

When within about two cannon-shots of the enemy, the king made his last arrangements, and assigned to his several divisions the positions he intended them to occupy. As he was somewhat suspicious of the constancy of the Saxons, most of whom had never

yct witnessed a regular engagement, he posted them on his left, with such an interval between them and his own troops as would ensure the latter from being thrown into confusion in the event of their allies being routed. Their further disposition was entirely left to Arnheim and the Elector. The Swedish infantry divided into brigades, according to the favourite plan of Gustavus, was formed in two lines, each supported by its own separate reserve. The artillery, much inferior in calibre to that of the Imperialists, was disposed in front of the infantry, four heavy and six light pieces being assigned to each brigade, while a separate park of four and six pounders was stationed as a reserve in the rear. The greater part of the right wing was composed of cavalry ; but as the king was aware, from the comparatively small size of the horses, and the lightness of the defensive armour worn by the men, that they were ill-qualified to withstand the shock of the heavily-armed Imperial cuirassiers, he placed among them several small bodies of his best musketeers, whose assistance, he hoped, would more than cover the deficiency. The left of his first line, in which a similar disposition had been made, was commanded by Gustavus Horn ; and the centre, where the royal banner of Sweden was displayed, by Baron Teuffel, the king selecting for himself, as usual, the command of the cavalry on the right. The second line was assigned to Bauditzen and Colonel Haal. Immediately behind the king, Banner commanded the first reserve, while that appointed to sustain Haal and Bauditzen was composed principally of Scottish troops under Sir John Hepburn. Two regiments of the same nation, and one of Germans, commanded by Monro of Fowlis, Sir John Hamilton, and Sir James Ramsay, and consisting entirely of select musketeers, formed an advanced guard before the post of Teuffel in the centre. The word among the Swedes was

“God with us;” and each man had been ordered to enwreath his helmet with green leaves as a mark of distinction in the action. On the part of the Imperialists; “Jesus Maria” was selected as the battle cry, and the distinguishing badge consisted of a white riband bound round the left arm.

As soon as his dispositions were fully completed, the king, who, on this important occasion, was simply arrayed in a dress of gray cloth*, and only distinguished by a green plume which he wore in his hat, delivered a short harangue to his soldiers, containing such appeals as he thought best calculated to excite their courage in the action on the point of commencing. He then advanced a few paces farther, in advance of the line, and kneeling down, with his head uncovered, and the point of his sword turned towards the ground, uttered in a loud voice the following prayer:—“Almighty God, disposer of defeat and victory, turn, we beseech thee, thine eyes in compassion upon thy servants, whom injustice and oppression have compelled to leave their homes and enter a foreign land in defence of the truth and liberty of thy gospel, and grant us the conquest of our enemies to the glory of thy holy name.” All within hearing responded fervently to this expression of devotion, after which Gustavus, mounting his horse, led on his army to their last position in full range of the Imperial artillery.

The battle began about mid-day. Three cannon-shots, discharged by order of Tilly as a signal, were followed by a tremendous fire opened simultaneously along his whole line. The same number of shots on the Swedish left produced as furious a reply, and an uninterrupted cannonade, attended with heavy loss to both parties, ensued for the space of two hours; during which, as the Swedes were dazzled by the sun, which shone full in their faces, and greatly incommoded by a

* Gualdo Mossa, d'Arme di Gustavo Adolfo.

strong wind, which swept incessant volumes of dust from the newly-ploughed fields directly against their columns, the king thought it necessary to order a slight change of front, in order to avoid the annoyance. This movement was executed with so much celerity and precision, and at the same time so well concealed by the smoke of the battle, that the Imperialists were unable to make any attempt to hinder it until it was completely effected. But the heavy Swedish guns had by this time become so thoroughly heated, that most of them were rendered unserviceable. Gustavus, therefore, commanded the light pieces of his reserve to be brought up from the rear and placed in position. The increased rapidity of the discharge which took place from the Swedish line in consequence, and its effect among his ranks, speedily convinced Tilly that he was no longer a match for his opponents in their power to inflict mischief at a distance. He accordingly determined to try the effect of a closer combat, and descending from his elevated position with the impetuosity of a torrent, and moving somewhat obliquely to avoid the fire of the Swedish left wing, fell with irresistible force upon the right and centre of their Saxon auxiliaries. These yet unpractised warriors, already sufficiently daunted by the havoc made by the ordnance, and now still more terrified by the hail of musketry poured upon them by the advancing columns of the Imperialists, and the wild howl with which the Croats accompanied their onset as they furiously rushed forward to the charge, scarcely waited to exchange a few feeble blows with their assailants, before they gave way in confusion at all points, and fairly fled from the field. The cavalry, in particular, used their means of escape with such good will, that few of them drew bridle until they reached Eulenberg, a village ten miles in the rear. The infantry, after being thrown into no less con-

fusion, had still sufficient presence of mind left to plunder the Swedish baggage, together with that of their own army in their retreat. The elector's guards, with Arnheim at their head, alone stood firm amidst the general rout, and gallantly maintained the honour of their nation during the rest of the conflict. John George himself was among the thickest of the fugitives, and on halting at Eulenberg, proceeded to console himself for his discomfiture by a night devoted to his usual excess.

The combat, on the right of the Swedes, had been carried on more to the advantage of the allies. The Croats in that quarter were dispersed at the first charge, leaving at the mercy of the enemy the advanced regiment of Holstein, which was speedily routed with the loss of its commander, and causing some confusion by their flight even among the heavy armed cavalry under Pappenheim, who advanced to support them. As soon as this had been remedied, the Imperial cuirassiers drove at full speed against the Finland and West Gothland horse, which they hoped easily to ride down and scatter before them by the shock of the encounter. In the midst of their career, however, they were met by several close volleys from the detached parties of musketeers, and forced for a moment to recoil beneath the weight of the discharge, against which their armour, although pistol-proof, afforded no protection. The Swedish cavalry, taking instant advantage of their confusion, now charged in their turn with so much spirit, that the Imperialists were speedily compelled to give way before them. After retiring to a short distance, they were again rallied by Pappenheim, and brought back to try the fortune of a second attempt. But notwithstanding the exertions of that commander, who received several wounds while gallantly seconding his exhortations by his personal exertions, every fresh encounter was

attended with the same results. The Imperialists were first checked by volleys of musketry, and then driven back by the cavalry, who fell upon them as soon as the fire of their supporters had been delivered*. They still, however, maintained a resolute front; and although gradually forced to give way by the success of their opponents in several successive charges, obstinately continued to rally and dispute the field anew.

The king, who was personally engaged in this determined conflict, was informed, while it was yet undecided, of the movement of Tilly against the Saxons, and its success. He immediately hastened towards his left wing, and although from the shortness of his vision, a defect to which he afterwards in a great measure owed his death, he was unable clearly to discover the condition of the battle, he had no doubt, from the clouds of dust which rose before him, that the information was perfectly correct. Although the rout of his auxiliaries at once reduced his force to one half of its former numbers, while that of the enemy was at the same time rendered more than twice as numerous as his own, he displayed no symptoms of discomposure, but, coolly desiring Horn to throw back the regiments under his command, so as to form a front towards the quarter from which the Imperialists might be immediately expected to advance, and strengthening them with the reserve of the second line under Hepburn, rode again, to the right, promising speedily to return with fresh assistance. As soon as Horn had obeyed the king's orders, the Imperial regiments, with Tilly at their head, returning from the discomfiture of the Saxons, and expecting to find the left flank of the Swedes exposed, bore down upon them with impetuosity, and, after the exchange of a few volleys of musketry, advanced to determine

* Mourö.

the battle at the pike's point. They were met with a resolution equal to their own, and a sanguinary struggle ensued, which was for some time maintained without advantage to either party. But the king, who had by repeated efforts at length succeeded in totally routing the cavalry of Pappenheim, pushed vigorously forward to the village of Breitenfelt, and, seizing the heavy artillery of the Imperialists, proceeded to turn it against Tilly's centre and right wing, which were now stationed nearly at right angles to their former position, and exposed to being completely enfiladed by the fire of their own guns. He at the same time commanded several parties of musketeers to move round from the Swedish centre, and, by taking the enemy in the rear, to assist the efforts of General Horn, who, while holding them at bay in front, had contrived at the same time to outflank them, with the assistance of Hepburn's reserve. The well-disciplined troops against whom these movements were directed, who were now arranged in four large masses, each consisting of four regiments, although shattered by an incessant discharge of artillery, which struck down whole ranks at a time, and placed by their unwieldy array almost at the mercy of the Swedish musketry, which maintained from three sides a close and destructive fire, continued, nevertheless, until sunset, to offer such a resistance as might have been expected from their previously established reputation. At that time, the greater number, throwing down their arms, endeavoured, under cover of the evening, to ensure their safety by a precipitate flight, leaving the only appearance of a regular array to be maintained by the Walloon regiments originally composing the Imperial centre, which, continuing the combat in sullen desperation, were cut down by the conquerors in repeated assaults, until the wreck still remaining contrived to fight their way to the shelter

of a neighbouring wood. The last show of opposition was made by the cuirassiers of Baron Cronenburgh, who, sheathed from head to foot in black armour, affirmed to be musket-proof, had as yet continued unbroken, and, on perceiving that their companions had all dispersed, at length finished the action by a parting volley from their carbines, after which they leisurely rode off the field, imposing so much respect upon the victors by their formidable appearance, that they were suffered to make their escape unmolested. They were joined in their retreat by Tilly, who had received three severe contusions from pistol-balls during the engagement, and narrowly avoided death or captivity at the hands of the pursuers. A Swedish lieutenant-colonel, generally known by the name of Frederick the Long, on account of his lofty stature, overtaking him as he withdrew among the last of the fugitives, and receiving no reply to his demand of an instant surrender, inflicted several heavy blows upon him with the stock of his pistol, and would probably have slain him outright, had he not himself been shot through the head by Rudolph Maximilian, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, then serving in the Imperial army, who came up at a fortunate moment to effect the rescue of his commander*. Under the escort of Cronenburgh's cuirassiers,—all that remained to represent the magnificent force he had headed in the morning,—he continued his course to Halle. Here, after his wounds had been dressed, after the fashion of the barbarous surgery of the time, he was joined by Pappenheim at the head of fourteen hundred men, whom the general had succeeded in rallying on his way, and uniting these with the cavalry who had accompanied him from the field, he retired the next morning to Wolmerstadt, whither most of the scattered bodies of Imperialists were directing their flight.

* Heylman Leo Arctous.

Thus ended the battle of Leipzig, in which, to borrow the words of Hume, "the conduct of Tilly and the valour of the Imperialists were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus, and the superior valour of the Swedes." Few victories have been more decisive. Of the formidable army which had so long kept Germany in awe, scarcely a single regiment remained entire. The hereditary dominions of Austria lay fully exposed by its destruction; and there appears but little reason to doubt that, if the Swedes had thought proper to pursue their march in that direction, they would have been unencountered by a single enemy, before pitching their camp beneath the walls of Vienna. The loss of the victors amounted to but 3,000 men, including the Saxons, and was principally inflicted by the artillery at the beginning of the engagement. The Imperialists left 7,000 men dead on the field, among whom were reckoned the Duke of Holstein, Major-General Schaumberg, and several officers of distinction; and 5,000 were wounded or taken prisoners. Many hundreds more were slain by the Swedish cavalry, who continued to press hard upon the traces of their routed foes, until the obscurity of night put an end to the pursuit, or massacred by the incensed peasantry of the neighbouring districts, who, on the first intimation of the event of the day, which was announced by alarm-bells, sounded from the steeples of the village churches near the scene of action, hastily armed themselves, and sallied forth to inflict that vengeance upon the fugitives which they had provoked by their late ravages. The spoils of the field comprised a hundred standards and ensigns, the whole of the baggage of the vanquished, the value of which was immense, since it consisted of the fruits of many months of indiscriminate spoliation; and 28 pieces of cannon, some of them 48 pounders, each

requiring the strength of forty horses to transport it from place to place. The circumstances which principally contributed to the success of Gustavus Adolphus on this momentous day, at the close of which he found himself entitled to take his place among the greatest generals, have been generally found in his judicious use of his light artillery, his skilful intermixture of infantry with his horse, by which he was enabled to overcome a cavalry better appointed, and superior in numbers to his own; and, finally, his presence of mind in making such dispositions after the flight of the Saxons, as turned the defeat of one half of his army to his ultimate advantage. As on most similar occasions, however, a greater benefit may be supposed to have been derived by the conqueror from the errors of the Imperial general, whose star, after the capture of Magdeburg, seems to have been fated invariably to pale before that of the Swedish monarch; or rather whose advanced years, producing a greater degree of caution and hesitation than had been perceptible in the former part of his military career, rendered him no longer a fit match for the bold and vigorous system of warfare carried on by his more youthful and enterprising rival.

“Oh,” exclaims Monro, with a pardonable spirit of exultation, when reflecting upon the conduct of his great commander, at what was then termed the Cannæ of the house of Austria, “would to God I had once such a leader againe to fight such an other day in this old quarrell! And though I died standing, I should be persuaded I died well. And I wish that, as we have received the light of truth happily that fought in that quarrell, even so we may happen to restore that light againe pleasantly; that as we did overcome that day our carnal enemies, even so we may overcome in our last fight our spiritual enemies, that after death we may be crowned with immortal glorie.”

CHAPTER XII.

Plans of the Allied Armies after the Battle of Leipzig—Separation of the Swedish and Saxon Forces—Gustavus marches upon Erfurt, crosses the Düringer Wald, and reduces Königshofen—Siege and Assault of Würzburg—Movements of Tilly—Defeat of the Troops of Prince Charles of Lorraine, who retreats across the Rhine—Operations of the Saxons under the Elector and Arnheim in Bohemia—Recovery of Prague—Victory gained over the Imperialists under Tieffenbach—Surrender of Eger—Distress of Ferdinand, and perplexity of the Imperial Councils—Negotiations with Wallenstein on the subject of his reassuming the command—He agrees to superintend the levy of a fresh Army for the Emperor—The King of Sweden advances to Frankfort on the Maine—Frankfort surrenders—Triumphal Entry of Gustavus into the City.

THE morning after their victory was devoted by the Swedes to a solemn service of thanksgiving for the success of their arms; after which, the whole army advanced towards Leipzig, where Tilly had left an Imperial garrison of 1,500 men. The Elector of Saxony had been in the mean time informed at Eulenburg of the issue of the battle, and hastened to rejoin his allies with all the troops he had been able to assemble round his standard. On his attempting to apologise for the recent conduct of the Saxons, the king politely answered, that, considering they were but recent levies, they had behaved quite as well as could have been expected; and that the Elector had sufficiently shown his own courage by his advice given at Torgau, to which the recent advantage was in a great measure to be attributed. He then requested John George to undertake with his Saxons the recovery of Leipzig, while he himself proceeded to reduce Merseburg and Halle. Both these places

were yielded up on honourable conditions, at the first approach of the Swedes; and the Elector, having in a few days compelled the Imperialists left at Leipzig to a capitulation, again returned to unite his forces with those acting under the king. From Halle Gustavus wrote to Louis XIII., Charles I., and the United States of Holland, modestly informing them of his late victory, which he attributed entirely to the Divine assistance, and the valour of his soldiers. Of himself he made no mention. He next convoked a general council, which was attended by the Elector of Saxony, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Dukes of Weimar, to determine upon the best plan for improving the result of Leipzig. Many conferences were held upon the subject; but Gustavus at length ended the deliberations, by assigning the task of invading the hereditary dominions of Austria to the Saxons, who were desired to hasten their march into Bohemia, and make directly for Prague, at the same time taking proper steps to keep in check the Imperialists under the command of Ticffenbach, in Silesia. The troops of Sweden were destined to act in the circles of Franconia, the Upper Rhine, and Bavaria, where the king was now determined to continue his operations against the members of the Catholic League. This division of the combined forces, and in particular the part allotted to the performance of the Elector of Saxony, excited general astonishment. It had been confidently expected, that after the decisive day of Leipzig, the King of Sweden, leaving his ally to make head against the enemy in other quarters, would have marched straight to Vienna, and forced the Emperor to consent to a peace upon his own conditions. Oxenstiern was so convinced of the practicability of the plan, that, on his first meeting with Gustavus in Germany, he could not avoid indirectly reproaching him with his error in not having carried

it into effect. "I am happy to see you here, Sire," he said, "victorious and covered with glory; but I would much rather have preferred meeting you in Vienna." The conduct of Gustavus Adolphus on this occasion has been variously accounted for. By some it has been affirmed, that, considering it far more important to break the spirit of the League, by whose assistance Ferdinand was principally enabled to continue the war, than to hazard an expedition of uncertain success against the capital of his enemy, who might easily have abandoned it at his approach, and retired into Styria and Carniola, until a formidable army was collected in the rear of the invaders, he determined upon turning his arms against the Catholic Electors, as the readiest means of effecting the object for which he had entered the Empire. Others have sought for an explanation of his conduct in motives of personal ambition, and alleged, that with the secret design of securing for himself the dignity of King of the Romans, he thought it necessary first to place himself in such a position as would overawe the Electors into giving their votes in his favour. How far he might be influenced by either or both of these motives, it is difficult to determine. It is, however, beyond a question, that the event of the battle of Leipzig produced a considerable change in his views, and that from that moment the vision of a great empire in Germany, existing under a Protestant head, or at least the dignity of permanent protector of a confederation of the princes and estates professing the reformed religion, was no stranger to his imagination, if indeed it was not the object at which he directly aspired. In contemplating such a station of honour for himself, it is far from impossible that he believed the most essential service would be rendered to the cause he had espoused, and even that he had been expressly raised up by Divine Providence for

the purpose of filling it; but that the promotion of his own greatness now entered more evidently than before into his plans and actions, it would be vain, in contradiction to the evidence afforded by subsequent events, to deny.

The news of the battle of Leipzig was received throughout Europe, according to the religion or political condition of different states, with feelings of triumphant exultation or ill-suppressed concern. By Holland, England, France, and Venice, the intelligence was hailed as a cause for general rejoicing. The Kings of Denmark and Poland, although little inclined—the former from jealousy, and the latter from the recollection of recent hostilities—to sympathise with the good fortune of the Swedes, thought it necessary to send embassies of congratulation. Ferdinand II., whom the event most deeply concerned, accustomed by the vicissitudes of early life to sudden reverses, and at all times displaying a character more worthy of admiration in adversity than prosperity, was, perhaps, the least apparently concerned of all the sovereigns to whom it was communicated. He was, however, less careful to conceal his feelings in regard to the conduct of France in her recent alliance with Sweden, to which he justly, in a great measure, attributed the success of his enemies. The stipulations of the treaty of Ratisbon had, it is true, been confined to the affairs of Italy; yet a verbal agreement had been entered into by the French deputies, pledging that the nation they represented should abstain from all interference with the affairs of Germany, a promise which was only intended to amuse the Emperor until the question of Mantua should be determined. The mortification of Ferdinand was further increased by the recollection, that his ministers had earnestly advised the insertion of an express clause in the treaty, to prevent France

from lending any assistance to the Swedes; and that his own too great credulity alone was the principal cause of his present embarrassments.

The Saxon and Swedish armies separated on the 17th of September, the former setting forward on their expedition into Bohemia, and the latter preparing to march upon Erfurt, a free and Imperial city, under the protection of the Princes of Saxe Weimar, with the reservation of certain rights possessed by the Elector of Mentz. Erfurt was taken by a stratagem scarcely justifiable, although it tended to save the effusion of blood. The magistrates, on receiving a message from the King of Sweden, commanding them to admit a garrison of 1,500 men into the city, sent a deputation to request the favour of a short delay before returning their final answer. The king pretended to assent to their request, but at the same time ordered William Duke of Saxe Weimar to hasten with a regiment of cavalry, and, if possible, enter the gates when they were opened to re-admit the deputies. The duke accomplished the command, by feigning a wish to visit Erfurt, and accompanied the ambassadors on their return in his coach, having given orders to his cavalry to follow quietly at a short distance. On reaching the gateway of the city, his coach was suddenly stopped, and at that moment the cavalry rushed forward, and made for the entrance at full speed, through which they quickly poured into the town, since it was impossible to close the gates against them while the duke's carriage remained in the way. The garrison of Erfurt, thus surprised, surrendered without resistance; and Gustavus shortly afterwards entered the city, assuring the magistrates of his intention to preserve their rights and liberties entire. He cordially received a deputation of the Catholic ecclesiastics, composing the chapter of the cathedral church, and signified his resolution of protecting the members of

their communion in the exercise of their privileges equally with their Protestant fellow-citizens. The Jesuits did not meet with so gracious a reception. The king sternly reminded them of the trouble they had occasioned, and the blood they had caused to be shed by their ambitious intrigues, for which he assured them they would have one day to render a severe account to God. He informed them that he was well acquainted with their deceitful policy and dangerous maxims; and recommended them, in imitation of their brethren of other orders, to confine their attention to their chaplets and breviaries, instead of meddling with the affairs of state. He then dismissed them, affirming that, on condition of their following his advice and strictly confining themselves to the duties of their office, he would undertake in return to secure them from personal injury.

Gustavus re-established the Protestant University at Erfurt in its former condition, and intrusted the government of the city to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, whom he directed to repair and increase the fortifications according to a plan which he himself furnished. Two of his envoys were at the same time sent forward on an embassy to the Protestant states of the circle of Franconia, to dispose them to unite themselves with the Swedes, and aid them in sustaining the burden of the war. On the 27th of September the army resumed its march, after a detached force had effected the reduction of Gotha, directing its course by Arnstadt and Ilmenau towards the Düringer Wald, or vast forest of Thuringia. During this march, the king passed a night at the castle of the Count of Schwartzburg, whose father had formerly distinguished himself in the service of Christian of Denmark, while engaged in his war with Sweden. This nobleman deemed it necessary to make some apology to Gustavus upon the subject, but the king, interrupting

him in the midst of his excuses, replied that his father had done but his duty ; that, for his own part, he could well wish to be surrounded by officers distinguished for the same zeal and ability ; and that so far from entertaining any feeling of enmity towards his children, he deemed them, in consequence of their father's merits, to possess an unquestionable claim to his regard.

Three days were spent by the Swedes in defiling through the forest, and traversing the rugged and difficult country between Ilmenau and Konigshofen, upon which the king now directed the army with a diligence which left his soldiers but a few hours in the middle of the night for repose. Their march was frequently pursued in total darkness ; but to prevent any division from wandering from the right track, the line of route was carefully marked by advanced parties attended by experienced guides, who were directed to affix burning matches to the trees as they proceeded, or erect lanterns upon posts at certain intervals, as beacons to direct their comrades. At the distance of a league from Konigshofen, the army was safely re-assembled, and a trumpeter sent forward to summon the fortress, the king at the same time approaching the walls for the purpose of more closely reconnoitring the place. A vigorous fire of musketry and artillery was immediately opened against him and his attendants, and his messenger shortly returned with a resolute answer from the governor, signifying his intention of holding his post to the last. Gustavus accordingly erected two batteries, and sent to assure the garrison that if they deferred their surrender for a longer space than twenty-four hours, they would be exposed to all the consequences of an assault. He therefore requested them at least to send out from the fortress all whom it contained not actually under arms, in order that the effusion of inno-

cent blood might be spared. No answer was given to this demand, and the fire on both sides was renewed with increased activity ; but the garrison, finding that the Swedes were making preparations for carrying their threat into execution, beat a parley at the moment when the assault was on the point of taking place, and were still allowed an honourable capitulation. The fall of Konigshofen struck terror into the Catholics throughout the whole circle of Franconia, who began to abandon their homes in every direction, following the example set by the Bishop of Wurzburg, who left his residence in consternation, although the King of Sweden had offered him a neutrality on favourable conditions, and proclaimed openly that no man should be molested for his religion. The town of Schweinfurth was the next place which fell into the hands of the Swedes. It was abandoned as incapable of defence by the Imperialists ; but the king was so impressed with its importance, that he gave orders for fortifying it with all diligence, and shortly succeeded in rendering it one of the strongest posts in the occupation of his forces.

The conquest of Wurzburg was an undertaking of more consequence and of far greater difficulty. The town was considered the capital of Franconia, and had been selected as a place of retreat by many of the religious orders in its vicinity, who had carried with them an immense treasure, which they had deposited in the castle as in a place of undoubted security. The first summons of the King of Sweden was unnoticed by the magistrates. The Swedes, however, speedily made their way into the suburbs by blowing open one of the gates with a petard ; and, dispersing the few burghers who feebly attempted to oppose them, were proceeding to effect an entrance into the town in the same manner, when the magistrates took the resolution of delivering it into their hands with-

out further opposition, and sent their keys to the king as a token of unconditional surrender. Gustavus carefully restrained his soldiers from committing any violence towards the inhabitants, and turned his attention to the immediate conquest of the citadel. This was an undertaking which at first seemed to present scarcely a possibility of success. The castle of Marienberg, a Gothic structure, consisting of a square donjon with flanking towers, but surrounded with strong outworks constructed in the more recent style of fortification, was situated on a steep ledge of rocks which rose on the other side of the Maine, and completely commanded with its guns the bridge across the river, the central arch of which had been blown up by the Imperialists, as an additional means of providing for their defence. The King of Sweden, who wished to preserve the religious persons of both sexes, who had taken refuge in the castle, from the danger of violence at the hands of his soldiers, as well as to prevent the indiscriminate plunder of the treasures which the fortress contained, sent a message to Colonel Keller, the governor, offering him the power of capitulating on the most honourable terms. The Imperialist, however, confiding in the strength of his defences, which he believed to be impregnable, refused to listen to every proposition, and prepared to maintain an obstinate defence; a course of conduct which might be considered justified, not only by the means of resistance afforded by the situation of the fortress, and the strength of the garrison, which amounted to 1,500 men, but by the circumstance of its having lately been amply provisioned for sustaining a siege for a much longer time than the Swedes were likely to continue beneath its walls. There remained, therefore, but the perilous expedient of carrying it by assault; and the difficulties in the way of those

employed in such an undertaking, must be acknowledged to have been such as to discourage the most stout-hearted assailants, since not only was the whole town completely exposed to the cannon of the castle, but the only way of advancing to invest the fortress, lay across the bridge over the Maine. The Swedes, by dint of great exertion, had at length managed to place a single plank over the arch which the Imperialists had destroyed; yet this unstable support, elevated nearly fifty feet above the current of the Maine, and requiring a sure step to be passed in safety, even were there no enemy to hinder the effort, was so completely exposed to the fire from the garrison, that every man who attempted the passage fell instantly beneath a shower of balls, directed with certain aim and maintained without intermission. The regiments of Sir James Ramsay and Sir John Hamilton were, nevertheless, commanded, if possible, to force a passage over the bridge, and effect a lodgment on the other side, and without hesitation attempted to carry the order into effect. Their first effort, as might have been expected, proved wholly unsuccessful. Many fell before the storm of shot, which redoubled from the opposite works as they advanced, and the remainder shrank back, refusing to throw away their lives in an enterprise which would but involve them in destruction, without in the least degree contributing to the success of their companions. Ramsay and Hamilton, therefore, changed their plan of proceeding, and leaving the greater part of their soldiers at the foot of the bridge, embarked the rest in several small boats, with which they pushed off, with the view of gaining the other bank, although the whole surface of the river around them was instantly furrowed by the balls of the Imperialists; and after suffering a severe loss, contrived to gain a footing

among the rocks on the opposite side, from which, after dislodging a party of skirmishers, posted to prevent their landing, they commenced an irregular fire upon the ramparts. On seeing their comrades engaged in this arduous attack, those who were left upon the bridge resolved upon one last effort at effecting the hazardous passage; and running at full speed across the plank, which only allowed them to cross in a single file, they at length succeeded, while the attention of the garrison was in some measure distracted by the progress of Hamilton and Ramsay below, in driving the defenders, stationed at the opposite end of the bridge, into the castle, and gaining a more sheltered position beneath the outworks. The king followed up their success by transporting fresh troops across the river during the whole night, and on the following morning the commander of Marienberg beheld the complete investment of his fortress by numerous parties, who were employed in raising batteries in the most commanding situations for breaching his walls. The castle was cannonaded during two whole days, after which the Swedes prepared for the assault. A second summons was, however, first despatched by the king to the governor, who still persisted obstinately in refusing to listen to terms of surrender: the signal for a general attack immediately followed. An advanced half-moon was carried by the Swedes sword in hand; and the defenders, while making their retreat into the castle, were so closely followed by the pursuers, that the garrison were unable to raise the drawbridge before the enemy had rushed across it, and gained possession of the entrance. At the same time the castle walls were escaladed at different points, Gustavus himself being the ninth man who reached the summit*, and the ramparts speedily cleared by the

* Scheffer: Memor. Succicæ Gentis.

assailants, who gave no quarter, in their first fury, to a single person found in arms. Several monks, who had taken their posts in the Imperial ranks and shared in the conflict, perished, together with the greatest part of the garrison; but although the castle was crowded with ecclesiastics and nuns, and contained many of the townspeople, who had placed themselves under the protection of the governor, the only known act of violence perpetrated was the death of a Capuchin monk, who, although unarmed, was slain, perhaps accidentally, in the general confusion. The rest of the order, apprehensive of the same fate, threw themselves at the king's feet and demanded protection. Gustavus insisted upon their rising, before he would hear a single word of their request, and listened to them with his head uncovered, in token of respect. He protested, on being informed of what had passed, that if he could discover the soldier by whom the action of which they had made mention had been committed, he would have him executed upon the spot; and assured the rest of the occupants of Marienberg, by the most solemn asseverations, that they had no cause for apprehension respecting their personal safety. The prisoners were dismissed on their giving a promise of raising an appointed ransom, and the women conducted under an escort into the town. The plunder of the property found in the castle, chiefly belonging to the bishop, and of great value, was freely allowed to the soldiers who had been engaged in the assault. A prodigious quantity of provisions and Rhenish wine, 30 large pieces of cannon, and pikes sufficient to arm 8,000 men, were among the means of assistance towards the further prosecution of the war afforded by the fall of Marienberg.

Tilly, who, since the battle of Leipzig, had been busily employed in re-assembling the wrecks of his

army, in effecting his junction with Aldringer, and receiving into his ranks the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony, had, by incredible efforts, the effect of his deep mortification at the defeat he had received, and his intense desire to avenge it, by this time succeeded in again raising his force to 30,000 men. With these he descended anew upon the dominions of the Landgrave of Hesse, and, giving the usual manifestations of his presence wherever he passed, in the unsparing desolation of the surrounding country, directed his march upon Fulda, with the intention of entering Franconia, and disputing its possession with Gustavus Adolphus in a second general action. At the latter place he was joined by Charles Duke of Lorraine, at the head of 15,000 well-appointed troops, who, in defiance of the power of France, had ventured to take part with the Emperor, excited, as it was supposed, by an indirect promise of the electoral coronet of Brandenburg or Saxony, in the event of the present contest terminating to the advantage of the house of Austria. Charles of Lorraine proved himself but a feeble ally, and his officers speedily excited the contempt of the veterans with whom they co-operated, by their foppish vanity and ignorance, which were amusingly exemplified during their march, by their inquiring of the Germans, "who this Landgrave of Hesse, of whom they had heard so much, was, and whether he was a gentleman of good family." They, however, at least, contributed in appearance to render the force now at Tilly's command more efficient for active operations, and it was not doubted that Franconia would speedily be the scene of an attempt at reversing the fortune of Leipzig; a result not deemed improbable, when it was considered that the Swedish army, although greatly increased by the numbers who hastened to join it after the recent victory, did not muster more than 25,000 strong.

Tilly himself, in full confidence of such a compensation for his past disasters, proceeded up the western bank of the Maine with such rapidity, that he was only within two days' march of Wurzburg when the town was taken by the Swedes; and the king was obliged to hurry, with the greatest precipitation, towards the bridge of Ochsenfurth* with a select detachment, to prevent that important pass from falling into the hands of his advanced parties. But, at the moment when the Imperial general was flattering himself that the opportunity for redeeming his lost credit was in his grasp, he was doomed to suffer a bitter disappointment, by receiving a letter from Maximilian of Bavaria, in which he was strictly enjoined not to venture upon a decisive engagement, the loss of which would leave the circles of Bavaria and Suabia, and the electorates of the Rhine, at the mercy of the Swedes, but to remain as much as possible upon the defensive, and content himself with destroying the forces of the enemy in detail. Tilly, although he did not scruple to express his deep resentment at a command which paralysed his exertions, and reduced him almost to the condition of a spectator of the further conquests of his antagonists, proceeded, nevertheless, to comply with the orders he had received. He directed his course to the southward; and, after leaving garrisons in Wertheim, Rothenburg, and Windsheim†, advanced towards Nurenberg, and encamping his army beneath its walls, demanded provisions for his troops, and a large contribution of money. The magistrates, without hesitation, refused the demand, nor were they terrified into submission by observing the Imperialists preparing to invest their city, since they were well aware that Tilly, from the near approach of winter, had no time to spare for so important a siege. The Imperial general, who had only made a

* Monro. Second Expedition. † Brachelius, Hist. sui temp.

feint of employing force, perceiving that his threats were entirely disregarded, quickly abandoned his investment of Nuremberg, and despatching one considerable division of his army to take their winter quarters in the Upper Palatinate, and another, under Pappenheim, to act upon the Elbe and the Weser, fell back with the rest as far as Nordlingen, guarding the frontiers of Bavaria, and carefully watching the progress of the Swedes, in the hope of wresting an important advantage from them at an unguarded moment. Charles of Lorraine, who had threatened to drive the King of Sweden back to the snows and ices of his own country, being left to himself in consequence of these movements, speedily learned from experience against what kind of adversary he had ventured to take up arms. Bauditzen was dispatched by the king to make an attack upon his quarters, and encountering a detachment of his troops near Mergenthal, utterly defeated them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Gustavus soon followed the warning by a movement in person with a select corps, to pursue a more extensive series of attacks against this negligent enemy. The Lorrainers, posted without judgment or means of communication, were compelled to fly before him wherever he advanced, and were so dispirited with the result of their first campaign, that they began to desert by hundreds from the standard of their leader, and retire across the Rhine. The duke soon imitated their example, and led back the wrecks of his army to Nancy, in a very different state of feeling from that in which he had rashly plunged into the war. His baggage was plundered by the German peasants as he was crossing the bridge of Strasburg; and a waggoner had the audacity to apply his whip to his horse, exclaiming, "It becomes a man to make more haste, sir, when he is flying before the great Gustavus." His con-

querors, satisfied that nothing more was to be apprehended from his interference, returned to pursue their successes in other quarters. Every day witnessed some new acquisition made by the arms of Sweden. The Bishop of Bamberg purchased the safety of his territories by promising to withdraw all his troops from the army of the League, to furnish the king with a contribution to the amount of 300,000 crowns, and to give up the towns of Forcheim and Cronach to be held by Swedish garrisons. Almost all the towns of Franconia sent deputies to the camp of Gustavus to take the oath of fidelity to his cause. The city of Nurenberg hazarded the wrath of the Emperor, by openly placing itself under his protection; Ulm and Strasburg followed its example; and the Swedes shortly afterwards, having driven the Imperialists from Wertheim and Rothenburg, began to threaten a speedy advance upon Hanau and Frankfort. The Diet of Composition, which was sitting at the latter city, for the purpose of flattering the Protestants with a hope of the repeal of the Edict of Restitution, broke up in confusion at the intelligence, the members hastily dispersing to their several abodes, to await the result of the astonishing events passing around them. The news from the Swedish armies acting in other quarters was no less satisfactory. Rostock, Wismar, and Demnitz, the only places remaining in the hands of the Imperialists throughout the duchy of Mecklenburg, fell in succession before the arms of Achatius Todt and the deposed dukes, who assisted him with an auxiliary force; while Banner, who had succeeded in raising a force of 15,000 men in the marches of Brandenburg, employed it so successfully against Wolf Count Mansfeld, who commanded for the emperor in the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, that he compelled his adversary to retire before him, and finally held him closely invested within the half-

ruined walls which had been, a few months before, the scene of such terrible barbarities on the part of the Imperial soldiery.

The prudence of Gustavus in availing himself of all these advantages, was as conspicuous as the ability with which most of them had been ensured. The hostility which the Catholics had at first entertained towards him was gradually lessened by his repeated declarations that he had no wish to place the least restriction upon the public exercise of their religion, and that he appeared in Germany as the vindicator of its liberties, and not as the persecutor of a creed differing from his own; while his clemency and moderation on all occasions inspired a personal respect for his character, even among those who were openly in arms against him. The councils of his enemies, on the contrary, sufficiently perplexed by the difficulties which were thickening around them, began to be still further weakened by their internal dissensions and ill-concealed distrust. The emperor was offended by the coldness of the members of the League, whom he had lately in vain endeavoured to gain over to assent to a declaration of war with France, in return for what he considered the late infraction of the Treaty of Ratisbon. The Electors imagined they had reason to be disgusted with the selfish policy of Ferdinand, who showed himself perfectly careless of the evils inflicted upon others in his efforts to gratify his own ambition, and seemed little disposed to listen to their representations of the exhausted condition of the Empire, and the necessity of peace upon any terms with foreign states. They were also justly alarmed at the danger which now threatened their own dominions, and inclined, in the unjust petulance of self-reproach, to transfer to any other the blame which they were well aware was strictly due to their own wavering and unstable policy in the support of his

cause. The gloomy and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was excited to greater distrust by the discovery that a defensive alliance was on the point of being signed between France and the Elector of Bavaria, in which the former power entered into an engagement to furnish an army for the protection of the dominions of Maximilian, in the event of his wishing to preserve a neutrality during the remainder of the war; nor can it be greatly surprising, if he considered such a proceeding as an indirect intimation, that the most active prince of the League was resolved upon abandoning it, the moment the safety of his own territory should be affected by the vicinity of the enemy.

The progress of the Elector of Saxony in Bohemia afforded him an additional cause of alarm. Ferdinand had at first endeavoured to detach his old ally from his connection with the Swedes by fair words and apologies for the conduct of Tilly, whom he asserted to have acted not only without his authority, but in a manner altogether contrary to his wishes. Tieffenbach, who had invaded the Marquisate of Lusatia, and carried on his ravages almost to the gates of Dresden, was at the same time ordered to retire into Silesia, as a pledge of the Emperor's desire to remain in amity with Saxony. But John George had already reaped too many advantages from his new course of policy, and saw too many more in prospect, to be diverted from pursuing the plan upon which he had now determined. It was to no purpose that the Court of Spain deputed an extraordinary ambassador to offer his good offices to effect a reconciliation between the two parties, and to represent to the Elector the willingness of Ferdinand to listen to an accommodation, and his innocence with regard to the late acts of hostility. The Saxon replied that he was not so ignorant of the world as to believe that Tilly would have dared to venture upon the invasion of

his territories without an express order from Vienna; and that, if fortune had favoured the arms of the Emperor at the battle of Leipzig, the conduct of the Imperial general would not only have been openly avowed, but thought worthy of the highest honours; that he had long plainly seen that the ruin of Saxony was determined upon, after that of the other Protestant states should be effected, and that he had been in consequence compelled by the law of self-preservation to place himself under the protection of the King of Sweden, to whom, after God, he owed not only the possession of his estates and dignities, but the very air he breathed. To such a benefactor, he added, he was placed under too many important obligations not to be guilty of the blackest ingratitude if he hesitated to endanger his life or possessions in the future support of his just and honourable cause. Having thus answered, the Elector resumed his march through Lusatia.

This province, which had just been abandoned by the Imperialists in consequence of the late order of the Emperor, was easily recovered by the Saxons, who, after leaving in it a sufficient force for its defence, pursued their way into Bohemia by Tetschen, Leitmeritz, and Aussig. They were received with transport by the Protestant population, who had for many years been suffering under the severest persecution which the bigotry and unbounded power of the Catholic priesthood could inflict. The Jesuits, in particular, had distinguished themselves by actions of unexampled violence, traversing the country with parties of men armed with muskets, and threatening instant death to all the members of the Reformed churches who refused to abjure their faith. At the first approach of the Electoral army, these remorseless oppressors, fearing the severities they had lately inflicted would now be retorted upon themselves, fled from their habi-

tations. Most of the members of their communion, struck with a similar panic, followed their example, and all the roads between the Saxon camp and the city of Prague were soon covered with crowds of fugitives. Amidst this general consternation, the invaders continued rapidly to advance upon the capital, unencountered by even the semblance of opposition to their progress. Tieffenbach, who had received orders to throw himself into the city and defend himself to the last, although he made all haste to obey the order, and traversed Silesia and Bohemia with forced marches, found himself too late to effect his object. The Saxons, having the advantage of a shorter route, and proceeding with almost equal speed, came within sight of the walls of Prague on the 29th of October. As soon as they were perceived at a distance, the flight among the Catholics began afresh. Thousands poured out of the opposite gates, and directed their course to Budweis. Others retired as far as Znaim and Brunn, in Moravia, while some of the most timid pursued their way to Vienna, striking terror into the capital of Austria itself by exaggerated accounts of the numbers and successes of the invaders. The Duke of Friedland, who was at that time living in retirement at Prague, and to whom the approach of the Saxons could not but be a subject of unmingled satisfaction, thought it necessary to retire with the rest of the Catholic inhabitants. Balthasar Count Maradas, a veteran Spanish officer, but without any definite appointment or command in the city, having assembled a slight force for its defence, sent to request that he would take its direction upon himself; but Wallenstein, with whose policy such a step was totally at variance, and who was willing that his enemies should begin to reap the fruits of their hostility towards him, coolly answered that, being but a private individual, and vested with no authority from the Emperor, he could not presume

to place himself in a situation of such responsibility. He shortly afterwards set out on his retreat; and Maradas, giving up all hope of a successful resistance upon his departure, and thinking himself justified in abandoning a post which an officer of so much higher rank had refused, withdrew with the few troops under his command to Tabor.

The Saxons, on their near approach to Prague, were surprised that not a single cannon-shot was fired upon their advanced guard, and still more so when they discovered that the ramparts were unoccupied by their accustomed guards. Arnheim, who first advanced to reconnoitre the place more closely, was of opinion that some stratagem was concealed under these external appearances of tranquillity; and could not at first believe that a city capable of making a vigorous defence, and which might daily be expected to be relieved by the Imperialists advancing from Silesia, could be surrendered without a single blow for its preservation. He was, however, assured by several of the inhabitants, who had left the gates to gaze upon the Saxon army, that the military had all withdrawn, together with the Council of Regency, and retired to Budweis. Arnheim, notwithstanding their representations, continued incredulous, until he observed an old servant of Wallenstein's in the crowd, who was personally known to him, and who fully confirmed the information previously given. He then turned to his officers, and exclaiming, "Gentlemen, we shall in a short time be masters of Prague without expending an ounce of powder!"* immediately commissioned a trumpeter to carry a formal summons to the city. The articles of capitulation were speedily agreed upon; and as soon as these were ratified, the Saxons were admitted into Prague, conducting themselves with an order and sobriety which showed that

* Mauvillon.

they had learned at least one important lesson from the conduct of their Swedish allies. Among their ranks was the aged Count Thurn, who had played so important a part in the commencement of the war ; and who, after many years of exile, now returned once more as a conqueror to pay a brief visit to the scene of his former triumphs and disasters. As he passed the bridge over the Moldau, he burst into tears, on observing the heads of his former companions still exposed on poles planted along the parapet, and commanding them instantly to be taken down, superintended in person their decent interment. He then proceeded to his palace, which had been granted by Ferdinand to the Count Michna ; and finding everything in good order, and the apartments filled with handsome furniture and valuable ornaments, politely returned thanks to the house-steward left behind by the Count for the pains he had taken in rendering his residence fit for his reception. " But, mark me," he continued, with a burst of rising indignation, " should I be so fortunate as to lay hands upon your master, I will speedily set his head in the place of the honourable gentlemen who have been martyred in this city for their attachment to their country and their religion."

Shortly after the surrender of Prague, the Elector of Saxony returned to Dresden, gratified at having conquered the greater part of Bohemia and its capital without the effusion of blood. But, by this time, the troops of Tieffenbach, having arrived from Silesia, and effected a junction with a small force sent by Tilly for their assistance, had entrenched themselves near Nimburg ; and were scouring the country around them with parties of Croats and irregular horse. Arnheim, therefore, led his Saxons up to their position, and after a spirited harangue, in which he reminded them that they had an honour to recover, commanded an immediate attack. The troops under

his command, anxious to wipe off the remembrance of their panic at Leipzig, assailed the lines of the enemy in spite of a murderous fire, with such resolution, that the Imperialists, after an obstinate combat, were compelled to fly from their camp and take refuge in the town of Nimburg, from which they were driven in confusion by a second attack, and forced to retire to some distance from the Elbe. The surrender of Eger, which was delivered up by the townspeople, in despite of the exertions of their magistrates, followed closely upon this victory; an acquisition of some importance, but which was destined to be the last of the Saxon successes in Bohemia.

In the meantime the operations of the Landgrave of Hesse in a different part of the Empire, although conducted upon a smaller scale, were crowned with equal good fortune. This prince, aided by Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, as soon as Tilly had advanced into Franconia, commenced a course of harassing operations against the Imperialists stationed in his dominions, and driving them from one post after another, while his army continued to increase by the addition of fresh recruits, at length found himself strong enough to intercept, near Corbach, a large convoy of provisions on its way to join the grand army of the Imperialists. Munden was soon afterwards carried by assault. The Landgrave then ascended the Werra towards Hoxter, of which he made himself master with so much facility, that the Imperial commander was condemned to lose his head for his feeble resistance.

By this uninterrupted series of conquests on the part of Sweden and its allies, the mighty fabric of ambition, reared by the house of Austria, seemed already tottering to its very foundation. At least one half of Germany was wrested from the Imperial dominion by the exertions of a foreign enemy, who

was still lodged in the very heart of the Empire. An army of 50,000 men alone remained to defend the electorates of the Rhine, and to cover the circles of Bavaria and Austria. The Saxons were masters of Bohemia, and Hungary was on the point of being invaded by a Turkish army, which, although the Sultan disclaimed any knowledge of its operations, was no doubt acting under his express orders. To add to these causes of disquietude, the Protestants throughout the hereditary domains of Austria, were daily expected to break out into an open revolt. The councils of Ferdinand were the scenes of fierce dispute and mutual recrimination, and little benefit was to be expected from the advice of the Imperial ministers. The Emperor, however, was convinced that the assistance of a single individual was able to rescue him from his present state of difficulty and danger, and he was not mistaken in his judgment. He had long complained that by the retirement of Wallenstein, his councillors had deprived him of his right arm; and there is no doubt that if the displaced favourite had made a single step towards a reconciliation, he would at once have been readmitted into favour and loaded with additional honours. Wallenstein, however, who continued to look with proud satisfaction upon the humiliation of the power which he had once so successfully served, and from which he conceived he had met with so ungrateful a return, was determined that all concessions should come from the party who had injured him; and remained quietly in Moravia, buried apparently in his favourite mystic studies, and paying no attention to the changes which affected the material world. At a grand council held in Vienna, on the critical circumstances of the Empire, the feeling of reserve on the subject was at length broken through, on a review of the increasing dangers which beset the

government on all sides, by one of the Imperial ministers, who, after ascribing the successes of the enemy to the want of a suitable person to command the forces destined to oppose the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, proposed that either the King of Hungary should be placed at the head of the armies of Ferdinand, or Wallenstein recalled, and requested to undertake their chief guidance. The latter proposition was fiercely combated by the Bavarian faction, who urged the danger of soliciting a man of such boundless ambition and arrogance, to accept a power, which he would not fail immediately to employ in taking vengeance for the affronts offered him at the Diet of Ratisbon, as well as the humiliation to which the Emperor would be exposed in courting the assistance of a subject, who had been heard to declare among his friends that he would devote himself to all the infernal gods, if he ever again accepted a commission in his service. The urgent necessity of the moment, however, proved a sufficient answer to every objection, and the recal of Wallenstein was demanded by a considerable majority, including many who had been most active in procuring his disgrace. But as it was thought advisable to join the King of Hungary with him in the command, Ferdinand endeavoured artfully to soften down this division of authority, which he knew would give mortal offence to his haughty favourite, by pretending an anxiety that his son should study the art of war under so able a general, and gain from personal observation all the benefit to be derived from his skill and experience. The Count Maximilian de Wallenstein, the brother of the Duke of Friedland, was despatched with this message, which he delivered at Znaim, where Wallenstein himself, who had refused every summons to appear at court, was waiting, in affected deference to the

command of the Emperor. The intimation of Ferdinand's wish respecting the King of Hungary met at once with a direct refusal; and the Count, finding his brother inflexible, was obliged to return to Vienna to give an account of his ill success. The Prince of Eggenberg, who was known to have formerly possessed a considerable influence over Wallenstein, was substituted as an ambassador in his place; and directed, in addition to urging the request of the Emperor by every argument in his power, to offer 100,000 crowns as some recompense for the desired concession. The prince succeeded better than the envoy who had preceded him. By dint of earnest expostulations and entreaties, Wallenstein was at last prevailed upon to exert himself in a levy for the Imperial service. He limited this engagement, however, to the space of three months; and moreover affirmed, that, during that time he would neither engage in a siege, nor deliver a battle, nor enter upon any enterprise whatever, but confine his attention to the one object of raising an effective army. After the stipulated period had elapsed, the Emperor, he said, might send whomsoever he pleased to assume the command. For himself, he desired no remuneration; and suggested that the 100,000 crowns intended for his recompense, would be far better reserved as a reward to those officers who should raise the greatest number of recruits. He further refused every title of honour while employed in executing his commission, affirming that he would act throughout its execution in the character of a private individual—a refinement in pride which was intended to show how little his popularity depended upon the splendour of his former military rank, or his character of a favourite of the Emperor. With these concessions, Ferdinand was obliged for the present to remain satisfied. Funds, however, were

wanting to meet the expense of raising an additional army, and these it was not easy to procure from a country exhausted with twelve years' continual warfare, and affected to no inconsiderable extent with a spirit of disaffection. The zeal of individuals partly supplied this deficiency, and extraordinary means were adopted to procure the remaining sum demanded. The King of Spain offered a contribution of 300,000 ducats, and the King of Hungary as many rix-dollars. All ecclesiastical property was charged with heavy imposts, and a general capitation tax levied upon every individual in the Austrian dominions.

As soon as it was known that Wallenstein was again charged with the levy of an army for the service of Ferdinand, thousands of recruits of all nations, attracted by his well-known liberality and profusion in rewarding actions of merit on the part of his followers, hastened to join him, every daring and ambitious spirit hoping to gain an opportunity of earning those splendid rewards, to which the chances of war justified all in aspiring. More than three hundred officers, who had formerly served under his standard, presented themselves before the Aulic council of war, and requested commissions. The numbers of the new Imperial army daily increased with almost incredible rapidity; but with their increase, the miserable inhabitants of the country which they traversed, felt a renewal of all those calamities which had formerly rendered the name of Wallenstein a sound of universal terror to the peaceful population of Germany. Ferdinand felt his hopes revive by the powerful succour which was rising on all sides in support of his throne, and flattered himself that he should now be able to dispense with the jealous and restricted aid of the League. Maximilian of Bavaria and his party were loud in their exclamations against the new levies; but their remonstrances were little

attended to. Ferdinand was too deeply offended at the orders lately given to Tilly, to confine his operations to the defence of the confederate electorates, and the discovery of the secret application of Maximilian to France for assistance, to sacrifice a single opportunity of strengthening his power to their remonstrances; and, once having experienced the ill effect of disbanding his army at their request, was too politic to fall a second time into the same error.

While the Duke of Friedland was actively exerting himself at Znaim in collecting an army worthy of encountering the victors of Leipzig, the enemy against whom his preparations were directed continued his progress undismayed by the storm gathering against him under the direction of Wallenstein, or the nearer danger which threatened him from the side of Franconia. Gustavus Horn was left to defend the passes over the Maine, by which he was still separated from the army of Tilly. The rest of his forces were employed in reducing Asehaffenburg, Steinheim, and Hanau*. By the fall of the town last mentioned, Frankfort lay fully exposed, and the king speedily presented himself before the gates of the city with the demand of instant admittance. The magistrates in vain attempted by deputations to gain time for deliberation. Gustavus refused to listen to any proposition short of an immediate surrender, and the citizens, ill furnished with the means of defence, and little inclined to employ those in their hands, at length acceded without resistance to the command. Frankfort opened its gates on the 16th of November, and the next morning the king made his public entry into the city.

The procession formed by the triumphant army on the occasion has been minutely described. Fifty-six pieces of cannon, followed by numerous bodies of

* Swedish Intelligencer.

cavalry and infantry, composed the first part of the spectacle. Most of the nobility representing Wetteravia, at the Imperial Diet, including the Counts of Nassau, Wittgenstein, Isenberg, and Holberg, followed. The king himself in a scarlet dress embroidered with gold, mounted on a Spanish jennet, and holding his hat in his hand, next attracted the attention of the spectators. He was saluted by the acclamations of the multitude as he passed, and frequently bowed to the citizens, who were stationed at their windows to witness the sight. The Duke of Saxe Weimar followed, superbly mounted, and heading the regiment of the royal guards, after which came the king's coach, richly decorated, and drawn by eight horses. The march was closed by two Swedish, two Scottish, and as many English regiments, and four regiments of Germans, followed by a train of artillery, and an immense number of carriages. The procession lasted from eight in the morning until four in the afternoon, and was followed by a banquet, given by the magistrates in honour of Gustavus. In the evening he set out with a body of his troops for the town of Hochst, which was occupied by a garrison of 400 men, and encamping before it during the night, compelled it to surrender on the following morning. On his return to the city he received information of the approach of the forces of Hesse, led by the Landgrave in person; and the junction of these troops with the Swedes being soon after effected, found himself at the head of 35,000 men, the greatest force he had yet commanded in Germany, and once more on equal terms with the army of Tilly, the increased numbers of which had lately given him considerable cause of anxiety, and taxed his ingenuity to the utmost, to counterbalance his own numerical deficiency by a more skilful disposition of the forces at his command.

CHAPTER XIII.

The King of Sweden prepares to besiege Mentz—Passage of the Rhine—Mentz surrenders—Foundation of Gustavusburg—Arrival of the Queen of Sweden at Frankfort on the Maine—Negotiations with Sir Henry Vane respecting the Restitution of the Palatinate, and with the French Court on the Neutrality of the Catholic League—Proposed Interview between the King of Sweden and Louis XIII.—The Elector of Treves places himself under the protection of France—Creutznach besieged and taken by the Swedes—Terms of Peace proposed by the King of Sweden—His Ambition—Operations of Gustavus Horn against Tilly in Franconia—The Swedes take Bamberg and lay siege to Forcheim—Advance of Tilly—Horn is defeated—Retires to Schweinfurth—State of the contending parties on the Elbe and the Weser—Operations of Oxenstiern and the Rhinegrave Otho Louis against the Spaniards—Completion of the Levies carried on by the Duke of Friedland—The Emperor Ferdinand again requests him to accept the command—Terms of Agreement proposed by Wallenstein, which are accepted by Ferdinand.

ALTHOUGH the winter of 1631 set in with great severity shortly after the Swedes had obtained possession of Frankfort, the operations of the king were still continued, almost without intermission, during its continuance. As soon as the ceremony of a public thanksgiving, in gratitude for the acquisition of so important a conquest without bloodshed, had been performed, his army was directed to the Rhine, and ascending the right bank of the river, as far as Heidelberg, dislodged the Spanish troops and those of Lorrain, which were still garrisoning the Palatinate, from every fortified post in their way. The king is said at the same time to have contemplated a formal declaration of war against Spain, but apprehensive of the damage which would probably be inflicted by the cruisers of Dunkirk upon the commerce of Sweden,

to have afterwards changed his resolution, and contented himself with making no distinction between the Imperialists and Spaniards, whenever he found the latter in armed occupation of any part of the Empire. The Landgrave of Hesse shortly afterwards decamped from before Frankfort, and directed his march along the Maine, to the great terror of the Elector of Mentz, who now plainly perceived that his capital was aimed at by these movements. Mentz was at that time held by a Spanish garrison, consisting of 2,000 men, under the command of Don Philip de Sylva, who, with true Castilian haughtiness, when the Elector expressed his apprehension that the number of the defenders would be insufficient to maintain the city, replied that such an observation could have only been made by a churchman, and that he was strong enough to repulse the attacks of three kings of Sweden. He probably hoped that the Rhine would be his best protection, and endeavoured to make the most of this natural barrier, by carefully sinking every boat he could discover, and directing numerous parties of cavalry to patrol the banks, imagining that before the Swedes could make the necessary preparations for crossing the river, he would be able to collect enough men at any point to oppose their passage. But the Castilian soon discovered that he had been flattering himself with a vain expectation. The king, after cautiously examining the course of the stream for some miles, selected the neighbourhood of Oppenheim as the spot for conveying his army across the most renowned of German rivers; and the undertaking, although it has been many times effected by far more numerous forces, and attended by circumstances better calculated to impose upon the imagination, was perhaps never attended with the exhibition of so much resolution and personal daring on the part of those engaged in its accomplishment. In order to

ascertain the facilities for landing on the opposite side, Gustavus first embarked with three of his officers in a small fisherman's skiff, the only means of transport which, after the most diligent search, could be procured, and having gained the further bank, began to employ himself in making the necessary observations. His passage, however, was not unobserved by the enemy, and a patrol, composed either of the garrison of Mentz or of Oppenheim, hastily approaching the spot, came down upon him with such speed, that he had only time to regain his boat and push off from the shore before it was lined with his pursuers, who kept up a vigorous fire on the skiff, until the king had again reached his own bank, providentially uninjured by the balls, which flew about him in all directions. On his return, he was informed that a peasant had discovered a large boat recently sunk by the Spaniards, but which might be weighed up and repaired with little trouble. A fisherman of Nierstein was fortunate enough to make a similar discovery. In the course of the night both vessels were got afloat, and early on the following morning*, the king, embarking 300 of his guards, under the command of Count Brahe, in one, while he himself, with the same number, selected from the regiments of Lord Reay, Ramsay, and Spence, followed in the other, pushed hastily across the stream, and landed his men without accident. But he had scarcely time to draw them up in order before he was charged by a thousand cuirassiers and dragoons, forming the greater part of the garrison of Oppenheim, who fell upon him with such fury, that, had not his front been partly protected by a hedge, from behind which his infantry directed several well aimed and heavy volleys, which had the effect of checking the assailants in their onset, the Swedes and Scots would probably have been driven back in confusion into the

* Dec. 17th: Brachelius.

river. The combat was for some time obstinately continued, but the arrival of fresh reinforcements from the other bank at last compelled the Spaniards to retreat into Oppenheim, leaving 600 slain and wounded behind them, and affording free power to the Swedes to transport the rest of their army over the Rhine without interruption. The king ordered a public thanksgiving throughout his army in gratitude for the event, which was further commemorated by a stone pillar, sixty feet high, surmounted by a lion, bearing on its head a helmet, encircled with a regal crown, and holding a drawn sword in one of its claws.

Oppenheim, weakened by the loss of its garrison, fell into the hands of the Swedes the morning after they had crossed the river. The troops of Lorrain abandoned Worms, finishing a long train of previous outrages by pillaging the town, and setting fire to the villages in the line of their retreat. Manheim was surprised by the Duke of Saxe Weimar; Spire yielded upon capitulation; and the Spaniards scattered along the left bank of the Rhine retreating to Frankenthal, shut themselves up in the town to the number of 8,000 men, in the hourly expectation of being besieged. A sufficient force was left to keep them close within the fortifications; with the rest, the king continued his march for Mentz, before which the Landgrave of Hesse, after descending along the Maine and, seizing upon Ehrenfels and the Mouse Tower, had already begun to erect his batteries. Don Philip de Sylva now saw his boasted resolution on the point of being put to the test, and for a while made such a resistance as accorded with his promise. But, on finding that the Swedes were preparing for an assault, he adopted the more prudent course of offering to surrender, and was allowed to quit the city, after pledging his word, in behalf of himself and the garrison, not to be found again in opposition to the crown of

Sweden. The conqueror found in Mentz 80 pieces of artillery and 600 quintals of powder. A contribution of 80,000 florins was demanded from the citizens, but the Jews and clergy were compelled to purchase their safety at a still higher rate. The king bestowed the electoral library upon Oxenstiern, who destined it as a present to the college of Westeraas, but it was unfortunately lost in its conveyance across the Baltic.

Most of the late operations had been pursued in defiance of the winds and storms accompanying the depth of a tempestuous winter; but the cold had now become so intense, that the Swedish soldiers were compelled to retire into quarters until the inclemency of the season had somewhat abated. The king accordingly, after distributing them into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Mentz, returned for a short time to Frankfort, where he was joined by his Queen Maria Elconora, who, from her place of landing at Wolgast, had traversed Germany to meet him. This princess, as long as she was under the influence of Gustavus, showed herself a worthy consort of the husband to whom she had been united. During her short stay at Stettin, she had expressed a wish that the fêtes and entertainments prepared by the Duke of Pomerania, in honour of her arrival, should be dispensed with, saying, that it did not become her to spend her time in diversions, while the king, her husband, was exposing his life to perils in the field; and that she would much prefer seeing the money, intended to be laid out for her amusement, expended in the offices of charity. She had afterwards remained for three months at Berlin, in anxious expectation of receiving from Gustavus a summons to join him, and immediately on the delivery of his letter appointing Frankfort as the place of meeting, had resumed her journey through Leipzig and Erfurt. At the former

city she had been welcomed with extraordinary honours, and presented, in the name of the magistracy and the university, with a copy of the Bible and a service of silver plate; and wherever she passed, was gratified by hearing from every mouth the praises of a husband whom, there is no doubt, she loved with an intense and unchanging affection. On her first interview with the king, she could not avoid testifying her joy by her actions, although the meeting took place in public; but, throwing her arms around him, exclaimed, "Behold, at length, the great Gustavus fairly taken prisoner!"

The first care of the king, after his return to Mentz, was to employ his troops in adding strength to the old fortifications, and throwing up new works round the city. He at the same time began the erection of a strong fortress, consisting of six bastions, near the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine, which he called by the name of Gustavusburg, although the common people, in allusion to its commanding situation with respect to the ecclesiastical electorates, delighted to designate it by the title of the "Priests' Fetters." It was his intention to found a town on the same site, to which inhabitants were to be invited by numerous privileges, and which he hoped would remain a standing memorial of his victories in the eyes of posterity. Like the conquests it was intended to celebrate, however, Gustavusburg has passed away, without leaving any further vestige of its existence than a few inequalities of the ground where it once stood, which, but for the recollections connected with the spot, possess nothing capable of detaining the footsteps of the traveller. While these works were pursued by his soldiers, most of whom were summoned from their winter quarters, to render them fit to defy the force of an enemy before the commencement of the spring, the king proceeded, in

company with his chancellor, Oxenstiern, who, after the battle of Leipzig, had been summoned from Prussia to aid him with his counsels, to consider the more complicated relations of Sweden with other powers, in consequence of her increasing elevation in the scale of national greatness.

Mentz now wore the appearance of a busy court, and was not without its external appendages, in the brilliant trains of the German princes and foreign ambassadors. The first important question discussed was the restitution of the Palatinate to the Elector Frederick V., who, on hearing of the recent Swedish successes, had hastened from the Hague to claim the aid of Gustavus in re-establishing him in his hereditary dominions. Sir Henry Vane, the English ambassador, seconded the request with an importunity hardly justified by the assistance hitherto rendered by his country to the King of Sweden. Gustavus was influenced, however, by two considerations to delay his compliance with the request. He hoped, in the first place, by still keeping the claims of Frederick in abeyance, to induce England to be more explicit in her declarations in his cause, and to assist him by the resources at her command, on a much more extensive scale than that on which he had hitherto experienced her succour. On this point he was explicit. He represented to Vane the feeble efforts which Charles I. had as yet made to sustain him in the difficult and expensive war in which he was engaged, complaining at the same time of the peace which the English monarch had lately concluded with Spain, instead of employing his fleets in making a diversion in favour of the Protestants, although the Spaniards had been the chief agents in despoiling the Elector of his principality, and were then actually in possession of the better part of the Lower Palatinate. He justly represented, that if

Charles had thought proper to enter into a treaty with the worst enemies of his brother-in-law, without any stipulation in favour of the latter, or of his own sister and nephews, it could not be expected that he should venture more to serve the family of Frederick, than the relation who had virtually abandoned them. "Nevertheless," he added, "if the King of England will enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Sweden against Spain, furnish a present subsidy of five tuns of gold,* and undertake to maintain an army of 12,000 men at his own expense, to co-operate with the Swedes in Germany, I will readily engage to force both the Spaniards and the Elector of Bavaria to relinquish their hold of the Palatinate." To this direct proposal, which had been before made at Wurzburg, where Vane obtained his first interview with the king, the English envoy replied in general and ambiguous terms; and Gustavus, indignant that so much was demanded by an ally who would hazard nothing, as well as influenced by a dislike towards the ambassador himself, whose dark and subtle character was utterly at variance with his own open and fiery temperament, determined that the Palatinate should remain unrestored to its lawful possessors until more substantial advantages were likely to accrue from its restitution. Such was the first and principal motive by which his conduct towards Frederick V. may be accounted for. But a second consideration remained behind, and probably had a considerable share in strengthening his resolution. By leaving Maximilian of Bavaria unmolested in his share of the spoil of the Palatinate, he might be enabled to tempt him into a neutrality, which would disarm the members of the League, and leave him to deal with the Emperor single-handed. The subsequent negotiations with

* Forty-five thousand pounds sterling.

Maximilian left no doubt that the king would not have been unwilling to purchase this advantage, by suffering the pretensions of the deposed Elector to remain to a considerable extent unenforced. That he would have kept his word with England, however, had his previous offer to Vane been accepted, may be considered equally certain. With respect to Frederick himself, he was at all times, probably from mingled motives of policy and humanity, treated by Gustavus with studied respect. As King of Bohemia, he was suffered to take the place of honour at table, and invariably served before the Swedish monarch himself—a treatment from which he was induced to form the most flattering hopes, sufficiently expressed in one of his letters to Sir Henry Vane, in which he informed him, that he had nothing to complain of in the conduct of the King of Sweden, who seemed to entertain the most friendly disposition towards him, and bestowed upon him many marks of regard. “I do not,” he added, “press my claims upon his notice at present, since I am confident that all will be well in the end*.”

* With the exception of Sir Thomas Roe, who was inspired with a sincere respect and regard for the personal merits of Gustavus, most of the agents of England with whom he had intercourse seem to have been little capable of estimating his great qualities, and wrote home the most distorted accounts of his character. He was sarcastically called the Dragoon King; and Harte quotes a letter from Sir Toby Mathew to Sir Henry Vane, which contains the following passage:—“Yesterday I waited at supper on my good Lord of Carlisle, your true friend; and there we had Sir Jacob Ashley at large. He seems a very worthy gentleman, and a great lover of my Lord Marquis of Hamilton and you; he speaks highly well of the courage, and other, both intellectual and experimental, abilities of the King of Sweden, but I have heard no wise man say any such thing yet of that prince, as may totally exclude covetousness and arrogancy, and inordinate ambition.” Sir Henry Vane, however, although no friend to the King of Sweden, could not sometimes avoid expressions of admiration at his conduct as a commander, as well as at the high state of discipline among his soldiers,

The connexion of the King of Sweden with France, from which he derived the advantage of subsidies regularly paid, and expected the co-operation of a numerous force lately raised, and threatening to act against the house of Austria in the Low Countries as well as in Italy and Catalonia, required a more delicate management, and was rendered, by recent circumstances, rather critical in its character. Since the conclusion of the late treaty between the two powers, the partisans of the house of Austria had done all in their power to weaken their alliance, by suggesting to the timid and superstitious mind of Louis XIII. the sinfulness of supporting an heretical prince in his attempts against the Catholic cause in Germany. The Bishop of Wurzburg, who, after the loss of his dominions, had fled to the French court to plead the cause of the League, was foremost in these representations, to which he added suggestions of the existence of a private correspondence between Gustavus and the Huguenot party, and of the probability that the revolt of the latter would be the consequence of the nearer approach of the Swedes to the frontier. These insinuations were in some measure countenanced by the march of the King of Sweden towards the Rhine; and the threatening position he had now assumed, with regard to Lorrain and Alsace, made him, even if the accusation of his secret connexion with the French Protestants was discredited,

remarking, "that better men, and better clothed, he never saw, and that there was not a sick man or boy among them;" and that, "with regard to the actions and enterprises of the king, all seasons were alike to him, while the most difficult achievements seemed to him easy, if he once took them in hand; and as the courage of the soldiers, under so daring a leader, was great, so the fear of his enemies, who every day came to serve him; and, though other armies are diminished by marching, his increased; so that he was able to supply the towns he took in with garrisons, and obliged them to maintain the same."—HARTE'S *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*.

too near a neighbour to be regarded without some degree of anxiety. Gustavus had foreseen this cause of apprehension, and, in some measure, endeavoured to obviate it, by an offer of friendship and neutrality to the Duke of Lorraine, whom he might easily have chased out of his dominions. But the French cabinet, desirous of obtaining an explicit declaration on the subject of his future intentions, sent to urge the further request, that he would not carry his arms into Alsace, but leave to his allies the task of recovering a province which had constituted a part of the French monarchy as early as the time of Dagobert*. The King of Sweden, however, replied, that he had come into Germany to protect and not to betray the Empire, to re-establish it in its primitive condition, and not to assist in its dismemberment. He no less decidedly rejected the proposition that the French army should enter Germany to co-operate with his own troops, asserting that such a plan would only have the effect of exciting dissension between the forces of the two nations; that Louis would act in a manner much more to the common advantage, by attacking the Spaniards in Catalonia; and that he needed no ally to aid him in resisting his enemies in Germany, since the Swedes alone had hitherto been found fully sufficient for the purpose. The French ministers deeming it useless, after so positive an answer, to press their first demand any further, resolved upon a change of policy, and on endeavouring to effect a neutrality between the Electors of the League and the King of Sweden. This expedient promised not only to remove the arms of Gustavus to another and more distant quarter, but to erect a strong barrier before the French territory on the side of the Rhine. It was also likely to prove the readiest means of extricating Richelieu from some perplexity,

* Mauvillon.

arising from his having entered into apparently contradictory treaties with Maximilian of Bavaria and his Swedish enemy, the former of whom now required from France the assistance previously stipulated, in defence of his territory. Richelieu began by evading the demand, and with that political casuistry which is never at fault in justifying a violation of the most solemn obligations, represented that the late engagement was never intended to abrogate the conditions of an anterior treaty entered into with the crown of Sweden; that, however willing France might be to protect him against any other enemy, she could not, in consistency with good faith, extricate him from difficulties which he had drawn upon his own head, by placing his troops under the command of Count Tilly, for the purpose of opposing a king whom he knew to be bound to Louis XIII. by a formal alliance. He, however, offered his good offices towards procuring favourable conditions from Gustavus, if Maximilian should deem it advisable to consent to a neutrality, either for himself separately, or in conjunction with the other members of the League; and proposed sending an ambassador, on the part of France, to ascertain on what terms the Swedish monarch would accede to the proposal. The Bavarian ambassador at the French court having signified his acquiescence, the Marquis de Brezé was despatched, as an extraordinary envoy, to Mentz, whither he was accompanied by a crowd of the French nobility, anxious to ascertain, from personal observation, whether rumour had exaggerated the qualities of a prince, whose exploits had lately filled Europe with astonishment and admiration.

Amidst these movements of refined policy, Louis, who had lately been compelled to take arms to suppress an insurrection excited by the turbulent Gaston Duke of Orleans, and availed himself of the oppor-

tunity to punish the Duke of Lorraine, as well for other instances of disaffection as for his recent efforts in favour of the Emperor, approached the town of Metz with his forces; and a proposal was made (whether by Gustavus himself, or by the Marquis de Brezé, is uncertain), that the two kings should mutually discuss the subjects which concerned the interests of both in a personal interview. The meeting, however, was declined by Louis, who alleged, as excuses, the ill state of his health, and the many affairs of moment which required his immediate return to his capital. The real reason of his refusal, however, was conjectured to be the bashfulness of his disposition, added to his punctilious regard to etiquette, and a fear that he should be obliged to treat the King of Sweden openly as his equal. De Brezé endeavoured to substitute Richelieu, no doubt at the instigation of the ambitious minister, in the place of his sovereign, to receive the intended honour, and informed Gustavus that, if he would approach somewhat nearer to Lorraine, the cardinal would advance to meet him. But the king, whose sense of his own dignity was at least equal to that of Louis himself, at once took fire at the proposal. "Know, sir," he replied to the ambassador, "that I do not consider myself inferior to any prince upon earth. All kings are equal; and my predecessors have never yet made a concession towards the monarchs of France. If the king, your master, thinks it sufficient to send me his minister, I will commission some one in my service to listen to the proposals of the cardinal*."

* The truth of this anecdote, which principally rests upon the authority of Khevenhuller, has been questioned. Mauvillon quotes a different version of the circumstance from Chiflet, in which it is asserted that Gustavus, on a proposal from Richelieu of a conference with Louis XIII., simply stipulated for all the honours due to his rank, a demand which ended in apprehending all further negotiations upon the subject.

Notwithstanding this slight appearance of difference, the negotiations on the subject of the proposed neutrality on the part of the Elector of the League were continued without interruption. Some difficulty at first arose in consequence of Gustavus insisting upon retaining all he had already conquered, while the French ambassador required the restitution of Mentz, Bamberg, and Spire. All preliminaries, however, were at length arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, and the conditions on which the King of Sweden consented that the territories of the League should remain unmolested, were made public. Considering the recent progress of the Swedish arms, and the power which the king possessed to enforce still more important concessions, these must be considered as sufficiently moderate. The Elector of Bavaria and the confederated princes were to refrain from all acts of violence and hostility, both against the troops of Sweden and their allies. They were required to deliver up all the towns and fortresses in Lower Saxony which had been taken from the Protestants since the year 1618, and to recall all their troops stationed in the territories of any states professing the reformed religion. The army of the League was to be restricted to 12,000 men, and distributed in detachments at some distance from each other throughout the territories of the Catholic Electors. The house of Austria and its allies were not to be suffered either to quarter their troops or to make any levies in those countries; and the passes were to be left open to both the contending parties without favour or distinction. The King of Sweden, in return, engaged both in his own name and in that of his allies to abstain from hostility against the country of the Duke of Bavaria, and the other members of the Catholic League; and to deliver to the former all the places he had taken in the Lower Palatinate, to be held by him until a friendly accom-

modation should be effected with the Elector Palatine by the mediation of France and England. The Baron de Charnace was sent into Bavaria immediately to lay the project before Maximilian. The Marquis de Brezé predicted that within fifteen days he would bring back a full ratification of all the articles, and the king consented to an armistice for that period.

Maximilian contrived at first so successfully to amuse the French ambassador, that Charnace, shortly after his arrival at Munich, wrote to Gustavus that he hoped soon to return with such securities for the future peaceful conduct of the Elector as should give him ample satisfaction. The Bavarian, however, was only acting with his usual wily policy, by assuming an apparent willingness to accede to the articles of pacification, while he was secretly encouraging his confederates to make the best of the cessation from hostilities which had been granted him as a space for deliberation, by providing means for a renewal of the war. He even flattered himself that, by affecting a hesitation, which was daily on the point of giving way before the arguments of Charnace, he should be able to gain from Gustavus a still further suspension of arms; but full light was in the meantime thrown upon his real sentiments by an intercepted despatch, in his own handwriting, directed to Pappenheim, requesting him to proceed with all haste in the levy of fresh troops, and enclosing an order for 100,000 crowns to aid him in meeting the necessary expenses. This letter having fallen into the hands of Banner, was transmitted without delay to the king, who showed it to De Brezé, with the simple observation, that he now saw how much he had to expect from the sincerity of the Elector of Bavaria. All hope of a favourable termination was now dropped, and both parties prepared with eagerness for an immediate renewal of hostilities.

But before commencing a fresh campaign, the King of Sweden exerted himself to procure as extensive a diversion in his favour as possible, by endeavouring to excite every foreign power to which Ferdinand had given cause for dissatisfaction to a declaration of war against the Empire. Bethlem Gabor, from whom he had expected so important a support, while preparing for his expedition into Germany, had died at the moment when his aid would have proved most efficient. George Ragotzi, who succeeded him, was, however, endued with a spirit of enterprise and ambition little inferior to that of his predecessor; and Gustavus endeavoured to excite him to an exercise of both qualities, at the cost of his enemy, by representing to him the favourable opportunity which presented itself for recovering the kingdom of Hungary, while the Emperor, weakened by his late losses, would be unable to make any effective effort in its defence. He sent, at the same time, an ambassador to Venice, where the disputes relating to the succession of Mantua were not forgotten, soliciting the senate to enter into an offensive alliance with him against Ferdinand, or at least to furnish him with a sum of money towards sustaining the war. A similar application was made to the city of Geneva, but little benefit was derived by the Swedes from any of these states, which were either too far distant from the field of action to take much interest in the contest, or too little concerned in its results to be induced to make any sacrifices to sustain it.

The King of Sweden, incensed at the perfidy shown towards him in his late communications with the League, was now determined to take vengeance upon its weakest members, by attacking the dominions of the Electors of Treves and Cologne. The former, who had at first endeavoured to negotiate a separate neutrality with Sweden, escaped the storm by placing

himself under the protection of France, and agreeing to receive a French garrison into the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein ; to the no small indignation of Gustavus, who thus saw a rich prize intercepted by his allies at the moment when he had reason to believe it was already within his grasp. It was, however, agreed as some compensation, that the Swedes should be free to pass through the Electorate of Treves and the town of Coblentz, on their way to attack the territories of the Elector of Cologne, and that the troops of France should assist them in expelling the Spaniards from all the country south of the Moselle. That beautiful stream was ordained to be the boundary of the conquests of Gustavus towards the west, since, before he could carry his projected expedition against the territory of Cologne into effect, he was recalled to a different theatre of warfare by the progress of Tilly in Franconia. It was, however, distinguished as one of the scenes of his successes by a considerable advantage gained by the Swedes upon its banks. Two Spanish regiments, which had pushed across the river as the advanced guard of an army of 10,000 men, were assaulted by the Rhinegrave, Otho Louis, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat with serious loss, leaving eight standards in the hands of the victors. A more numerous force, which endeavoured to recover the ground lost by this check, was compelled to retire with equal haste by the king, who advanced in person from Mentz to repel them. The siege of Creutznach was his next undertaking, the last place of consequence held by the Spaniards in the Electorate of Mentz, and which he did not wish to leave behind him in the hands of an enemy. It was invested in the middle of the month of January, and the trenches opened against it, notwithstanding a severe frost which rendered the ground so hard as frequently to break the tools of the besiegers. The town in a short

time was carried by assault ; and the inhabitants, who expected the usual fate which the merciless code of war allows to be inflicted on such occasions, were astonished at the moderation and discipline of the Swedes, who, although they showed little mercy to the Spaniards found in arms at their entrance, proceeded quietly to the market-place as soon as all resistance had ended, and drew up in order without daring to enter a single house for the purpose of plunder*. The castle, strongly fortified, and occupied by 600 veteran soldiers, still held out, and was not won until after a gallant resistance on the part of its defenders. But a breach was at length effected by mining, and assaulted with so much spirit by a body of volunteers, principally English, and headed by Lord Craven, that the garrison, after a fierce combat of two hours, were compelled to propose a capitulation. Many valuable officers were lost before this formidable fortress. Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot was killed on the verge of the breach, Lord Craven pierced through the thigh with a pike, and Sir Francis Vane, brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, dangerously wounded by a musket-shot in the hip. The king himself, who was present as usual at the post of greatest danger, narrowly escaped with life, and one of his soldiers was killed close at his side.

On his return to Frankfort, after the reduction of Creutznach, Gustavus began to assemble his troops for the purpose of marching towards the south, and commencing his final and most brilliant campaign. While his detachments were collecting at Aschaffenburg, he granted a neutrality to the Duke of Neuberg, and published the conditions on which he was willing to consent to a peace with Ferdinand. If the articles have been correctly worded, they indicate a full consciousness of the importance of his victories, and place

* Swedish Intelligencer.

beyond a doubt his ambitious contemplation of a dignity to which some have denied that he ever aspired. The principal preliminaries are as follows :—

The edict of the emperor, touching the restitution of ecclesiastical property, shall be repealed, and remain so for ever.

The Protestant and Catholic religions shall equally enjoy a full and entire liberty and security, whether in towns or villages, whether under secular or ecclesiastical princes.

Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, shall be restored to their former condition ; and all banished persons and exiles shall be recalled.

The Count Palatine Frederick V. shall be re-established in the possession of all which belonged to him before the troubles of Bohemia.—The electoral dignity shall be restored to him ; and the Duke of Bavaria shall relinquish all claim to it.

The exercise of the Evangelic religion shall be re-established at Augsburg, and the city placed in possession of its former liberty.

All Jesuits, without exception, shall be for ever banished from the empire, as enemies of the laws and Germanic Constitutions, especially of the Peace of Religion, and as disturbers of the public tranquillity.

All the monasteries seized in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, contrary to justice, shall be restored and placed in their former condition.

His Royal Majesty of Sweden having saved the empire from total subversion, shall be elected King of the Romans.

After so explicit a declaration as that contained in the last article, little further proof is required that the Imperial throne was viewed by the Swedish monarch as the distant object at which his career was not unlikely to terminate. Other evidence is not wanting to show that he contemplated no common

elevation for the members of his family, if this was denied him. While employed against the Imperialists in Brandenburg, he had proposed a marriage between the Electoral Prince and his daughter Christina. On his arrival at Frankfort, the project was resumed in an interview with Goetze, the chancellor of the Elector. "I have still a serious ground of difference," he said, "with your master, respecting Pomerania; but there remains a means of conciliation. Let us resume the plan of the marriage of the son of the Elector with my daughter: at any rate, let the Elector send his son to be educated with her, and place her in the way of gaining the affections of the Swedes. I know no other obstacle than the difference of religions; but Bergius has already found the means of uniting them at Leipzig. I have seen his contemplated plan, and am well satisfied with it. I foresee the foundation of a great Empire. I will make the young prince Elector of Mentz and Duke of Franconia; but for this purpose the Elector of Brandenburg must act altogether in concert with me." The discourse happening to turn on the affairs of Poland, Gustavus added, "What say you to making the Electoral prince King of Poland? I am still young, and may have sons to succeed me in the kingdom of Sweden. You have pretensions on the Duchy of Juliers—we will make them heard at the proper time and place. But none of the pitiful treaties of Count Schwartzenberg*. It is to you alone that I recommend the affair. Assuredly," he continued, as if gazing on the lofty vision of the dignities contemplated for his descendants—"assuredly this would be a formidable Empire."

Such were the dim and shadowy plans of greatness now present to the mind of the conqueror of Leipzig; and to which, if he had survived the conflict, the

* The favourite minister of the Elector.

battle of Lutzen might possibly have given both distinctness and consistency. As they were yet intimated but by words, they gave but little umbrage to his Protestant allies, who were, besides, not yet sufficiently free from the dread of the army of the League to examine too closely the motives which had influenced their deliverer; but at a later period their jealousy was established upon more substantial foundations and openly expressed.

Before setting out from Frankfort for Aschaffenburg, the king was gratified by the intelligence of the capture of Kirchberg, Bacharach, and Braunfelds, by the Rhinegrave; the conquest of which finished the subjection of Wetteravia. On the 6th of March, after taking an affectionate leave of his queen at Steinheim, he reviewed his army at the appointed place of rendezvous, which was found to consist of 25,000 men in the highest state of efficiency and discipline. Oxenstiern was left at Mentz with such a force as was deemed requisite for its protection, and for keeping the Spaniards from any attempts to recover the posts of which they had been recently deprived. The rest of the Swedes who had been employed upon the Rhine, advanced rapidly into Franconia, by Lohr, Arstein, and Gildersheim.

While the main army of Gustavus was employed in the Lower Palatinate and the Electorate of Mentz, Horn, who had been left with 10,000 men in Franconia, was engaged in active operations against the territories of the Bishop of Bamberg. The prelate who occupied that see, on the approach of Gustavus Adolphus, had readily consented to purchasing a neutrality on terms proposed by the king, but as soon as he saw the Swedish army pursuing its march towards the Rhine, hastily sent to Tilly, requesting his immediate succour. The king was greatly incensed at this instance of duplicity, and declared,

that from that hour he would never trust to the word of a Catholic priest or monk. The bishop, however, was not long without receiving a severe punishment for his subtle policy. Horn arrived before Bamberg on the 1st of February, and demanded immediate admission for his troops. The city had been abandoned by the Imperialists as untenable; and the few canons who were left to superintend the management of public affairs after the flight of the bishop, who had retired with all haste at the news of the approach of the enemy, deeming resistance hopeless, agreed to open their gates to the Swedes on condition of no injury being inflicted on the citizens. But the capitulation had hardly been signed when 500 militia arrived from Cronach, and were secretly admitted into the place. The town's-people, encouraged by the sight of this assistance, immediately took arms, and, at the moment when the Swedes expected that Bamberg would be surrendered into their hands, according to the agreement just concluded, opened upon them a severe fire of musketry, accompanied by the discharge of several pieces of cannon planted upon one of their towers, which they continued to keep up until midnight. By that time, however, the Swedes, by their superior fire, had driven the defenders from the ramparts; and, having fixed a petard to the gates, speedily blew them open, and rushed into the town. The militia immediately fled, and escaped by the opposite gate; and the armed inhabitants, who had at first retired to the town-hall, intending to defend themselves to the last, on finding themselves deserted by their allies, dispersed to their homes, expecting nothing less than a general massacre in return for the flagrant breach of faith they had committed. Had the conquerors been Imperialists, such would inevitably have been the fate of the people of Bamberg; but the Swedes, instead of entering a single

house in the city or offering to molest any of its inhabitants, drew up in the market-place and remained under arms until the morning. The houses of the principal burghers who had violated the capitulation were then given up to pillage, as well as the college of the Jesuits ; but, with this exception, nothing occurred which could remind the inhabitants that their town was in the hands of a foreign enemy, who had gained it by an open assault. The forbearance of the Swedes upon this occasion was in strict accordance with their conduct in similar instances ; and they were now led by a general, who was distinguished above all the officers of Gustavus by his humanity and clemency towards his vanquished enemies, while he was inferior to none in point of military abilities. Horn was generally complimented by the king with the title of his right arm, an appellation which he proved had not been unjustly bestowed upon him, as well during the life as subsequently to the death of his celebrated leader, by that consummate ability and prudence which, after contributing to their success on so many fields, would, probably, if they had been suffered to have full scope, have saved the Swedes from the humiliating disaster of Nordlingen. His domestic history was marked by severe calamity. Before the expedition of Gustavus into Germany, he had married the daughter of the chancellor Oxenstiern, a woman no less remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments than for her conjugal affection, which led her to prefer accompanying her husband to the seat of war, to remaining at the court of Stockholm, in daily anxiety and suspense as to his fate. But this amiable consort was carried off almost immediately after her arrival in Prussia, with two of her children, by a contagious disease, and expired in the arms of her husband, who anxiously attended her in the extremity of her sickness, and never so far recovered from the

shock occasioned by her death as to think of a second marriage, although he was still a young man at the time of the occurrence, and the noblest houses of Sweden were known to have courted his alliance.

As soon as Horn had gained possession of Bamberg, he set his forces in motion against Forcheim. But the prelate, whose territories were thus on the point of being altogether wrested from him, made such clamorous remonstrances to the Duke of Bavaria on the inactivity of the army of the League, while one of their most zealous supporters was driven from his possessions before their eyes, that Tilly, who had distributed the greater part of his troops in the Upper Palatinate, which, from the movements of Gustavus upon the Rhine, he judged would be the next province invaded by the Swedes, and lay with the rest at Nordlingen, was at length commanded to resume the offensive and march to the recovery of Bamberg. The veteran general was overjoyed at the command, and hastily calling in his troops from the Palatinate, advanced first to Amberg, for the purpose of conferring with the bishop, and from thence turned his course towards Neumarkt and Nuremberg. Around the latter city he left a part of his army stationed, principally in the towns of Lauff and Altdorf, and proceeded with the rest, amounting to about 20,000 men, to drive Horn from his recent conquests. The Protestant territory of Anspach felt the full effects of the licence of his soldiery on their arrival at Nuremberg. All the horrors which follow in the train of a war of desolation were to be witnessed during the short period for which they occupied this defenceless country, in which the Imperialists, among other outrages, broke open the tomb of the Margrave of Anspach, who had once commanded the troops of the Evangelic Union, for the purpose of despoiling the corpse of a rich collar, set with diamonds, with which it had been interred.

Horn, who had been compelled by violent rains, followed by a frost of intense vigour, to delay the siege of Forcheim, had retired to Bamberg, where he received undoubted intelligence of the approach of Tilly's army. Although the town in which his troops were quartered was not regularly fortified, he thought that with the assistance of a few field-works hastily thrown up, he might contrive to keep the Imperialists at bay until the king arrived to relieve him. But Tilly, on coming up, at once attacked his outposts with so much vigour, that the Swedes, whose confusion was increased by their mistaking an order of their general, were quickly obliged to retire into the suburbs. These were immediately assailed by the victors, and with equal success. Although Horn exerted himself to the utmost to restore the battle, and frequently repulsed the enemy by charging at the head of the regiment of Bauditzen, he was at last obliged to content himself with an orderly retreat, and falling back upon Kutzingen and Ettman, recrossed the main, and took post at Hassfurt, breaking down the bridges over the river behind him. Tilly, however, eager in the pursuit, and aided by the inhabitants of the country, who brought him materials in abundance, speedily re-established the communications he had just destroyed, and had pushed forward several regiments of cavalry within two miles of Hassfurt, before the Swedish general received the intelligence that the Maine was no longer between himself and the enemy. Horn was accordingly obliged to commence his retreat anew, although he first derived some satisfaction for the loss he had sustained at Bamberg, by cutting off two regiments of Imperialists forming the advance of his pursuers, and directed his course towards Schweinfurth. Here he received the welcome intelligence that the King of Sweden was close at hand, and soon after effected his

junction with the main army, which was increased by this addition to the number of 32,000.

In other parts of Germany the war continued to burn with undiminished violence, although generally to the advantage of the Swedes. In the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, a strenuous effort was made by Pappenheim to relieve Count Mansfeld, still blockaded by Banner amidst the ruins of that unhappy city. The sudden revolt, however, of George, Duke of Lunenburg, from the Emperor, and the levies he was making in Lower Saxony, compelled him to turn his attention in another direction. Magdeburg was accordingly abandoned, after the defenders had set fire to the barracks, spiked part of their artillery, and thrown the rest into the Elbe; and the Swedes, taking possession of the ramparts, were enabled to invite the surviving inhabitants, who remained scattered throughout the neighbouring country, to commence the re-erection of a few scattered houses upon the blackened sites of so many magnificent mansions. Pappenheim was not successful in his operations against George of Lunenburg. He had advanced to Burgdorf, and was endeavouring to terrify the duke into submission, by threatening to lay the town of Zell in ashes, when he was compelled to retire before Banner, whose army, now increased by a force under the Duke of Weimar, whom Gustavus had sent through Thuringia to join him, was much superior to his own. The two generals soon added Nordheim, Goslar, and Gottingen, to the Swedish conquests, and would probably have obtained further successes had they not been summoned to join the king, who despatched the Landgrave of Hesse with his troops to take their places. Achatius Todt was at the same time desired to move from Mecklenburg, and co-operate with the Landgrave and the troops of Bremen and Lunenburg, in driving the Imperialists from the

right bank of the Weser. Pappenheim, however, was upon the alert to take advantage of this change of the generals appointed to act against him. Having recollected his scattered forces, he suddenly re-crossed the Weser, and placed himself in such a position as to cut off the communication of the Hessians with the Duke of Lunenburg; he first defeated the Landgrave, and, subsequently, a force which had been sent from Lunenburg to his assistance. The Hessians retreated towards Paderborn, in the hope of drawing him to follow them in that direction; but Pappenheim, after entering the territory of Hesse, and committing fearful ravages over a wide extent of country, advanced against Achatius Todt, who was then besieging Stade, a town near the mouth of the Elbe, against whom he manœuvred so skilfully, that he speedily compelled him to raise the siege, and would probably have compelled him to retire to the other side of the Elbe, had not a sudden insurrection, excited by Francis Charles, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, again turned the balance in favour of his enemies. This prince, after the unsuccessful issue of his former attempt, had been released from captivity by Ferdinand, in consequence of a feigned conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. He now resumed his old religion and his former efforts in the cause of freedom together, and exerted himself with so much better success, that he compelled Pappenheim, overwhelmed by numbers, and destitute of the means of subsisting his men, to retrace his steps towards Hesse. The Imperial garrison of Stade accompanied him in his retreat, and the Swedes, finding themselves masters of the navigation of the Elbe, immediately improved their advantage by erecting a strong fort on the bank of the river in the vicinity of Stade, and garrisoning it with two of their best regiments.

In the meantime the Spaniards, who, stationed

along the banks of the Moselle, had anxiously watched the departure of Gustavus Adolphus for Franconia, had not been idle in endeavouring to recover their lost ground in the vicinity of Mentz and the Lower Palatinate. The first corps which crossed the river was defeated by the Rhinegrave, who sent seven standards and several prisoners of rank to Oxenstiern as the fruits of his victory ; but a fresh force having advanced under the Count de Riedberg and Don Philip de Sylva, he was compelled to fall back to Mentz ; and the Spaniards, crossing the Hundstruck, immediately invested Spire, which was rendered by Colonel Horneck without resistance, although the Chancellor had sent him word that he was on the point of marching to his assistance. But the inroad of the Spaniards was not of long duration. They were speedily recalled into the Low Countries by the movements of the Prince of Orange, and fearfully harassed during their retreat by Oxenstiern and the Rhinegrave, who having by this time collected the Swedish garrisons in their neighbourhood into a force sufficient to give them battle, followed close upon their rear, and inflicted upon them a loss of 2,000 men before the pursuit was discontinued. Spire was immediately recovered and garrisoned anew by the Swedes ; but its former governor, Colonel Horneck, was sent by Oxenstiern as a prisoner to Mentz, and subsequently condemned by a court-martial to lose his head for his feeble resistance*.

Such was the state of the contending parties in the Empire at the commencement of the celebrated campaign of 1632. But to the list of the antagonists opposed to the Swedes, was now to be added one more to be dreaded than any they had yet encountered. Wallenstein was by this time once more in

* This sentence was afterwards mitigated, at the intercession of the Queen of Sweden.

arms, and ready to lead in person the well-appointed force he had been employed in levying. It is said, that Ferdinand, almost reduced to despair by the disastrous events of the preceding year, and the evils which on all sides appeared to threaten the ruin of his dominion, had resolved upon putting himself at the head of his army, and leading it to the field in person, a determination which could not have failed to give the final blow to the fortunes of his house, when he was persuaded by his ministers to endeavour once more to prevail upon Wallenstein to reassume the command of the Imperial forces. The Prince of Eggenberg was sent a second time to Znaim, offering his own terms to the Duke of Friedland, upon the sole condition of his consenting to gratify the Emperor by returning to his former post ; and Ferdinand even condescended to add his personal entreaties, to influence the resolution of his haughty subject. As soon as Eggenberg had arrived at Znaim, and communicated the object of his mission, Wallenstein replied that he needed but twenty-four hours to specify the sole conditions on which he would accept the command. At the expiration of that time, a memorial was presented to the Imperial ambassador, containing the proposed articles, which were such as to confound even those best acquainted with the aspiring character of their author.

This singular document was nearly to the following effect :—

“The Duke of Friedland shall be now and from henceforth sole generalissimo, not only of his Imperial Majesty, but of the whole house of Austria, and the Crown of Spain, and shall command in chief the forces of both ; nor shall any one, of whatsoever rank, make pretensions detrimental to his unrestricted possession of the office.

“The Emperor shall never be personally present

with the army, nor shall he take upon himself any part of the command. Yet, after his armies have recovered the kingdom of Bohemia, it will be fit that the King of Hungary establish his residence at Prague, and that twelve hundred men be left with Don Balthasar Maradas, for the purpose of protecting him, until a general peace of the Empire, since the Duke of Freidland has observed that it is the wish of the Bohemians to have a king resident among them; and by this means the Emperor and his general will be secure from all apprehension of rebellion.

“The Emperor shall grant to the Duke of Friedland, under the title of ‘ordinary recompense,’ security for his accession to some one of the countries constituting the hereditary possessions of Austria, and that in the most ample form possible.

“The Duke of Friedland shall possess the direct dominion, and shall be sovereign lord, of all the countries which shall be recovered in the Empire, as a ‘recompense extraordinary.’

“All territories, lordships, and countries which shall be confiscated, shall belong to the Duke of Friedland, and the confiscation shall be devoted to his profit in the most extended form, so that neither the Aulic Council of the Empire, nor the Imperial Chamber of Spire, shall pretend to any right or jurisdiction over them, general or particular, under any pretext whatever. The Duke of Friedland shall remain in the possession of absolute power of punishing or of pardoning, with respect to all prisoners in a military capacity, of whatever rank or quality they may happen to be, so that all safe conducts and letters of respite or grace, granted by the Emperor and signed by his hand, shall be null and void, if not confirmed and countersigned by the said Duke of Friedland.

“Applications for letters of grace shall be made to the Duke of Friedland alone, and he only shall have the power to grant and despatch them, since the Emperor is of too merciful a disposition, and suffers guilty characters of every description to receive pardon at his court ; so that the commander-in-chief is in the condition of a person whose hands are tied, and finds himself deprived of the assistance of the two great motives which influence the conduct of mankind—the fear of punishment and the hope of reward.

“As, sooner or later, a definitive treaty must be concluded in the Empire, the Emperor shall bind himself to include in it the Duke of Friedland, and to maintain his interests with respect to the duchy of Mecklenburg.”

Extraordinary as these propositions might appear, the Emperor did not hesitate to sign them. To such a condition of weakness was the once despotic house of Austria reduced in Germany. Yet it is not impossible that, in assenting to such extravagant demands, Ferdinand foresaw their ultimate issue in the ruin of his ambitious general. Wallenstein, elated with the result of the negotiation, and inspired by the desire of proving himself worthy of his new honours, exerted himself with so much diligence, and lavished his riches with so unsparing a hand, that, in point of equipment, his troops exceeded any force which had yet been seen in the Empire. His army amounted to 40,000 men, the number he had originally undertaken to raise ; and with these, he doubted not of speedily driving the Saxons out of Bohemia, the object to which his attention was directed, previously to throwing himself in the way of Gustavus, and presenting himself before him as his last and most formidable opponent.

CHAPTER XIV.

Tilly retreats into the Upper Palatinate—The Swedes enter Nuremberg—The Swedes lay siege to Donawerth, which is abandoned by the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg—Gustavus crosses the Danube—Maximilian and Tilly take post on the banks of the Lech—The King determines to attack them in their position—Difficulties of the Undertaking—He constructs a Bridge over the Lech under the Artillery of the Enemy—Tilly endeavours to oppose his Passage, and is mortally wounded in the Attempt—Retreat of Maximilian—Death of Tilly—Conquest of Rain by the Swedes—Gustavus besieges Augsburg—Capitulation of the Imperial Garrison—The King enters the City in Triumph—Oath of Allegiance to the Crown of Sweden, taken by the Magistrates—General Dissatisfaction of the Allies of Gustavus—Siege of Ingolstadt—Narrow Escape of the King, and Death of the Marquis of Baden Durlach—Speech of Gustavus on the occasion—Siege of Ingolstadt raised—Interference of St. Etienne in favour of the Elector of Bavaria—His Dialogue with Gustavus—Recovery of Bohemia by the Imperial Army under Wallenstein.

ON the first intelligence of the approach of the King of Sweden, and the junction of his forces with those of Gustavus Horn, Tilly, who was sensible that he was far too weak to keep the field against such superior numbers, had commenced his retreat from Hassfurt, intending to retire towards Bavaria, and defend its frontier to the best of his ability. Having called in his detachments, and re-assembled his army at Forcheim, he accordingly commenced his retreat towards Forcheim, and from thence fell back through Erlangen to Nuremberg. But Maximilian, who had no wish that his country should become the seat of war, perceiving that his general was in full march towards the Danube, sent hastily to desire him to alter his course, and to retreat into the Upper Palatinate, with the hope that the Swedes would

pursue him into that province, and by delaying for a time the invasion of Bavaria, afford him further time for providing for its defence. Tilly, thus instructed, complied with the directions of the Elector, by altering his course towards Altdorf, and from thence, still sinking deeper into the Upper Palatinate, proceeded to Neumarkt, where he awaited the effect of his recent movements upon the operations of the King of Sweden. Gustavus, in the mean time, leisurely advancing from Schweinfurth to Windsheim, where he was joined by Banner and the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and found his numbers increased to 40,000 men by their arrival, determined, since no enemy appeared to oppose him, on continuing his march towards Bavaria, without paying the least attention to the movements of Tilly. Nurenberg, however, which had lately so resolutely declared in his cause, was too near his projected route to remain unvisited; and, after having halted his army at Furth, he set out with a numerous escort, composed of his principal officers, and accompanied by the King of Bohemia, and a crowd of the German nobility, to make his public entry into the city. He was received with a lavish pomp, which indicated the immense wealth of the citizens, no less than their unbounded exultation at the event. A body of cavalry, magnificently dressed, and composed of the flower of the youth of Nurenberg, followed by a long train of coaches containing the wives and daughters of the principal magistrates and burgesses, met him at some distance from the gates, and accompanied him at his entrance. The garrison and the burgher guards, newly clothed for the occasion, were assembled under arms; the streets hung with the richest tapestry; and the windows filled with spectators, who, on his appearance, saluted him with a general burst of acclamations, mingled with fervent blessings

upon the deliverer of the Protestant Church of Germany. As soon as he had alighted at the hotel prepared for his reception, he was presented, in the name of the senate, with four large cannon beautifully finished and superbly mounted, two silver globes, the one filled with new golden ducats, and the other with guilders, and six waggons laden with oats, fish, and wine. Two of the principal members of the senate accompanied these presents, and delivered a complimentary oration to the king, in the name of the whole body, to which Gustavus made an appropriate reply.

A costly entertainment followed these manifestations of regard on both sides, at which the king's table was served by the principal senators of Nuremberg.

After a visit of two days, he set out to rejoin his army, carrying with him a number of Capuchin friars, whom he had directed to be seized as hostages for the safety of several persons of rank residing in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, or who had been made prisoners by Tilly and conveyed to Neumarkt. He then gave orders for continuing his march towards Donawerth, detaching a portion of his army towards Hochstet, at both which points he intended to effect the passage of the Danube. Tilly, at the first intimation of this movement, abandoning the Upper Palatinate, hastened by forced marches to the defence of Bavaria, and crossing the Danube by the bridge of Ingolstadt*, took post along the banks of the Lech, where he was shortly afterwards joined by Maximilian and 8,000 Bavarians under his command. The king arrived before Donawerth on the 26th of March, and despatched a trumpeter to the town with the usual summons. The governor, Maximilian, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, who commanded the gar-

* Swedish Intelligencer.

rison, consisting of 1,500 infantry and 500 horse, scornfully replied, that he had nothing at the service of the King of Sweden but gunpowder and lead, and the sharp points of his soldiers' swords; and that if these were not to his taste, it was no fault of the Governor of Donawerth. The Swedes answered this bravado by immediately erecting their batteries upon Mount Schellenberg, and commencing a vigorous cannonade against the lower town, while they pushed forward their trenches without intermission, notwithstanding the heavy fire of the place, and several brisk sallies made by the choicest troops of the garrison. The Duke of Saxe Lauenburg had been encouraged to give his haughty answer of defiance, by a prevalent report that Tilly was on his way to raise the siege; and with this expectation replied to the magistrates, who had requested him not to cause the ruin of their town by a useless resistance, "that there was no hurry, and that he should take especial care not to quit his post at the moment when he was on the point of being relieved." With the bridge over the Danube behind him, he had little fear of effecting his escape, even if the hope of succour from Tilly should prove fallacious. But his situation was soon rendered precarious by the activity of his assailants. The fortifications were ruined by the fire of the Swedish batteries, and the king, sending a force under Colonel Hepburn to cross the Wormitz, and effect a lodgment among the gardens and enclosed grounds near the foot of the bridge on the opposite side of the town, threatened to cut off all means of retreat from the besieged, before making the assault for which he was evidently preparing. At the same time the Swedish artillery was so advantageously planted to command the opposite bank of the Danube, that a body of Bavarian troops, despatched to reinforce the garrison, were compelled to retire without

effecting their object. The Governor of Donawerth now thought it full time to withdraw with his garrison, and after communicating his intention to the magistrates, employed a whole night in transporting his baggage across the river, with the design of following it early on the ensuing morning. But his intention was made known to the Swedes by the noise of the waggons as they defiled over the bridge, and the King of Sweden sent orders to Hepburn to be on the alert, as he expected the Imperialists were on the point of abandoning the town. As the duke, therefore, issued forth from Donawerth at break of day, he found the Scottish colonel with his detachment under arms, to oppose his further progress. The ground in the vicinity of the bridge immediately became the scene of a sanguinary combat, and the disputed pass was long contested at the pike's point. The Imperialists, however, rendered desperate by their perilous situation, at length succeeded, after repeated efforts, in clearing a passage in their front; but they had no sooner burst through the enemies with whom they had been engaged in close combat, than they were exposed to a heavy cross-fire of artillery and musketry, which was so well directed, that nearly 500 of their number were found, after the skirmish, to have fallen upon the bridge alone. At the expense of this terrible loss, the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg was enabled to gain the opposite shore with the remainder of the shattered band, which had followed him in his retreat. A part of the Imperial garrison, however, had been left in the town, which, while Hepburn was employed in the action at the bridge, had been assaulted and won by the Swedes under the guidance of the king in person. The victors, in their first fury, gave little quarter to the Imperial soldiery who fell into their hands, and even broke open some of the houses of the citizens, although

without maltreating the inhabitants ; but Gustavus gave instant orders to put a stop to all excesses, and perfect tranquillity was restored in Donawerth, after it had suffered but a few hours' interruption. The expedition against Hochstet, commanded by Augustus, Prince Palatine of Sultzbach, was equally successful. The king, now master of two important passes over the Danube, after leaving a garrison in Donawerth, lost no time in transferring the rest of his army to the right bank of the river. All the country between the Lech and the Danube, as far as to Ulm and Augsburg, was instantly overspread by his troops, who found themselves amply supplied with provisions from the rich territory of which they had recently gained possession. Tilly, however, was in front, and in a position apparently inaccessible, quietly awaited the arrival of reinforcements from the army of Wallenstein in Bohemia, and the junction of fresh levies raised in Bavaria, to pour such superior numbers upon the invaders as would quickly compel them to recross the Danube in confusion, or enable him to take satisfaction for a long course of reverses in the issue of a pitched field.

The Lech, a stream inseparably connected with the memory of Gustavus Adolphus, takes its rise among the mountains of the Tyrol, and, after washing the walls of Landsberg and Augsburg, falls into the Danube at a short distance from the town of Rain. The banks are broken and irregular, and the channel uncertain, nor are there many rivers of the same size in Germany which can be compared with it in the strength and rapidity of its current. The united forces of Bavaria and the League, with this efficient means of defence in front, extended their right wing towards the Danube and their left towards Rain, while the banks of the river, as far as the city of Augsburg, were observed by their patrols, supported

by detached bodies of infantry. Tilly had taken the precaution of breaking down the bridges over the Lech, and had thrown up field-works at points where he judged the passage might be considered attended with fewest difficulties. That the Swedes would attack him in his main position, was a pitch of daring to which, well as he was acquainted with the enterprising spirit of the king, he could scarcely suspect him of having yet attained. Such, however, was the full determination of Gustavus. After he had reconnoitred the course of the Lech for some miles, at the imminent peril of his life, he fixed upon a point between Rain and Thierhauppen, where the river makes a sweep to the eastward, as the spot for carrying his venturous design into effect. The plan of forcing a passage over the Lech had been previously debated at a general council of war held at Nordheim, but so perilous and desperate was the undertaking considered by most of those who were present, that the king found but few to support him with their approbation. Horn did not hesitate to declare that it was altogether impracticable, and many veteran officers expressed themselves to the same effect. Gustavus, however, cut short the deliberation, by declaring his resolution to be fixed. "What," he exclaimed, "shall we, who have not only passed the Baltic, but the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube, turn back from the Lech, a stream which can scarcely be dignified with the name of a river?" His generals, finding his resolution unalterable, ceased from further opposition; and it only remained to carry fearlessly into effect a design which, under existing difficulties, could apparently only owe its success to the most unhesitating self-devotion on the part of those entrusted with its execution. The king was, perhaps, the only person in his army who possessed an unshaken confidence in the result. "You will see," he coolly said, on re-

ceiving information of every fresh obstacle which had been discovered, "that we shall do well enough presently, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary."

In order fully to understand the relative positions now occupied by the Swedes and their opponents, it must be observed, that within the space embraced by the curvature of the Lech the armies of Maximilian and Tilly had taken post in order of battle, partly sheltered by an entrenchment in their front, running parallel with an imaginary chord of the arc formed by the winding of the river, and partly by a dense wood on their right, which was principally occupied by the Bavarians. The ground before them constituting a natural glacis, descended by a gentle slope to the Lech, gradually acquiring the character of a muddy swamp, in some places overgrown with beds of osiers. The Swedes, therefore, had first to pass a deep and rapid torrent, which was, moreover, recently swollen with melted snows, and about forty yards across at the point selected for their passage; and next, to struggle through a marsh, under full sweep of the cannon and small arms of the Imperialists; after which the enemy must be driven from a commanding situation, in which they had entrenched themselves to their teeth; and finally dislodged from the wood towards their right, before the victory could be deemed complete. It must be acknowledged that the most sanguine among them might be justified in regarding with no favourable eye an enterprise which held out such little prospect of advantage, and which threatened to be followed by the most serious consequences, if unattended with success.

The king was occupied during the 3rd of April in endeavouring to gain correct intelligence of the depth of the river, and in selecting the most convenient spots for the erection of his batteries. While he was thus

employed, the heavy artillery of the Imperialists opened against the several divisions of his army, as they came within range upon the opposite bank ; and the best marksmen among their musketeers, descending towards the Lech, and availing themselves of the cover afforded by every bush and inequality of the ground, commenced a scattered fire along the edge of the river, upon every object which approached it. Seventy-two pieces of cannon speedily answered this salute on the part of the Swedes, and a similar body of skirmishers was thrown forward towards the western bank to oppose the Imperial marksmen. At the same time, the king, in order to keep Tilly ignorant of his real movements, caused several pits to be dug along his front, and filled with damp straw, which he commanded to be set on fire. The dense smoke which instantly arose, mingled with that of the artillery and musketry, drafting heavily along the valley of the Lech, soon veiled both armies from each other's view. The firing on both sides was, nevertheless, maintained without being interrupted by the partial obscurity ; and for three days and two nights the banks of the river were almost incessantly shaken by the thunder of a conflict, which was distinctly heard and listened to with fearful expectation, within the distance of twelve miles, in every direction, from the scene of action. The king's first intention was to throw a floating bridge over the stream ; but the attempt was no sooner made, than it was found to be rendered hopeless by the rapidity of the current. It was then imagined that tressels might be sunk and firmly secured by weights in the bed of the river, on which the flooring of the bridge might afterwards be securely laid. The king approved of this plan, and workmen were commanded to prepare the necessary materials at the small village of Oberendorf, situated about half a mile from the spot. During the night

of the 4th of April, the work was entirely finished, the supports fixed in the stream, and the planks for forming the bridge brought down to the water's edge. The king had, in the meantime, ordered a trench to be dug along the bank of the river for the reception of bodies of musketeers, and several new batteries to be constructed close to the shore, the fire from which, as they were disposed along a convex line, necessarily crossed upon the opposite side; those upon the left hand of the Swedes playing upon the left of the enemy, and those on the right, upon the wood held by the Bavarians. Another battery, slightly retired from the rest, directed its fire against the entrenchments occupied by Tilly's centre. By daybreak on the 5th, all necessary preparations having been made, the bridge was begun to be laid, and completed under the king's inspection. Three hundred Finland volunteers were the first who crossed, excited by the reward of ten crowns each, to undertake the dangerous service of throwing up a slight work upon the other side for its protection. Tilly was now aware of the exact spot at which his enemy had determined to attempt his passage, and the greater part of his artillery was accordingly directed against it. At the same time, he gave orders for felling a number of trees in the wood upon his right, for the purpose of raising a strong abattis in front of his entrenchments. The Swedes, informed of his intention by the sound of axes heard at intervals amidst the roar of the battle, redoubled their fire against the wood, and an extensive loss of life was occasioned among its occupants, not only by the balls of the enemy, but by the splinters and boughs which were continually struck from the trees around them. By four in the afternoon, the Finlanders had finished their undertaking, having been protected from a close attack by the musketry of their own party and the batteries behind them,

from which the king is said to have discharged more than sixty shots with his own hand, to encourage his gunners to charge their pieces more expeditiously. The work consisted merely of an embankment surrounded by a trench, but it was defended both by the direct and cross fire of the Swedes. As soon as it was completed, Gustavus, stationing himself with the King of Bohemia at the foot of the bridge, commanded Colonel Wrangel, with a chosen body of infantry, and two or three field-pieces, to pass over ; and, after occupying the work, to station a number of musketeers in a bed of osiers upon the opposite side. The Swedes crossed the bridge with little loss, since, in addition to the embankment raised by the Finlanders, they were in a great measure covered from their adversaries by the greater steepness of the eastern shore of the Lech, which was several feet higher than that on their own side. The bridge had also been purposely laid close to the surface of the water, so that the balls of the Imperialists, although they repeatedly grazed the crest of the bank, passed over the heads of those stationed below it without inflicting any injury. After Wrangel had securely established himself in his position, the remainder of the infantry began to pour across the river, encouraged as they passed by the words of the king, who continued at the foot of the bridge, as the most convenient spot for giving orders. A body of Finland horse, at the same time, having discovered a ford at some distance to the right, hastily availed themselves of the passage, and were followed by the whole of the Swedish cavalry, who, by this movement, threatened to turn the left flank of the Imperialists. In order to drive back the assailants, Tilly descended from his entrenchments, at the head of several select regiments of infantry, among whom were many veterans who had grown grey in his service, with the intention of

charging the Swedes before they had time to form. His troops, however, were exposed to repeated volleys of musketry from Wrangel's musketeers; and this vigorous opposition, together with the difficult nature of the ground, speedily threw his own array into a confusion equal to that which prevailed amongst his enemies. Notwithstanding the determined spirit with which they had advanced, the Imperialists were routed, after a fierce struggle of twenty minutes' duration, towards the close of which, Tilly was struck a little above the right knee by a shot of three pounds weight, discharged from a falconet, and carried off the field fainting with the intense agony of the wound. His Lieutenant, Count Altringer, endeavoured to rally his men, but without success, and was soon afterwards himself laid senseless by a ball which closely grazed his temple. These two chance shots decided the event of the combat upon the Lech, which, had either Tilly or his favourite officer remained to defend the strong position still tenable in their rear, might possibly have had a very different termination. The Elector of Bavaria, although not destitute of personal courage, kept his forces within the wood which he occupied, confused by the unexpected termination of the contest in the distance, or thinking all attempts useless to recover the fortune of the day; and the whole of the Swedish army was soon upon the eastern bank of the Lech, where the king, without troubling himself with the pursuit of the enemy, commanded his army to encamp, and ordered the customary thanksgivings to be offered for his victory. During the ensuing night, the Elector of Bavaria, after a hurried council of war, determined not to await the attack of the Swedes upon his entrenchments, thinking it more advisable to fall back before them, until he should effect a junction with the army of Wallenstein. In this opinion he was confirmed by the advice of Tilly:

the Bavarians, therefore, were commanded to prepare for an immediate retreat, and by the next morning were far advanced on their way to Neuburg. Gustavus was astonished, on reconnoitring the position lately held by the enemy, at finding their entrenchments abandoned, and the ground, for the possession of which he had expected a second engagement more obstinate than the first, relinquished without a single blow. "If I had been the Bavarian," he observed to those around him, "I would not have quitted such a post as this, even if a cannon-shot had carried away my beard and half my chin with it." The loss of the conquered parties engaged in the late encounter has been variously reported. That of the Bavarians is usually reckoned at a thousand men, and their allies could not have suffered less. The Swedes have left no account of their own killed and wounded.

The result of this signal victory completed the consternation of the Catholic and Austrian factions in Germany. Cardinal Pasman, the Imperial ambassador at the Court of Rome, on receiving intelligence of the event, exclaimed, "The play is over—we may now drop the curtain!" and it is certain that the sentiment, thus laconically expressed, was almost universally felt. Gustavus himself, on reflecting on the circumstances of his recent success, is said to have observed that he was better pleased with the result of that day's work than with the issue of the battle of Leipzig. His military reputation was undoubtedly far more increased by it in the estimation of Europe, since nothing was now considered impossible to a general whose conduct and genius seemed to increase in exact proportion with the difficulties to be surmounted, and to be formed to triumph over enterprises, by which the reputation of any other leader would be irreparably ruined. In our own days the banks of the Alpon and Adda have witnessed under-

takings somewhat similar, attended, perhaps, with greater peril, and crowned with equal success. Yet it must be remembered that the victors at Lodi, as well as at Arcola, had no bridge to construct in the face of an entrenched enemy, and no higher ground to win after their passage; neither, however imposing may have been the personal valour displayed on each of these occasions, was the issue of the contest so much the effect of superior generalship, as of a greater exertion of desperate courage and physical force. Under all circumstances, it is believed that the passage of the Lech is still without its parallel in the history of modern warfare.

The unfortunate general, whose humiliation, commencing at Leipzig, received its full accomplishment in his unsuccessful defence of the Bavarian frontier, was conveyed the day after the battle to Ingolstadt, frequently swooning on his way with the pain occasioned by the motion of the carriage. If human guilt could be atoned for by bodily suffering, even the atrocities of Magdeburg might be considered sufficiently avenged by the tortures which he continued to suffer during fifteen days, and which were much increased by the ignorance of the surgeons who attended him, and lacerated the injured part with deep incisions in all directions, according to their usual practice. His constitution, already weakened by age, was unable to bear up against the recent injury he had received in addition to the mental anguish which frequently prompted him to exclaim with bitterness, on his recollection of the past, that his hands had been tied by the League, and that his days ought never to have been prolonged beyond the battle of Leipzig. Before his death he was visited by the Elector of Bavaria, on whom he repeatedly urged the importance of occupying Ratisbon with a strong garrison, adding his advice, that his Lieutenant

Cratzen should be entrusted with the chief command in his place. Maximilian was much moved at his last interview with his aged general, who, however dark the stains upon some parts of his character might be, had invariably served him with unshaken disinterestedness and fidelity. He is asserted to have closed his conversation with his patron in the following words:—"Not being conscious I have used your highness ill in the command of your armies, I shall ask no forgiveness, contented and thankful to die, as you honour me with your attention in my last moments, of which very few now remain upon my hands. Let me entreat you, therefore, out of pure compassion, to leave me; and as I have an account to render for human frailties, transgressions, and errors, permit me, after having justified myself in your opinion, to make my peace with God."* Tilly's remaining hours were spent in attending to the offices of devotion prescribed by his church; yet, in the slight delirium which immediately preceded his dissolution, the interests of the cause he had so long upheld were still near his heart; and he expired repeating the words, "Ratisbon! Ratisbon!" with his latest breath.† Gustavus, on being made acquainted with the event, forgot the rigid bigotry and spirit of persecution by which he had through life been distinguished, in his desire to do full justice to the best qualities of a deceased enemy, calling him, according to Monro, "the honourable old Tilly, whose acts were so heroic that after his death they were his everlasting monuments, making his memory eternal, suffering his name never to rot with the time." "And my wish were," adds the same author, with his usual quaint improvement of his subject, "that I might prove as valiant in advancing Christ's kingdom as he was forward in hindering of it; my death then should

* Harte.

† Heylman Leo Arctous.

not be bitter unto my friends, I leaving an immortal name behind me."*

Rain was the first conquest effected by the Swedes after crossing the Lech. The town was carried sword in hand, and compelled to redeem itself from pillage by a heavy contribution. Augsburg, the cradle of the reformation, was the next object toward which the conquerors directed their march. In this city the Protestants had sustained their full share of the burthen imposed upon all members of their communion in the Catholic states. No Lutheran was suffered to possess arms, or to enter upon any public office, and the reformed worship had been publicly interdicted, upon pain of severe penalties. On his way, Gustavus sent Colonel Landsperg to take possession of Neuburg, from which the Bavarians had retreated, intending to cross the Danube at Ingolstadt. He then continued to advance along the right bank of the Lech, while his heavy artillery was conveyed up the Suabian shore, since the recently constructed bridge was not deemed strong enough to support its weight, and arrived on the 9th of April within sight of Augsburg. The place was garrisoned by eighteen companies of infantry, chiefly militia, the regular garrison having abandoned the city to join the main army of Maximilian. Although this force was insufficient for a regular defence, and the greater part of the people of Augsburg were well known to be in favour of the King of Sweden, Lieutenant-Colonel De Treberes, the officer in command, broke down the bridge over the Lech, and asserted his resolution to maintain his post to the last extremity. It was, therefore, necessary to have immediate recourse to the usual means for enforcing a surrender. The king, having thrown two bridges over the river, began to raise his batteries against the principal

* Monro's Second Expedition.

defences. He would not, however, suffer a single shot to be fired from them, until he had sent an expostulatory letter to the magistrates, requesting them to use their influence with the governor to induce him to relinquish a resistance which must be altogether useless, and would unavoidably be productive of serious damage to a city which it was his ardent desire to preserve uninjured. After a protracted correspondence, through Marshal Horn, the governor was at length persuaded to abandon his rash design, and agreed to place the Swedes in possession of the gates, on condition that his garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, and suffered to proceed unmolested to Ingolstadt.

The articles of capitulation with the town were not adjusted until some days after his departure, and gave universal offence to the allies of Sweden. The Catholic magistrates were replaced by those of the Lutheran persuasion, and the pulpits of the churches given up to the Protestant ministers. These, however, were but the ordinary changes which it was the invariable practice of the king to introduce in every town which submitted to his arms. The grand cause of dissatisfaction was an oath of allegiance to his crown, which indicated no intention, on the part of Gustavus, to return to Sweden until he had procured to himself a substantial recompense for the labour and expense of the war. The capitulation was signed on the 23d of April, and the next day the king made his public entry into the city. The people of Augsburg, desirous of imitating the example recently set by the citizens of Nuremberg, made every attempt to render the ceremony of his reception as imposing as possible. The procession was opened by the newly established magistrates, followed by a body of cavalry, after whom Gustavus appeared, accompanied by the King of Bohemia, the two

Counts Palatine of Sultzbach, William Duke of Saxe Weimar, John Duke of Holstein, the Margrave of Baden Durlach, Marshal Banner, and a long train of nobility and ambassadors. He proceeded first to the Church of St. Anne, where the Te Deum was sung, accompanied, as usual, with peals of artillery from the ramparts and the Swedish camp. A sermon was then preached by the king's own chaplain, Fabricius, from the words of the 12th Psalm, verse 5:—"For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." The service was concluded by the 103d Psalm, chaunted by the whole congregation; after which the king proceeded to the principal market-place, and took his post at the window of the house provided for his reception. His suite were stationed in the square below, which was occupied by several regiments of infantry drawn up under arms. The magistrates of Augsburg, then advancing into the open space in presence of the king, went through the ceremony of performing their homage, and of taking the oath of fidelity, in the following words:—"We solemnly swear and vow to the most serene and mighty prince, Gustavus Adolphus, by the grace of God King of Sweden, our very gracious lord and sovereign, faith, homage, obedience, and duty; that we will prevent, with all our power, everything prejudicial to the interests of the said king and the crown of Sweden; and do everything which shall conduce to his advantage and service, or to our fulfilling all the duties of good and faithful servants. This we undertake to perform, as we hope for the protection of God."

After this ceremony of the public homage had been duly performed, the king proceeded to partake of a magnificent entertainment, which was followed by a ball, to which he had invited the principal ladies of

Augsburg. He then remounted his horse and returned to his camp at Lechhausen, leaving Benedict Oxenstiern, son of the chancellor, as governor of the city in his absence.

The act of Gustavus, in requiring the oath of fidelity from the magistrates of Augsburg was, perhaps, the most impolitic proceeding in his life; nor does it seem to have been calculated to answer any single purpose of utility. The people of the city from whom it had been required did not hesitate to clamour against this apparent proof of selfish motives, on the part of a prince who had constantly avowed himself the disinterested protector of the liberties of Germany. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, already suspicious allies, were now still further cooled by the prospect of becoming subordinate to the ambition of a sovereign whom they had assisted to gain his present elevation. The French were no less inclined to take offence at the transaction; and Louis XIII., in a conference with Soranzo the Venetian ambassador, said, in full presence of his court, "It is time that the republic and myself should seriously think of the means of stopping this Goth in his progress." Gustavus, without troubling himself about the comments either of his allies or his enemies, continued in the vicinity of Augsburg until the beginning of May, wishing to recruit the strength of his army by a short interval of rest before employing it in further service. His time, during this interval, was chiefly occupied by public fêtes and amusements! and his enemies at length gave out that the Swedes had found a Capua upon the banks of the Lech. The assertion was speedily proved to be unfounded. The king, as soon as he judged that sufficient time had been given to relaxation, called in his detachments, and, breaking up his encampment at Lechhausen, directed his columns towards Ingolstadt, expect-

ing that the Duke of Bavaria, who was lying entrenched beneath the cannon of the place, might be tempted by his approach to risk a general engagement. Before quitting Augsburg, however, he performed an act of liberality by conferring upon General Ruthven, the governor of Ulm, the lordship of Kirkberg, as a reward for his long-continued services. During his temporary rest, his generals in other quarters had not been inactive. Nordlingen, in the circle of Franconia, was compelled to receive a Swedish garrison. Memingen, Landsberg, and Kempten, were reduced shortly afterwards, and parties of the Swedes pushed forward even to Lindau, and the banks of the lake of Constance. Ingolstadt, before which the king appeared within a few days after decamping from Lechhausen, was occupied by a numerous garrison, commanded by a nephew of the celebrated Tilly, who had just expired within its walls. The fortress itself boasted the proud name of La Pucelle, and, besides the strength of its situation, was further protected by the Bavarian army in its vicinity, which was disposed along the northern bank of the Danube, in full view of the Swedes, who were encamped upon the opposite shore. Two redoubts, upon the Bavarian side, which guarded the bridge over the river, were first closely examined by the king, as their possession, even if Ingolstadt itself remained untaken, would enable him to cut off the return of the Elector to his own country; but while he was engaged in reconnoitring, a ball, weighing fourteen pounds, fired from a culverin of extraordinary length, passed through the body of the horse on which he was mounted, which, immediately falling with its rider, was several times rolled over and over upon the earth by the violence of the shock. The king, after being extricated from his dead steed, was found to have received no injury, except that the

skin of his leg had been slightly razed by the shot. He displayed no emotion at the time, merely observing to his equerry, that he had not supposed himself to be within range of the artillery of the town; and adding, "I have had a fortunate escape, but apparently my hour is not yet come." A few minutes after a cannon-shot carried off the head of the young Margrave of Baden Durlach, who was a favourite no less of the king than of the whole Swedish army. His father, an aged nobleman, who had distinguished himself against Tilly in the early part of the Thirty Years' War, on receiving the intelligence, replied to those who were attempting to console him, "I am a father, my friends, it is true; but I am at the same time a Christian. My son belonged to God before he belonged to me. He has met with a death becoming a prince and a soldier; and tears should be reserved for those alone whose lives are spent in infamy, and whose ends are disgraced by cowardice. Everything which I have loved in this world I have long prepared myself to resign, whenever the sacrifice should be demanded, with the exception of my conscience and my liberty." The king could not refrain from testifying strong emotion, when he was made acquainted with the premature fate of a prince so dear to him, which was increased by the recollection of his own narrow escape. When his officers assembled around him, on his return to his tent, to repeat the solicitations which they had often urged upon him before, that he would, for the time to come, be more careful with regard to his own safety, he replied as follows:—

"The death of my cousin, the Margrave of Baden Durlach—a prince the more worthy of our regrets as he was endued with every civil and Christian virtue—and the danger to which I have been exposed from yonder ball, which is still almost reeking before my

eyes, have reminded me afresh of the important truth that I am mortal, and subject to the same casualties as the lowest in rank among my soldiers. Such is the ancient law of Nature, from which neither my high birth nor my royal dignity, nor my victories, can afford me any means of escape. For this reason it becomes me to be prepared for every event, and to resign myself entirely to Divine Providence. But imagine not for an instant that, if it be the will of that Providence to summon me from this world, it will in consequence abandon the just cause which I am armed to maintain, nor the re-establishment of the ancient liberties of Germany. God will raise up some other defender, who will acquit himself of the task far better than I have done. I am not ignorant that my success has excited the envy of many who endeavour to persuade the credulous that I am only seeking to enrich and aggrandise myself. But both the princes whom I have re-established, and my creditors, of whom there are many in Frankfort on the Maine, can witness whether my wealth has been increased by the spoils of Germany, as my adversaries wish it to be believed. If I have left my kingdom and all I hold dearest in the world, it has been with no other view than to oppose the tyranny of the house of Austria, and to bring about a secure and honourable peace. For the rest, I have received thirteen wounds, some of which have been considered mortal. They have indeed been cured, but they continue to preach to me my liability to death, and the peril of to-day has impressed it still more powerfully upon my mind*.”

The siege of Ingolstadt continued for eight days, during which the Swedes made a spirited attempt to carry the redoubts near the bridge sword in hand, although without success, since the works were so

* Mauvillon.

obstinately defended, and the assailants so much exposed to the fire directed over the Danube from the walls of the town, that they were obliged, after a severe loss, to abandon the attempt. In the mean time the Duke of Bavaria, after adding three of his best regiments to the garrison, broke up from his encampment, and pursued his march towards Ratisbon. His design was, after obtaining possession of that city, to advance through the Upper Palatinate; and after effecting a junction with Wallenstein, to whom, as well as to the Emperor, he daily sent the most urgent requests for assistance, to return and overwhelm the King of Sweden with a force immensely superior to his own. Gustavus was quickly informed of his departure, and easily penetrating into his design decided upon abandoning the siege of Ingolstadt for the present, and marching immediately upon his capital, in the hope that the duke might be diverted from his present intention by the danger to which his whole territory would be exposed, or possibly induced to risk a general engagement in its defence. While he was yet encamped before Ingolstadt, however, an embassy arrived from Christian of Denmark, who had been entreated by the Emperor to use his good offices in mediating between himself and the King of Sweden. Christian, it is probable, had undertaken to execute the commission, rather from a disinclination to offend the Emperor by his refusal, than with any hope of success. The negotiations, upon this occasion, were confined to a single conference, which was confined to general propositions and compliments of little meaning; after which the Danish ambassadors returned to Copenhagen, satisfied with having gone through the form of interference, and convinced from the expressions of Gustavus that it would be useless to proceed beyond it. They were succeeded by St. Etienne, the French

envoy resident at the court of Bavaria, who had been sent by Maximilian to make another attempt at effecting the often-proposed neutrality in his favour. But the King of Sweden was now thoroughly incensed with the deceitful policy of the Elector, and well convinced that he was only seeking, as before, to entice him into a negotiation until he had effected a junction with Wallenstein ; an event which, since the Imperial army by this time amounted to 50,000 men, and the Elector had 30,000 in the field, while the Swedes reckoned no more than 40,000, would speedily place Bavaria in a condition to fear little from the arms of its invaders. It was in vain that the envoy used all his arguments to persuade the king of the sincerity of Maximilian. Gustavus was thoroughly convinced to the contrary, both by letters which he had lately intercepted, and orders which Ferdinand was well known to have sent to Wallenstein, to make all haste to the assistance of his ally. St. Etienne, however, persisted in his attempts to justify the Elector, and the conversation grew warm on both sides. The envoy having made use of certain terms of disrespect, and almost of menace, the king interrupted him with a severe rebuke. " I pardon your ignorance," said he, " but you forget yourself, and pass beyond the limits even of French familiarity. You are utterly unacquainted with the terms of the agreement made between your master and myself. I am confident that you have received no instruction from your own court to come hither and negotiate in behalf of the Duke of Bavaria. When you bring proper credentials, signed by the hand of your sovereign, I will attend to them ; but remember to whom, and in what place you speak ; and since you came hither to plead in favour of the Elector of Bavaria, let your conduct be a little more like that of a person who requests a favour. These

freedoms, so common with people of your nation, are insufferable; and French levity is not at all to my taste, I can assure you." St. Etienne, on receiving this repulse, assumed a tone somewhat more humble. "Your majesty," he said, "will then at least be pleased to specify the conditions on which you are willing to grant a neutrality to the duke." "When the duke has laid down his arms," replied the king, "I will make him acquainted with my intentions." "But, sire," observed the envoy, "it is not unusual to offer terms to a vanquished enemy." "All your arguments," rejoined Gustavus, "only serve to confirm me in my suspicions, that the Duke of Bavaria is aiming at nothing else than to gain time until the Emperor has sent his army to his assistance. When an offender is truly contrite, he shows his change of sentiment by reforming his conduct, and entirely renouncing his evil practices. It is a mockery of the common sense of mankind to demand pardon sword in hand. I have been offended, and am victorious. If the Duke of Bavaria wishes me to forget the past, let him give me some substantial proof that he is in earnest in his desire. Does he think that I shall consider dispositions calculated to do me mischief as marks of amity?" St. Etienne, in his reply, repeated on his own responsibility, the ardent desire of Maximilian to come to an accommodation, provided the articles of neutrality were specified. "That," rejoined the king, "shall be very soon done. Listen. The duke shall restore all the dominions he has usurped from my allies. He shall dismiss all his troops, or at least the greater part. He shall not permit those whom he disbands to enter the service of the Emperor, nor shall he assist my enemies under any pretext whatever. He shall engage himself by oath not to make war against me for three years, and shall give me sufficient security for his fulfilment

of these several articles. On such conditions, I promise him, on the faith of a king, an entire security for his dominions ; and even that my army shall immediately quit them, provided he will grant me a passage by Ingolstadt to march in search of my enemies."

These conditions were not of a nature to be accepted by the minister of a third power, who was only acting the part of a mediator. St. Etienne contented himself with affirming, "That the duke would immediately disband the troops in his own pay ; but that since he was no longer master of those which he had furnished to the Emperor and the Catholic League, it was impossible that their dismissal could form one of the articles of the treaty." The king interrupted him with indignation. "Did I not say," he exclaimed, "that you were only endeavouring to take me at disadvantage? All these subterfuges are so many manifest proofs of the dissimulation and evil intentions of the Duke of Bavaria. Tell him from me, that if within twenty-four hours after he receives them, he does not comply with the conditions I offer, he shall see his whole country in flames. It is time that this prince and his confederates should learn that I am a dangerous enemy, and not to be provoked with impunity." "Sire," rejoined St. Etienne, "your majesty will use your own discretion upon this point ; but I can assure you that the king, my master, will take it in ill part that the Duke of Bavaria, his friend and ally, should be treated with so much severity, especially by a king upon whom his Christian Majesty has conferred some obligations, and from whom he might therefore have expected a little more complaisance and deference. France, after all, may yet adopt the interests of a different party, and afford a powerful succour to her allies." At this undisguised threat Gustavus could scarcely repress his anger. According to some authors, it actually showed itself, by his

indignantly exclaiming, "Be it so! since the king, your master, wishes me for an antagonist, he shall be spared the trouble of coming to meet me. I will immediately march at the head of a hundred thousand men, and indulge him with a battle beneath the walls of Paris." Others, however, have made him speak somewhat more consistently with his general character, and represented him as delivering himself to the following effect, after a moment spent in mastering his emotion. "Monsieur St. Etienne, I have communicated my intentions in general to his Christian Majesty, by his own ambassadors, and in particular, by the Baron de Charnace, and I am much better acquainted than yourself with those of the king your master. I have reason to reckon upon a continuation of his friendship; and believe that you have uttered what you have spoken entirely upon your own authority, and under the influence of your zeal for the Duke of Bavaria; but know, that even if the king of France should break off the alliance between us, such an event should not make me recede a single step. I have made war all my life, and have by this time discovered that there is no nation invincible." St. Etienne was convinced by the king's reply, that he was neither to be diverted from his resolution by persuasion nor intimidation, and returned to give an account of his ill success to Maximilian, who had in the meantime crossed the Danube, and returned to the environs of Munich. The duke was no sooner informed of the result of the negotiation, than he instantly commenced his retreat afresh towards Ratisbon. This city, in violation of all law and justice, was surprised, according to the previous intention of Maximilian, by an advanced guard of his army, and experienced the effect of his resentment at the unfavourable issue of the embassy of St. Etienne, in the severities exercised by the Bavarians upon the Pro-

testants, who were pillaged without mercy, and compelled to bear the whole expense of quartering and maintaining their unwelcome visitors. These undisciplined marauders proceeded afterwards to acts of personal violence towards the citizens, whom they designated by the titles of heretics and Swedish dogs; and it was not until the Emperor himself interfered to prevent such scandalous excesses in a free and Imperial city, that the duke thought proper to issue orders for stopping further irregularities on the part of his troops. His antagonist, in the meantime, moving southwards from Ingolstadt, had seized the important bridge over the Iser at Mossburg, possessed himself of Landshut, and after subjecting the whole bishopric of Freysingen, was now in uninterrupted march towards the Bavarian capital.

While the Swedes continued their rapid course of conquest, almost without impediment, in Suabia and Bavaria, the cause of the Emperor began to revive under the conduct of Wallenstein in Bohemia. As early as the month of February, his army, concentrated at Znaim, had been ready to take the field, and shortly afterwards commenced operations by dislodging the Saxons from Saatz. Count Gallas was entrusted with this enterprise, the success of which had such an effect upon the troops of the Elector, that they instantly abandoned Kaden, Komotau, and Schiackenwalde, and retreated upon Annaberg. The Duke of Friedland then prepared to attempt the recovery of Prague, which was already blockaded by the swarms of Croatians who composed great part of his army, and under their well-known leader, Isolani, did excellent service in interrupting the enemy's communications. John George is accused of spending his whole time in hunting and revelry, while these preparations were making to dispossess him of the conquests which he seems to have thought might be

retained with as little trouble as they had cost to acquire; and of delaying to send the necessary reinforcements to his General, Arnheim, until the successes of the Imperialists had rendered hopeless any attempt to establish the Saxon ascendancy in Bohemia. In the beginning of May, the investment of Prague was completed, by the arrival of the whole Imperial army beneath its walls. A battery of 20 pieces of cannon was immediately raised against the Lesser City, upon which, as soon as a breach had been effected, two attacks were made, and repulsed by the bravery of the garrison. The Imperialists were spared the necessity of a third attempt by the treachery of a fraternity of Capuchin monks, who, having worked a hole through the wall near their convent, invited a regiment, led by Marquis of Grana, to pass through the aperture. The entrance of the Imperialists was concealed by the darkness of night; and the next morning the garrison of Lesser Prague retired into the castle, where they soon afterwards surrendered on disgraceful conditions, since they were obliged to march out without either arms or colours. Everything in the citadel was found in the same order as when it was abandoned by the Imperialists; the seals placed by the Elector of Saxony upon the doors at his first entrance having still been preserved unbroken. After the recovery of Prague, the Duke of Friedland endeavoured to divert the attention of Arnheim, then encamped at Leitmeritz, by making proposals for a negotiation, while he was at the same time meditating a stroke which, if successful, would cut off all hope from the Saxons of a retreat to their own country, by sending detachments to seize the passes of the Hartzwald mountains between Pirna and Aussig. He had, however, to deal with a leader no less crafty than himself. Arnheim, pretending eagerly to listen to his offers, sent one trumpeter after another to fix the time

and place of meeting, and to arrange the necessary preliminaries; but while Wallenstein imagined he was still stationary, and fully bent upon the proposed interview, he was busily engaged in sending off his heavy baggage and artillery; and as soon as he had received intelligence of its arrival at Aussig, followed it with his whole army by such rapid marches, that he had passed the important defiles long before the arrival of the Imperialists, who had been detached for the purpose of closing them against him. Wallenstein, on finding that the main army of the Saxons had thus escaped his grasp, immediately laid siege to Eger, which its governor only defended long enough to acquire a favourable capitulation. Elnbogen and Falckenau fell into his possession shortly afterwards. After this quick succession of conquests, by which Bohemia was recovered in a manner precisely similar to that in which it had been won by the Elector a few months before, Wallenstein was preparing to roll back the tide of invasion into Saxony itself, when he was compelled to comply with the urgent demands of the Emperor, and hasten to the succour of Maximilian. Accordingly, after leaving a corps of his army, consisting of 10,000 men, under Don Balthasar de Maradas, whom he directed to regulate his operations by those of an Imperial army which was assembling in Silesia to invade Lusatia, he set out on his march to join the Elector of Bavaria.

CHAPTER XV.

The Swedes advance to Munich—Surrender of the City—Clemency of the King of Sweden towards its inhabitants—He refuses to destroy the Electoral Palace—His visit to the Arsenal—Cruelties exercised by the Bavarian Peasants upon the Swedes—Consternation of the Emperor Ferdinand—Intrigues of his Agents at Rome—Dialogue between Gustavus Adolphus and Sir Henry Vane—His constitutional irritability—The Imperialists recover Weissenberg—Junction of the Armies of Maximilian of Bavaria and Wallenstein at Eger—They advance towards Nuremberg—The City implores the assistance of the King of Sweden, who hastens to its relief, and entrenches himself beneath the Walls—Encampment of Wallenstein—Speech of the King of Sweden to the German Officers in his Army—He intercepts an Imperial Convoy—Is joined by Oxenstiern and other Generals—Distress of both Armies—Gustavus resolves to attack the Entrenchments of the Imperialists—His ill success in the attempt—He decamps from before Nuremberg and marches to Neustadt—The Imperialists leave their lines near Nuremberg and retire to Forcheim.

By the flight of the Elector Maximilian to Ratisbon, nothing remained to prevent his enemies from ravaging Bavaria from one extremity to the other, and avenging to the full the former excesses of the troops of the League in the Palatinate. Munich, now lay an undefended prize in the path of the Swedish conqueror; the fairest, if not the richest acquisition which had yet rewarded the success of his arms. The magistrates, apprehending the exercise of no ordinary severities towards a city which might be considered the capital of the League, as soon as they had received intelligence of the arrival of Gustavus at Freysingen, sent a deputation to deprecate his resentment. All they were able to obtain from the king was a promise of security for their lives and property; and on their endeavouring to plead for more favourable conditions,

the king commanded his army to march at once upon Munich without listening further to their request. The magistrates, terrified at the reception of their deputies, and fully aware of their defenceless condition, next appeared in person, and presenting the king with the keys of the city, signified their intention of throwing themselves unconditionally upon his mercy. The assumed sternness of Gustavus soon gave way before this suppliant appeal. "You have chosen the wisest course," he observed to the magistrates, "and disarmed me by your submission. I might have avenged upon your city the miserable sack of Magdeburg. But you have nothing to fear, either for yourselves or your property; for your children or your religion. Go in peace—my word once pledged to you is better than all the capitulations in the world." The magistrates hastily departed to assure their fellow-citizens of the favourable disposition of the king towards them; and the Swedish army, slowly following in the same direction, drew up in order of battle beneath the walls.

Before the king entered Munich, he resolved that the amount of the contribution demanded from the conquered city should be settled, and fixed the sum at 400,000 rix-dollars. The citizens, assembled in the town-hall, declared their utter inability to furnish the money, representing to the king the circumstance that most of the rich inhabitants had betaken themselves to flight, and that none but persons of moderate fortune remained behind. Gustavus at first considered this as a subterfuge, and abruptly commanded the townspeople at once to determine whether they would defend themselves or comply with his demand; but on their earnestly protesting that their statement was correct, he at length consented to deduct 100,000 rix-dollars from the required contribution.

His entrance into the city took place on the day of

Ascension, May 10, 1632. His first visit was made to the electoral palace, where he commanded prayers to be read, and a sermon to be preached in Swedish, by one of his chaplains. He next proceeded to the church of Our Lady, and attended to the Catholic form of devotion with every appearance of respect. After the service was ended, he continued for some time to promenade near the building, in the midst of an immense crowd, who thronged to satisfy their curiosity with the sight of a prince of whom they had heard so many wonderful reports. He then remounted his horse and rode to the College of Jesuits, where the Rector received and complimented him in a long Latin speech. The king replied with many expressions of favour in the same language; and the conversation shifting to the subject of religion, at length terminated in a formal disputation which lasted for a whole hour, and was conducted with much learning and perfect decorum on both sides. Some of his officers who were present, possessed of a less tolerant spirit than their sovereign, murmured, loudly enough to be overheard by him, at his amusing himself in disputing with persons whom he ought rather to destroy. "Why should you wish me to do any harm to these people?" said the king in answer; "do you not see that they are in the world for the very purpose of discrediting the erroneous faith which they uphold, and of reflecting a greater degree of credit upon the truth against which they contend?" On previous occasions, when he had been requested to enforce civil penalties against the members of the Roman church, he had manifested similar liberality; invariably observing that both Catholics and Protestants were alike God's creatures*, and therefore not to be oppressed without drawing down the vengeance of their common Creator.

* *Affirmando essere tutte fatture di Dio.*—Gualdo. Lib. v. 157.

On his return to the electoral palace, the king expressed the highest admiration at the beauty of the building, and the taste and elegance observable in all its decorations. He was led from one apartment to another filled with the most exquisite works of art, and adorned with pictures executed by the first masters, which the duke, who was no contemptible judge of their merit, had collected at an immense expense. After his curiosity had been satisfied, he asked the aged domestic who had conducted him through the palace, the name of the architect who had designed and superintended the construction of so beautiful an edifice. "Who should it be," replied the conductor, "but the Elector himself?" "Truly," said the king, laughing, "I should like to lay my hands upon this architect; I would send him to Stockholm to build just such a palace there." "Ah, sire," replied the domestic, "the architect will take especial care how he gives your majesty any such trouble. He knows better how to find a place of security."

Both Catholic and Protestant historians have recorded that, during his stay at Munich, Gustavus was frequently importuned to burn the electoral palace by Frederic V. and the Duke of Saxe Weimar; and it has been asserted that these princes even went so far as to prepare mines beneath the foundations of the building, which they were ready to spring at the least hint which could authorise the action. But the king was far above lending himself to a vengeance which he considered unworthy of him. "Would you have me," he asked, "imitate the Goths, my ancestors, and make my memory as odious as they have rendered theirs?" He even gave orders that no one, on pain of death, should dare to take or to displace the least article in the palace. All his officers were permitted to inspect a collection of more than twelve

hundred gold medals of the Roman emperors, contained in a cabinet of ivory; but notwithstanding the crowds who availed themselves of the permission, not a single medal was afterwards missed from its place. As an additional precaution against all subjects of complaint, the king suffered but few of the common soldiers to enter Munich, but kept the greater part of his army encamped without the walls.

Munich had been known to possess a numerous train of artillery, mounted on the ramparts or contained within the arsenal. The Swedes, however, found nothing but the carriages left, and were at a loss to account for the disappearance of the pieces. The mystery was explained by some of the persons who had been employed to secrete them, and who, after stipulating for an appropriate reward, informed the king that all the cannon belonging to the Elector would be found buried beneath the earth, at a certain spot within the arsenal, which they were ready to point out, or, as they expressed it, "to bring the dead to life." A hundred and forty pieces of ordnance were the fruit of this discovery, twelve of which, called the Twelve Apostles, were of extraordinary size and beauty. Several among them were marked with the arms of the Palatinate, Brunswick, and Denmark, and some with the bearings of Sweden, having been taken by Christian the Fourth in his wars with that power, and afterwards lost at the battle of Lutter. The pleasure of the king at so important an acquisition was increased by the detection of 15,000 golden ducats, concealed in a culverin of enormous length, known by the name of the "Wild Sow," which Gustavus appropriated to the use of his army without scruple.

As if he had appeared determined to conciliate the regards of those who had hitherto been among his most active enemies, by a display of all the best points

of his character, he treated the inhabitants of Munich, during the remainder of his stay in their city, with the greatest courtesy and confidence, mingling freely with the people, and encouraging them by his affability to an unreserved intercourse. He even ordered several reviews of his army for their amusement; and after causing his pikemen to go through the exercise of that weapon, commanded his musketeers to exhibit the different methods of delivering their fire, either in the ordinary manner, or sitting, or by three ranks together, the first placing one knee upon the ground, the second slightly stooping, and the third remaining upright. The spectators, accustomed to the cold and distant behaviour of their own prince, were astonished to see the king cheerfully instructing his men by his example in the management of the pike or musket, or passing from rank to rank accosting the veteran soldiers by the familiar title of comrades, and reminding individuals among them of past dangers which they had shared together. Such conduct speedily attracted the admiration of the people of Munich towards their conqueror, nor were they less gratified by the studied respect with which he treated their clergy upon all occasions. He presented the Capuchins with a considerable sum, to be distributed as alms among the sick and necessitous; and one of the fathers having deemed it his duty to invite him to embrace the Catholic faith, he only smiled at his exhortation without manifesting any signs of displeasure. But if the people of Munich were conciliated by the kindness and humanity of Gustavus, the population without its walls retained an unmitigated feeling of hatred and detestation towards the heretical bands which had entered their territory in the character of victors. Every straggler from the Swedish army who fell into their hands was put to death with such tortures as the unenlightened savage

is accustomed to inflict upon his captives. Some hundreds of the Swedes are said to have perished in this horrible manner, which at length produced an equally fierce spirit of revenge; and the contests between the outposts of the invaders and the peasants under arms, began to assume the character of a war of utter extermination. The king himself was obliged to take the field to suppress a more extensive muster than usual of these undisciplined enemies, and more than a hundred villages were laid waste by his scattered detachments during the expedition. Such was, and such must ever be the picture of warfare, though conducted by the most humane of leaders, and maintained from the best of motives.

The invasion of Bavaria, and the occupation of its capital, raised the already existing panic at the court of the Emperor to the highest pitch, since the barrier of the Hereditary States was now completely overthrown, and from Munich to Vienna there was not a single place to impede for a moment the progress of the Swedes. Passau and Lintz were in no condition to refuse the first summons to surrender. The peasants of Upper Austria were on the eve of a revolt, and had already several times sent deputies to the Swedish camp to demand assistance. Four thousand Imperialists, under Colonel Ossa, who had made an attempt to surprise Memingen, were repulsed with loss, and beaten off from Biberach, which they endeavoured to recover as some compensation for their disappointment. Every effort in the cause of the Empire seemed, when directed against the invaders or their leader, to involve a certain and necessary failure. Ferdinand endeavoured to excite afresh the jealousy of Louis XIII. against his ally, and the French ambassador received instructions from his court to inquire of the King of Sweden how much farther he intended to carry his arms. The answer

of Gustavus indicated a desire to cut short all discussion upon the subject. "Just so far," he replied, "as my own interests appear to require it." Ferdinand experienced no better success from his intrigues at Rome, where Cardinal Borgia, the representative of the Spanish faction, harangued the Consistory with vehemence in favour of the Emperor, and after accusing the Pope of coldness in the cause of religion, proposed that the King of France should be formally excommunicated, unless he renounced his connexion with an heretical monarch. Urban VIII. had not forgotten the excesses of Mantua, and easily frustrated all the efforts of the Imperial agents in the Sacred College. Yet, as it was necessary to do something to preserve appearances, he offered the grant of a contribution to be levied upon ecclesiastical property, and published a universal jubilee to implore the Divine assistance for the protection of the Holy See, the extirpation of heretics, and the restoration of union and concord among Christian princes.

The despatches of Sir Henry Vane mention an incident as having occurred at Munich, which affords a striking illustration of the besetting infirmity of the King of Sweden, and at the same time of his habitual efforts to obtain a mastery over it. Lieutenant-colonel Douglas, an officer in Ramsay's regiment of infantry, had conducted himself with so much valour at the siege of Wurzburg, that he had been designed for the office of governor of the place. Douglas, however, in a memorial presented to the king, had made use of certain expressions which the hasty temper of Gustavus construed into a studied insult. He therefore sent directions that the lieutenant-colonel should be immediately placed in confinement; although the order was scarcely issued before he despatched a second message to contradict it, accompanying the revocation of his former command with

a commission, by which Douglas was preferred to the post of governor of Wurzburg. But the Scottish officer, deeming he had received a mortal insult, which he openly protested he would bear from no hand whatsoever, when Oxenstiern tendered him his commission, requested a pass for Munich, for the purpose of demanding his discharge from the Swedish service from the king in person, which the chancellor reluctantly granted. Gustavus was engaged at tennis with the King of Bohemia when Douglas presented himself before him; and indignant at the want of respect shown by the interruption, abruptly inquired, why he had left his post of command? "Sire," replied Douglas, "I have none." "Commit him to prison then," rejoined the king, and the interview ended.

Vane's account of his interference on this occasion, and the singular conversation which ensued, is to the following effect:—"Lieutenant-colonel Douglas being thrown into a common prison by his majesty's orders, for making a journey to Munich without his master's permission, it was my fortune the next morning, the king being then upon the point of leaving the said city, as I was going to take my leave of the King of Bohemia, to meet his Swedish majesty by mere accident in the great saloon, when it appeared to me neither impertinent nor unreasonable to solicit him in favour of the said Douglas, and make an attempt to procure his liberty; remonstrating in his behalf that, though he had taken this step without his majesty's concurrence or assent, yet that nevertheless he had obtained permission and leave to go from the Swedish chancellor. Upon which the king, kindling into some wrath, swore he would take care to see the chancellor hanged. As his majesty went down stairs, in order to step into his coach, I renewed my applications, and besought him once more to receive Douglas into favour; upon which, turning short, he

replied with vehemence, 'By Heaven, if you speak one syllable more upon that subject, I will order the man to be hanged before your eyes;' to which my reply was, that I hoped his majesty would never commit such a sort of action. 'And why so?' answered the king; 'if your master were present, I would do the same; and if the man who has affronted me in this manner were held in the arms of his Britannic majesty, I would tear him thence, although obliged to go to England for that purpose, and commence a war of a hundred years' duration; but sure I am the King of England will never support a subject in a cause where I am affronted.' To which my answer was, 'Your majesty may say at Munich whatever you please, but will never persist in such an opinion after mature reflection.' Upon which he replied, 'Do not tempt me into a passion.' 'Sire,' said I, 'you cannot be offended when an ambassador of Britain interferes for one of his master's subjects.' 'Well, then,' rejoined the king, 'I at length release him upon your parole only, but will not be affronted a second time.' To which my answer was, 'Sire, it never appeared to me in the light of an affront to interpose in behalf of a cavalier who has served your majesty with so much fidelity.' 'Yes,' replied the king, 'to seek to quit my service after I had released him, was not only an affront, but a contravention of my military edicts.' 'Sire,' added I, 'I acknowledge the favour which your majesty formerly granted to my solicitations; and it will still be a fresh act of clemency if you condescend to pardon him, even after a second transgression.' To which the king added once more, 'Do not provoke me into a passion.' 'Adieu, sire,' said I; and being on the point of departing from him, 'By Heaven,' cried the king, 'the fellow is a rascal, and I do not choose to be served by such sort of animals.' 'May it please your

majesty,' answered I, 'I have always understood that the subjects of the king, my master, have rendered you the most excellent and faithful service.' 'Yes,' said the king, 'I acknowledge the people of your nation have served me well, and far better than any others; but this dog, concerning whom we are talking, has affronted me, and I am resolved to chastise him. It was my purpose to have resumed the conversation, but the king cut me short by saying, 'Sir, I request you not to take exception at what has lately dropped from my lips. It was the effect of a warm and hasty temper. I am at present entirely cool, and beseech you to pardon me.'"—Harte has justly observed that, in his report of this dialogue, the English ambassador may have suppressed a considerable part of the provocation given by himself; nor is it improbable that from the personal dislike he is known to have entertained towards the king, he has given a distorted account of the whole conversation. Even upon his own showing it will be seen that Gustavus, finding himself upon the point of giving way to his constitutional frailty, twice requested him to drop the subject, which, as he was then on the very point of quitting Munich, and distracted by more important concerns, he was irritated to find unseasonably obtruded upon his notice. But it is impossible not to feel admiration at the quickness with which the passion of the king was checked when at its very height, and the frank and noble manner in which the fault, as soon as recognised, was confessed, and followed by a request of forgiveness towards the party offended. On another occasion, at a general council, he as readily acknowledged his infirmity to his officers, and pleaded for their consideration and indulgence. "I am thought by many of you," he said, "to speak hastily and angrily on some occasions; but alas! my fellow-soldiers, consider what a bur-

then constantly lies upon my mind! I am to perform everything, and to be everywhere present; and when the attention of men is excited to the utmost, all sudden obstacles and interruptions necessarily produce a momentary petulance. You must bear with my infirmities in the same manner as I make allowance for yours. One general is tempted by covetousness; another is too much attached to the pleasures of the table; a third carries on war with Croatian barbarity; yet, contenting myself with admonishing and advising you, I have discarded no one; but, on the contrary, kept you all about my person, and more or less esteemed you all*." It is certain, that whatever might have been the severity of the king's expressions on occasions when a sudden provocation excited his irritability, no man ever showed more moderation and humility in his cooler moments; and the enthusiastic affection entertained towards him by all in his service, is a sufficient proof that his anger seldom extended itself beyond a few hasty expressions, which were speedily atoned for by substantial acts of kindness†.

As soon as Suabia had been restored to tranquillity, Gustavus, a second time disappointing the general expectation, instead of marching from Munich upon Vienna, returned with his army to Augsburg, probably waiting to see the direction in which the tempest of war, gathering among the mountains of Bohemia, would burst. Maximilian, who, by the valuable possession of Ratisbon, could retreat into the Palatinate, or advance into Bavaria, at pleasure, as soon as he was informed of the king's arrival at Augsburg, formed a bold plan for recovering his capital. Colonels

* HARTE.

† Nell' amore verso gli esserciti ardirei a proponerlo a chiuuque perche amo' come fratello ogni soldato.—BISACCIONI, Memorio Historiche.

Cratzen and Cronenberg were charged with the conduct of the expedition, and set out from Ratisbon, hoping, by a vigorous push, to surprise the Swedish garrison in Munich, which was so slightly provided with defences, as scarcely to deserve the name of a fortified city. They, however, received intelligence on their way that the Swedes were already acquainted with their intention, and drawn up before the gates to receive them. As it was useless to pursue their first design any further, they immediately retreated to Ingolstadt; and proceeding from thence, invested Weissenburg, the garrison of which, after an obstinate resistance, agreed to surrender the town on condition of marching out with their arms and baggage. The capitulation, however, was shamelessly violated by the Bavarians, who, as soon as the Swedes had quitted their post, surrounded them with their cavalry, and barbarously massacred, in cold blood, all who refused to take service with the League. As the possession of Weissenburg cut off the direct communication of the Swedish army with Nurenberg, the king, who was on his way to Ulm, where affairs of moment required his presence, retraced his steps immediately to Augsburg; and after calling in his garrisons from Freysingen, Landshut, and Munich, and leaving Duke William of Saxe Weimar, with 2000 cavalry, to observe the movements of the Imperialists in Bavaria, and cover the places most exposed, set out in direct march for Donawerth. The garrison of Weissenburg instantly retreated from the town at his approach towards the Danube, and the communication with Nurenberg was immediately re-established.

By this time the long-looked-for junction of the grand Imperial and Bavarian armies had taken place at Eger. Notwithstanding the urgent necessity for such a union, the hatred entertained towards each

other by Maximilian and Wallenstein had delayed it till the last moment; the latter looking on with malicious pleasure while the territories of his hated rival were overrun by the Swedish troops, and only moving forward to his assistance when it was not possible to refuse any longer to comply with the repeated and urgent solicitations of the Emperor. The curiosity of all men was excited by conjectures as to the manner in which these ancient enemies would conduct themselves at their first interview; and the countenances and behaviour of both were narrowly watched by the surrounding spectators. Maximilian, whose dissimulation was perfect in all times and circumstances, addressed the Duke of Friedland with such compliments and expressions of regard as he might have been expected to bestow upon his dearest friend after a long separation; but the lips of Wallenstein were observed to quiver, and his whole frame to tremble with agitation, at the sight of the man who had been so active an agent in effecting his late disgrace, and in whom he saw the most formidable obstacle to his further aggrandisement. The adjustment of the exact portion of authority to be enjoyed by each of the generals was expected to be the first cause of open dissension, and a long negotiation took place upon the subject; but the Elector was at length obliged to be contented with the subordinate part of commanding his Bavarians only when acting separately from their allies. In all operations undertaken by the combined armies conjointly, the sole direction of their movements was to be left in the hands of the Duke of Friedland. As soon as all ground for future dissension had been removed by this agreement, the Austro-Bavarian columns began to pour through the defiles of Kaden. The whole of the splendid force now under the command of Wallenstein was reckoned at more than 60,000 men. Not

only had immense sums supplied by Ferdinand been exhausted in its equipment, but a considerable part also of the private fortune of the Duke of Friedland, who spared no expense to procure the services of efficient officers, and to render the appointment of his soldiers complete. Among its ranks were found individuals of almost every nation of Europe, gathered from the Ebro to the Vistula—from the British isles to the shores of the Adriatic—the disciplined Walloon, the wild Cossack, the active hunter of the Tyrol, and the fierce horseman of Croatia—men of all languages, sentiments, and customs, but blended into a unity of spirit and action by the unbounded influence of a leader, whose munificence held out a full recompense for every exertion, and whose unrelenting severity visited the first symptoms of neglect of duty with a punishment as terrible as it was certain.

As soon as it was known that the combined armies had entered the Upper Palatinate, it was conjectured that the city of Nuremberg would be their first object. In his resentment against this city for the devotion it had shown to the interests of the King of Sweden, Wallenstein had solemnly declared that he would make it a second Magdeburg; and none who were acquainted with his character doubted his intention of fulfilling his promise. The magistrates of Nuremberg, terrified at the prospect before them, sent messengers in haste to the King of Sweden, conjuring him not to leave them exposed to the vengeance of this dreaded enemy. Gustavus hesitated not an instant on the course to be pursued; and remembering the former reproaches to which he had been subject after the destruction of the first Protestant city which had armed in his cause, was determined on putting everything to the hazard rather than afford his enemies

such another opportunity of triumph. "Return immediately," he said, "to the magistracy and people of Nuremberg, and tell them that, with God's assistance, which they must diligently implore, they have little to apprehend from the approach of the Imperialists. There are three cities in Germany—Ulm, Nuremberg, and Strasburg—which I am determined never to abandon. From these I received petitions for assistance as early as the year 1614, and they have a better title than any of my allies to my protection. Assure, therefore, the city of Nuremberg in my name, that as long as I continue to breathe, Wallenstein shall never see the inside of its walls."

In advancing to the relief of Nuremberg, the king was compelled to deviate from his established maxim of confining his operations to the course of large rivers, to which he had hitherto almost invariably adhered. But a much more serious consideration presented itself in the comparatively small force at his command for the expedition, since, after leaving garrisons in Augsburg, Donawerth, and Rain, his army amounted to no more than 16,000 men.

The Swedes, crossing the Danube at Donawerth, came in sight of Nuremberg on the 8th of June, and after a short visit had been paid to the city by the king, proceeded on their march in three columns towards Amberg. Sultzbach was at the same time reduced, and the Imperial garrison forced to take service under the crown of Sweden, in retaliation for the perfidy of the Bavarians at Weissenburg. Gustavus was still doubtful whether the enemy really intended to attack Nuremberg with all his forces, or whether the Elector of Bavaria would be left to conduct the operations against the city, while Wallenstein turned with the Imperial army to enter Misnia through Thuringia. Saxony at the time was

fully open to an invasion, since Arnheim was engaged in Silesia, and the king could hardly believe that Wallenstein would neglect the opportunity of making John George at length feel the full weight of Imperial vengeance. Under this conviction he ordered the Duke of Saxe Weimar to march with 6,000 troops to the assistance of the Elector, taking care to regulate his movements in such a manner as to be ready to rejoin him if Wallenstein should threaten Nuremberg in person. The duke was speedily recalled on certain information that the Austro-Bavarians had already pushed their advanced guards as far as Sultzbach; and the king, now no longer in doubt of the intention of the Imperial general to throw the whole of his forces upon his diminutive army, wrote express to Oxenstiern and his other generals commanding detached corps in different parts of Germany, to reinforce him with the troops under their direction.

The main body of the Swedes was immediately drawn back towards Nuremberg, and encamped at the distance of half a mile from the city, where, with the assistance of the neighbouring peasants, the celebrated Leaguer of Nuremberg was begun, and speedily advanced towards perfection. In two days a great part of the works was completed, and the citizens, who were spectators of its progress, looked in utter amazement at beholding a chain of strong redoubts, connected by steep embankments, and guarded by outworks of all shapes and dimensions, rapidly rising from the earth for their protection, as if beneath the spell of an enchanter. The whole town, as well as the Swedish camp, was encircled by these fortifications, which, in addition to eight principal forts, consisted of numerous half-moons and bastions, the whole stockaded, and surrounded by a fosse in some parts eighteen feet wide and twelve

deep ; while more than 300 pieces of artillery are calculated to have been mounted along the lines or upon the ramparts of the city. As different parts of the works were finished, the divisions appointed to occupy them took their posts in succession. The people of Nurenberg were at the same time busily employed in collecting immense quantities of corn from the neighbouring villages, and made such good use of the time still allowed them for the purpose as to feel little apprehension of suffering from scarcity, however long the expected blockade might continue.

As the Imperial army approached nearer to Nurenberg, the advanced parties of both sides began to close, and several hot skirmishes took place between scattered bodies of light cavalry. The Swedes, however, sustained a severe check from the too great eagerness of Colonel Dubatel, who, on false intelligence that the artillery of the enemy had arrived at Neumarkt, with an escort of but 2,000 men, pushed on for the place in the hope of surprising it, and suddenly found himself in presence of at least twice the expected number. The greater part of the regiment of dragoons which he commanded was in consequence cut to pieces on the spot, and himself taken prisoner, by the Imperialists.

Wallenstein had now arrived at Neumarkt, and having made a general review of his army, was so elated with the numbers and excellent condition of his men, as to exclaim, that within four days it would be seen whether the King of Sweden or himself was to possess the mastery of the world. As he approached Radelsburg upon the Biber, after having reduced the town of Schwabach, he was astonished to behold all the Swedish cavalry drawn up in order of battle, headed by the king, and apparently awaiting an attack. But Gustavus had chosen his ground with so much skill, that he could neither be outflanked nor assaulted in the rear ; and a short examination of

his position determined the Imperial general to decline the contest. A subsequent careful reconnoissance of the works about Nuremberg convinced him that it would be utter madness to attempt to carry them by force. "We have had fighting enough," he observed to his officers as he returned to his quarters, "it is necessary to adopt some other course;" and having given orders to part of his army to cross the Pegnitz, he proceeded to occupy a range of heights about three miles from the Swedish entrenchments, and to trace out an extensive encampment of a similar description. A succession of ravines and tangled thickets rendered it less necessary to strengthen his position by artificial means of defence, and he accordingly contented himself with entrenching its weakest points only, and raising barricades at intervals, composed of overturned baggage-waggons, gabions, and the trunks of felled trees. After these forms of precaution, he distributed his infantry in quarters assigned for their occupation; and sending out his light cavalry to scour the country in all directions, speedily cut off from the Swedes all communication with Thuringia, Suabia, and Franconia, evidently intending to starve his enemy into a capitulation, since his retreat was rendered all but an impossibility; and an attempt to extricate himself by force could only have the effect of accelerating his ruin. In the general estimation of Europe, the king, enveloped by the overwhelming numbers of his antagonists, and apparently deprived of every hope of succour, was considered already lost; and the news of a treaty was daily expected, by which the conqueror, who had borne down all opposition before him from the Baltic to the Danube, would be compelled to surrender all his previously acquired honours upon the banks of the Pegnitz. Wallenstein was evidently in expectation of a capitulation; and in order to make the first advances towards it, ransomed

at his own expense several Swedish officers who had been taken by the Croatians, and among them Colonel Dubatel, whom he instructed to acquaint the king with the sincere respect he entertained towards him as the first general in Europe, and his earnest desire to be the instrument of bringing about an accommodation between the crown of Sweden and the Emperor. He had yet to learn the full extent of the activity and resolution of his great opponent; and, while flattering his imagination with the prospect of reducing the Swedes to sue for peace by the prospect of perishing with want, he was himself, by one bold movement of the enemy, reduced to the brink of the same necessity.

The Imperialists, after exerting themselves to collect provisions throughout Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and the bishoprics of Ratisbon and Eichstadt, had formed an immense magazine at Freystadt, a town sixteen miles from Nuremberg, which they were directed by Wallenstein to transport to the Imperial camp. The King of Sweden was informed of the order by an Austrian officer, who had been taken prisoner the very day before it was to have been carried into effect; and, two hours before midnight, he sent forward Dubatel, with three regiments of cavalry, towards Freystadt, with instructions to surprise the town; and, if possible, to bring off the stores it contained. The Swedes accomplished their undertaking with secrecy and expedition. The gates of Freystadt were blown open with a petard—the few Imperialists who resisted cut to pieces upon the spot—several hundred waggon-loads of stores, and a thousand oxen, carried away by the conquerors—and one thousand loads of corn and hay set on fire and consumed before they quitted the place. But this was necessarily the work of some time; and Wallenstein, informed of the circumstance by some of the fugitives from Freystadt,

imagined there would still be time to intercept Dubatel on his return. Eight select troops of cavalry, with twenty squadrons of Croatians and a regiment of infantry, were destined for the service; but instead of falling in with Dubatel as they had expected, found themselves suddenly in presence of the king himself, with 2,000 cavalry, which, in expectation of such a movement on the part of the Imperialists, he had posted so as to intercept their advance, and cover the return of his first detachment. Both sides eagerly closed without a moment's delay; but although they were encountered by a force double their number, the fortune of the Swedes again prevailed. The Imperialists were first driven from the plain upon which the battle was commenced, and subsequently dislodged, after a desperate resistance, from a wood in their rear, which they continued to hold as long as they had a single charge of powder remaining. The king was exposed to the greatest peril during the contest, and two of his immediate attendants were killed at his side. The results of the victory, however, were such as amply to reward the conquerors for the dangers they had encountered. Colonel Sparre, who had commanded the Imperialists, with his Lieutenant, Colonel Tertsy, brother-in-law to Wallenstein, were made prisoners; and of the whole detachment not more than 150 men returned to the Imperial lines to convey the intelligence of their defeat. A general thanksgiving was offered at Nurenberg and in the Swedish camp; and the king was so well satisfied with the conduct of his troops, that he presented every man engaged with a donation in money, and each of his officers with a gold medal, which he commanded to be struck upon the occasion.

The Imperial general was well aware of the extent of the injury which had just been inflicted, and was not slow in experiencing its effects. Provisions speedily became so scarce in his camp, that he was

obliged to diminish the rations of his soldiers, and the means of subsisting the immense multitude under his command could at length only be procured by sending foraging parties to great distances, which, as his enemies were supplied with intelligence of his movements by the people of the country, were frequently cut off by ambuscades laid for them as they returned. Several weeks of comparative inactivity ensued, during which Wallenstein continued obstinately bent upon his plan of blockade, and the King of Sweden in quiet expectation of the forces he had summoned to his relief.

The combination of these several bodies was effected by a series of masterly movements on the part of the generals of Gustavus, partly suggested by the genius of their great chief, and executed with the conduct which distinguished all the officers of the school formed under his eye. William, Duke of Saxe Weimar, who had penetrated to the shores of the Lake of Constance, terrifying Italy itself with the prospect of an invasion, was directed to retrace his course as far as the duchy of Magdeburg; and after collecting as many troops as could be spared from Lower Saxony and Thuringia, to direct his march to Schweinfurth in Franconia. He was there joined by Augustus, Count Palatine of Sultzbach, with four regiments of Saxons. This prince had been lately sent by Gustavus on an embassy to the Elector, to counteract the intrigues of the agents of Ferdinand, who were indefatigable in their endeavours to persuade him to renounce his alliance with Sweden, and brought with him the above-mentioned reinforcement as a proof of the successful execution of his commission. The Landgrave of Hesse was also enabled to furnish a considerable contingent, since his indefatigable enemy, Pappenheim, dazzled by an offer of the Collar of the Golden Fleece from the Infanta Isabella, was now absent upon a romantic and inf-

fectual attempt to relieve Maestricht, then closely blockaded by the Prince of Orange. All these detachments, uniting like the tributary streams of a great river, fell in at Wurzburg, with the army led from Mentz by Oxenstiern, who had been appointed to assume the chief command. The Chancellor passed the Maine by the bridge of Kutsingen, and marching upon Windsheim, was there joined by Banner, who, receiving at Augsburg the order of the king to join him, after crossing the Danube, and passing to the west of Nurenberg, had first advanced thus far to protect the approach of the confederates. The prudence of the king, however, had already anticipated this movement; and Banner, on his arrival at Windsheim, found Bernard of Saxe Weimar already occupying the town, with a small force detached from the line before Nurenberg. By these several additions, the army of Oxenstiern was now increased to 26,000 men, a number which placed any attempt of Wallenstein to oppose their entrance into Nurenberg entirely out of the question. The Chancellor, accordingly, after seizing upon a convoy intended for the Imperial camp near Neustadt, and sending it forward to the Swedish lines as a signal of his approach, was met near the village of Bruck* upon the Aurach by Gustavus, who triumphantly returned to his entrenchments, defiling in full view of Wallenstein the formidable force which he was on the point of uniting to his own. The Imperialists perceived, with the bitterest mortification, this sign of the ruin of their cherished expectations; and now reduced to defend themselves in their turn, began diligently to strengthen the commanding situation in which they were posted, by deepening their trenches, and constructing fresh barricades at all accessible points. The Swedish camp and the city of Nurenberg, on the other hand, resounded with expressions of rejoicing;

* Swedish Intelligencer.

and a public thanksgiving was immediately ordered, in acknowledgment of an event which was considered equally advantageous with a decisive victory. Wallenstein was reduced at this moment to a still greater degree of inaction, by the absence of six thousand men, whom the increasing scarcity in his camp had induced him to detach from his army, under Colonel Holk, for the purpose of invading Misnia. The horrors perpetrated by these ruthless banditti, in obedience to the command of their leader, were such as to exceed even the worst atrocities hitherto recorded to the disgrace of the Imperial arms. The soldiery of Holk, not content with setting fire to the crops, and laying every village throughout the devoted country, which lay exposed to their fury, spared the life of no human being, of whatever age or sex who fell into their hands. Voigtland, a flourishing and fertile district a few weeks before, is described as presenting the appearance of a silent and blackened waste, only diversified by smoking ruins after this torrent of devastating warfare had passed across it. Zwickaw, Annaberg, and Oelnitz, were successively won by the Imperialists, and a blow inflicted upon the Saxon territory, which was spoken of for many subsequent generations with mingled feelings of horror and dismay.

A grand council of war was convoked by the King of Sweden, shortly after the arrival of Oxenstiern, for the purpose of determining upon the plan of future operations. The effects of their confinement to one spot for so many weeks, now began to be seriously felt by the Swedes. Although they were amply supplied with corn from the garrisons of Nuremberg, the country was so exhausted for miles round that it was impossible to procure fresh provisions or fodder for their horses. Many hundreds of the latter died in consequence, and lay unburied without the camp, or choked up the channel of the river Pegnitz which flowed beside it with their carcases. The intense heat of a

sultry summer produced its usual effect upon multitudes confined within a narrow space, and breathing a close and tainted atmosphere; and a pestilential fever, which broke out in the city, speedily found its way to the hosts encamped without it. To this calamity the army of Wallenstein was equally subjected with that of his opponent. The Imperialists, however, in addition to struggling with a greater degree of scarcity, were exposed; in consequence of their position among woods and thickets, to the persecutions of clouds of insects, which swarmed in such numbers as frequently to darken the air, precluding the possibility of rest night or day, and driving the horses to such a pitch of distraction, that whole squadrons together broke from their pickets and rushed wildly over the open country. Yet Wallenstein, from whose calculations all consideration of the suffering involved in any resolution was invariably excluded, continued with useless perverseness to watch from his heights the city he had destined for his prey, nor could all the manœuvres of the Swedish monarch tempt him to descend and venture a battle. The king, therefore, proposed in his council the bold experiment of attacking him in his lines. All who were present gave their opinions without hesitation against such an enterprise. They represented in forcible terms the impossibility of storming a range of entrenched heights thickly wooded, and intersected by numerous ravines, in the face of a vigilant enemy completely under cover, and enabled to pour destruction into the ranks of his assailants without the possibility of suffering any extensive injury in return. But the recollections of the Lech had encouraged Gustavus to believe that nothing was impossible to a soldiery like his own; and after the council had been dismissed, the appointment of a day for solemn prayer and humiliation was an indication that his determination was fixed, and that a general action might be confidently expected soon to occur.

As the prelude to an assault with his whole army, the king ordered three batteries to be erected nearer the Imperial camp, and commenced a furious fire against the opposite heights, under which the Swedes, advancing towards the Rednitz, crossed that stream at a short distance from the town of Furth, and continued encamped for two days; the whole of this time being spent in reconnoitring all means of approach towards the lines of the enemy. Wallenstein employed the interval in concentrating his troops towards the points most exposed, and in diligently strengthening the ruined castle of Altenberg, an ancient hunting seat, which formed the key of his position. The hill upon which it was situated was encircled by three several breastworks, rising one above the other, protected by deep trenches, and composed of empty casks and the trunks and branches of trees; while the wooded crest of the height and the ruins of the castle concealed a train of heavy ordnance, served by the best of the Imperial artillerymen and engineers.

On the morning of the 24th of August, the king, who was strengthened in his desperate resolution by receiving false intelligence that Wallenstein was then actually employed in changing his position, led on his army to the attack he had long meditated. His chief efforts were directed against the castle of Altenberg, which he directed to be assailed by detachments of select musketeers, commanded by all the officers serving in the several regiments from which they had been draughted. These were ordered to advance by brigades which were to be relieved at intervals of two hours, the main body or reserve continuing stationed in a hollow at a short distance. Similar attacks were arranged against different parts of the position of the Imperialists, and the Swedes took their stations in steadiness and silence, availing themselves as much as possible of the shelter of the uneven ground and neighbouring thickets to conceal their movements from the enemy.

At a given signal, the awful pause of suspense which had for a short time pervaded both armies, was broken by a tremendous burst of artillery on the part of the assailants, who had more than a hundred pieces of cannon in position during the action, answered by as heavy a discharge from different parts of the Austrian lines. The castle of Altenberg, and the hill on which it stood, were in an instant hidden by clouds of smoke, through which the flashes of the ordnance continued to glance without a moment's interruption; and the whole range of woods and ravines which separated the Swedes from their antagonists rang with the echoes of musketry and the shouts of the contending multitudes. At the same time, wherever the nature of the ground permitted them to act, the cavalry of both parties encountered without hesitation, and a furious combat ensued between the redoubted cuirassiers of Baron Cronenberg and a regiment of Finland horse, which speedily terminated in the rout of the former, with the loss of three of their standards. The contest at other points, however, was too unequal. The Swedish infantry were no sooner formed and set in motion, than they were staggered by the stream of shot which issued from the Imperial entrenchments, and compelled to fall back in confusion. Some regiments were thus broken six or seven times in succession, and had still sufficient courage to rally and renew the attempt. The chief stress of the battle lay in the vicinity of the hill of Altenberg. The German auxiliaries were at first directed to carry the post, but speedily shrank back from the destructive fire to which they were exposed; and the Landgrave of Hesse did not scruple to complain to the king of the injustice of commanding his allies to encounter a peril which the Swedes themselves apparently declined. Gustavus immediately ordered a division of Finlanders to take the place of the Germans; but the efforts of his choicest troops

availed nothing towards the possession of an inch of ground in this quarter. The sole advantage gained by the Swedes, after a long and obstinate contention, the deafening tumult of which was equalled neither on the day of Leipzig, nor at the passage of the Lech, was the occupation of a height which commanded the Imperial camp by Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, but from its steepness and the slippery character of the ground, it was found impossible to mount a single piece of artillery upon its summit. Gustavus, when informed of this trifling success, was standing almost alone, with no one of the rank of a field officer near him, with the exception of Sir John Hepburn, who, in consequence of a supposed affront, had given up his commission a few days before, and was composedly looking on in the character of a spectator. On the king's anxiously exclaiming, "Is there no one present who will examine the place, and bring me an account of the nature of the ground?" "That," said Hepburn, "is now the only service I can render your Majesty, since it is accompanied with danger." He then drew his sword, and proceeded to reconnoitre the post in question amidst the balls of the enemy, which killed a Swedish sergeant close to his side. On his return, the king was induced by his report to request him to accompany him while he examined the spot in person. Hepburn complied with his wish, and continued in attendance until his observations were finished. He then replaced his sword in its scabbard, exclaiming that it had been for the last time drawn in the service of Sweden. The king made no reply, since he had before ineffectually attempted to pacify the resentment of his high-spirited officer, but returned to his former station, dejected at the failure of an enterprise in which he plainly saw it was useless to persevere, and lamenting the serious loss sustained by his army to so little purpose*. The battle had now con-

* Swedish Intelligencer.

tinued for ten hours, and night was fast gathering upon the field, yet the fire of both armies continued unslackened, and was not only sustained long after darkness had prevented its being directed with any degree of certainty, but renewed at intervals until the next morning. The king passed the night in his coach, near a glimmering watch-fire, which was from time to time extinguished by torrents of rain, either employed in consultation with his staff, or in melancholy meditation upon the events of the preceding day; and as soon as dawn appeared, the Swedes were ordered to fall back upon their former position. This movement was conducted with steadiness and order; the king having taken the precaution to place several bodies of musketeers in the woods close to the enemy, in order that any attempt on their part to pursue his retiring army might be checked, and to station a regiment of Finland horse to keep back the enemy's cavalry. The rear of the Swedes was then withdrawn, and followed by the main body; after which, it only remained to bring off the detachments stationed to protect the retreat. Lieutenant-Colonel *Monro* was appointed to the service. This officer had been seriously wounded on the preceding day*; but was,

* *Monro* gives the following account of the accident:—"By one o'clock in the afternoon, Duke *William* of *Weimar* commanded me (being the first service I was on as Colonel) for my credit, to goe towards the poste on the hill where the *Grave Son Torne* was shot. I taking leave of my comrades went to the poste, and finding the place warm at my coming, divers officers and soldiers lying bloody on the ground, I went first and ordered the soldiers on the poste, to my judgement, as most to our advantage for our safeties and harming of our enemies; and perceiving the enemy sometimes to fall out with small plottons of musketeers to give fire upon us, and to spy our actions, returning again as their powder was spent, to trap them the next time I advanced a sergeant with twenty-four musketeers to lie in ambush to attend on their next out-coming, which, they perceiving, came out no more, but one single man to spy. I retiring again to my maine reserve to direct others, sometimes standing, sometimes walking, and being taken notice of as a chief officer, the enemy commanded out a single man with a long

nevertheless, proceeding to execute his commission, when the king, perceiving his state of weakness and exhaustion, insisted upon his retiring; and, taking a partisan in his own hand, proceeded to marshal and direct the retreat of his musketeers, being himself one of the last to withdraw. The Swedes, recrossing the Rednitz, and retiring in the direction of Furth, entrenched themselves in a new position, having lost by their late attempt in killed and wounded at least two thousand men. Several officers of distinction were slain, many severely wounded, and a few taken prisoners. Among the latter was the famous Torsenson, who was at that time general of the Swedish artillery. The loss of the Imperialists was commonly stated, probably without exaggeration, at twelve hundred. Both Wallenstein and the Duke of Saxe Weimar had horses killed under them; and the king, who exposed himself in the hottest of the fire, narrowly escaped a serious injury, part of the sole of his boot having been carried away by a musket shot.

For fifteen days longer the hostile armies, protected by their entrenchments, continued to gaze upon each other without attempting any movement of consequence. It was evident that this condition of things could not last much longer. The sufferings both of the Austrians and Swedes continued to increase, and both generals were only deterred from decamping from regard to an empty point of honour, neither being willing to set the example of retiring from his ground. The King of Sweden at length determined upon sacrificing this unsubstantial subject of contention to the more solid advantage of providing for the health and piece, who, from a tree, aiming at me, shot me right above the haunch-bone on the left side, which lighted, fortunately for me, on the iron clicket of my hanger, which cut close the iron away, taking the force from the bullet, which, being battered flat with the iron, *entered not above two inches in my side*, where I found a little armes of proof being well put on most commodious in preserving my life, by God's providence, for that time."

comfort of his men, by removing to a district less wasted. He had now little to fear for the safety of Nurenberg, since he was confident that Wallenstein would not commence so important a siege in the beginning of autumn, and while he continued within a few days' march of the place. The city was supplied with a garrison of 6,000 men, and placed under the care of the Chancellor Oxenstiern; and the king assured the magistrates that if Wallenstein should make any further demonstrations against them, he would immediately return to their relief. He then drew out his army, and after marching close to the entrenchments of the Imperialists, and offering them a last opportunity of battle, which, as before, was declined by their general, defiled to the north-west towards Neustadt, to the no small satisfaction of Wallenstein, who was only waiting his departure as a signal to commence his own.

The Austro-Bavarian army decamped from their position near Nurenberg six days after the Swedes had abandoned their lines before the city, pursuing with all haste their way towards Forcheim. The march commenced at midnight, and was illuminated by the flames of all the villages within ten miles round, which, after having been plundered, were barbarously fired by the Croats, previously to their departure, as well as by those of the temporary buildings lately occupied by their own soldiery, presenting the magnificent spectacle of a line of fire more than a league and a half in length. The garrison of Nurenberg issued forth at the signal, and attacked the rear of the retiring enemy with such vigour as to disperse it in confusion. A considerable booty was gained by this sally, and the inhabitants of Nurenberg acquired still more in the deserted camp of the Imperialists, where many waggon-loads of stores, and an immense quantity of arms, were found abandoned by the enemy, and still uninjured by the fire.

The operations before Nuremberg could not but be considered as reflecting additional lustre on the name of Gustavus Adolphus. With an army of but 16,000 men, he had withstood for many weeks the attempts of 50,000, and fully effected the object which he had quitted Bavaria to accomplish. Europe, however, had expected nothing less, after the Swedes had become equal to their enemies in number, than a general battle, by which the destinies of Germany would be irreversibly fixed, and the astonishment was universal when it was known that the two mighty armies, from whose collision such momentous consequences were expected, had parted after an indecisive contest, like the severed clouds of the tempest, and were hastening to discharge, in opposite directions, the elements of terror and destruction with which they had so long been fraught.

CHAPTER XVI.

Movements of the Swedes upon the Rhine—Expedition of the Saxons under Arnheim into Silesia—Their Successes—Wallenstein breaks up from Foreheim and prepares for the Invasion of Saxony—He is repulsed from before Culmbach and the Castle of Plassenburg, and enters the Defiles of Thuringia—Consternation of the Elector of Saxony—Gustavus determines to march to his assistance—Arrival of the Swedes at Erfurt—Gustavus takes leave of his Queen—His Humility at Naumburg, and Sentiments respecting Conquerors in general—Wallenstein despatches Pappenheim to Halle—Advance of the Swedes from Naumburg—The Imperialists encamp at Lutzen—Preparations for Battle, and Disposition of both Armies—Battle of Lutzen—Death of the King of Sweden—Pappenheim arrives upon the field—He is slain—Defeat of the Imperialists by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, who succeeds to the command of the Swedish Army—Flight of Wallenstein to Leitmeritz—Funeral Honours of Gustavus Adolphus, and Reflections upon his Character.

AMIDST the interest excited by the operations before Nuremberg, the progress of the war in other directions was comparatively little noticed. Yet the movements

of the subordinate leaders on both sides, during the interval, were such as would have been considered in the highest degree important at an earlier period of the struggle. In Lower Saxony and Westphalia, Bauditzen, freed from the presence of Pappenheim, whose activity and admirable generalship had for some time kept him on the defensive, after recovering his posts along the Weser, and penetrating as far as to the vicinity of Cologne, carried the strong position of Deutz by assault, and overawed the city itself into a promise of neutrality. The Swedish operations upon the Rhine were attended with yet more decisive advantages. Gustavus Horn, in conjunction with the French who had been admitted by the Elector of Treves into Ehrenbreitstein, passed the river by the bridge of Coblenz, and speedily forced the Spanish garrison on the opposite bank to surrender. Coblenz was ceded to France for a valuable consideration, and Horn, after driving the enemy from every post in its vicinity, completed the object of his expedition by the conquest of the castle of Traerbach. The communication between the Netherlands and the Lower Palatinate having been by this means entirely cut off, his troops remounted the Rhine for the purpose of joining an army of Germans, French, and Scots, under the Rhinegrave Otho Louis, which was destined to act in Alsace against the Imperial generals Ossa and Montecuculi, and had already gained possession of the city of Strasburg. Within a few weeks Alsace was almost wholly in the power of the invaders, in the list of whose conquests were to be found the important fortress of Benfeldt and the town of Colmar. The Swedish generals then turned towards the Palatinate, laid immediate siege to Frankenthal, and kept the city of Heidelberg in a state of close investment. Frankenthal surrendered on the 3rd of November; but the subsequent operations in this quarter do not fall within the scope of the present history. It is

sufficient to notice that the unfortunate Frederick V., now believing his re-establishment in his hereditary dominions certain, took leave of the King of Sweden and set out for Frankfort, with the hope of speedily re-entering his capital in the character of its restored sovereign, after ten years of tedious exile. On his way from Frankfort to Mentz, however, he was seized with a dangerous illness, in the midst of which he received intelligence of the death of the only supporter of his cause, from whose aid he was justified in expecting his re-establishment in his dignity. This sudden frustration of his hopes when on the very point of fulfilment, gave a fatal strength to his disorder. Frederick expired on the 19th of November, thirteen days after the battle of Lutzen, having throughout the latter part of his life afforded one of the most striking instances on record of the mutability of human affairs, and the danger of attempting the highest walks of earthly ambition with powers inadequate to the effort.

The progress of the arms of Saxony, during the summer of 1632, was such as in some measure to compensate for the previous reverses sustained in Bohemia. An invasion of Lusatia, by 6,000 Imperialists, was quickly repelled by Arnheim, who following the retreating enemy into Silesia, attacked Great Glogau on the 18th of August, and gaining the town by open assault, put the whole of its garrison, amounting to a thousand men, to the sword. He then advanced against Breslau, from which Don Balthasar Maradas hastily retired at his approach, and encamped along the other side of the Oder. The Saxons, however, who had imbibed somewhat of the daring spirit of the Swedes by their service under Gustavus Adolphus, did not hesitate to assault him in this position, after having thrown a bridge over the river in face of the Imperialists, an operation attended with the less difficulty, since they were far

superior in number to their antagonists. Maradas was now compelled to resume his flight, and retired towards Oppeln and Kosel, after having lost the whole of his rear-guard, which was overtaken and cut to pieces by the pursuers; while Arnheim, continuing his progress without further interruption, acquired possession of Neisse, Jauer, and Wartenburg. The Saxons next laid siege to Oppeln; and having taken it by assault, penetrated into the county of Glatz, forcing back the discomfited Imperialists to the very borders of Hungary. Arnheim, however, has been accused of a design of the darkest treachery in pushing thus far his career of victory, while Saxony itself was left comparatively undefended; and is said to have adopted such a plan of operations to invite Wallenstein to wreak his full vengeance upon the territories of the Elector, while his best troops were yet absent upon a distant service, and too far to be recalled in time for the defence of their own country.

Whether this charge had any solid foundation, or whether it was merely prompted by the well-known qualities of a general whose conduct for the most part was such as to justify every imputation of a similar nature, it is certain that the Duke of Friedland was not slow in availing himself of the opportunity presented by the expedition of the Saxons into Silesia. Holk, whose ravages in Voigtland have been already noticed, was immediately strengthened by a fresh body of 10,000 Imperialists, under Count Gallas, in conjunction with whom he laid siege to Freyburg; and after the capitulation of the town, in which Gallas caused the ancient tombs of the electors to be broken open in search of plunder, spread his troops in detached parties over the whole of the open country as far as to Dresden and Leipzig. Terrible, however, as was the conduct of these subordinate agents of destruction, the people of Saxony were speedily thrown into a state of deeper consternation by news

of the approach of Wallenstein in person. That general, in company with the Elector of Bavaria, decamping from Forcheim on the 24th of September, advanced leisurely towards Bamberg, where he halted for a few days, and appointed a general review of the combined forces. The effects of the privation and disease sustained in the encampment near Nuremberg were then fully visible. Of the Bavarian army but 7,000 men remained fit for service, while but 15,000, exclusive of the detachments sent forward into Saxony, gathered round the Imperial eagles, to represent the powerful force with which the Duke of Friedland had taken the field at the commencement of the campaign. A sufficient number, however, remained for the infliction of every description of misery upon the unfortunate territory of Bayreuth, towards which he first directed the fierce soldiery under his guidance. The town, which gave name to the province, was assailed by a separate division, while Wallenstein presented himself in person before Culmbach, which he summoned with the terrible menace, that if resisted, he would not spare even the infant within its mother's womb. By the bravery of the Swedish governor, he was spared the additional guilt of carrying his threat into execution. The walls of Culmbach were found to be too resolutely manned to be won by any other means than by approaches in due form; and Wallenstein, who had no time to waste in a regular siege, was compelled to retire from before it, disappointed and furious at his failure. After exhausting all the means of destruction at his command upon the neighbouring country, he turned towards Coburg, which, as it was but slightly provided with the means of defence, was immediately taken by the Imperialists, and became the scene of a renewal of all the excesses which had so frequently disgraced their arms in other quarters. The castle of Plassenburg however, occupied by a

Swedish garrison under Colonel Dubatel, continued to offer an undaunted resistance, and an attempt to escalade its walls ended in a complete repulse of the assailants. Wallenstein, after this check, determined upon transferring his operations from Franconia to Saxony. Accordingly, after separating, with many external marks of respect, from Maximilian of Bavaria, who, with the wreck of his army, took the direction of Ratisbon, he began to direct the march of his remaining forces through the defiles of Thuringia, striking a general panic wherever he advanced, and alarming Misnia with the hourly expectation of his appearance, accompanied by all the horrors of war, and eager to satiate his thirst for vengeance by the complete destruction of a country in which the proceedings of his heartless satellites were considered but as an earnest of what might be expected on the arrival of their more powerful lord. The Elector of Saxony, who saw the whole of his dominions on the point of being inundated on one side by the army of Wallenstein, and on the other by that of Pappenheim, who, after returning from the Low Countries, and successfully resuming his operations against Bauditzen, was now rapidly descending from the banks of the Weser, in obedience to a summons from the Duke of Friedland to co-operate with him in his projected invasion, sent message after message to the King of Sweden, adjuring him to hasten to his assistance before his electorate was reduced to the condition of a desert.

Gustavus, after detaching the Duke of Saxe Weimar for the protection of Wirtemberg, and spending a few days at Donawerth, had been for the most part employed, since his departure from Nurenberg, in the recovery of Rain, which the Bavarians, owing to the conduct of Colonel Mitzval the governor, had retaken from the Swedes during his absence in Franconia. Mitzval was tried by a court-martial, and

sentenced to be beheaded, a sentence which was shortly afterwards inflicted; and Rain, destitute of all prospect of relief, and vigorously besieged, was almost immediately reduced to surrender a second time to its former captors. After this conquest the king was making preparations for laying siege to Ingolstadt a second time, when he received information of the movements of the Duke of Friedland towards Saxony, and the distress of the Elector. His resolution was immediately taken. Although Oxenstiern, whom he hastened to consult at Nuremberg, strenuously advised him to leave John George to his fate, and after effecting the conquest of Bavaria, and sending assistants to the peasants, who were in open revolt in Upper Austria, to march at once upon Vienna, and complete the humiliation of Ferdinand by the possession of his capital, he determined to forego every advantage which presented itself from such a plan, rather than incur the disgrace of suffering his ally to remain exposed to the dreaded vengeance of Wallenstein, while he himself continued his conquests in a different direction, regardless of his appeals for aid. In a merely political point of view, moreover, the deliverance of Saxony was not without its substantial advantages, since there was every prospect that the Elector, if abandoned by the Swedish monarch, would be compelled to avert the threatened ruin of his country by renouncing all connexion with Gustavus and the allied Protestant princes, and devote his resources for the future to the advantage of the cause of Ferdinand. With a view, therefore, to present himself before the Imperial general at the commencement of his destructive career, and to make the plains of Misnia the theatre of the great battle which had been expected to take place beneath the walls of Nuremberg, he hastily called in his nearest detachments, appointing the general rendezvous at Schweinfurth, for which place he shortly afterwards

set out, after taking an affectionate leave of Oxenstiern, who still continued at Nuremberg to superintend the affairs of Franconia.

The march of the Swedish army on this memorable expedition was conducted with so much celerity as completely to eclipse all the previous reputation for activity which had hitherto been acquired by their movements under the conduct of their great commander. It was directed by Dinkelsbuhl, Rothenburg, and Kutzingen, towards Schweinfurth, where the Queen of Sweden awaited the arrival of the king from Nuremberg, intending to accompany him as far as possible upon his road. After quitting Schweinfurth, the Swedes, now under the guidance of Gustavus in person, plunged into the gloomy forests of the Düringer Wald, and, retracing nearly the same path which they had pursued after the battle of Leipzig, arrived, after accomplishing a series of toilsome marches with unslackening vigour, notwithstanding the difficult character of the country, in the vicinity of Erfurt on the 24th of October, where they were joined by the forces under the command of the Duke of Saxe Weimar. At this place the king made a general review of his army, which he found to consist of 20,000 men, for the most part veteran troops, and the companions of his greatest victories, in the highest condition of health and discipline. He then prepared for the painful task of bidding adieu to his queen, whom he had designed to remain at Erfurt until the result of his meditated encounter with Wallenstein should be determined. The night previous to his departure was spent, with little interruption, in penning and dictating several important despatches, and at day-break the magistrates of the town were summoned to his presence. The king took leave of them in an earnest and friendly address, marked, however, by that spirit of presentiment which had

haunted him ever since the commencement of his German expedition, and which, like the Evil Genius of the Roman, seems to have presented itself with greater distinctness and frequency to his imagination as he approached the scene of his last great battle. His speech on this occasion was closed in the following terms:—"I need not remind all persons who are present of the well-known mutability of earthly affairs; and that the issue of war is, of all uncertainties, the greatest. The expedition on which I am entering may probably prove fatal to myself; and in anticipation that such may be the pleasure of God, I beseech you by the honour and integrity you possess, to continue firm in your attachment to my dear consort, and in this hope earnestly pray that the blessing and protection of the Most High may continue to accompany you all." He then turned towards the Queen; but the violence of his emotions was such as to prevent his giving utterance to the words he wished to express, and, after several times fervently repeating the exclamation, "God bless you!" he was obliged, in order to prevent himself from being wholly unmanned, to hurry from her presence; and, hastily remounting his horse, galloped forward to overtake the rear of his army, which was now in full march for Naumburg. Gustavus, on his way, detached Bernard of Saxe Weimar, with a strong body of horse, to harass the rear of the army under Pappenheim, who had, a short time previously, been advancing in the direction of Erfurt and Naumburg with the expectation of making himself master of both places; but, finding his intention frustrated by the rapid approach of the King of Sweden, had now altered his plan, and determined to effect his junction with the grand Imperial army without further delay. The hostile forces narrowly escaped coming into collision, since Pappenheim had but just time

to anticipate the attack of the Swedes by turning short through the territory of Freyburg, and crossing the river Saale, before their arrival. He then continued his march unmolested to Merseburg, and united his force with that under Wallenstein, who had penetrated thus far on receiving the submission of Leipzig, which was yielded after the semblance rather than the reality of a siege, of but a few days' continuance.

The town of Naumburg, delivered from the fear of destruction at the hands of the Imperialists, by the advance of the army of Gustavus, received him with such transports of gratitude as might have been supposed to be excited by the presence of a tutelary divinity. The inhabitants flocked in crowds around him, eager to touch his stirrups, the scabbard of his sword, or the hem of his garment, and saluted him whenever he appeared with expressions of the most enthusiastic applause and veneration. But, with these marks of esteem, the incense by which an ordinary ambition would have been excited to a more vain-glorious estimate of its own power, the more rational and less arrogant spirit of the King of Sweden was at once shocked and humiliated. His feelings upon the subject are recorded in a memorable discourse with his chaplain Fabricius: "Alas!" he exclaimed, "have I not reason to believe that God, who has declared himself a jealous God, will punish me for the weakness of this people? Our affairs, I confess, are in a promising condition; but too much reliance is placed upon me, and all but divine honours are bestowed upon a feeble mortal, who exists to-day and may be no more to-morrow. Great God! Thou art witness that I take no delight in this kind of homage which is rendered to myself, but is due to Thee alone, by whose assistance I am what I am. I abandon myself to Thy Providence. Thou art the

Creator and Lord of all things, and wilt not permit that the good work commenced for the deliverance of Thy true servants should remain imperfect." Schiller, whose taste, essentially dramatic, was thoroughly awake to all the beauties scattered through the productions of the ancient tragedians, has compared the conduct of the King of Sweden, upon this occasion, to that of the Agamemnon of Æschylus, who is represented by the great founder of the Greek theatre as refusing to descend from his chariot upon the purple tapestry which the treacherous assiduity of Clytemnestra has spread before the vestibule of his palace. The same author has justly observed, that the character of Gustavus Adolphus appears more amiable as we are on the point of losing sight of him for ever. Yet there was nothing of novelty in his unwillingness to receive the extravagant popular honours lavished upon him by the gratitude of the people of Naumburg; and a spirit precisely similar had been shown at Kemberg in 1631, while he was on his way to encounter the army of Tilly. At this place, a crowd of children, surrounding the house in which he was lodged, were clamorously saluting him by the name of the "Great Gustavus," when the king, who was conversing with a Protestant minister of the town, demanded the meaning of their acclamations. On being informed, he immediately descended into the street, and presented himself before them with the words, "My dear children, you see before you nothing more than a great sinner from Sweden, whom your silly parents have taught you to call the Great King."* If his example, however, is considered valuable in point of humility, the opinion which he is recorded to have expressed a short time previous to his death, respecting conquerors in general, is equally worthy of being perpe-

* Mauvillon.

tuated, since it shows that the scenes of destruction through which he had lately passed had begun to open his eyes to the true nature of that glory to which so many have sacrificed the lives of thousands without a single feeling of compunction or moment of regret. On the occasion of some German officers expressing at his table a sentiment that he had been born as the express instrument of the delivery of their nation, and that the appearance of an individual endued with so much courage and conduct was a manifest sign of the favour of the Divine Being ; " Say, rather," replied the king, " that it is a token of his anger. If the war which I wage is a remedy, it is one less supportable than the disease itself. God never departs from his established law of moderation to pass to extremes without intending the chastisement of some one : and it is an evidence of his love towards nations when he confers but ordinary abilities upon their kings. He who is gifted with a soul unelevated above that of the generality of mankind, conceives only such designs as are upon a level with his abilities. His repose is untroubled by dreams of glory and ambition. If he applies himself to state affairs, the prosperity of his dominions is increased in consequence ; if he relieves himself from the weight of government by committing part of his authority to another, the worst that can happen is, that his minister may enrich himself at the expense of the people, may lay additional imposts upon them for the increase of his own fortune, or that of his friends, or excite a feeling of hatred and indignation among his former equals, who are jealous of his elevation. But these evils are trifling, and utterly unworthy of comparison with such as are induced by the ambition of a great king. That insatiate thirst which he feels for glory leaving him no wish for the enjoyment of rest, necessarily compels him to deprive his subjects of the same bless-

ing. He holds as his enemies all who are unwilling to become his vassals. He is a raging torrent, which carries desolation wheresoever it turns; and carrying his arms as far as his hopes, he fills the whole world with terror, misery, and confusion."*

The march of Gustavus Adolphus towards Naumburg was no sooner known to Wallenstein, who, when he received the intelligence, was stationed at Eulenburg, than he hastily retraced his steps by Merseburg, towards Weissenfels, hoping to be still in time to paralyse the movements of his enemy by the occupation of Naumburg before his arrival. The extraordinary activity of Gustavus alone, frustrating him in this project, prevented all the important consequences which would have resulted from its execution. Once in possession of Naumburg, the Imperialists might with ease have shut the entrance into Saxony against the Swedes, since the only road by which they could advance lay through the steep mountain gorge, which, threaded by the rapid river Saala, extends to the vicinity of the town of Weissenfels, where the vast plain spread around the walls of Leipzig begins to open upon the traveller. The value of Naumburg, as the key to this pass, was sufficiently known to Wallenstein to induce him to hurry forward a detachment to seize and maintain it at all hazards; but the force which was sent upon the service was met half way by the intelligence that the King of Sweden was already master of the place; and, moreover, preparing to intrench himself in its neighbourhood. The Imperial general, upon this, summoned a council of war composed of his favourite officers, at which Pappenheim and Holk earnestly advised that, since the autumn was already far spent, and the Swedes were evidently preparing to assume a position merely defensive, in probable expectation of being joined by

* *CAILLERES, Fortunes des Gens de Qualité*; quoted by *ARCHENHOLTZ, Mémoires de la Reine Christine*.

the reinforcements which were known to be hastening to join them from Lunenburg, he should despatch a part of his army to oppose Bauditzen in Lower Saxony, and canton the rest in the neighbouring towns in such a manner as to be able to reassemble them, if necessary, with the least possible delay. Wallenstein was not unwilling to adopt this advice. Pappenheim, with 12,000 men, was commissioned to undertake the siege of Halle prior to resuming his operations upon the Weser, and immediately set out to execute his commission. One regiment of Imperialists was directed towards Zwickau, and another towards Altenberg. The remainder of the army under Wallenstein retired afresh towards Merseburg, leaving Colonel Colloredo, with several squadrons of Croats, to convey immediate intelligence of any movement of consequence on the part of the King of Sweden.

Pappenheim had hardly set forward upon his expedition against Halle when Gustavus received intelligence of his departure, and at once conceived the design of breaking up from Naumburg and marching against Wallenstein, encouraged by the hope that, even if unsuccessful in surprising him, he might at least compel him to fight while under the disadvantage of being weakened by so considerable a detachment. His preparations for an advance were commenced and completed without a moment's delay. The Swedes decamped from Naumburg two hours after midnight on the 5th of November, and early in the morning were observed from the tower of Weissenfels issuing from the neighbouring defiles in such numbers as left little doubt that the whole army was in motion, and advancing under the conduct of the king in person. Colloredo, after despatching some of his best-mounted horsemen at the spur, to convey the important intelligence to Wallenstein, intimated by three cannon-shots the vicinity of the enemy, and the

necessity of an immediate return to head-quarters, to the scattered parties of Imperialists in his neighbourhood. He then collected his Croatians, and leisurely abandoning a post which was untenable in the face of the powerful host approaching towards it, withdrew to effect his junction with the main body under the Duke of Friedland. Wallenstein, who had received Colloredo's communication at an early hour of the day, lost no time in sending messengers in all haste to Pappenheim, urging upon him the necessity of his instant return, with all the disposable force under his command, since he was upon the eve of a general engagement. The plain near Lutzen was the spot towards which he was ordered to direct his march, and where Wallenstein himself, after a slight retrograde movement from Merseburg, took up at noon on the 5th the position in which he intended to offer battle.

The village of Lutzen is one of those places which seem destined to be from time to time witnesses to the strife of encountering armies, although possessing in themselves neither military nor political importance to justify occurrences of such moment; and perhaps no plain in Europe has been oftener irrigated with human blood than that which lies in its immediate vicinity. Besides affording a field for the great action which closed the long series of the triumphs of the Swedes under their immortal king, it had been many centuries before the scene of a sanguinary defeat of the Hungarians by the famous Henry, surnamed the Fowler. In the year 1757, a French army retreating before the arms of Frederick of Prussia, narrowly avoided delivering upon the same ground the general action which was attended with such calamitous results at Rosbach; but Lutzen has derived a far greater historic celebrity in connexion with the military annals of France, as the place where the descending sun of victory shed a delusive

gleam upon the eagles of Napoleon, before the decisive result of Leipzig drove him back in utter and irremediable ruin upon his own frontier. At the time when Wallenstein encamped beside it, as at the present day, the place consisted but of one long street, and boasted no buildings of importance besides its church, the spire of which is of an extraordinary height, and an ancient château, surmounted by a tower, in which, when Mauvillon visited it, in the middle of the last century, a few old matchlocks were still exhibited as relics of the battle of 1632. The Imperial army was stationed on a line parallel with the high road from Leipzig to Weissenfels, which runs directly through Lützen, having that village immediately beyond their extreme right, which terminated near a group of five windmills. The ground which Wallenstein had selected was perfectly undistinguished by inequalities; but before his front, two parallel ditches, dug for the purpose of draining the high road, afforded a formidable means of defence, which he immediately strengthened by a slight parapet of turf, and lined with his choicest musketeers. Beyond these, a kind of canal, called the Flöess Graben, used for floating timber to Leipzig, and lined with a few scattered willow trees, running somewhat diagonally across the field, afforded a convenient support for his left wing. It is difficult to state with accuracy the strength of the Austrian army on this occasion; but there is sufficient reason to believe, that, exclusively of the division under Pappenheim, it did not number less than 30,000 men, exceeding by one third the Swedish force arrayed against it at the very commencement of the action.

While the Austrians were busily employed in making their necessary dispositions, the Swedes continued rapidly to advance over the flat country between Weissenfels and Lützen. The king, who had in his way received accurate information of the arrival of Wal-

lenstein at the latter village, still entertained hopes of being able to bring on the expected engagement before evening. A false calculation of his real distance from Lutzen contributed to confirm him in this erroneous expectation. On inquiring of his guide the direction in which the place was situated, the lofty church spire was pointed out to him, conspicuously rising in the distance ; and the height of this building, together with the level character of the intervening space, naturally induced him to believe, that the Imperialists were almost close at hand, while they were still separated by a distance of eight or nine miles from their enemies. The march was accordingly resumed with vigour ; but in addition to the fatigue caused by several hours of unremitted exertion, the Swedes had now to contend with the nature of the ground, which consisted of land newly ploughed for the reception of the next year's crops, and of so light a quality, that the soldiers sank nearly to the midleg at every step. Under these disadvantages, notwithstanding all the ardour which they exerted, the brief light of a November day was already fast declining before they found themselves actually in presence of their adversaries. Near the village of Rippach, where a small rivulet intersected their line of march, a fierce and obstinate encounter took place between their advanced cavalry and two regiments of Imperial horse, one of them consisting entirely of Croats, which ended in the complete route of the latter, and the capture of an ensign by the Swedes, bearing a figure of Fortune upon one side and the Austrian eagle on the other. This trophy was immediately presented to the king as an assured omen of victory : but the countenance of Gustavus was observed to be overcast, and to indicate but little satisfaction at the circumstance. An Austrian officer, who had been taken prisoner at the commencement of the skirmish, and after being sent to the rear, had been examined by the king him-

self, with the threat of certain death if his information should turn out to be incorrect, knowing the importance of a few hours' delay to his general, and nobly preferring the interests of the cause he served to any consideration of his own safety, had not only persisted that Wallenstein was fully prepared for battle, but that Pappenheim was already returned from Halle, and had united his division with the main army. This information, the truth of which was not doubted at the time, rendered it necessary to consult afresh upon the prudence of venturing upon a general action with a force so far superior in number, and now fully upon their guard; but the Swedish officers, as well as their monarch, were unanimously of opinion that it was too late to retreat, and that the most resolute course was, in the present instance, that which held out the fairest promise of success. The army, therefore, proceeded until within full sight of the Imperial encampment, coming on with such an appearance of spirit, and halting at so short a distance, that Wallenstein commanded his drums to beat to arms, and formed his line of battle, in expectation of being assailed without delay. His infantry, according to the account of the generality of historians, were then observed stationed in his centre in four immense square masses, with smaller bodies of musketeers placed at each angle; a singular arrangement, which, if correctly described, has not undeservedly met with the unqualified reprobation of every military critic since his time. The greater part of his artillery, consisting of twenty-four pieces of heavy ordnance, was planted close beside the windmills on his right, and seven pieces more behind the ditches in front. His cavalry, with scattered parties of Croats disposed in advance, formed in strength upon his left, where space was at the same time allowed for the troops under Pappenheim, who were momentarily expected. The Swedes, on the other hand, rested their right upon the Flöss

Graben, and extended their left towards Lutzen, forming an array of about a mile and a half in length, and fairly dividing the plain with their adversaries. The king, however, by this time, had determined upon delaying his attack until the morning, since, as his last division reached the ground, the mist, which proved so serious an obstacle to the operations of the following day, began to gather fast along the plain; and by the time his dispositions were finally made, the increasing darkness rendered any offensive movement in the highest degree imprudent. The arrangement of his army was nearly the same as that which he had adopted on the memorable day of Leipzig. His cavalry, interspersed, as usual, with chosen bodies of musketeers, were equally distributed on both wings, and his infantry stationed by brigades in the centre, forming two lines supported by reserves. Bernard of Saxe Weimar, assisted by Prince Ernest of Anhalt, was appointed to the command of the right. Nicholas Brahe, Count of Weissenburg, at the head of the Yellow Brigade, or king's own regiment of guards, took charge of the centre, having Henderson's Scottish reserve close behind him, and further in the rear, the main body of the second line under General Kniphausen; the king, as usual, selecting the right wing for his own post. The few pieces of artillery which the Swedes had brought with them in their hasty march from Franconia, consisting mostly of such light cannon as were known by the name of drakes in the English civil wars, were dispersed at intervals along the front. Thus disposed, the Swedes, after their usual devotions, lay down to rest in full order of battle, part of the infantry sleeping with their pikes planted in the earth at their heads, and the rest beside their muskets, piled for immediate service*. During the whole of the night, which wore heavily away to the officers on both sides, detachments con-

* Swedish Intelligencer.

tinued to arrive in the Imperial camp, and Wallenstein eagerly turned the interval afforded to account, by deepening the trenches which covered his front, and strengthening the parapet along their brink. His great rival, like himself, devoted but a few moments to repose, whiling away the tedious hours before morning in conversation with his attendants, or engaged in reflections upon the important interests at stake, mingled with those more serious meditations which on the eve of battle find their way to the hearts of the most unthinking, and cast a momentary shadow over the resolution of the bravest.

Two hours before daybreak the king's attendants presented themselves, for the purpose of arraying him for the field. Either owing to his known dislike to heavy armour, or to the circumstance of his having lately received a contusion in his right shoulder, which rendered its weight insupportable, he refused to wear the cuirass presented to him, with the words, "The Lord God himself is my sufficient defence;" assuming an undervest of elk-skin alone, which was supposed to be proof against a sword-thrust. The drums were then ordered to sound the *reveillé*, and in a few minutes the whole Swedish force, standing to arms, listened to the solemn service of devotion performed by the chaplains of the several regiments. By this time the morning had dawned, but its rays struggled feebly with the heavy fog which had fallen on the preceding evening, and still continued so closely to envelop the field as to hide every object from view at the distance of two pikes' length. In one direction alone the dense medium was partially dispersed by a glimmering light, afterwards found to have proceeded from the flames consuming the village of Lutzen, which Wallenstein had commanded to be set on fire for the purpose of preventing the Swedes from acting upon his right flank. As it was absolutely necessary to wait for the dispersion of the mist before giving

orders for an advance, the king commanded the feverish interval of suspense to be employed in a general chant of Martin Luther's celebrated paraphrase of the 46th Psalm, commencing with "God is our strong tower of refuge," accompanied by the kettle-drums and trumpets of his whole army, followed by a hymn which he had himself composed, containing sentiments similar to those expressed by the Psalmist. This sublime prelude to the work of mortal contention was scarcely over, when a sudden breeze, drifting before it the mist which had hitherto hung like a curtain between the opposite hosts, allowed a burst of sunshine to fall upon the field, and presented the majestic array of each other's battle to the full gaze of either army.

The King of Sweden took immediate advantage of the opportunity. After kneeling and devoutly repeating his accustomed prayer, "O Lord Jesu Christ, bless our arms and this day's battle, for the glory of thy holy name*," he remounted his horse, and with his drawn sword in his hand rode along his front, addressing his soldiers by the appellation of his children, and adjuring them to distinguish themselves in the contest at hand by their devotion to the cause of God and his gospel, at the same time adding, that if forgetful of their duty, there was not an individual among them whose bones would be suffered to repose in the earth of Sweden. Towards his German allies he made use of similar incentives, reminding them that the preservation of their civil and religious liberties would probably be determined by their conduct in the present struggle. He then gave as the word of battle, "God with us,"—the same which he had adopted at Leipzig; after which, the infantry of the first line, breaking into columns of attack, each preceded by two field-pieces, advanced with the intention of dislodging the Imperial musketeers from the

* Swedish Intelligencer.

trenches before them. Wallenstein had, in the mean time, been as urgent in his appeals to his soldiers; and his exertions were ably seconded by the Bishop of Fulda, afterwards killed by a cannon-shot towards the close of the action, who presented himself in all parts of the field, hastening from rank to rank with a crucifix in his hand, and exhorting the troops to acquit themselves manfully in defence of the Holy Catholic Church, and the honour of the Imperial House.

The Swedish infantry, commencing the battle with irresistible impetuosity under the guidance of the king, who led them on in person, not only succeeded in spite of the heavy and uninterrupted discharges of artillery from the Imperial right, and the close fire of musketry from the concealed enemy in front, in carrying the trenches at the first charge, but, pushing on still further, attacked and gained possession of the seven pieces of cannon planted behind them, throwing Wallenstein's main body itself into some degree of confusion. The Imperial commander, however, rallying his wavering troops, directed so furious an onset against them in return, that the Swedes, borne back by superiority of numbers, were compelled to repass the trenches in confusion, leaving the artillery they had captured in the hands of its former possessors, and the space between the trenches and the Austrian lines covered with dead and wounded. In the mean time the king, who, as soon as his infantry had passed the trenches, had departed towards his right wing, as yet unacquainted with their repulse, and observing through his perspective-glass two regiments of heavy cavalry arrayed in black armour, under Colonel Piccolomini, drawn up in order before him, covered by a swarm of Croatian horse, commanded by their general, Isolani, observed to Colonel Stalhanske, who was at the head of his Finland cuirassiers, "We must charge yonder black troopers, or they will do

us some serious mischief;" and with these words, leaping his horse across the ditch, advanced against them, imagining himself followed by the whole of the Finland and Smaland cavalry. These troops, however, were considerably retarded by the difficulty occasioned by the ditch in their way, and Gustavus, hurried forward by his ardent courage, and unaware from his shortness of vision of the close proximity of the enemy, was attended but by a few of his suite who were still able to keep up with him, and among others by Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, when he became a conspicuous object to their marksmen. An Imperial captain, guessing from his bearing that he was a person of consequence, commanded one of his musketeers to single out the mounted officer, who was thus fearlessly exposing himself; and the soldier, in obedience to the order, fired with so true an aim that the left arm of Gustavus was shattered a little above the elbow by the shot. The king, almost fainting with the sudden pain, exclaimed to the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, "Cousin, I feel myself seriously wounded; lead me, I entreat you, from the field"—and, turning his horse's head, endeavoured to regain the protection of his cavalry. But at this juncture, the mist which had for a short time dispersed at the commencement of the action, was again enshrouding the conflict in comparative darkness, and the king, with the small party about him, mistaking the right direction, was wandering from the right to the left wing, when he was overtaken by a body of Piccolomini's cuirassiers. One among them, a cavalier in bright armour, generally supposed to have been Falkenberg, colonel of the regiment of Florence, who was shortly afterwards slain in the *mêlée*, recognising his person, and uttering the words, "Is it thou? Long have I sought thee!" immediately shot him through the body with his pistol; while the horse which he rode, stumbling at the same moment,

threw him forward in the midst of a group of the dead and wounded, principally composed of his own household who had fallen around him. After he had for some time lain in this condition, unnoticed both by friends and enemies, amidst the general confusion, a party of irregular cavalry in the Imperial service, arriving upon the spot, and dismounting to despoil the slain, on finding him still exhibit symptoms of life, inquired his name and quality. "I am the King of Sweden," replied the dying monarch, "and seal with my blood the liberty and religion of the German nation!" A soldier among the plunderers, on receiving this answer, without a moment's hesitation discharged his pistol through his head, while a second transfixed him with his sword. Notwithstanding these terrible wounds, the king had still sufficient strength left to pronounce the exclamation, "My God! my God!" to which he afterwards added, "Alas! my poor queen!" These are said to have been his last words. His body was immediately stripped by the Imperialists, who afterwards sold the spoils acquired on the occasion at enormous prices, to the principal officers of the Austrian army. His buff coat was sent to Vienna, where it is still exhibited, perforated by the fatal ball, in the arsenal of that city. Holk obtained possession of his spurs and ring; and a valuable gold chain, with a turquoise of large size, which had from time immemorial formed part of the regalia of the crown of Sweden, fell into the hands of an officer of the family of Schneburg. Before the spoilers had completed their work, Piccolomini, to whom immediate intelligence of the event had been sent, arrived with a few of his soldiers, but the king was by this time wholly insensible, and his features convulsed by the last agonies of death; nor had the Imperialists long to gaze upon the melancholy spectacle, since the Swedish cavalry, under Colonel Stalhanske, charged at the moment with so

much vigour that they were compelled to retreat in confusion. The body of Gustavus, being soon afterwards discovered, was borne to the rear with as much secrecy as possible, and from thence (as his own coach had been removed in the panic occasioned by a tumultuous onset of the Croats upon the baggage) slowly conveyed in an ammunition-waggon, preceded by his favourite white standard, to the town of Weissenfels. A rude fragment of rock, known by the name of the Swedish Stone, still points out to the notice of posterity the spot near which the royal corpse was discovered, so much mangled by wounds, and disfigured by bruises, received beneath the horses' feet, as only to be discernible by its superior size, and the marks of one or two well-known scars, from the less distinguished dead scattered around it.

In this manner perished, at the height of his fame, and in the full vigour of life—since he had not yet attained the age of thirty-eight years—the conqueror, whose dazzling successes had so long excited the admiration of the world, and whose career of victory had hitherto been uninterrupted by a single defeat, unless the failure of his attack upon Wallenstein's lines is thought deserving of the name. In the relation of his last moments, that account has been preferred which was published a few days after the battle, by the chaplain of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar*, and was asserted to have been taken from the lips of an eye-witness attached to the king's household, who lay mortally wounded beside him, and expired shortly after being removed from the field. The accounts given by most other authors are less circumstantial, rather than contradictory to the above. Puffendorff, however, a writer almost proverbially credulous, has not hesitated openly to charge the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg with the assassination of his commander, by firing the fatal pistol-shot at his back, amidst the

* Swedish Intelligencer.

tumult and obscurity of the encounter in which he fell. Cardinal Richelieu has not escaped from a share in the imputation, having been accused, although by little more than a vague rumour, propagated by the lovers of the marvellous in that day, of having both suggested the murder and amply rewarded the instrument employed in its perpetration, from fear of the further successes of an ally, whose power he already considered too extensive to be compatible with the interests of France. Such accusations are far too common in history to be received without the support of positive and substantial evidence, which is found to be wholly wanting in the present instance, to the corroboration of so serious a charge. It is true that the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg had in early life received a serious affront from Gustavus Adolphus, that he had quitted the Imperial service without any apparent cause, and that he left the army of the Swedes two days after the battle of Lutzen; but within these particulars, enough possibly to justify some degree of suspicion, but wholly insufficient to warrant anything like a positive affirmation of his guilt, is comprised the whole of the evidence adduced against him.

The first intimation of the fall of their sovereign was conveyed to the Swedish army by the sight of his horse galloping wildly along the front, with its saddle and caparisons dyed with blood; and the apprehensions inspired by this spectacle were speedily confirmed by a rumour which ran through the ranks, that his body had been seen in the act of being conveyed from the field. The intelligence, however, instead of damping their ardour, had the effect of arousing them to a transport of fury, mingled with a desire to avenge his death, which banished all considerations of personal security. Under the guidance of the heroic Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who, on this terrible day, left no duty of a great commander unfulfilled, a fresh charge was undertaken along the

whole line, and executed with such determination, that the battle was quickly restored in favour of the Swedes. The ditches were again crossed, and the cannon which defended them captured for the second time. The heavy masses of the Imperial infantry were compelled to give ground, and receded so far from their original position, that their adversaries even gained a temporary possession of the artillery planted near the windmills, with which they commenced a close and destructive fire upon the exposed flank of the Imperial general. The latter, at this critical juncture, however, was rescued from the prospect of immediate ruin by the long-wished-for arrival of Pappenheim, who came up with eight regiments of cavalry at a hand-gallop, just in time to prevent the full rout of the Austrian army. Allowing his troops but a brief space to recover breath, he proceeded to wheel them into line, and, charging with headlong fury, not only recovered the captured guns, but rolled back the tide of battle on the right to the ground on which it had begun. Piccolomini's cuirassiers, rallying under cover of this assault, fell nearly at the same moment upon the Swedish infantry, which had advanced beyond the trenches, with fatal effect, and compelled such as survived their assault to fall back upon the main body with precipitation. In the desperate contention which took place at this point, the king's guards, with their commander the Count of Weissenburg at their head, disdaining to recede, and defending themselves to the last, were almost entirely cut off, and were observed the next morning, distinguished by their yellow uniforms, stretched on the earth in the same order in which they had formed to receive the Imperial cavalry. Pappenheim, after his success on the right, hurried, without pausing a moment, towards the other wing, where he flattered himself with the expectation of encountering the King of Sweden with better success than at Leipzig; but

before he could reach his station he was informed of the fate which had befallen his intended antagonist. He had scarcely time to express his satisfaction at the intelligence, when he was himself struck down by a ball, fired from a falconet, which took effect upon his right shoulder, inflicting so ghastly a wound, that his recovery was at once perceived to be hopeless*. His attendants, raising him from the ground, conveyed him to the rear, and he was shortly afterwards conducted in his coach, attended by his chaplain, to Leipzig, where he breathed his last in the castle of Pleissenburg, after lingering for twenty-four hours after receiving the injury which caused his death. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who, after his momentary repulse, had but retired so far from the ground he had won as to receive the succour of the second line under Kniphausen, and had by almost incredible efforts re-formed the Swedes for a third charge, resumed the attack shortly after he had been borne from the contest. The same terrible scene of carnage which had been twice before witnessed, was now for the third time exhibited along the front of the closing armies, who expended all their remaining energies upon a struggle which it was evident must prove decisive.

The Imperialists, as before, were driven from the ditches, the cannon retaken, and the heavy Austrian infantry compelled, after a long and obstinate contention, gradually to give ground. The Swedes on the left, advancing equally with the rest of the army, although under an incessant cannonade from the artillery near the windmills, continued to deliver their fire with so much rapidity and with such murderous precision, that no force of the enemy seemed capable of standing before it. The Imperial right was driven back upon the high-road, and meeting there with

* According to Khevehuller, whom Schiller has followed, he received two musket-balls in the breast.

the regiments of the centre, which were retreating towards the same point, the confusion, notwithstanding all the efforts of Wallenstein, who exposed himself in the midst of a storm of balls to remedy it, became in a moment irretrievable. The whole of the way between Lutzen and Leipzig was speedily covered with soldiers of all arms hurrying from the scene of battle, intermingled with baggage and ammunition-waggons; and the Duke of Friedland, at length finding it hopeless to attempt to rally his discomfited forces, was compelled to take the same road. The cavalry of Piccolomini alone remained to cover the retreat; and their commander, who had been struck by no less than ten musket-shots in the action, some of which, notwithstanding his armour of proof, inflicted severe wounds, was among the last who quitted the field. While he was in the act of retiring, eight regiments of infantry, forming part of the force with which Pappenheim had set out from Halle, presented themselves at Lutzen; but finding the battle lost beyond recovery, took the road to Leipzig with the rest of the routed army. The Swedes were consequently left masters of the ground, although in entire ignorance of their success, since the same mist which had so frequently impeded their movements during the day, fell once more so densely towards its close as completely to hide the proceedings of the Imperialists from their view, and to draw from their general the bitter complaint that the victory had been a second time wrested from his hands. He was deceived into the belief that a considerable body at least of the enemy yet stood firm, by the fire of a few hundred musketeers who lined the garden walls near Lutzen, with whom his infantry continued to exchange volleys at intervals, amidst the increasing darkness, although the soldiers were only able to guess the position of their adversaries by the flashes of the fire-arms discharged in their front. As the night deepened, a last

charge was made for the possession of this post, of which the Swedes gained possession with less resistance than they had expected ; and with the desultory struggle accompanying it, ended the battle of Lutzen. The conquerors returned to their camp, where they passed the night in melancholy silence, dispirited with the loss of their king, and prevented from sleeping by an intense frost, which proved fatal to numbers of the wounded, who were exposed to its full severity. During the whole of this interval, the cannon of both parties remained unguarded and abandoned upon the plain ; and it was not until the next morning that the Swedes, pushing forward their advanced parties, gained possession of these trophies of their victory, together with the Imperial baggage, and the ground on which the contest had taken place. Wallenstein, after sending a few regiments of Croats to reconnoitre the posture of the enemy, on understanding that they still kept the field in order of battle, pursued his way to Leitmeritz, fifty leagues from the scene of action, and from thence to Prague, where he gave vent to the feelings of mortification and anger, caused by his defeat, in merciless severities towards his officers, several of whom he caused to be executed a few weeks afterwards upon a public scaffold under a charge of cowardice. So complete had been the dispersion of the Imperialists at Lutzen, that, of an army of 40,000 men, fifteen battalions of infantry alone, preserving the appearance of a regular array, and for the most part without arms, passed through Leipzig the next day on their road to Bohemia, followed by a few shattered regiments of cavalry, in the same inefficient condition. About 5,000 were left on the field of battle ; but it was remarked, that of the numbers engaged, scarcely a single individual escaped wholly unwounded from the contest. The Swedish loss in killed and wounded was little inferior to that of their adversaries.

The news of the death of Gustavus occasioned, throughout the Protestant kingdoms of Europe, a feeling of dismay and despondency, which was violent in proportion as it was sudden and unexpected. Men had been so long familiarised to almost daily accounts of wonders performed and dangers surmounted by his conduct, as almost to consider him charmed from ordinary casualties, and to forget that he was, to use his own words, as liable to the chances of battle as the least-noticed soldier who fought beneath his ensign. In addition to this, his moderation and courtesy, his fervent piety and known eagerness to soften the calamities unavoidably attendant in the train of war, attracted so general a regard towards him, that even in the retired circles of private life, the sensation occasioned by the intelligence of his fall was nearly akin to that which follows the intimation of the sudden demise of an old and esteemed friend. Even among his enemies, multitudes were found who gave their full testimony to his merits; and Pope Urban VIII. did not hesitate to express openly his high sense of his many excellent qualities, and his regret at his premature end. The house of Austria discovered its full appreciation of the talents of the enemy from whom it had just been delivered, by public rejoicings, concealed in Germany under the form of religious thanksgivings for the event of Lutzen, but openly manifested throughout Spain by public fêtes, and bonfires kindled in the streets of the principal cities. The court of Philip IV. was even entertained with a drama in fourteen acts, written expressly for the occasion, and entitled "The Last Days of Gustavus Adolphus," which none who were unwilling to be considered enemies to the reigning family declined to attend. The results of the victories of Gustavus, however, were felt long after his disappearance from the scene of contention; and the effect of his diversion in favour of the German liberties was too powerful to allow of

counteraction, although many years of fierce and destructive warfare were yet to pass away before they were fully established by the general pacification of Munster in 1648. The balance which had dropped from the hands of the Swedish monarch on the plains of Lutzen, was in the meantime held with a steady grasp by Oxenstiern, who remained to represent his vigorous and uncompromising policy; while a crowd of generals, trained under his own inspection, among whom were to be found the names of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Horn, Banner, Wrangel, and Torstenson, continued nobly to maintain the honour of the Swedish arms, until the less obstinate disposition of Ferdinand III., the weariness of all parties engaged, and the dreadful state of exhaustion to which Germany was reduced by thirty years of uninterrupted warfare, concurred to put an end to a contest which, from its singular fluctuations, the character of the chief actors engaged, and the important interests advocated in it, together with its effects upon the whole political constitution of Europe, stands almost alone in point of interest among the many similar convulsions which history has recorded for the instruction and warning of subsequent generations.

The body of the king, after being conveyed to Weissenfels, was opened and prepared for embalmment by an apothecary of the place. His heart is said to have excited general astonishment by its extraordinary size: but all the internal organs were found in so healthy a state, as to indicate that he would probably have lived to an advanced age, if his days had not been shortened by premature violence. His queen, who had hastened from Erfurt almost in a state of distraction, on receiving intelligence of the calamity which had befallen her, soon after arrived at Weissenfels, and took her station as chief mourner beside the body, which she scarcely quitted for a moment until its final interment under her direction.

The funeral procession, received, wherever it passed, with the highest marks of honour and respect, set out for the castle of Wolgast in Pomerania, where the remains of the Deliverer of Germany lay in state for some months. The ceremony of their removal from Wolgast to the vessel appointed to convey them to Sweden, was marked by all the melancholy magnificence which the renown of the deceased conqueror appeared to require. Many of the most distinguished German princes and nobles availed themselves of this opportunity to show their feelings of respect towards the memory of a protector who had so often conducted their armies to conquest, and accompanied the body as far as the sea-shore. Four thousand Swedish soldiers, clothed in deep mourning, and with arms reversed, formed a guard of honour, preceding the bier, which was followed by more than a hundred horses caparisoned in black. The royal standard of Sweden, so heavy with emblazonry as to require the strength of several persons to support and display it; the richly-inlaid armour of Gustavus, together with his sword recovered from the field of Lutzen, and the pistol-ball by which he had perished, held by one of his favourite generals, and yet stained with his blood, were among the objects which attracted the general interest of the spectators.* The flotilla arrived off the coast of Sweden early in the month of August 1633, and the funeral procession, advancing to Nyköping, was there met by the queen-mother and a deputation of the Swedish senate, by whom the body was accompanied to the castle of Stockholm, in which it was deposited, until the tomb appointed to receive it should be prepared. Contemporary historians have remarked that, at the moment of its disembarkation, the sky, hitherto serene, was suddenly overcast, and that the thunder of a tre-

* Order how the King of Sweden's Corpse was conveyed from Wolgast, &c. London, 1633.

mendous tempest, answering that of the artillery from the forts and ships of war, seemed to indicate a willingness, even on the part of inanimate nature itself, to join in the funeral honours of the deceased hero. After remaining for more than a year in the castle of Stockholm, the royal remains were at length solemnly interred in the mausoleum erected for their reception, which is still to be seen inscribed with an epitaph scarcely worthy of the deceased whose virtues it commemorates*. The text of the sermon preached on the occasion by the bishop of Nyköping, was taken from the 9th chapter of the first book of Maccabees, and selected by Maria Eleanora herself; whose grief, long continuing deep and inconsolable, and displaying itself in a manner common with persons of a highly-imaginative temperament, seemed to take a

* The inscription on the tomb is as follows:—

“Gloria Altissimo
 Suorum refugio
 Sepultura Potentissimi Principis
 Gustavi Adolphi Magni,
 Dei gratia
 Regnorum Sueciæ Regis incomparabilis,
 Qui
 Regno undique hostibus obsesso
 Ad Imperium intravit:
 Pacatis denique Danis,
 Moscoque et Polono mitioribus factis,
 Regnum ampliavit
 Summâque prudentiâ regnum gubernavit.
 Tandem retruso Cæsare
 Germanisque a Papæ deformatione
 liberatis,
 In pugnâ Lutzensi Victor
 Heroice occubuit
 vi Cal. Novem. Anno Dom. MDCXXXII.
 IN ANGUSTIIS INTRAVIT:
 Pietatem amavit:
 Hostes prostravit:
 Regnum dilatavit:
 Suecos exaltavit:
 Oppressos liberavit:
 MORIENS TRIUMPHAVIT.”

melancholy satisfaction in keeping its painful reminiscences alive by the aid of all external circumstances. Long after the last funeral solemnities had been performed, she continued to keep in her chamber a golden box containing the heart of her deceased husband, which she would not permit to be committed to the tomb with the body, visiting it several times in the day to renew her tears and expressions of lamentation; and when she was at length induced by the entreaties of the senate, who feared the effects of this singular indulgence of sorrow upon her health, to consent to its interment, instituted in memory of the circumstance the celebrated Order of the Golden Heart, the decoration of which, distributed equally among both sexes, and worn by almost all the nobility of her court, consisted of a medal bearing a heart-shaped figure, inscribed with a motto in Swedish in honour of Gustavus Adolphus.

In concluding the history of the great monarch, whose exploits have been imperfectly recorded in the preceding pages, it would be superfluous to enter into anything like a minute analysis of his character, or to assign the exact degree of preponderance or deficiency to the qualities of which it was composed. Such an estimate will be far better formed from his actions themselves, and must, after all, materially vary with the tastes, ages, and temperaments of different readers. Yet it should never be forgotten,—and it is a truth which it may neither be inappropriate nor unnecessary to repeat, after the display of much adapted to excite the imagination and enlist the heart in favour of what is in itself pernicious, false, and hollow,—that, imposing as may be the fancied or real excellencies of the triumphant warrior, pursuing his course in the light of victory, amidst the acclamations of an applauding world, and armed with the thunder of physical power in defence of the violated rights and liberties of oppressed nations—there is a character

which, when weighed in that awful balance whence everything calculated to dazzle and mislead the senses will be rigorously rejected, will be pronounced by the evidence of heavenly truth itself (if indeed the opposite qualities of each can admit of a momentary counterpoise) of infinitely greater value—a character whose conquests are tearless—whose victories, if uncelebrated by the voice of time, will assuredly be hailed by the blessings of eternity; and which, if unknown or unappreciated in a state of nature, is among the first fruits of that influence by which nature is adorned and fitted for a better state of existence; which opposes meekness to persecution, blessing to reviling; and, separating the commissioned agent of evil from the trial of patience in which he is necessarily employed, is circumscribed in the exercise of its charity and beneficence but by the boundaries of human existence itself. It is consoling to remember, after reflecting upon the wasting destruction which has distinguished the annals of so many ages, and unfortunately of none more than our own, that the judgment of men seems fast verging to a due estimate of that harmless beauty and excellence, that majestic forbearance and subduing spirit of love, which, figuratively shadowed by the poets of antiquity as distinguishing the commencement of the history of mankind, we are assured by the more certain voice of prophecy shall shine forth with unclouded lustre towards its close—that the world is fast approaching a period in its destinies when the name of war shall exist but among the reminiscences of things that are past;—and when the array of nation against nation, and the desolation occasioned by licensed hatred and violence, shall be regarded as the geologist contemplates the terrible indications of past convulsions, which, during the course of unrecorded cycles, may have shaken to its centre the ponderous mass of the globe he inhabits, but have

now no longer a place in the list of existing phenomena. Yet, even amidst the light of such a period; when the sentence of unprejudiced justice shall award to the generality of the disturbers of the peace of earth the full censure which their heartless ambition merits, the name of Gustavus Adolphus will probably excite feelings of pity rather than of indignation. The many virtues for which he stands singularly conspicuous and eminent above all his contemporaries, may be thought in some degree to compensate for faults from which few, occupying the same station in far more enlightened periods, have been exempt; and if the justice of the cause in which his arms were employed does not place him in the same rank with those patriots who have encountered labour, privation, and death, in defence of an enthralled country, he will at least be thought not undeserving of as much praise as is contained in the title of the mildest—the humblest, the noblest—the most pious, and the least interested of conquerors.

THE END.

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