Ex Libris

Bibliothecae Facultatis Juridicae Edinburgae.
THE MODERN PART OF THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY.
Compiled from ORIGINAL WRITERS;
BY THE AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.
Which will perfect the WORK, and render it A Complete Body of HISTORY,
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

LONDON:
MODERN HISTORY:
BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

HISTORY of the GERMAN EMPIRE.

C H A P. VI.
The History continued to the Interregnum occasioned by the Death of Henry VII.

RODOLPHUS I.

Rodolphus, the first of that name, count of Hapsburg, was educated under Frederic II, who held him up to the baptismal font, but is afterwards said to have taken umbrage at the prediction of an astrologer, who prophesied that the count would ascend the imperial throne, on the failure of Frederic's issue, which, at that time, consisted of ten persons. Rodolphus, perceiving the emperor's favour sensibly cooled upon this account, dexterously withdrew himself from his court, on some plausible pretence, and afterwards retired to that of Ottocarus king of Bobemia, where he exercised the office of grand marshal with great reputation. From thence he returned to his own territories, where, by his prudent and gallant behaviour, he acquired authority among all his neighbours. He had, during the troubles in Germany, performed divers exploits, which augmented his fame and patrimony at the same time. His first military expedition was against Hugo Triefenstein, who had said something to his prejudice. Him he flew in combat, and afterwards took possession of his lands; then he turned his arms against Rodolphus of Lofenstein, his own relation: but that war was terminated by an accommodation. He, in consequence of a quarrel with Hartman count of Kyburg, feized upon his succession for his own use, defeated the counts of Teggenburg, and ravaged their country; and putting himself at the head of a troop of gentlemen devoted to the emperor Conrad IV. pillaged the suburbs of Belle, and burnt a monastery; for which outrage, he and all his companions were excommunicated. The citizens of Strasburg having quarrelled with their bishop, and reflecting on the advantages they had derived from the protection of Albert of Hapsburg, they now solicited that of his son Rodolphus, chose him chief of their militia, and, under his conduct, took the fortres of Haldenburg. They likewise surprized Colmar and Mulhausen, and at last obtained a complete victory over their bishop, who, in a few days, died of grief for this overthrow. His successor fled for peace, which was granted by Rodolphus and the citizens of Strasburg, who erected a stone statue in gratitude to their deliverer. But, two years before this event, the citizens of Zurich, harraffed by the nobles of their neighbourhood, had proposed to chuse Ulrich of Regeniberg for their protector, and he refusing that office, unless they would yield to him the perpetual superiority of their town, they put themselves under the auspices of Rodolphus, who was his declared enemy, and three years were consumed in hostilities and mutual
The history of Germany.

mutual incursions; but at length fortune declared in favour of Rodolphus, who reduced Ulrick to a dependence upon that very city, the government of which he had refused. Nor was the piety of Rodolphus inferior to his valour (O). When count Werner of Falkland was chosen archbishop of Mentz, and set out on his journey to Rome, Rodolphus gave him a convoy, with a strong body of troops, as far as the Alps, and, waiting for his return in the same place, reconduted him in safety to his fee: an obligation for which the archbishop affixed him he would take all occasions to express his gratitude; and he afterwards kept his word.

A.D. 1273.

Pope Gregory X. prefixs the princes to a new election.

The empire had been now fifteen years without a chief, that is, since the abdication of Richard; for though Alphonsus took the title of emperor, and promised from time to time to repair into Germany, he never could find leisure for that expedition. The German princes, tired with his delays, and seeing the empire more and more involved in trouble and confusion, and being moreover presied by pope Gregory X. who threatened, if they should longer delay an election, to provide for the necessities of the empire by his own authority; induced, I say, by these motives, the princes intreated the electors of Mentz to call a diet at Frankfort. There, notwithstanding the protestations which Alphonsus’s ambassadors made against all that should be done to the prejudice of their matter, and the pretensions of the king of Bobemia and some other princes to the imperial crown, the archbishop of Mentz had such influence in the diet, as to engage a majority in favour of the count of Hapsburg, whose merit he did not fail to extol.

The beginning of this assembly was very tumultuous. The deputies of Ottoecus pretended that their matter had two votes, as king of Bobemia and duke of Austria; but his pretensions were opposed by the count Palatine, who affirmed that he had usurped Austria, and that he could not justly avail himself of the investiture he had received from Richard of England, whom Germany had never acknowledged as emperor; besides this contention, which could not be determined, another dispute arose about the choice of a king of the Romans. Menbard count of Tyrol proposed three persons, namely, Albert count de Goritz, Rodolphus of Hapsburg, and Bernard, who called himself duke of Carinthia, though he was not in possession of that province. Each of the three had partizans at the assembly, but the strongest party declared for Rodolphus. Some of the electors, indeed, were of opinion, that they ought rather to choose a prince of higher rank and greater power (P), who might be more enabled by his authority to retrieve the reputation of the empire; but the archbishop of Mentz replying, that this end would be better answered by a wise, valiant, and experienced prince, than by one who had nothing to recommend him but his riches and power, his brethren of Cologne and Triers favoured him with their votes, without further hesitation. The secular princes, and in particular Lewis duke of Bavaria, and Albert duke of Saxony, who were unmarried, reflecting that Rodolphus had six fair daughters, of whom they might have their choice in marriage, while, by means of the rest, he might make other advantageous alliances, attuned to the opinion of the ecclesiastical electors, and unanimously gave their voices in favour of count Rodolphus. The news of his elevation was brought to him by Frederic burggrave of Nuremberg, while he was engaged in the siege of Bajul (Q), in consequence of the protection he had granted to one of the factions of that city. He no sooner received this intimation, than he repaired to Frankfort, where, having accepted the imperial dignity, he was conducted by all the princes to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there crowned with the usual solemnity (R).


(O) Being one day at the chase, it began to rain with such violence as rendered the road extremely dirty, when chanceing to meet a poor curate on foot, carrying the host to a fiek person, he was so much affected with the sight of this good priest labouring through the mud, that he immediately alighted, saying, it ill became him to ride on horseback, while the priest who carried our Stiuver was walking on foot, and not only mounted the curate, but attended him bareheaded to the fiek man’s house, and afterwards conducted him to his church, where the priest, amazed at the extraordinary instance of zeal, gave him his benediction, and, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, prophesied that he and his descendants would sit upon the imperial throne (3).

(F) This seems to have been an unreasonable objection, when we consider the birth and fortune of Rodolphus. He was the son of Albert count of Hapsburg and Itoa, daughter of the count of Bregenz, defended by his father from the counts of Thierstein, near Basel in Switzerland, as may be proved by the antiquities of the monastery of Mury; and by the mother, from the counts of Hapsburg. At the time of his election there was not a count in Germany who could vie with him in wealth and extent of dominion; besides the county of Hapsburg, which he inherited from his father, he possessed three more; namely, Kyburg, Baden, and Lewenbourg, which left he enjoyed by his uncle Hartman, and by his wife he obtained the landgrave of Alsat (4).

(Q) Henry of Neufchatel, bishop of Basel, was so confounded and charmed at the news of this election, that he fell sick of mortification, and is said to have addressed himself to God in these words: Sede fortiori Domine Deus: altius, Rodolphus locum occupabit tuum (5).

(R) At this coronation the princes making some scrup.
The history of Germany.

a. Having thus taken possession of the imperial throne, his first care was to suppress the rape, robberies, and murders, which had so long prevailed with impunity, and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that, in a little time, peace and security were re-established, for he destroyed in Thuringia sixty castles, which were the retreat of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highmen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt. A certain Hungarian count, having for some years publicly murdered, robbed, and pillaged the country, the emperor, who then resided at Vienna, would not make war upon a whole country for the villainy of one man, and therefore employed the count's friends to reclaim him by remonstrance and admonition. They accordingly made such good use of their exhortations, that he was persuaded to wait upon the emperor in person, after he had been assured that he had nothing to fear from his resentment. He was very kindly received by Redolphus, had the honour to eat at his table, and even to drink out of his own glass. After this hospitable entertainment, the emperor having remonstrated to him the injury he did himself by his enormous actions, he swore by all that was sacred that he would reform his life, and upon that promise was suffered to retire towards his own habitation. But he was beset by his enemies on the road, and thrown into a river, where he perished. Thus was the country rid of a notorious thief, without any prejudice to the emperor's word of honour.

b. His son Albert having married Elizabeth, daughter of the count de Tyrol, and uterine sister of Conradin, who was exiled to Naples, he laid claim to the rich inheritance of that young prince, confining of Aosta and part of Swabia, and, by force of arms, wrested them from several noblemen who had seized those fiefs, during the troubles of the inter-regnum, and now engaged in an association to defend their unjust acquisitions. The next step which Redolphus took was to solicit the pope's confirmation of his imperial dignity, which he obtained, after his ambassadors had sworn in his name that he would avert and defend the holy see against all its enemies, and never make any attempts to the prejudice of its vassals, particularly of the illustrious Charles king of Sicily and his heirs.

This complaisance of the pope was owing to the hope he had entertained of engaging Redolphus in a crusade for the relief of the Christians in Palestine, the expence of which was to be defrayed by the tythe of all church revenues, to be raised for that purpose for the space of six years, according to the decree of the council held at Lyons.

Alphonso renews his claim to the empire.

ALPHONSO of Castile, far from renouncing his pretensions to the imperial crown, loudly protested against these proceedings of the pope, whom he visited at Beaucaire in France, in order to engage him in his interest; but Gregory was deaf to all his remonstrances; and, the pope returned to Castile, very ill satisfied with the result of this interview, and even affected to re-affirm the imperial ornaments, which he had for some time laid aside, as he was at last, by the admonitions of the archbishop of Seville, prevailed upon to renounce his claim to the empire; and, in consideration of this self-denial, the pope permitted him to lay a tax upon the clergy, for the expence of the war against the Moors, who threatened to attack him from all quarters.

d. RODOLPHUS having in a great measure pacified the troubles of the empire, assembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to Gersar and other cities, and confirmed those which had been conferred by his predecessors. Upon this occasion also the deliberations of the assembly turned upon certain noblemen, who had protested against the election of the count of Hapsburg, particularly Ottocarus king of Bohemia, against whom they had other causes of discontent; for the states of the duchy of Austria, which, after the death of Frederic their last duke, had been feigned upon by Ottocarus, complained of the oppression they suffered under the government of the usurper, from which they begged to be delivered.

The above were adopted by the states of Prussia, and afterwards received in several provinces, that did not belong to Germany. The Mirror of the Saxon Laws was likewise composed during the anarchy, by one Epko, or Repto, who says he had collected the laws of Confederation and Charlemagne. This work, which first appeared in Latin, and was afterwards translated into the German language, though not recommended by any public authority, acquired great reputation through all the empire. Before its appearance the laws of Charlemagne and the Otton were very little known. The Germans had forgotten the statutes enacted in the assemblies of their nation, and followed implicitly the codes of Thuringia and Jutthian in all their tribunals and courts of justice.

Moved by these solicitations, Rodolphus convoked a diet at Augsburg, to which Otto carus a fent ambassadors, who, instead of doing homage in his name to the emperor, whom he had not yet acknowledged, one of them began a long harangue, in which he disavowed and declared void the election of Rodolphus. The members, incensed at this presumption, interrupted the discourse, and ordered the ambassadors to be turned out of the assembly; then they declared Otto carus a rebel to the empire; and concluded, that as he had unjustly taken possession of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carintlia, the emperor should divest him of these dominions. Ambassadors bearing this to him with a notification of this sentence, he arrogantly answered, that as to Rodolphus, who was formerly his servant, he had already paid him his wages; that he poissfixed Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, as the dowry of his wife; and that as he had purchased Carintia with ready money, he was resolved to maintain himself in his lawful possession. The ambassadors having made this report to the diet at Augsburg, it was decreed, that he should be chatified for his disobedience, and those lands re-united to the empire (U). Rodolphus undertook to execute this resolution, and raised a sufficient body of forces for the occasion; but, before he turned his arms against Otto carus, he resolved to subdue and chatifie all the other noblemen, who refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Accordingly he fell upon the marquis of Baden, and the counts of Neuburg and Fribourg, who were soon reduced, and compelled not only to do him homage for the lands they legally poissfixed, but also to restore some fiefs they had unjustly feigned in the Brightaw, Suabia, and on the banks of the Rhine. He afterwards attacked and defeated Eberhard, count of Wurtemberg, surnamed the Quarrelsome, and obliged Henry of Bavaria to sue for peace, which was granted by the intercession of his brother Lewis of Bavaria, count Palatine, on condition that George's son, Otto, should marry the emperor's daughter Catherine, on whom he should bestow, by way of dower, all the fiefs he poissfixed on the river Ens; that he should pay to Rodolphus forty thousand ounces of gold, and take the oath of allegiance to him for all the towns and territories in his possession.

RODOLPHUS, having humbled those petty adventurers, marched into Austria, accompanied by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, the bishops of Wurzburg, Ratisbon, and Passau, and Lewis, count palatine of the Rhine. But the pretenses being sick of the war, and unwilling to see the king of Bohemia altogether reduced, mediated an accommodation in his favour, on condition that he should be contented with Bohemia and Moravia, and hold them as fiefs of the emperor (X). Otto carus was fain to comply with these terms, and to receive from his imperial majesty the investiture of his dominions, which was performed in the island of Cambrai in the Danube, with great magnificence, under a pavilion which was close shut up, in order to spare Otto carus the mortification of being seen in such an attitude of humility by more people than those whose presence was absolutely necessary; but, in the midst of the ceremony, the pavilion, either by accident or design, opening on both sides, discovered Otto carus on his knees before the emperor; a circumstance which greatly mortified the king, and concurred, with the indignation of his wife, who was a Rusian princess, and remarkably haughty, to induce him to renounce the treaty he had made, and have recourse again to arms for reducing Austria again to his obedience (Y). The emperor no sooner understood this breach of faith, than he assembled his army, and marched against Otto carus as a pernicious intruder of the peace, a battle ensued, in which the king was slain (Y). After this victory, Rodolphus gave the government of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to his eldest son count Albert, whom he afterwards, in a diet at Augsburg, publicly invested with the dukedom of Austria, which was incorporated with the college of the princes; and at the same time he invested Rodolphus, another of his sons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in right of his wife Anna, countess of that country (Z). He likewise resolved to adhere

(U) One of the emperor's domestics offered, for a good remuneration, to kill the king of Bohemia while he was hunting; but this proposal was rejected with disdain by Rodolphus, who said, that, altho' Otto carus was his invertebrate enemy, nothing should ever prevail upon him to transgress the bounds of justice and moderation (g). (X) In this accommodation it was stipulated, that Austra shall revert to the emperor, its lawful lord; that Carinthia, and the other provinces of Ulrich, should be given in dower with Agnes, the daughter of Otto carus, who should be married to Rodolphus, the emperor's fifth son; and, in order to strengthen this treaty, it was also agreed, that Judith, one of the emperor's daughters, should marry Wenceslaus, the son of Otto carus, tho' he was at that time but seven years of age (t6). (Y) In this battle the emperor's horse being killed, he fought on foot with great gallantry, until he was re-marched by Berthold Capella; then he furiously charged among the thickest of the foe, and, by his personal valor, contributed to the fortune of the day (11). (Z) About this time appeared one Tiberius, a man of some eloquence, and undaunted courage. He pretended to be the real emperor Frederic II. who had, for thirty years, been obliged to concealed in the Holy Land, to elude the fury of the infidels. He claimed the empire as his right; and altho' he was generally considered as a fanatic, he found means to engage some people in his cause; but he was apprehended at Weissenburg, and, with all his adherents, condemned to the flames (12).
The history of Germany.

a to the articles of the last treaty, and for that purpose put young Wineflaus, whom he had defined for his son-in-law, under the curation of Otto, marquis of Brandenburg.

Then he declared war against Henry of Bavaria, who had favoured Ottecarus, in hopes of sharing the spoils, should that prince be victorious. His brother Lewis, count Palatine, and son-in-law to the emperor, though he had hitherto been firmly attached to Rodolphus, in expectation of recovering the investiture of Austria, being by this time disappointed in his hope, was on the eve of declaring openly for his brother, that, by their united force, they might compel the emperor to beflow the duchy of Austria upon a Bavarian prince. But, before they could join, and take proper measures for maintaining the war, Rodolphus fell suddenly upon Henry, whom he entirely defeated; so that the project fell to the ground, and the emperor granted him peace, though upon conditions that were very hard upon his son Otto, who had married Catherine, the daughter of Rodolphus; for he obliged him to restore Litz, Steyer, and other towns above the river Enz, which he had given to that prince by way of dower.

RODOLPHUS, without going in person into Italy, terminated all his differences with the pope, by means of ambassadors. In the year of his coronation, Gregory X. having held a council at Lyons, at which Alphonso, king of Castile, and Ottecarus, king of Bohemia, had, by their ambassadors, demanded the imperial crown, Rodolphus sent his chancellor Otto, with full power to confirm all the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the holy see, provided the empire should in no shape be dismembered. Accordingly Otto agreed, and swore, in his master's name, to a certain number of articles concerning the defence of the lands belonging to the holy see; and Gregory, on his side, confirmed the imperial crown to Rodolphus, rejecting the claims of his competitors.1 Next year there was an interview between the emperor and the pope, in the city of Lausanne, where the former promised to refer to the church all the countries between Ratisbon and Copernico, the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoletto, the state of the countess Mathilda, the county of Bertinara, and all the lands mentioned in the different privileges granted by Lewis the emperor. On these conditions the crown was again confirmed to Rodolphus, who engaged not only to repair to Rome, at the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, to receive the crown from the hands of the pope, but likewise to set out for Palestine, immediately after the ceremony of his coronation; and, as a mark of this his intention, he at that time took the cross. This last condition, in all probability, was stipulated by the pope, in order to hinder the emperor from enterprizing any thing in Italy. But Rodolphus made no preparations either to go to Rome or the Holy Land: on the contrary, he impoverished ambassadors to receive the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of the cities of Romagna, and the neighbouring countries; an infraction of diocese which provoked his holiness to such a degree, that he had recourse to a sentence of excommunication.2

After Gregory's death, Innocent V. wrote to the emperor, inviting him to send ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate an accommodation with the holy see, forbidding him at the same time to go thither in person, until the peace should be concluded, and the dispute terminated between him and Charles of Anjou, about the vicariate of Tuscany, and the county of Provence. The king of Sicily had obtained the vicariate during the inter-regnum, and still kept it after the election of an emperor, when he had no longer any just claim to that office. Rodolphus, at the same time, disputed with the son of Charles the possession of Provence and Forcalquier, which, he affirmed, had devolved to the empire, of which they wereiefs, by the death of Raymond Berenger, who left no male issue, and had no power to bequeath his dominions to heirs female, in right of whom they were claimed and possest by Charles of Anjou.

Pope John XXI. had writ to the same purpose, and laid injunctions upon the archbishop of Mentis to persuade the emperor to perform his promises: finally, Nicholas III. pressèd him to confirm the articles he had promised to Gregory, which he now willingly performed, not only in consideration of the vicariate of Tuscany, which was at length yielded to him by Charles, king of Sicily (5), at the desire of the pope, but also because he was inclined to a reconciliation with the holy see. His ambassador therefore renewed and confirmed, in full consistory, at Rome, all the promises which he had made; and the nuncio, whom the pope sent into

---


(A) By the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the emperor and the king of Sicily, on condition that Charles should renounce the vicariate of Tuscany; that he and his heirs should possest the provinces of Provence and Forcalquier, as heirs of the empire, and the accommodation was cemented by a match between Charles Mortel, the grandson of his Stilvisn majesty, and Clementina, the emperor's daughter (13).

(13) RAIN. ad ann. 1279. n. 10.

Germania,
Germany, obtained a full ratification of these articles, as well from the emperor as from the princes of the empire. Notwithstanding this agreement, the pope, far from having any real friendship for Charles king of Sicily, wished for nothing so much as his destruction, and the expulsion of his family from the throne of Naples. Charles had affronted his pride in rejecting with disdain a match that he proposed between his nephew and one of the daughters of the prince of Salerno; and this flight operated so strongly upon his resentment, that he engaged in the conspiracy of John d' Arco, which broke out in the masquer, known by the appellation of the Sicilian Vespers, and had well nigh terminated in the ruin of his Sicilian majesty.

The emperor still resided in Austria or Stiria, insensibly preparing the people of these provinces for becoming subjects to his family; he granted privileges to the clergy, bestowed new dignities upon the noblemen, diminished the taxes, built and repaired public edifices, and, in a word, behaved with such generosity and moderation as won their hearts; and they unanimously demanded a prince of the imperial house. In consequence of this agreeable request, he founded the German princes, and finding them favourably disposed towards him and his family, convoked a diet at Augsburg, where his son Albert received the investiture of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and the march of the Vindelici: but this ceremony was not performed until Redolph had obtained the consent of Albert, duke of Saxony, who had more weight in the diet than any other nobleman of Germany. At the same assembly Redolph, the emperor's second son, was invested with Suabia, which had devolved to the emperor upon the death of Conradin, who left no issue; and Carnicia, with the march of Trevisa, was bestowed upon the count of Tyrol. (C).

Immediately after the diet, the emperor marched into Alsace, to the affliction of the bishop of Basle, from whom the count of Montbéliard had taken the castle of Porrentruy, which Redolph in person besieged, and reposed to the right owner. Then he appeased some quarrels which had produced a civil war among the inhabitants of Mulhausen, and cost their neighbours abundance of blood. But, notwithstanding all the care and industry he exerted in re-establishing peace and tranquillity through the towns of Germany, the spirit of discord reigned in many cities, and even possessed the churches and religious communities: there was scarce a parish which did not feel the miseries of civil war; the different proceedings engaged each other in the streets; canons fought with their own bishops; and the burgheers, as well as noblemen, decided the most trivial dispute by single combat; nay, this absurd custom prevailed with such rage and barbarity, that it contributed as much as all the other wars to the depopulation of the empire.

About this period the pope used all his endeavours to execute the project for a crusade, which had been formed by Gregory X. and even began to levy, through all the countries of Christendom, the tythes which had been granted for this purpose by the council at Lyons. Redolph convoked a diet at Wurtzburg, to deliberate on this subject, and was not displeased to find all the princes, ecclesiastical as well as secular, averse to this imposition. Indeed his holiness could not have chosen a more improper seance for carrying this design into execution: the emperor was entirely ingorged by the meagre he took to aggrandize his family, and establish his power. Peter III. of Arragon was employed in supporting his claim to Sicily; Capeffle was harried by a civil war on the death of Alphonso; Italy was divided.

(C) The ceremonial of taking possession of this duchy is so singular, that we shall describe it for the entertainment of the reader. Near the town of St. Feit, in a pleasant valley, are the ruins of an old town, the name of which is not known. In the neighbourhood of these is a piece of marble set upright, and upon this stands a peafant of a certain family, which has an hereditary right to take that flation. On his right hand is a black meagre bullock; on his left a lean mare, and all around him a crowd of peasants and other people. Then the prince, enrobed by his officers, advances with the standards and marks of principality. Count Gerina, who is marshal of the court, goes first, with twelve small standards, and is followed by all the magistrates in their formalities, while the prince himself appears in the habit of a shepherd. He is no sooner perceived by the peafant on the throne, than he exchanges in the Sicilian tongue, "Who is he that comes with such a magnificent train?" He is answered, "It is the prince of the country." The peafant adds again, "Is he an equi-
The history of Germany.

a by a quarrel that raged between the Genevese and Pisans; the pope himself could hardly contain the Romans and subjects of the ecclesiastical state within the bounds of their duty; and Hungary was laid waste by the Cumanis, a savage people, inhabiting part of Vislunia and Moldavia, who poured every year like a deluge into Hungary precisely about the time of harvest, and lived with their families and flocks until they had consumed all the fruits of the earth, and all the substance the country afforded; then they retired to their own habitations. These incursions were repeated for several sessions, and the Hungarians, quite dispirited under the government of Ladislaus III., a weak effeminate prince, at length derived courage from despair, and prevailed upon their monarch to lead them against the enemy. He accordingly levied an army, and took possession of the hills of Krapatz, by which the Cumanis

b usually entered the kingdom; there waiting for a proper opportunity, attacked them while they were engaged in the defiles, with such fury and unexpected resolution, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces, and their king Ostermer obliged to retreat with the utmost precipitation. However, he soon returned with a reinforcement of Tartars, and penetrating as far as Piva, destroyed the army, and fled with two thousand wounded. 

HONORIUS IV., who about this time succeeded Martin in the papacy, began his reign by declaring one Pinziuolo Florea, a Geneve, vicar of the empire in Italy; and his office was confirmed to him by the emperor, who had no inclination to quarrel with the Roman see. This vicar, however, behaved with such insolence and indiscipline, as attracted the hatred and contempt of the Tuscani; so that there was a necessity for disaffiliating him of his dignity, and Rodolphus appointed in his room Henry Croceus, bishop of Belfl, his own chancellor; a nomination which was approved by the pope, in consideration of the emperor's relinquishing all the rights the empire still retained upon the exarchate of Ravenna.

Although Martin and his predecessors had often invited Rodolphus to come and receive the imperial crown, he would never go to Rome; but to those who pressed him to that journey, he used to repeat the fable of the fox, who refused to go and visit the sick lion, because he perceived the footsteps of a great many animals who went thither, but none of those who came back. In the same manner the emperor observed, that many of his predecessors had gone to Italy, but that they seldom, if ever, returned, without the loss either of their rights or authority. He therefore contented himself with sending his chancellor into Italy, with power to receive, in his name, the homage and allegiance of the imperial towns; but they refused to take the oaths to a commendary, so that one would have thought Rodolphus should have reduced them to their duty by force: but being in no condition to take this step, he had recourse to the method of accommodation, and was the first emperor who held these principalities the subjects. The city of Lucca paid but twelve thousand crowns; those of Florence, Genoa, and Bologna paid but six thousand each, on condition, nevertheless, that they should still preserve their fidelity to the empire, of which they were members. This conduct not a little tarnished the reputation of Rodolphus, who, in the sequel, was looked upon as an avaricious prince, who turned every thing to ready money.

c He ordained, with the consent of the states, that the German language only should be used in all proceedings at law, and in the diets, that every person might understand in his mother-tongue the affairs in which his interest was concerned. In the same language also he ordered the first constitution of the empire to be published, relating to every thing that was to be mutually observed between the ecclesiastical and secular princes and states, as well as the administration of justice, and the policy and subordination established among the vassals and subjects of the empire.

The emperor's chancellor, whom the pope had created archbishop of Mentz, returned to Germany, loaded with gold and silver, and accompanied by a legate called John Buccamalt, bishop of Tufculum, who held a council at Wirtzburg, where he published regulations to prevent discord among the clergy, and demanded, in the pope's name, one-fourth of the income of all benefices for the term of four years. This exaction was strenuously opposed by the archbishops of Cologne and Triers, and particularly by Conrad, bishop of Toul, who expatiated upon the michiefs which had been entailed upon the empire by such legations, and

Orders the German language to be used in all proceedings.

The pope's legate holds a council at Wirtzburg.

A. D. 1287.

s Bonfin Dec. l. ii. viii.  
Barre, tom. vi. p. 209.  

(D) Lucenefi, who was an eye-witness of these transactions, affirms in chronic. MS. that Rodolphus, in the year 1283, sent his vice chancellor into Italy, of whom many Tuscan cities purchased their liberties; and that in 1288, another chancellor, called Princevalis, sold the emperor's jurisdiction to the inhabitants of Luca, for the sum specified above; and that several cities redeemed themselves; but there is no mention made of Florence; the citizens of which deny that their liberties were purchased either from Princevalis or the emperor (15).

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.  
The history of Germany.

protested aloud, in the name of the German bishops, against every thing that should be done in the assembly in favour of the pope's demands. These remonstrances involved the council in such confusion and tumult, that the legate's nephew, and another Roman nobleman, loit their lives; and Buccanelli himself, who escaped with great difficulty, excommunicated the bishop of Toul, as a person refractory to the orders of the holy see, and a perturbator of the public peace. *

The council being finished, the emperor sent his son Rodolphus to reduce a number of freebooters, who had made an irruption into Swabia, while his eldest son Albert besieged the town of Weißenburg, which was supported in its rebellion by Wiliam, abbot of St. Gall. Both expeditions were attended with success; the banditti were destroyed; the town surrendered; and the abbot was obliged to submit to the emperor's decision touching the privileges of his abbey. Then the young Rodolphus turned his arms against the town of Lauterburg, which had revolted, in consequence of his endeavours to divest it of its ancient privileges, and his father coming to his assistance, the place was besieged, and obliged to surrender at discretion. But he did not meet with the same success in his war with Anselmo, lord of Rupelstein, against whom he sent a body of troops, because he refused to divide his lands with his brother and nephew, in obedience to the emperor's decree. The imperial troops were defeated, and Anselmo took several towns and forresses, proceeding with such rapidity in his conquests, that the whole province of Alsace was filled with the terror of his name, until the emperor in person arrived with a strong body of forces, and put an end to the war by an accommodation. Rodolphus having, in a great measure, quelled the troubles of the empire, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his daughter Judith married to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who, before the ceremony was performed, renounced, by a solemn oath, all his pretensions to the duchies of Austria and Styria, as well as to the other fiefs belonging to the succorsers of Frederick, surnamed the Wartike; and the emperor, to whom this advantageous match could not but be very agreeable, confirmed, by patent, the honoraty post of cup-bearer attached to the crown of Bohemia. c

A.D. 1290.
Diet at Erfurt.

Disputes about the succession to the crown of Hungary.

A. D. 1290.

Diet at Erfurt.

This affair being consummated, Rodolphus convoked a general assembly of the princes at Erfurt, where the famous quarrel, touching the succession of the landgraviate of Thuringia, was terminated, to the satsfaction of all parties, by a division, in consequence of which Thuringia, properly so called, remained in the hands of Albert, son of Henry the Illustrious, marquis of Misnia, and the western part, distinguished by the name of Hess, devoted to the potesty of Henry, duke of Brabant. But the chief deliberations of this diet turned upon a dispute of much greater consequence. Ladislaus III. king of Hungary, having been killed by the Cumani, his kingdom was claimed by three competitors; namely, Charles Martel of Sicily, the nephew of Ladislaus by his sister Mary; Andrew the Venetian, grandson of king Andrew; and Rodolphus, who pretended that Hungary was a fief of the empire. Nicholas IV. who had succeeded Honorius in the papacy, sent a legate into Germany, to declare to the emperor, that Hungary belonged to the church of Rome, and to forbid all persons whatever to interfere in any shape with the pretentions of the holy see. Notwithstanding this prohibition, Andrew the Venetian took possession of the throne; and when the pope afterwards, by the hands of a legate, bestowed the crown upon Charles Martel, the emperor protested against the Coronation, and bestowed the investiture of Hungary upon his own son Albert; but next year he renounced his pretensions in favour of Charles, who married his daughter Clementia, according to the treaty formerly concluded between him and the king of Sicily.*

A. D. 1290.

Diet at Erfurt.

Rodolphus marches against Otho, count palatine of Burgundy.

After the diet at Erfurt, Rodolphus took the field against Otho, count palatine of Burgundy, the declared enemy of the empire, who had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair, king of France, and had formerly been put to the ban of the empire for that instance of apostacy. Rodolphus had defeated him in a pitched battle, and compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted; but now, being joined by the count de Montbelliard, he renewed the war; and the emperor marching against him at the head of twenty thouand men, made himself master of Montbelliard, ravaged the country, and undertook the siege of Besançon (E). But he was so hampered for want of provisions, that he liftened to terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Bâons, on condition that Otho, and his allies, should pay the *

Fugio, l. i. c. 15.  
Barre, tom. vi. p. 225.  
Apud Menenens. tom. ii. p. 491.  
Vil-

Lanti. l. vii. c. 134.

(E) While he was employed in the siege of Besançon, ambassadors arrived in his camp from the king of France, giving him to understand, that, if he would not raise the siege, he would march to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy. In answer to this message, Rodolphus said, "Let him come: we shall wait and receive him with open arms: he shall feel and own that we have not come hither to dance and make merry: and know by experience how easy it is to give law with the sword." (16).


expence
The history of Germany.

All the malecontent princes of the empire being reduced to order, Rudolphus resolved to extirpate some formidable bodies of banditti, who infested the provinces of Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia; and with this view sent detachments of troops to dislodge them from their retreats and refuges: there in a little time fixed the country from the oppression under which it had groaned for many years, and took nine and twenty of their chiefs, whom the emperor ordered to be tried and beheaded, although they belonged to the best families of the province. Nay, such was the zeal of this prince for the establishment of tranquility in the empire, that understanding justice was very partially administered in the remote provinces, he appointed extraordinary judges to make a minute inquiry into all malversations of that kind, and ordered them to punish the delinquents upon the spot, according to their deserts, of what rank and quality forever they might be. By this expedient he not only laid a restraint upon those who thought they could shelter themselves from justice, under the shadow of their wealth and interest, but at the same time filled his own coffers with the fines which were exacted from the guilty.

RUDOLPHUS, after having reigned eighteen years, finding himself exhausted and indisposed, convoked a diet at Frankfurt, where he demanded, that the imperial crown should be secured to his son Albert duke of Austria, by creating him king of the Romans; but the princes excused themselves from complying with this request, on pretence that the empire could not maintain two kings at once. Chagrined at this refusal, he repaired to Strasbourg, from whence he set out for Spire, saying he would go and pay a visit to the deceased emperors. He actually performed, sooner, perhaps, than he expected; for, being taken ill at Gemerheim, he died in the 73rd year of his age, and, his body being carried to Spire, was interred in the great church, together with the rest of the emperors.

By his first wife Ann, daughter of Albert count Hochberg, whole dowry was the greatest part of the landstall of Aosta, he had seven sons and as many daughters, but of the fifth none remained, except Albert duke of Austria, and Rudolphus duke of Swabia, and landgrave of Aosta. The daughters were Juitta, or Judith, wife of Wenceslaus king of Bohemia; Clementia, married to Charles king of Hungary; Matilda, wife of Lewis count palatine; Agnes, espoused by Albert duke of Saxony; Hedwig, married to Otto marquis of Brandenburg; Catherine, wife of Otto duke of Bavaria, and Eupheme, who was a nun.

Thus died Rudolphus, on his birth-day, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, a prince renowned for his valour, sagacity, and love of justice, who, by his sole courage and conduct, extricated the empire from misery and confusion, and restored it to the fruition of peace, policy, and riches. He was extremely frank and obsequious, plain in his drees, and very much addicted to pleasantries (G). His stature was tall and thin, his head small, his complexion pale, his nose remarkably long, and hair scanty.

Barre, t. vi. p. 240.  
Annal. de l’Emp. t. i. p. 369.  
Barre, ut sup.

(F) This chagrin co-operated with his grief for the death of his son Rudolphus, which happened a few months before this transaction. That prince left his wife big with child of a son, who was called John, and afterwards murdered his uncle Albrecht king of the Romans, to whom he owed his education (9).

(G) Two deputies of a certain town, having one day waited upon him to remonstrate upon the neglects of his fellow-citizens, he listened with great attention to what they said, and observing that the beard of one was black and his head grey, while the other’s head was black and his beard grey, he asked the reason of these uncommon phenomena: when the first replied, “My beard is brown grey sooner than the hair of my head,” because my chief concern hath always centered in my mouth. And the reason which the other gave, was, that as the hair of his head was older than that of his beard, so it was, of consequence, sooner grey (1).

A merchant having once complained to him of an innkeeper of Nuremberg, who refused to refund a sum of money which he had deposited in his hands, the emperor, tho’ the defendant could not be convicted, took an opportunity some days after, when he came with some other deputies of the city upon business, to praise his hat, and propose an exchange; accordingly, he no sooner received the innkeeper’s hat, than he lent it as a token to his wife, with a message in her husband’s name, deferring the would deliver the bearer the money which the merchant had left in his hands. The freight was succeeded: the wife sent the purse, which was returned to the right owner, and the inn-keeper condemned to pay a large fine (2).

Such was his affability and obliging demeanour, that while he was no more than count of Hapsburg, and engaged in a war against the bishop and city of Ragin, supported by the abbots of St. Gall, finding himself unequal to such powerful antagonists, he went one day to dine with the abbot, without giving the least previous notice of his intention, and found means over the glass, not only to detach the abbot from the adverse party, but also to engage him on his side (3).

With regard to his moderation in drees, it was so remarkable, that when Ottocarus king of Bohemia came to do him homage, in the most magnificent apparel, Rudolphus was clad in a coarse grey coat (4).

(9) Sauw. period. 9.  
(2) Ibid.  
(3) Cospiian. de Emp.  
(4) Ibid.

Interregnum
During the interregnum, which lasted nine months, the empire was exposed to several domestic disturbances. Conrad, bishop of Strasburg, by force of arms, reduced the town of Colmar, which set up for independency, and compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to his brother Frederic de Liechtenberg. The noblemen of Austria and Storia were extremely disaffected at the administration of duke Albert, who, instead of indulging them like his father, began to govern with great rigour, and lay them under such restrictions and impositions, that they exclaimed loudly against his conduct, and even taxed him with the design of enflaving his subjects. Not was their resentment limited to complaints only: they entered into an association, which was supported by the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, Otto duke of Bavaria, and Conrad of Salzburg, on condition of their being rewarded with part of the spoil, and, having revolted, took the field with the rest of their allies. Albert, finding it would be a difficult task to reduce them by force of arms, published a manifesto, in which he promised to re-establish the government upon the old footing, and put the noblemen and people in possession of their ancient privileges, provided they would return to their duty. This declaration had great weight with the malecontents; and by the mediation of Louis count palatine of the Rhine, first a truce was agreed to, and then peace was concluded, to the satisfaction of all parties.

But this difference did not produce such serious consequences as those that attended the dispute between the pretenders to the succession of Valerian III. duke of Limbourg, who had died in the reign of Rodolphus, leaving one only daughter, called Hermengarde, married to Renaud count Guelderland. This lady likewise dying without issue, Rodolphus, count de Bergue, who was her cousin, disputed the succession with her husband, who insisted upon keeping possession of Limbourg during his natural life. Rodolphus, finding himself too weak to cope with such a powerful antagonist, ceded his right, in consideration of a large sum of money, to John duke of Brabant, who resolved to confirm his purchase by force of arms, and put himself at the head of an army for that purpose. Renaud was no longer apprized of his design, than he engaged in an alliance with the archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Luxembourg, Cleves, Juliers, Nassau, and several other noblemen, who joined their forces near Ass-la-Chapelle, and both sides commenced hostilities without further hesitation. When the armies were in sight of each other, and just ready to engage, some noblemen, who were neutral, proposed that the dispute should be decided by the arbitration of the counts of Flanders and Hainault. The proposal was embraced by the competitors, and the arbiters, having considered the case with due deliberation, pronounced, that the count of Guelderland should enjoy the duchy for his life, and that the reversion should be vested in the duke of Brabant.

This sentence, equitable as it was, disquieted both parties, and before any other steps could be taken for an accommodation, the count of Guelderland made over his right to Henry of Luxembourg, who was descended from the dukes of Limbourg, and actually the next male heir of that duchy. Then both parties, with their allies, had recourse to arms. Several skirmishes were fought with various success, the friends of the count of Guelderland made an unsuccessful attempt upon Maasbruck, and ravaged the territory of Dassel; the count of Brabant, passing the Meuse, laid waste part of the duchy of Limbourg, and at length the two armies meeting at Woringen, a fortress between Cologne and Nuits, belonging to the archbishop of Cologne, a very obstinate battle ensued, in which Henry of Luxembourg and his brother lost their lives, after having performed miracles of courage. The archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Naassau, Juliers, and Guelderland, were taken prisoners, and the duke of Brabant obtained a complete victory, in conformance of which he got quiet possession of Limbourg. This acquisition was confirmed to him by Henry IV. of Luxembourg, afterwards emperor, who, soon after his father's untimely death, married the duke of Brabant's eldest daughter; and after this marriage the dukes of Brabant and the counts of Luxembourg always lived in the greatest harmony and friendship.

Adolphus

Seven or eight months after the decease of Rodolphus, the princes of the empire assembled at Frankfort, in order to elect a new chief; and as it was grown into a custom, to give the preference to the family of the last emperor, their votes were solicited for Albert duke of Austria; but Gerhard, elector of Meuriz, by artful insinuations to each of them in private, obtained their promises separately to adhere to his nomination, and were not a little astonished to hear him propose his own kinsman, Rodolphus of Naassau; whom, however, they could not in honour reject (F). He was accordingly proclaimed emperor, and tho' he

* Barre, ubi sup. ⁷ Hist. Luxemb. t. v. l. 43.
(H) Rodolphus was the son of Walrad count of Naassau, and the poorest prince that ever ascended the imperial throne;
for all his possessions were limited to the lordships of
⁶ Letten, Weisbaden, and Wurzburg, in the county of Naassau;
possessed some of those qualities which constitute a great prince, he was not rich enough to support the imperial dignity.

The beginnings of his reign were fortunate, as much as he governed the empire by the advice of Bamund, archbishop of Trier, a prelate of great virtue and capacity, who persuaded the emperor to leave all those in possession of their employments, who had served his predecessor with fidelity, although some of them had connexions with his rival, Albert duke of Austria: nor had he the least cause to repent of the confidence he repose in their honour.

As his natural genius inclined him to war, and he was defierous of employing those princes who were averse to his elevation, he convoked a diet at Spire, and propounded that war should be declared against Otho count palatine of Burgundy, who wanted to dismember Francie Compte from the empire, and become a vassal of the French king.

This proposal being embraced, the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, and the bishops of Spire and Basel, furnished him with troops, which at first took the route of Bifançon; but Albert of Austria refusing to contribute his proportion for this war, and being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the king of France, Adolpbus marched towards Suabia, with intention to seize the fiefs which belonged to Albert in that province. The duke, however, came to the affianced of his vassals, with a body of forces, and posted himself in such a manner, that the emperor could not act against him, while the boisterous weather that supervened effectually hindered him from executing his scheme against Francie Compte; besides, he did not at that time chuse to give umbrage to the king of France, so as to produce an open rupture with that monarch.

The mischance of this enterprize greatly diminished the reputation of Adolpbus: moreover, being a better soldier than a politician, he was too much governed by the advice of his officers, and paid too little regard to that of the princes of the empire, many of whom, being disoblige at this neglect, attached themselves in the sequel to the duke of Austria's party.

The emperor no sooner quitted Aixace, than the bishop of Strasburg put a garrison in the fortress of Ortenburg, in order to preserve it for the duke of Austria, and an insurrection was raised in Colmar, by means of Anselmo lord of Rapelshein, who took possession of the town with a body of troops, and renounced all allegiance to Adolpbus. Information of this revolt being brought to the emperor, he marched into Aixace, ravaged the lands of Rapelshein, and besieged the city of Colmar, which being reduced to great extremity, was obliged to surrender at discretion. Anselmo was imprisoned for life, and all his estate confiscated; and the provost of Colmar, who was his accomplice, punished in the most ignominious manner.

After the reduction of this town, he took the route of Lower Aixace, in order to besiege the castle of Erstein, the lord of which had joined the bishop of Strasburg in his rebellion. The place was accordingly taken, as well as the castle of the count de Wart, remarkable for its strength and situation; and the inhabitants of Strasburg, fearing that his next visit would be to them, prevailed upon the bishop to go and ask pardon of the emperor, which he obtained for himself and his associates.

Although Albert of Austria had taken the oath of fidelity to the emperor, it was very well known that he entertained an animosity against him; and Adolpbus fearing his power and reienment, took all the opportunities in his power to engage the friendship and attachment of the duke. With this view he proposed a match between his own son Gerlac and Albert's daughter; when the haughty Austrian replied, that he would consent to the marriage, provided it could raise his daughter to the rank of a princess: but, that being impossible, he said Adolpbus might send his daughter to one of Albert's sons, whom he intended to make a prince (H).

A war

but he was reckoned the greatest warrior of his time. He had defeated John I. duke of Brabant, in five pitched battles; but in the fifth, which was that of Wieringen, he was taken prisoner, and carried before the duke, who asked him, with a contemptuous sneer, "Who he was?" "I am (said he) the count de Nassau, a poor lord of the empire; but who art thou?" said John (replied the duke) whom thou haft waged a most obstinate war, and slain five of his chief generals in as many severe battles." "I wonder (cried Adolpbus) how thou thyself hast escaped my favor, which was whetted for thee and thee only." The duke was so struck with his intrepidity, that he fet him at liberty, overwhelmed him with presents, and follicitated his friendship. Nor was Adolpbus ungrateful in the sequel; for when he was raised to the imperial throne, he not only gave him the investiture of the fiefs, which the dukes of Brabant held of the empire, but also appointed him governor and supreme judge, in his name, thro' all the countries from the Moselle to the sea, and from the Rhine to the Wesphalia (1).

(H) In the German marriages, a maiden of the first nobility acquired the title of princes, by marrying a prince; but a maiden of the lower nobility has not the same right: she does not even become a counsellor or baroney, by marrying a count or a baron. In case of such an alliance, the husband is obliged to have recourse to the emperor, and solicit for his wife the honours due to his rank. If the emperor consents, the diet of the empire must ratify his consent: then the prince's wife enjoys the honours due to her husband, and her children are declared capable of succeeding to the dignities and fiefs of their father. This was the case, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, with John Adolpbus duke of Saxz-Weissenfels, Albert duke of Saxz-Coiburgh, George William duke of Zell, and a prince of Avelar.
A war breaking out about this time between France and England, on account of some provinces claimed by each, Edward king of England sent ambassadors to Adolphus, to propose an alliance, and to promise, that, if he would reinforce him with troops against France, Edward would go in person to Germany, and assist him in his turn, with forces and money, to recover the kingdom of Arles, which France had wrested from the empire. His proposal was joyfully embraced, because it was accompanied with a good round sum of money, which enabled him to purchase the landgraviate of Thuringia and Misnia, from Albert of Misnia, who had disinherited his own sons Frederic, Henry, and Dietmann, out of hatred to their mother Margaret, daughter to Frederic II. 

Meanwhile while he sent ambassadors to demand from Philip king of France the kingdom of Arles, and some other countries which he pretended were relics of the empire, together with the crown of thorns that Christ wore; and to denounce war in case of a refusal. But Philip, despising his impotent arrogance, disdained his ambassadors without an answer (1), and this contempt, in all probability, deterred him from prosecuting the enterprise which he had projected, for all his exploits were limited to a few skirmishes between Theobald count of Pfirt, governor of Alsace, and the troops of the king of France. Philip, however, being informed of the league between the emperor and the king of England, made use of the same expedient, by engaging in his cause Albert duke of Austria, who upon this occasion observed, that there was at least as little dishonour in taking subsidies from the king of France, as in being pensioner to the king of England. The English money which Adolphus received, instead of advancing, contributed to the ruin of his affairs; for the purchase he had made, entailed upon him the enmity of Dietmann, Henry, and his brother Frederic, who were gallant princes (K), and defeated his troops upon more occasions than one; and the count of Pfirt had, by his insolent behaviour to Conrad, bishop of Strasburg, wholly detached that prelate from his interest. Besides, his best friends, and among the rest the elector of Mentz, who had raised him to the empire, were incensed, because he neither gave them a share of the English subsidy, nor had recourse to their advice in his most important affairs. These concurrent motives induced the princes of the empire to engage in an association for the support of Frederic, Dietmann, and Henry, as well as for the preservation of their own liberty.

FREDERIC having taken possession of the margraviate of Misnia, which he inherited from his uncle, levied a body of troops, and entered Thuringia, in order to expel the emperor, who had already made himself master of several towns in that province; and Adolphus, by way of reprisal, made an irruption into Misnia, took the city of Dreifeld, together with twelve strong castles, and pillaged every place where he met with resistance. This cruel war continued for the space of three years; but justice at last prevailed in favour of Frederic and his brothers: for Adolphus, notwithstanding all his efforts, could never obtain possession of Thuringia.

Instead of endeavouring, by reforming his conduct, to efface the bad impressions he had made upon the minds of his people, by engaging in such an unequitable enterprise, his behaviour became more and more haughty and tyrannical. He bestowed employments upon the unworthy and debauched ministers of his own pleasures; and ruled with a moft

---

In these marriages, which are filled matches of the left band, it is usually stipulated, that the wife shall continue in her original condition and rank, and that the children shall bear the same name of the other rank or prerogative than that of their mother. Redolph duke of Louneburg caused his wife to be called madame Redolphin, because it was a left-handed match. Henry landgrave of Thuringia, Ernest and Edward the Fortunate, marquises of Baden, and Frederic Lewis, elector palatine, did not raise their wives to the dignity of princess, or demand the consent of the emperor or diet to declare the children of these marriages capable of succeeding them in their honours and estates. They never made such a request, except when they have no children by a former match with a lady of the first quality, or have not made an alliance of confraternity with some princes of the empire (1).

(1) Philip is said to have answered him in these two words, Trop Allemund, i.e. too much of a German (2).

(1) Albert the Depraved had married Margaret daughter of the emperor Frederic II. by whom he had three sons, namely, Frederic, Dietmann, and Henry; but conceiving a disgust for this princess, he attached himself to Conuniguda of firefox, and laid a scheme for poisoning Margarets, who, being apprised of his design, made her escape from the castle of Esjenzach; and, in bidding adieu to her children, fervently bit the cheek of Frederic the elder, in order to imprint upon his mind the memory of his mother's wrongs; hence he derived the appellation of Frederic with the bitten cheek. Margaret having retired to a monastery at Frankfort, her husband lived openly with his concubine, by whom he had a son called Lewis, to whom he gave the additional name of Adalbert. He was distractedly fond of this child, and resolved to declare him his heir; but afterwards foreseeing the opposition he must have encountered from the noblemen of the empire, as well as from his own vassals, he put up his fight to fate, that he might get them, and a share of his estate to his bard; but there was no bidder except the emperor, who bought them for twelve thousand marks of silver (3).

---

The history of Germany.

a arbitrary sway, in diametrical opposition to the remonstrances of the nobles, whom he treated with inolence and disdain. These imprudent proceedings alienated the hearts of almost all the princes and states of the empire: the spirit of discontent diffused itself through every province of Germany, and a great number of noblemen, ecclesiastics as well as secular, not only declared openly against his mal-administration, but even formed a conspiracy in order to remove him from the throne: not that he was utterly detestable of adherents; Boman, archbishop of Trier, Rodericus, count palatine of the Rhine, and Otto, duke of Bavaria, still supported his interest, and furnished him with troops; at the head of which he took the field, and encamped at Voigtland, to observe the motions of those princes who had declared themselves his enemies.

b namely, Gerhard, archbishop of Mentz, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, Albert, duke of Austria, the two margraves of Brandenburg, and the duke of Saxony.

The confederates assembled at Prague for the coronation of Wenceslaus, and next day deliberated upon the heads of accusation, which might serve as a foundation for deposing Adolphus, digressing them into the following articles: that he had shamefully renounced the rights of the empire in Italy and Lombardy; that, instead of establishing union and peace in the provinces of Germany, he had fomented a division and civil war, to the desolation of the country: that he had indiscreetly squandered away the revenues of the crown, and bestowed employments and offices of state upon unexperienced and ill-intentioned persons, to the great detriment of the Germanic body: that, by his sole authority, he had imposed exorbitant taxes upon the subjects of the empire: that he had affirmed his will was law, and, in consequence of that maxim, ruined a great number of vassals: that he had received a considerable sum of money from Edward, king of England, on promise, by oath, to send succours to that prince, which promise he broke, though he kept the money: that he had flown the advice of the princes, nobility, and clergy, and never consulted them in affairs of importance, but acted wholly from his own authority: that he had connived at robberies on the highway: that he had allowed his officers to oppress the poor, and his soldiers to commit all manner of outrages: and, lastly, that he had ravished a great number of wives, widows, maids, and nuns, and put several women to death, after having satisfied his brutal appetite.

c The emperor’s guilt in all these particulars being notorious, the princes appointed a meeting of the diet at Mentz, in order to depose Adolphus, and elect Albert, who now levied an army to support his pretensions, and oppose whatever measures Adolphus might take to traverse his election. At the same time he sent his uncle, the count de Hoberberg and Hagerloch, to solicit the pope’s consent to his deposition; which, however, he could not obtain, with all the promises and presents he lavished away among the members of the confistory. On the contrary, his holiness wrote an account of his refusal to Adolphus, and even offered to consecrate him emperor, if he could come to Rome. Mean while the count de Hoberberg pretended that he had succeeded in his commission, and, at his return to Germany, prefetted the three electors, who were Albert’s friends, with forged letters, containing the pope’s approbation of their design.

ADOLPHUS, encouraged by the declaration of Boniface in his favour, advanced towards Austria, in order to wrest that province from Albert, who marched to the banks of the Rhine to support his friends, who intended to elevate him to the imperial throne, at the meeting of the diet in Mentz. They accordingly assembled for that purpose; the deposition of Adolphus, and election of the duke of Austria, were actually performed, and Albert being encamped with his army without the city, the electors waited upon him, in order to notify what they had done, to with him all sort of prosperity, and to promise that they would assist, protect, and maintain him against all his enemies (L).


(L) Before they proceeded to the election, they assembled, and harangued the people upon the subject of their prelate. Then they repaired to church, attended by a vast multitude, and turning towards the altar, spoke to this effect: “Six years ago, the empire being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus, count de Haffan, king of the Romans, knowing at that time no person more worthy of that dignity. At first he conducted himself wisely, following the advice of the most prudent electors and princes of his court; but, in a little time, he began to despise their advice, and listen to the counsels of young persons, without either sense or experience; rience; then he found himself destitute of means and friends to assist him sincerely in bearing the burden of government. The electors, perceiving his indigence, and moved by twenty other motives, have demanded the pope’s consent to depose him, and chuse another emperor. We are told, that our envoys have obtained the consent of his holiness; tho’ theof Adolphus affirmed the contrary. But we, having no regard to any authority but that which is vested in ourselves, and finding Adolphus incapable of governing the empire, do depose him from the imperial dignity, and elect Albert, duke of Austria, king of the Romans (4).”


ADOLPHUS,
The history of Germany.

ADOLPHUS, being apprized of this election, raised the siege of Ruffsch, in Alsace, and marched towards Spire, where he encamped: he was reinforced by the count palatine Rodolphus, Osbo, duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which, with some others, never deferred his cause. Albert at the same time advanced towards him, in order to dispute the imperial crown by force of arms. They accordingly engaged between Gelheim and the cloister of Rofendi, and the battle was maintained with great fury on both sides. In the heat of the fight, the emperor, singling out the duke, attacked him hand to hand, saying, "Here you shall abandon to me the empire and your life." To this address the duke replied, without hesitation, "Both are in the hands of God," and with these words struck him in the face with furious violence, that he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain by some of Albert's party. Thus fell Adolphus, a valiant, tho' unfortunate prince, whose death was said to have been bitterly lamented by Gerhard, archbishop of Mentz, who had been the principal cause of his deposition. He was no sooner killed than Albert put a flock to the carnage, and granted quarter to all the enemy, but the count palatine and duke of Bavaria favored themselves by flight. As for the emperor's body, it was interred in the cloister of Frauenfeld, because Albert would not allow it to be deposited in Spire, with the rest of the emperors, tho' it was afterwards carried thither by the emperor Henry of Luxembourg (M).

In the reign of Adolphus, as well as in that of his predecessors, the Jews were persecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on the supposition that they had slain several Christian children, and committed other crimes which attracted the hatred of the public. During the troubles produced by the competition between Adolphus and Albert, a certain peasant, called Raind-Fleisch, preached in the Upper Palatinate, that God had sent him to destroy the Jews. From thence he made a progress through Franconia, and the neighbouring provinces, haranguing on the same subject, and affirming that the Jews had a foretold holocaust. The common people, without giving themselves the trouble to investigate the truth, were incensed at this pretended sacrilege; and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottenbourg, Amberg, and other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, seizing all the unhappy Jews that fell in their way, committed them to the flames, and drove the rest to such despair, that numbers burnt themselves and their families, rather than fall into the hands of the merciless Christians. These violence were exercised for some time with impunity, until Albert, duke of Austria, took the Jewish nation into his protection, re-established them in all their privileges, and imposed a very heavy fine upon the town of Nuremberg, where the massacre had begun; yet all his care could not extinguish that avarice which the people of that city entertained for the Jews. It broke out on diverse occasions, and in the sequel proved fatal to the famous Mordecai of Austria, who composed a commentary on some books of the Talmud, and was author of several other curious performances. He quitted Austria, to go and teach the oriental languages at Triers; and afterwards, in passing through Nuremberg, was apprehended and hanged by the people. Nor were the miserable Jews treated with more lenity in Friesland and Holland, which at that time were provinces of the empire. Florentius V. count of Holland and West Friesland, who had rendered himself odious to the nobility by the severity of his government, thought to engage the people on his side, by favouring their hatred to the Jews, whom he expelled from his dominions: but this step served only to increase the discontent of the nobles, who had derived great advantages from the Jewish nation; they therefore engaged in a conspiracy, and flew him at the chase. As his son John at that time resided in England, and did not think it safe to come and take possession of his father's estate, the nobles solicited the protection of Eric VIII. king of Denmark, who came with an army to support them, reduced all the towns, subdued the whole country, flogged them with a severe tribute, and left a Danish nobleman to rule them in his absence. The governor treated them so harshly, that they began to repent heartily of having, in a rage, caused such a devastation upon themselves; and, conspiring against this minister of arbitrary power, compelled him to fly for shelter into a fortress, where he was taken, and murdered on the spot. Then they recalled from England John, the son of Florentius, whom they acknowledged as count of Holland and Friesland. He received the invectives of these fiends from Rodolphus, and in a few years died at Haarlem without issue; so that the antient house of the counts of Holland was extinct, after it had subsisted four hundred and thirty-seven years.


(M) Adolphus was the son of Walram, count of Nassau, and grandson of Henry the Rich, who is looked upon as the founder of that family. He succeeded to the county of Nassau in 1289, and that same year married Imagine, daughter of Gerlan, count of Limbourg, by whom he had Henry, who died young; Rupert, who married Gutta, daughter of Wincenhaus, and was made prisoner by the archbishop of Mentz, in a battle fought near Worms; Gerlan, who succeeded his father in the county of Nassau; Walram, another Adolphus, His daughters were Adelheid, a nun in the monastery of St. Claire in Mentz; Imagine, who was never married; and Mechtilda, wife of Rodolphus, elector palatine (5).

(5) Heiß, l. ii. c. 23.

ALBERT
The history of Germany.

A L B E R T I.

A L B E R T I, called the Triumphant, on account of his generosity and valour, and the many victories he obtained over his enemies, was likewise surnamed the One-Eyed, because he had lost one eye by the operation of poison, which was given to him in his own palace at Vienna, about three years before he was elected emperor. Altoth' he had been elected king of the Romans before the victory which he obtained over the emperor Adolphus, being apprehensive that his election would be contested, because the elector of Trèves and the Palatine had not joined in it, he convoked the whole number at Frankfort, and defined them to proceed to a new election. After which, they attended him to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned with great solemnity; and such was the concourse of people upon that occasion, that his brother-in-law the duke of Saxony, and several other persons, were squeezed to death in the crowd.

A L B E R T I, being thus established on the throne, sent to Rome, to desire that pope Boniface VIII. would confirm his election. That pontiff, charmed at the elevation of this prince upon the ruins of his friend Adolphus, refused for some time to comply with his desire, on pretence that the electors had no authority to set him on the throne without the concurrence of the pope; till at length the desire he had to be revenged on Philip, king of France, being stronger than his remembrance against Albert, he promised to confirm the election of this laird, and even made a tender to him of the crown of France. Albert thanked him for his offer; but represented, that he could not embark in a quarrel of such importance, unless his holiness would assist him in carrying on the war against Philip. The pope refuting to contribute, the project was not only laid aside, but Albert, in order to anticipate the ill offices of Boniface, made advances to the king of France, with whom he had an interview at Vaucouleurs, where they renewed the ancient leagues between the empire and France, and treated about the marriage of Rodolphus, Albert's son, with Blanche, Philip's daughter, which was not consummated till next year.

At this interview, a treaty of alliance was concluded between the emperor and the king of France, by which Albert obliged himself to bestow upon his eldest son Rodolphus, and his heirs for ever, as hereditary siefs, the duchies of Austria and Stiria, with the lordships of Carniola, La Marche, and Port-Neau: he moreover assigned, as the dowry of the princes Blanche, the county of Alsace, and the territory of Fribourg, to be poiffeed for ever by her husband and his heirs; so that this seems to be the aera at which the duchy of Austria and the landgravey of Alsace became the hereditary countries of the house of Hapsburg. Be that as it will, when the emperor convoked a diet at Toul, to authenticate this contract, the three ecclesiastics protested against the articles of alliance; and when Albert sent ambassadors to the pope, with an intimation of the nuptials, and a demand that his holiness would confirm the choice which the electors had made in elevating him to the imperial throne, Boniface publicly declared, that the election of Albert was null and void, and that he ought to be treated as a murderer; nay, after having refused audience to the German ambassadors, he appeared in public, with a sward by his side, habited like the general of an army, and affirmed, that there was no other Caesar, or king of the Romans, but the sovereign pontiff of Christendom.

In the mean time the emperor gave orders for assembling a diet at Nuremberg on St. Martin's-day, at which were present, besides the ecclesiastics, Wineclus, king of Bohemia, the elector palatine, and several other princes of the empire. There his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the count of Tyrol, was crowned, and his son Rodolphus invested with the duchy of Austria, for himself and his successors. After the diet, the empress set out for Vienna, with duke Rodolphus and the princes, who died within the year, without issue by the duke of Austria.

About this period Albert was engaged in a war with John d'Avenes, who, as the next heir to John, count of Holland, lately dead, had taken possession of his dominions, which Albert claimed as siefs revervable to the empire. After having published a manifesto to this purpose, he levied an army to support his pretensions, and advanced as far as Ninigret against John d'Avenes, who had assembled a strong body of forces, with which he passed the river Waal, without being perceived; and having surprised a detachment of imperialists, whom he cut in pieces, spread such an alarm among the rear of the emperor's troops, that he was fain to decamp with great precipitation, and, by hasty marches, retreat to Cologne, where he intrenched himself under the ramparts of the city. There being in danger of perishing by famine, blocked up as he was by an enemy, he employed the archbishop of Cologne to negotiate a

peace; which was concluded, on condition that John d'Avennes should enjoy the counties of Holland, West Friesland, and Zeeland, in consideration of doing homage to the emperor, from whom he accordingly received the investiture of these dominions.  

This war being happily terminated, the emperor caused his statute, touching the charge and function of the electors of the empire, to be published and executed. As the ecclesiastical electors, and some other of the princes, had converted to their own use the toll and other revenues formerly appropriated to the maintenance of the emperor, he demanded that these imposts should be put upon their ancient footing; and was answered, that as they inherited these revenues from their predecessors, without being questioned by the emperors or kings of the Romans, they hoped he would maintain them in these rights, which they could not, nor would not resign. The emperor sent the bishop of Bofil to complain of this answer to the pope; and, in order to obtain a favourable audience, solemnly promised to engage in a crusade, as he had already proposed such an expedition to the princes of Christendom, provided his holiness would enable him to defray the expense of the enterprise, by obliging the three ecclesiastical electors to part with the tolls and duties, which they had usurped during the anarchy of the empire; but Boniface lending a deaf ear to his complaint, he resolved to do himself right by force of arms. In the mean time, by the advice of his friends, he declared his discontent to the ecclesiastical electors, whom he summoned to appear before the flates and princes of the empire at Mentz, and answer to the charge that should be laid against them.

The electors, instead of obeying this citation, wrote a letter to the pope, in which they represented Albert as an infantile and ambitious tyrant, a proscribed enemy to the clergy, and gave his holiness to understand, that measures were taking in Germany for electing another king of the Romans. These were agreeable tidings to Boniface, who peremptorily required Albert with the most rancorous hatred. He had already refused the mediation of Philip the Fair, who attempted to reconcile him to the emperor; he had even allured Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, into Italy, with a promise of raising him to the imperial throne; and now he sent an answer to the letter of the ecclesiastical electors, in which, after havingigmatized the emperor as a rebel, “We command you (added he) to signify by public proclamation to Albert, the pretended king of the Romans, that he must, in six months, appear before us, by his envoys, sufficiently authorized and instructed, to justify himself, if he can, of the imputation of treason against king Adolphus, as well as to avert the sentence of excommunication, which he has incurred by perpetrating the holy see, and other churches, and to undergo such penance as we shall prescribe. We strictly forbid the electors, vassals, and subjects of the empire, to acknowledge him as king of the Romans; we release them from their oath of allegiance, and will proceed against him and his adherents, spiritually and temporally, as we shall judge most expedient.”

In consequence of this order, the three archbishops retired to the dominions of the elector palatine, as if he had been a competent judge, and preferred a formal complaint against the emperor, for having cruelly slain his predecessor. The count, who hated Albert, ordered a formal information to be taken; and upon the frivolous accusations of the ecclesiastical electors, and a few other persons of distinction, he pronounced him convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, and consequently unworthy of the empire (N).

This step, however, they were not allowed to take with impunity; for Albert, incensed at their presumption, no longer hesitated in declaring war against them; and although the marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Saxony, and the king of Bohemia, remained neutral in this contest, the majority of the princes espoused the cause of the emperor, and he soon fow himself at the head of a very formidable army, with which he ravaged the archbishopric of Mentz, took the strong town of Bingen upon the Rhine by assault, compelled the three prelates to sue for peace, which they obtained at the expense of parting with the toll and duties which occasioned this rupture; but the elector palatine was obliged to purchase his pardon with a considerable sum of money.

Antiquit. de la Gaule Belg. I. v.  
Avent. c. 50. B. 10.

(N) This right of the elector palatine has been since confirmed by the golden-bull, in these words: “Altho', by very antient custom, the emperor, or king of the Romans, is obliged to answer in all cases instituted against them before the count palatine of the Rhine, arch-veard, prince elector, of the holy empire; the said count palatine, however, shall not exercise that jurisdiction, except in the imperial court, where the emperor, or king of the Romans, shall be personally present, and in no other place.”

This article, however, ought not to be understood of causes instituted against the emperor as sovereign, but of those only in which he may be involved as a private person; such as civil causes, which were naturally tried before the count palatine, because he was one of the ordinary and supreme judge at the emperor's court. No prince, who had the least regard to justice, would refuse to answer to complaints of that kind before the tribunal, which they themselves had erected for that purpose; or spurn to leave the court of justice free in those disputes of law which they might have with private persons.


Albert's
The history of Germany.

Albert's next expedition was against Wineflans, king of Bohemia, who had not only ascended the throne of Poland, after having defeated his competitor Uladislaus Lobscits, but also received a deposition from the noblemen of Hungary, with a tender of the crown, become vacant by the death of Andrew the Venetian. Possessed as he was of two crowns already, he recommended his son Wineflans to the Hungarians, who changed the young prince's name to Ladislaus, and crowned him at Alba Regalis, to the no small mortification of the pope, who protested against his elevation as an enterprize against the holy see, to which, he said, the kingdom of Hungary appertained; nay, he even affected to decide the affair in a judicial manner, and adjudged the crown to Mary queen of Naples, wife of Charles II. and litter of Ladislaus III. king of Hungary. This prince made over her title to her grandson Charles, whose interest the emperor espoused from a double motive; for the young prince was his own nephew, and Wineflans his professed enemy: besides, he had an eye to the silver-mines of Bohemia, part of which he had already demanded without success. These co-operating considerations induced him to renew his old quarrels with Wineflans: he assembled a formidable army of Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Servians, which having divided into two bodies, he detached the one to ravage Moravia, and marched at the head of the other into Bohemia, where his soldiers committed the most cruel outrages, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and made a fruitful attempt upon the mines, from which they were repulsed with great loss. Notwithstanding this check, Wineflans being disappointed of a reinforcement which he expected from Otto, marquis of Brandenburg, and finding his forces greatly inferior to those of Albert, he permitted the miners to poison the water in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp; so that the greatest part of the Austrian troops, which used these waters, perished in the utmost torture, and the emperor, having moreover lost almost all his whole cavalry, was obliged to retreat into Austria with the miserable remains of his army.

While the reconciliation subsisted between Philip the Fair and Boniface, this last refused to acknowledge Albert as king of the Romans, and even raised up a rival against him, in the person of Charles de Valois; but now that he had quarrelled with the king of France, who had granted an asylum to his enemies, the cardinals Colonnae, he made advances to the emperor, confirmed his election, invited him to come and receive the imperial crown at Rome, and exhorted him to declare war against Philip, whom by this time he had excommunicated. But, before he granted his bull of confirmation to Albert, he exacted very humbling conditions from that prince, who sent him letters patent, dated at Nuremberg, in which he acknowledged that the empire had been transferred by the holy see to the Greeks; in the person of Charlemagne; that the right of electing a king of the Romans was granted, by the sovereign pontiff, to certain ecclesiastical and secular princes, and that kings and emperors received the power of the temporal sword from the holy see. He likewise agreed to take the oath of allegiance to the pope; to perform all the promises made by Redolphus and his predecessors; confirmed the concessions of Lewis the Debonnaire and Otto the Great; and undertook to defend the rights of the holy see against all its enemies, whomsoever they might be, and declare war against them, at the command of his holiness.

The king of France, informed of the steps which the pope had taken to engage the emperor in his interests, contrived a scheme for feigning his perfon at Anagni, where he resided; and this was actually executed by William de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, who, at the head of three or four hundred knights, formerly in the service of the count de Valois, surprised the town, and apprehended Boniface, whom they treated with great indignity; but on the fourth day of his imprisonment, during which he had been almost famished to death, the inhabitants took to their arms, under the command of the cardinal de Frejique, expelled Nogaret and Colonna, and set the pope at liberty. Boniface repaired immediately to Rome, where he fell sick of chagrin for having suffered such indignities; and dying, was succeeded by Nicholas Boccefini, cardinal bishop of Oflia, who assumed the name of Benedict X. This new pope, who is said to have been a shepherd's son, seemed very well disposed to maintain an intimate union between the holy see and the empire, and even took some steps towards effecting a reconciliation between the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, which last still supported the emperor's party in Tuscany, and some other provinces of Italy: but Benedict did not live to bring his laudable design to perfection; for he died eleven months after his elevation, very much regretted by Albert and the German princes, who hoped to re-establish the rights of the empire in Italy under his pontificate.

Mean while Ladislaus, by his misfortune, loit the footing he had gained in Hungary: his vices and debauchery alienated the hearts of his friends, and raised such a spirit of animosity against him, that he was obliged to lock himself up in the citadel of Budva, from which he was released by his father Wineflans; who dying soon after this expedition, he succeeded

to the throne of Bohemia, and resumed his former name of Wineslaus: while the party of a
Charobert acquired new strength every day in Hungary.

When Wineslaus the younger ascended the throne of Bohemia, his conduct continued to
irregular, that he was affianced by his own subjects: and he dying without issue, Henry,
count of Carinthia and Tyrol, the emperor's own cousin, was, in consequence of a free elec-
tion, promoted to the throne. But Albert, on pretence of a family compact, raised a strong
army, in order to put the crown on the head of his own son Rodolphus; and Henry, being too
weak to cope with him in the field, resigned his pretensions in favour of his cousin Rod-
olphus, whose first wife Blanche being dead, he married Isabella, widow of Wineslaus, in
order to fix himself more firmly on the throne. However, he did not long enjoy his good for-
tune; for he was soon after taken off by sudden death: upon which the kingdom was divided
into two factions, one of which recalled Henry, count of Carinthia; and the other elected
Frederic, the emperor's son. Albert, who had before anticipated Henry, was now anticipated
in his turn by that prince, who was now so well established upon the throne, that it was not
in his power to depose him: after having ravaged part of his country, he was fain to
return with his army, and leave him in peaceable possession of his dominions.

At his return from this fruitless expedition, he employed his arms in a war still more
unjust and unsuccessful. We have seen that Adolphus purchased Milizia and Thuringia from
that unnatural parent, who wanted to defraud his own children; but that the greatest part
of the princes fiding with the brothers Frederic and Dietmann, he had never been able to gain
possession; so that he loft both his money and his reputation. Nevertheless, when he died,
his brother Philip of Nassau claimed these countries, and the emperor supported his preten-
sions, in hope of profiting by the troubles that would necessarily ensue, and of obtaining some
portion of the lands in dispute. He accordingly summoned the two brothers to appear
before the diet at Fulde, and give an account of their title; and they refusing to adhere to
the conditions he wanted to impose, were, by a formal sentence, divested of their estates,
and put to the ban of the empire. He at the same time raised an army to carry this sentence
into execution: but such a flagrant piece of tyranny and injustice raised up a number of
friends to the young princes: so that Frederic found himself in a little time at the head of a
strong body of forces, and actually gave battle to the emperor near Luchau, where he ob-
tained a complete victory; in consequence of which he remained peaceable possessor of the
two provinces in question, while Albert was obliged to fly with disgrace, and fit down with
the mortifying reflection of having feen all his laurels blasted by the prowls of a boy.

His chagrin, however, did not prey upon his faculties so much, but that he exerted all
his endeavours in establishing his nephew Charobert upon the throne of Hungary. Pope Cle-
ment V. who succeeded Benedict, confirmed the sentence of Boniface in favour of Mary, queen
of Naples, and forbade the Hungarians, on pain of the most terrible censures, to receive any
other prince but Charobert. At the same time he commanded And, duke of Bavaria, to
lay aside the title of king of Hungary, which that prince had purchased with his money,
after the expulsion of Ladislaus. He had even been crowned at Alba, and made a progres through the kingdom; but the pride and insolence of his disposition gave such disgust, that the
nobles abandoned his interest, and the vaivode of Transylvania actually imprisoned him in a
strong castle, from which he was not released until he had renounced his title to the crown.

Henry, who became vacant by his abdication, the two parties united in favour of Cha-
robert, who was elected and approved by the pope's legate, in the name of the Roman
church.

Though the troubles of Hungary were thus appeased, the northern parts of Germany felt
the disagreeable effects of a civil war, that broke out between Gerhard, count of Holstein,
and the nobility of his country, who took the field against him, under the command of one
Pelor; but they were vanquished in a pitched battle, and their chief being taken prisoner,
was convicted of treason, and broke alive upon the wheel. As the city of Lubeck gave sanc-
tuary to the fugitive nobles, the duke resolved to punish the regency of the town for this
mark of disrespect. He accordingly encamped at the mouth of the Traave, where he built a
fort, in order to interrupt their commerce, and hinder them from receiving supplies by
sea. The regency, who had concluded a treaty of alliance with the duke of Saxony, deter-
mined to defend themselves by force of arms, and had recourse to Eric, king of Denmark,
their protector, who sent Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, to take the command of their troops.

Count Gerhard, in order to balance these preparations, received a reinforcement from
the duke of Mecklenburg, and some other princes who were his allies, and took post near a
place called Saurtow, from whence he greatly incommoded the inhabitants of Lubeck, and
supported the garrison of the fort which he had raised at the mouth of the river.

But before any action of confinement was undertaken on either side, the difference was
terminated by the mediation of duke Waldemar, and a peace concluded, on condition that

* DUBRAY, Hist Bohem. l. xix.  y STRU V. per. ix.

the
The history of Germany.

The new fort should remain in the hands of the count for the term of four years, which being expired, the emperor Albert should be solicited to decide to which party it should belong. This treaty was followed by a reconciliation between the count and his nobility, who mutually agreed, that in case of any future quarrel and dispute, they should have recourse to the king of Denmark and the duke of Mecklenburg, who would decide the affair in question, according to the laws and customs of Holstein. These commotions did not affect the emperor to nearly as did the revolt of the Helvetians or Swiss, which was ocassioned by the tyranny of those whom he appointed to govern that people, accumulated to cherish and maintain the idea of liberty as an ineffable jewel, transmitted to them by their ancestors from time immemorial. Fortified by their natural position, and surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, they had nothing to fear from strangers, and lived happily in a rugged country, suitable to none but those who were used to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the most solid base of their government; and when their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. Rodolphus of Habsburg had appeased these troubles by his courage and discretion; the exiles were permitted to return, and peace was re-established on a solid footing. Although the Swiss were extremely jealous of their liberty, yet they were always submissive to the empire of which they held; and a great many of their towns were free and imperial. With respect to the three cantons of Ury, Switz, and Underwald, they do not seem to have been in any ways dependent upon the house of Austria. Indeed, they put themselves under the protection of Rodolphus, when he was no more than landgrave of Tuscany; and after his elevation to the imperial throne, they never acknowledged in him any other sovereignty but that of chief of the empire. Nor does he seem to have considered them as feeb of the house of Austria; for he always treated them with great indulgence, and defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them.

Albert's conduct in this particular was quite the reverse of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting Switzerland into a republic, for one of his sons: he had endeavoured to persuade the cantons of Ury, Switz, and Underwald, to submit voluntarily to his dominion, in which case he promised to rule them with the utmost tenderness; but finding them tenacious of their independence, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner. Complaints were preferred without effect; their deputies were treated with contempt at the imperial court; they were subjected at home to numberless species of oppression; they were plundered, taxed, fined, imprisoned, tortured, and even put to death occasionally, without justice or form of law; and, in a word, they groaned under all the miseries flowing from despotic power and barbarity.

In this emergency they had no prospect of relief, except in their own courage, and they began to concert proper measures for delivering themselves from the tyranny of the Austrian government. The chiefs of the confederates were Arnould Metzbatt, a native of Underwald, Werner Straufhascher, of Switz, and Walter Furts, of Ury. These men, naturally bold, enterprising, and united by a long intimacy of friendship, having frequently met in private to deliberate upon means to free their country, admitted nine other persons to their councils, and the association being confirmed by oath, they resolved to raise insurrections in the three cantons, to demolish the fortified castles, and expel the Austrian governors, with all their adherents. A certain time being fixed for putting this laudable design in execution, the individuals began privately to make preparations for such an important enterprise, which was actually achieved, without the loss of one single life. On the first day of January the conspirators sent fifty men to the governor of Sarz, with the usual presents and compliments of the feast; and these being admitted into the citadel, seized the gates and made the governor their prisoner. The people of Ury at the same time surprised Altersf, and the inhabitants of Switz made themselves masters of Loeritz. The forts were instantly demolished, and the governor was conducted to the frontiers, where they obliged him to promise, upon oath, that he would never serve the house of Austria against the Helvetic nation, and never return to the cantons: an instance of moderation rarely found in an incensed people, who have their oppressors in their power.

In this manner the three cantons delivered themselves from the Austrian yoke, and retrieved that liberty, which they still enjoy unimpaired. The other cantons soon engaged in the confederacy, which was the origin of the Helvetic republic (P).

The tyranny of the Austrian governors was extended even to the most ridiculous lengths. Griffer, governor of Ury, ordered a pole to be erected in the market-place of Altersf, crowned with a kind of hat or cap, which formed a conspiracy for the recovery of their liberties.

This

* Hüttenf, Hist. Dec. l. i. * Steytler, Ann. Helvet. Bern. t. i. (P) The tyranny of the Austrian governors was extended even to the most ridiculous lengths. Griffer, governor of Ury, ordered a pole to be erected in the market-place of Altersf, crowned with a kind of hat or cap, which formed a conspiracy for the recovery of their liberties.
The emperor Albert's eas-paciously.

This desire of aggrandizing his family, in a great measure influenced Albert's whole conduct. He had by his wife Elizabeth six sons and three daughters, for whom he endeavoured to procure all possible advantages; and the eagerness with which he prosecuted these endeavours in the end cost him his life. After the decease of his brother Rudolph, duke of Swabia, and landgrave of Alsace, he had taken upon him the education of his only son John, as well as the administration of his dominions. This young prince, when he was of age, had often solicited the emperor, both by himself and his friends, to put him in possession of his patrimony, or at least to give him some portion. His uncle had, under various pretext, delayed doing him justice; and it was generally suspected, that his design was to appropriate his pupil's estate to the benefit of his own children. This suspicion was confirmed by the intrigues he had used to poach himself of Babenhain, and the marquise of Misfria, where he had even employed force in behalf of his usurpation, by these means incurring the aversion and resentment of several princes of the empire. The emperor having gone out on the first day of May to take the air at Böbl, duke John prevailed upon the bishop of Straßburg to intercede with his uncle, that he might put him in possession of some of the castles belonging to his patrimony. To this proposal the emperor replied, that he would make his nephew an officer, and employ him in the Bohemian war, after which he should receive satisfaction. The young duke, who overheard this declaration, called aloud in a transport of passion, "I plainly see that he who would defraud me of my estate, would also deprive me of my life." So saying, he went in quest of three confederates, namely, Rudolph of Warth, Walter of Eschelbach, and Ulrich of Palm, who were all favourites of Albert. With these he had already concerted measures for destroying the emperor, in case he should refuse to comply with his demand; and now they determined to put their design in execution.

After the entertainment the emperor had given to those who accompanied him, during which he had, with his own hands, crowned them with chaplets of flowers, he set out for Rihfelden, and arriving at the river Rhein near Schaffhausen, he went into a boat, attended by duke John and his three confederates, while his son, together with the rest of his retinue, waited on the bank for its return. Albert having crossed the river, the conspirators advanced to him, while he walked through a new sown field, when duke John stabbed him in the throat, Warth plunged a sword into his breast, and Palm cut him across the head and face. After having thus executed their purpose, in sight of his own son and attendants, who could offer him no affiance, they betook themselves to flight. Duke John, after having concealed himself for some time in different parts of Italy, went at length and threw himself at the feet of Clement V. successor of Boniface VIII. begging he would impose a penance proportioned to his crime, when the pope enjoined him to pass the remainder of his life in the monastery of the hermits of St. Augustine at Pisa, where he actually ended his days. By order of the emperor Henry VII. his duchy of Swabia was seized and confiscated for the use of the duke of Austria. Palm concealed himself in a convent of friars at Böbl, where he died some time after. Eschelbach lived thirty-five years as a out-herd in a village of the county of Wirtemberg, and discovered himself upon his death-bed; and Warth being apprehended was broke alive upon the wheel. In the place where the emperor was slain a cloister was built, and called Königsfeld, from whence his body, after having been deposited there for some time, was carried to Spire, and interred among his predecessors (Q). According to some

\[\text{Q}\]


\[\text{cap, to which every passenger was commanded to pay obesance; but William Tell, one of the conspirators, having refused to yield this absurd homage, he was summoned to appear before the governor, who condemned him to shoot an arrow through an apple, placed upon the head of his own son, at a certain distance, on pain of being hanged. This feat he successfully performed in public; when the governor, perceiving he had two arrows in his girdle, desired to know for what use he intended the supernumerary shaft. Tell having obtained his promise that his life should not be taken away, acknowledged, that if it had been his misfortune to kill his son with the first arrow, he would have aimed the second at the governor's heart. Grisier incensed at this declaration, 'I will not break my promise (cried he), so as to take away thy life, thou fool, but send it in a style worthy of thy deeds.' So saying, he caused him to be fettered, and transported to Caffenez, a castle in the lake of Lucern;}

\(\text{(1) Mutten. lib. xxii. p. 207.}\)
The history of Germany.

23

his character.

Henry VII.

AFTER the death of the emperor Albert, the electors could not for some time agree in their choice of a person to succeed him on the throne. Philip, the Fair of France, aspired to the empire; and in order to facilitate the accomplishment of his wish, resolved to go and treat in person with pope Clement V., who was at that time at Avignon, and who is said to have been railed to the popacy, on condition that he should abdicate the king in his designs upon the imperial throne. The pope being apprised of this intended visit, and well knowing the subject of it, was very much embarrassed in his own mind; for being obliged to remain in France, on account of the commotions of Rome and Italy, he could not decently nor safely refuse to comply with Philip's desire, though he knew it was not in his power to grant it, as the imperial crown was entirely at the disposal of the Germans; who, if he should arrogate to himself the right of conferring it on this occasion, would in all probability explain themselves in express terms against the pretensions of the pope; because they would foresee, that, should Philip ascend the imperial throne, France would retrieve the dominions and rights to which the late claim in the empire. He was likewise very well persuaded that Philip was dissatisfied with the court of Rome, on account of the insolence with which he had been treated by Boniface VIII., who had commanded him, in a very impertinent strain, on pain of excommunication, to make war upon the Turks, for the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Clement V., who was now in the chair, being very much perplexed in consequence of these reflections, and uncertain in his behaviour towards Philip at the approaching interview, Cardinal Nicholas of Provins advised him to dispatch private messengers to the German electors, with preening influences to elect a chief, and to declare, that, if the election did not immediately take place, the imperial dignity would revert from Germany to France. He likewise counselled him to propose Henry of Luxemburg, as a proper person to fill the throne.

Clement relished the advice, and immediately communicated Philip's desertion to the ecclesiastic princes, who entered into his views, and promised to conduct themselves according to his directions. Mean while Berthold, count of Hohenburg, and Conrad of Reida, as proxies of Otto and Waldemar, marquises of Brandenburg, and Rodolphus, duke of Saxony, repaired to Boppard, where they found Rodolphus and Lewis, counts palatine of the Rhine. These four agreed to propose in the diet of election Otto and Waldemar, Albert, count of Hanau, Rodolphus and Lewis, and Frederick, duke of Austria; and they obliged themselves by oath to acknowledge king of the Romans him, of these six competitors, who should have a majority of voices. At the same time they drew up some articles touching the preservation of their states and privileges, which the future emperor should approve and confirm.

These preliminaries being regulated, the electors, to the number of six, assembled at Frankfurt (R.), where the archbishop of Trier began the diet by reading a protestation, importuning, that all excommunicated or outlawed persons, and others who had no right to be present,

Frederic III., duke of Lorraine; An, earl of Hereford, marquis of Melford, and afterwards to Henry, duke of Pratforta; Catherine was wife of Charles, duke of Calabria, and Guta espoused by Lewis, count of Ottingen (1).

(R) John and Henry, dukes of Saxony, claimed the right of sitting in this assembly, and protected in form against whatever should be done without their concurrence. Henry, duke of Carinthia, who had ascended the throne of Bohemia, did not appear at this election, probably because the majority of the Bohemian nobility had not yet acknowledged him as their king (2).

(1) Stru. per. ix. f. 257. 3.

(2) Leibnitz in Marit. p. 252.
He is accordingly elected.

He pronounces sentence of death upon the murderer of Albert.

He grants the investiture of Austria to the sons of that emperor.

He celebrates the nuptials of his son John with Elizabeth, daughter of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

The History of Germany.

At present, should they deliberate upon the election, and Henry of Luxembourg (S), a being proposed by the three electors, was unanimously chosen, as a prince in all respects worthy of the imperial crown. As he happened to be at that time in the city of Frankfurt, he was forthwith made acquainted with the election; and Philip of France, who was on the road to Avignon, receiving those tidings, proceeded no further, but returned immediately without seeing the pope 5.

Henry was not a little surprised when he understood the electors had conferred upon him that dignity, which he thought himself too weak to support. Nevertheless, he gratefully accepted of the honour, and was on the Epiphany crowned at Altdo-Chapel 6. This ceremony being performed, he made a progress along the Rhine, to receive homage and the oath of fidelity from the princes, noblemen, and cities, and convoked a diet at Spire, to which the electors, princes, and deputies of towns, repaired in great numbers. Here sentence of death was pronounced against John of Austria, for the murder of the emperor Albert, whole sons Frederic, Leopold, Albert, and Otto, appearing at the same time, demanded the investiture of Austria, and the other hereditary dominions, which had been left to their father by the emperor Rudolph. These four princes had been summoned by order of the emperor, who commanded them to reign their pretenions to Austria, which had already been fatal to five kings (T). They, on the other hand, infallit upon being maintained in the possession of a duchy, which had been bestowed upon their father with the consent of the princes of the empire. The emperor, however, remaining fixed in his resolution, duke Frederic retired, and at his departure is said to have sent a perdon to tell the emperor, that the duchy of Austria, which had already been the death of five kings, might still be fatal to a sixth, if he did not desist from his unjust pretenions. Be that as it will, certain it is, the emperor ordered the dukes to be called back, and, with the consent of the German princes, bestowed on them the investiture of that duchy. At this assembly also appeared Elisabeth, daughter and heiress of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, deceased, by a daughter of the emperor Rudolph. A treaty of marriage had been agreed upon between her and John, son of Henry the emperor, whom the Bohemians had set upon the throne, after having expelled Henry, duke of Carinthia. This marriage having been delayed from time to time under different pretexts, the princes now demanded that the treaty should be fulfilled, or cause shown why the nuptials should not immediately be solemnized. Count John of Luxembourg was at that time in the seventeenth year of his age, and Elisabeth turned of twenty-two. She was of a tall stature and genteel appearance; but a report had been spread abroad to the prejudice of her chastity, for which reason the emperor had, from day to day, deferred the confection of the marriage, until the princes, having discovered the cause of this delay, found means to convince him of her innocence (U); upon which the ceremony was performed with great magnificence, in presence of the electors, and other princes and noblemen of the diet.

In this manner Bohemia became the property of the house of Luxembourg, who possessed it for a good number of years without interruption. At present, however, there was a necessity for conquering, before the new married couple could enjoy the kingdom; for Henry, duke of Carinthia, joined by Frederic, marquis of Styria, had levied a considerable army, taken and garrisoned Prague and Cattinburg, and exacted a new oath of allegiance from the inhabitants: John of Luxembourg, therefore, could not take possession, except by force of arms. The emperor and the princes furnished him with a strong body of troops, commanded by the archbishop of Mentz, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the counts of Oettingen and Heinsberg, and with these he entered Bohemia. His first operation was the siege of Cattinburg, which in a little time surrendered; and then he invested Prague, the garrison of which was commanded by the duke of Carinthia and the marquis of Styria in

1 Krantz, S. c. xvi. c. 6. Barke, t. vi. p. 361. 2 Alb. Argent. in Chron. l. viii. c. 102. Vegter. in

(S) Before he was elected emperor, he had signally himself in a war against the city of Friers, on account of their having refused to pay certain tributes and duties, to which the family of Luxembourg had a claim. He not only succeded in this enterprise, but, when the see of Ligue was vacant, took his measures effectually, that one of his brothers was chosen archbishop (1).

(T) Namely, Conradin, Ottocar, Rudolph of Austria, Adolphus, and Albert.

(U) The princes Elisabeth no sooner understood that her virtue was called in question, than, repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, she undressed herself before the ladies there present, and approaching Henry in her

(1) Remarq. fur Heifs, l. ii. (2) Heifs, l. ii. c. 25.
The history of Germany.

a. person, who made a very vigorous defence, until the burghers, incensed at some outrages committed by the soldiers, opened the gates to the besiegers, who soon became masters of the city. The duke and marquis, thus betrayed, took refuge in the fort of St. Vit, where they capitulated with King John, who permitted them to retire to their own dominions. The estates were immediately assembled, and the coronation of John and Elisabeth was performed by the archbishop of Mentz, affixed by the bishops of Prague and Olmutz, amidst the acclamations of Bohemia.

b. This affair being settled, it was resolved that the emperor should make a journey into Italy, and orders were given for raising the troops necessary to attend him in this expedition. Meanwhile he ordered the body of Albert, together with that of his predecessor Adolphus, on whom he had laid, to be carried to Spire, and interred in one day, he himself affixing in person at the funeral. Then he sent a splendid embassy to Clement V. composed of the bishops of Béziers and Carcassonne, count of Savoy, John Dathelin, count of Alton and Vienna, Gui, count of Flanders, John, count of Sarthe, and doctor Simon de Marville, who, repairing to Avignon, delivered their credentials to the pope, together with the decree of the election, which were very courteously received. His holiness acknowledged Henry as king of the Romans, promised to crown him emperor at Rome, and received the oath from these deputies, who swore, in the name of their master, that he never would make the least attempt upon the life or honour of the pope; that he would never enact any law in Rome, without the consent of his holiness; that he would restore all the lands belonging to the church; that he would excommunicate, absolve all her rights, and take the accursed oath at his coronation.

c. During the reign of Albert I. Everhard, count of Wurtemburg, had molested the imperial cities of Suabia, and now, since the death of that emperor, had continued to exercise such violence against them, that they were obliged to complain of his conduct at the diet of Spire. The count, being summoned to appear and answer to the charge, came attended with such a large body of troops, as gave umbrage to the emperor and the princes, who, nevertheless, endeavoured to compromise the affair; but he rejected their advice, and retired, without having listened to any terms of accommodation. He was therefore put to the ban of the empire, and a body of troops being raised to reduce him to obedience, the lord of Vinsberg was invested with the command, and in a little time subdued almost all the dominions of the count, who escaped into the territories of the marquis of Baden, with whom he lived till the death of the emperor, after which he, without difficulty, obtained possession of his estates.

d. Among other regulations for establishing the peace of the empire, Henry, at this period, by public decree, expelled the Jews from all the provinces of Germany, on account of the mischief which attended their usury and extortion; for they farmed the taxes of almost every prince at a low rate, and levied them with such severity and rapacity, as rendered them odious and detestable to the people. At the same time he, in conjunction with Philip the Fair of France, solicited the pope to abolish the order of templars, who not only imitated the Jews in their usury, but were accused of the most licentious debauchery, and all sorts of enormity. Clement, however, was deaf to their remonstrances, and refused to take any steps on the prejudice of an order, which had done such signal service to the cause of religion.

e. As no emperor, since the death of Frederick II. had repaired to Italy, the rights of the empire in that country were all gone to wreck. Every nobleman had erected himself into a petty sovereign, and the Guelfs and Ghibelin butchered one another without humanity or remorse. Pope Clement V. who had been the chief caue of Henry's election, urged him, with unceasing importunity, to go in person and quell the disturbances in Italy, and the Ghibelins, who were imperialists, solicited him to the same effect, that they might be supported against their enemies. He now, therefore, convoked a diet at Frankfort, in order to deliberate upon proper measures for maintaining the tranquillity of the empire in his absence. His son John, king of Bohemia, was appointed vicar; and the office of his coun-


(X) This order was instituted at Jeryhalen, in the beginning of the twelfth century, for the defence of the holy sepulchre, and the protection of Christian pilgrims. They were first called the Poor of the Holy City, and afterwards assumed the appellation of Templars, because their house was near the temple. After the ruin of the kingdom of Jeryhalen, about the year 1186, they spread themselves through Germany, and other dominions of Europe, whither they were invited by the liberality of the Christians; but their morals were soon corrupted by the riches they acquired; their lives became scandalous, and their pride insupportable. Among other pranks of the most shameless debauchery, they were taxed with having renounced the Christian religion, and with feasting in devotion on the cros at all their meetings (1).
The history of Germany.

fellor given to the count of Hesse, together with the dignity of prince, confirmed by a
the assembly. The treaty, which Henry's predecessors had made with France, was renewed;
and the states promised to second the emperor's enterprise with their whole power. But that
he might not alarm the Italians, he sent deputies before him to the cities of Lombardy with
letters, importing, that he would march into Italy, not as an enemy, to ruin the subject,
and enrich himself with the spoil, but as a friend, coming to administer justice, repress dis-
dorders, redress grievances, and re-establish the provinces in the full and free enjoyment of
their ancient rights and privileges.

Having taken these precautions, he set out for Italy with the troops, which had been
granted him by the states of the empire, being accompanied by the dukes of Austria and
Bavaria, Baldwin, archbishop of Trier, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flan-
ders, and other noblemen, together with the militia of all the imperial cities. Pope Clem-
ent, at whose earnest solicitation this journey had been undertaken, changed his opinion,
as soon as he saw Henry set out with sufficient forces to re-establish the authority and fove-
reignty of the empire in Italy, and set on foot divers secret negotiations to prevent his
march. He committed the government of Rome to Robert, king of Apulia, or Naples,
with whom he engaged in alliance against the emperor; and that prince sent thither his
brother John, with a good body of troops, at the same time joining in a confederacy with
the cities of Florence, Bologna, Siena, Lucca, Cremona, Padua, Brescia, and some others;
which being strongly garrisoned, and well provided with munitions of war, resolved to hold out
against the emperor. Rome was divided into two factions; that of the Colonna, which de-
cared for the emperor, had seized upon St. John of Lateran, the amphitheatre, and some
other principal parts of the city, distinguishing themselves by the old word Ghibelline, and
giving the appellation of Guelfs to the other party, which had declared for Prince John,
and secured the capitol, the castle of St. Angelo, and the Vatican.

A.D. 1311.

The emperor having, according to the custom of his predecessors, dispatched envoys to
the cities of Italy, to intimate his journey, and prepare provisions and necessaries for his
court and army, he set out, in the month of September, from Laufen, where he had received
a deputation from the Ghibelline faction. Crossed Mount Cenis, he laid ten days at Turin,
and having appointed a governor for the empire, repaired to the city of Aghi, where he
changed the magistracy, and gave the government to one Nicholas Bonfigliori. Here he
delayed two months waiting for his army, with which he marched to Casisal and Verceil, where
the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, and submitted to the appointment of the Ger-
mans governors. He was likewise joyfully received by the city of Milan, and other towns
of Lombardy, of whom he exacted considerable sums of money on account of arrears.

Notwithstanding the great honours that were paid him by Guy de la Torre, chief of
the Milanese, and governor of the city, he deprived him of his office, which was conferred
upon Maletew Wifconi, his professed enemy; and indeed Henry favoured the Ghibelines with
such partiality, as disquieted all people of moderation, and was of great prejudice to his
own affairs. It was in consequence of this disquit that the iron crown, kept at Monza, could
not be found for his coronation; so that he caufed another of steel to be made, with which
he was crowned, together with his emperors, by Goffion de la Torre, archbishop of Milan;
and after the ceremony created two hundred knights.

Guy de la Torre forms a
conspiracy against the
emperor's life.

Guy de la Torre, exasperated at the emperor's behaviour towards him and his
party, resolved to make an attempt upon Henry's life, and with some of the Guelfs ac-
rually concerted a scheme for assailing him in his palace, during the execution of a malefac-
tor without the walls, which, they did not doubt, would attract the curiosity of the Germans,
so as that they would crowd to the place, and leave the emperor aloft quite unguarded.
Maletew Wifconi having luckily received intimation of this plot, communicated the whole
contrivance to Henry, who took his measures in such a manner, that, when the conspirators
assembled to execute their design, they were suddenly attacked and cut in pieces by a body
of troops prepared for that purpose. As for Guy de la Torre, he escaped, with some of his
family; but his house was razed to the ground, and his effects confiscated for the use of
the emperor.

Notwithstanding this miscarriage, he still continued to project plans for Henry's de-
struction, and even engaged the emperor's own chancellor in another design against his life.
That peridious wretch sent letters, sealed with the imperial seal, to the magistrates of Lon-
bardy, commanding them, at an appointed time, to murder all the Germans who were in
garrison among them; and the execrable scheme would, in all probability, have been ex-
cuted, had not a German knight happily intercepted one of the letters, and boldly expostu-
lated on the subject with Henry, who being informed of the particulars, caufed his chancellor
to be apprehended immediately, and among his papers found one of the letters not yet

p Struv. per. ix. sect. 4.
The history of Germany.

a expelied. Far from attempting to exculpate himself, this miscreant confessed the crime, owning, that being a Guelph of the race of the Terrizians, massacred at Milan, he had entered into the emperor’s service with no other view but that of destroying him with the first favourable opportunity; and that he had before poisoned several waggon loads of wine destined for the German army, though that scheme did not take effect. Henry, amazed and confounded at the villany and boldness of this traitor, condemned him to be burnt alive, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

CREMONA was the first place that ventured to oppose the emperor, and that he took by force, and fled accordingly. Parma, Vicenza, and Piacenza made peace with him upon reasonable conditions. Padua paid an hundred thousand crowns, and received an imperial officer as commander of the city. The Venetians presented his majesty with a large sum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a vermilion chain of very curious workmanship. Brescia made a desperate resistance, and sustained a very severe siege, in the course of which Waleran of Luxembourg, the emperor’s brother, was slain by an arrow, and Henry’s army diminished to such a degree, that the inhabitants marched out, under the command of their prefect Thibault de Druffart, and gave him battle. After a very obstinate engagement, in which the emperor was knocked off his horse, and almost killed, the Germans, animated by the danger in which they saw their sovereign, charged the Brescians with such redoubled fury and impetuosity, as bore down all opposition, and compelled them to retire into the city with great loss. Thibault, who had fought with incredible valour, was found upon the field not yet dead, though grievously wounded; and being carried to the place where the emperor stood, Henry reproached him with his perfidy, ordered him to be tore asunder by four horses, then his quarters were expelled upon the wheel, and his head fixed upon a pike before the gates of the city. And indeed this punishment, severe as it was, seems to have been no more than adequate to his treachery and ingratitude; for two years before this event, when he was banished from his native country, he had come to Spire, and implored the protection of Henry, who received him with great hospitality, and knighted him with his own hand; yet, unmindful of these favours, he afterwards joined the Guelphs, and was the person who excited the Brescians to revolt against his benefactor. His townsmen, in order to revenge his death, hanged fifty German prisoners upon their walls; a circumstance which incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he was resolved to humble them, or perish in the attempt. Thus determined, he redoubled his efforts, and repeated his attacks with equal vigour and perseverance, until the besieged were, by the enemy without, and famine within, reduced to the utmost extremity. Then they had recourse to his clemency, and presented themselves before him barefoot, with halters about their necks; a spectacle which he could not behold unmoved. He accordingly granted them their lives, on condition they should pay fifty thousand crowns, and deliver one hundred hostages, chosen from their principal citizens; but, at the same time, he ordered their walls and fortifications to be demolished, and entered in triumph the breach he had made.

From hence the emperor, after having appointed governors in that city, Verona, Parma, and Mantua, marched directly to Genoa, where he was splendidly received and entertained by the city.

By this time Henry’s successes in Lombardy had greatly alarmed the pope, who began to fear, that he would not only reduce all the Italian towns and states to his obedience, but also take advantage of Clement’s abdication to fix the seat of his empire at Rome. It was from this apprehension that, although he had sent a commission to five cardinals to crown the emperor, he now exerted all his endeavours to traverse his successes, in concert with Robert, king of Naples, who formed a confederacy among the towns of Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, and ordered his brother John, prince of Morata, to march with a body of forces to Rome, to oppose the emperor’s entrance into that city, and act as the ally and protector of the Urfins, who headed the faction of the Guelphs. Mean while he sent a deputation to the emperor at Genoa, to declare, that his sole view of detaching his brother to Rome, was to honour the entry of his imperial majesty; and that he was sincerely disposed to cultivate and cement a friendship with his imperial majesty, by means of a match between his son, the duke of Calabria, and Katherine of Luxembourg.

This Henry was for some time amused by the dissimulation of this prince, who endeavoured to protract the negotiation, he would not delay his coronation, but set out from Genoa, where he had been joined by the cardinals appointed to perform that ceremony; but before he began his march, he sent ambassadors to the prince of Morata, who, in conjunction with the Urfins, had taken possession of part of the city, to give notice of his approach, that all obstacles to his entry might be removed. At length the Neapolitan thought proper to pull off the mask, after having amused the envos for a considerable time, on pretence of

1 CUSP. in vit. Henric. VII. Hid. Luxemb. I. xlvii. 2 Idem ibid.
The history of Germany.

Henry presents himself before Rome in order of battle; and is crowned in the church of St. John of Lateran.

The papal legation, in which the emperors were usually crowned, being in the hands of the Orsini faction, Henry proposed, that he should receive the imperial crown in the church of St. John of Lateran; and the cardinals at first refused to comply with his desire, on pretence that it was contrary to custom, and exceeded the bounds of their commission, such was the deplorable situation of Rome, divided and distracted between two implacable factions, which filled the city with carnage and confusion, that they were at length prevailed upon to embrace the expedient; and he received the crown with the usual ceremonies, amidst the acclamations of the people, who looked upon this event as the only means of being delivered from such oppressive guests.

Upon this occasion, instead of making large fees, according to the custom of his predecessors, he demanded money of the Romans; who were so much provoked at this unnatural imposition, that many of the citizens joined his enemies, who were in possession of the strongest places in Rome, and a tumult ensued, in which the emperor lost about two thousand men; and was besieged and straitened by want of provision and money, that he could no longer subsist in Rome.

Henry, having, after his coronation, exerted his endeavours to remedy the disorders of Rome, resolved to take vengeance on the king of Naples, who had duped him in such a pernicious manner, and for that purpose concluded a treaty of alliance with Frederic II. king of Sicily, brother of James II. of Aragon, importing, that as soon as the emperor should have made himself master of Tuscany, he should invade the kingdom of Naples by land, while the Sicilian fleet should attack the maritime places.

The pope, willing to prevent the confusions of this rupture, wrote to the cardinals who had crowned Henry, defining what they should effect an accommodation, or at least command both parties to agree to a truce, inasmuch as they were obliged to obey his commands by the oath of fidelity they had taken, and the benefits they had received from the holy see.

The emperor paid no manner of regard to this remonstrance; but finding himself incapable to reduce his enemies at Rome, he left the government of the city to the Colonnas, and repaired to Tivoli; from thence, taking his route through the territory of Perugia, which he had laid waste with fire and sword, he arrived at Arezzo, with an intention to attack Florence. He accordingly invested that city, after having taken and demolished some forts in the neighbourhood; but after a fruitless siege of forty days, was obliged to retire to winter-quarters. In the spring, he convened all the princes of Italy at Pisa, and decreed, that they should punctually and annually pay the accustomed tribute; and after mature deliberation upon the acts of hostility, which had been committed by Robert, king of Naples, upon the empire, he summoned him to appear as his feudatory. Robert refusing, was put to the ban (Y), his kingdom being bestowed upon Frederic, king of Sicily, who was in the emperor’s interest. The pope, in consequence of these proceedings against his ally, wrote letters to the emperor, earnestly exhorting him to listen to an accommodation; but they happened to produce the contrary effect: for being couched in the file of a sovereign who

(Y) The Florentines surrendered the sovereignty of their territory, for the term of five years, to Robert, on condition he would protect them from the infestation of the emperor; the inhabitants of Lucca, Pisa, and Pistoia, submitted to him on the same terms; and the pope conferred upon him the government of Ferrara. Henry was extremely mortified to see the power of his enemy daily increasing; and his resentment glowed with the greater ardour, when he learned, that the Neapolitan galleys had attacked his vessels in the harbour of Pisa, after having ravaged the islands of Gargania and Capharia. He therefore denounced a sentence against him as a child of perfidy, which, for the enticement of the reader, we shall repeat: “We declare Robert, who calls himself


1 Idem ibid. Villan. I. ix. c. 43, usque 47.

(1) Aquila Paga, tit. Hen. VII.

writes...
The history of Germany.

A writes to his vaill, Henry was incensed at his insolence, and, in order to manifest his resentment, joined his forces with those of Frederick, king of Sicily, in order to attack the dominions of Robert both by sea and land. He had been in great distress for want of forces, because those he expected from Germany were retarded by the war which his son John was obliged to maintain against the duke of Carinthia, who had renewed hostilities, and ravaged Moravia. At length, however, a reinforcement arrived with his brother, who was archbishop of Trier, and a powerful armament being fitted out for his service by Frederick of Sicily and the Genoese, he was flushed with the hope of making a complete conquest of Naples. The king of France, alarmed at these preparations, began to fear that, though Henry succed in this enterprise, and reduce the towns of Italy, he would reclaim Provence and some other domains, which formerly belonged to the empire: he therefore complained to the pope of the violent proceedings of the emperor, who intended to dispossess Robert of the patrimony of his ancestors, and to trouble the repose of the church, so as to hinder the princes of Europe from going to the Holy Land, according to the resolution taken in the council of Vienne. In consequence of this remonstrance, the pope issued a bull, forbidding all perils whatever, on pain of excommunication, to invade Naples by sea or land, on any pretense whatsoever; but this prohibition had little weight with Henry, who sent a splendid embassy to explain his motives to the king of France, who was satisfied with his explanation; and then began his march towards the territory of Sienna, with a view to enter Robert’s dominions.

Though his health was extremely precariously, he was resolved to be personally present in this expedition, and advanced as far as Bonconvento, where all his fine schemes for the establishment of the imperial authority in Italy ended with his life (Z). His body was carried back to Pisa, and interred with great pomp in the cathedral church, amidst the inexpressible sorrow of all his followers, after he had reigned four years seven months and eighteen days. Thous died Henry VII. in the 51st year of his age, a prince who had the reputation of being valiant, politic, just, affable, and devout. He was well made, though thin; his complexion was florid, and his hair of a sandy colour: he had a small defect in his right eye, his nose and chin were long, his speech was slow, and his voice concise: he had an air of majesty, mingled with great complaisance. Nothing gave him so much pain as to be obliged to treat with his subjects. He abhorred the names of Gibelines and Guelfs, and loved to command as sovereign. In his youth he had, by means of the pope’s dispensation, married Margaret, daughter of John, duke of Brabant, his own cousin. By this princess, who died at Genoa, he had prince John, of whom mention hath already been made, and four daughters, namely, Beatrice, wife of Charles, king of Hungary; Mary, queen of Charles the Fair of France; Agnes, matched with Redolphus, count palatine of the Rhine; and Catherine, married to Leopold, duke of Austria.


(2) He is said, by some authors, to have been poisoned by a Dominican, whose name was Bernard Pellican, in administering the sacrament, which the emperor frequently received. This monk is supposed to have been hired by his own countrymen the Florentines, to perpetrate this execrable ation. Several writers have endeavoured to vindicate the order from such an asperion, and to prove that Henry died of a complication of different tempers; they have even produced a letter written by his own son, in which he acquits the monks of all suspicion. Nevertheless, the dispute is still undecided; and though it is well known that the emperor laboured under an ill state of health when he embarked in this expedition, it is likewise certain, that the report of the poison was generally believed at the time of his death (1).

(1) Geoff. Episc. Trevis. l. ii.

C H A P. VII.

Including the History of Charles IV. in whose Reign the Constitution, called the Golden Bull, was established.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

Before we proceed to give a detail of what steps were taken to fill the imperial throne, become vacant by the death of Henry, it will be necessary to give a retrospective view of the transactions of Lower Germany, and those that regard the Teutonic order. The majority of these knights, on their return to Germany from the Holy Land, had taken arms against the Ruffians, and other pagans of the North: they had made themselves masters of Samogitia, and butchered all the inhabitants who refused to embrace the Christian religion.
The history of Germany.

... they had built the town of Konigsberg, in honour of Lewis IX. their good benefactor: the city of Montreal afterwards owed its origin to their industry; and they supported a long and troublesome war against Seth Wan de Pol, duke of Pomerania. This prince, when upon his death-bed, declared his eldest son Meffewin heir to his dominions; but he was deposed by his younger brother Wittulaus, who governed with such iniquity and tyranny, that the people were in arms, expelled him from the duchy, and restored his brother. Wittulaus, thus exiled, had recourse to Conrad, marquis of Brandenburg, whose affiance he procured by promising to defray the expences of the war, and leave him in possession of Danzig, until he should have obtained full satisfaction. On these conditions the marquis took the field, and surprised both town and citadel; but understanding that Meffewin was supplied with a strong body of forces by his brother-in-law Bokhaus, palatine of Kalis, he did not choose to encounter such a powerful enemy; and gave his employer to understand, that if he did not immediately pay the troops, the town must be abandoned to pillage. In this emergency Wittulaus applied to the Teutonic knights, residing at Elbing, offering to surrender his persons and dominions at discretion, provided they would expel Meffewin and the marquis: but their hands were then so full, that they declined embarking in the affair, and Wittulaus died of grief at their refusal. Mean while Meffewin and his ally besieged and took Danzig, which the palatine kept by way of security until his death; immediately after which Meffewin surprised both city and citadel, and drove out the Polich garrison.

HERMAN, count de Helderingen, grand master of the Teutonic order, having reproved the insofence of the Russians, Lithuanians, Samogitians, and Semigallians, by whose irruptions the knights had been greatly harassed, marched at the head of an army towards Danzig, to avoid himself of the effusion which Wittulaus had made in favour of the order. Before hostilities commenced, however, an accommodation was effected, by the intercession of the pope’s legates, who were at that time in Prussia; and by an article of the treaty, the knights were put in possession of the town and citadel, with all their dependencies. They were afterwards possessed by Primulaus, the nephew and heir of Meffewin; and at his death the city fell into the hands of the marquis of Brandenburg, though the citadel continued in the power of Uladillaus, king of Poland. This force being besieged by the princes of Brandenburg, who were bent upon making themselves masters of all Pomerania, the Polich governor implored the assistance of the knights, who marching to his relief, compelled the enemy to raise the siege of the citadel, and even relinquished the city itself, both which they kept for their own use, because the Polich could not pay the sum they demanded for their service: nay, they afterwards purchased Pomerelia of Waldemar, marquis of Brandenburg, and the contract was performed by the emperor Henry VII. notwithstanding the opposition of the king of Poland. While the order supported itself in Europe against all its enemies, its interest was ruined in Syria under Conrad de Feschawang, their grand master, in whose time the city of Acre, where they had established their principal house, was taken by the sultan of Egypt, and the knights that remained obliged to return to Germany.

In the petty wars of the North, as the marquises of Brandenburg were powerful enough to make either side preponderate, their alliance was courted by the kings of Denmark and Poland; and Eric VIII of Denmark, in particular, lived in great friendship with these princes, the duke of Mecklenbourg, and the other noblemen of Lower Saxony. Having invited his allies to a tournament at Refock, the inhabitants of that city, jealous of their liberty, refused to admit so many princes within their walls: an affront which his Danile majesty resented so highly, that he equipped a powerful fleet and landed in Wandalia, where he was joined by the duke of Mecklenbourg, and the other noblemen, who had jointly sustained the insult. Then they invested the city of Refock, and hampered it in such a manner, that the people, driven to despair, murdered their magistrates and submitted to Eric, who bestowed it as a proprietary fief upon the duke of Mecklenbourg, by an authentic deed, which was confirmed by the inhabitants in the most solemn manner.

About this period, the templars who resided in Germany were, in consequence of the abolition of their order by pope Clement at the council of Vienne, distributed in different monasteries to do penance, with a moderate pension from the revenues of the order; and the lands and houses they possessed in Lorraine were given to the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; but in the other provinces, their lands were refounded by the noblemen to whole families they originally belonged.

The few templars who resided in Bavaria and Austria were not disturbed; for these provinces were otherwise employed in a war, occasioned by a competition for the guardianship of the children left by Stephen, duke of Bavaria. This province formerly belonged to Otto, duke of Lower Bavaria, brother of Stephen, who had been elected king of Hungary: but...
The history of Germany.

The duke of Bavaria having received advice that the body of Austrians, on their way to join Frederic, had halted at Gemeisterf, five leagues from Mosburg, detached a part of his belt troops to beat up their quarters; and a battle ensued, in which the Austrians were routed and cut in pieces; so that Frederic, finding himself without resources, was fain to sue for peace. Lewis, exclusive of his private hatred to the duke of Austria, had another view in continuing the war, namely, that of feigning the dominions of the ancient house of Austria, to which he had pretensions: but considering that the scheme might interfere with his design of mounting the imperial throne, which now was vacant; he agreed to hold a congress at Salzburg, where Wickard, archbishop of that see, and Henry of Carinthia, acted as arbiters of the peace; and an accommodation was effected, in consequence of Frederic's renouncing all right to the guardianship and regency; and promising to restore the booty and prisoners which he had acquired in the course of the war.  

The disorders and dangers which had already begun to interrupt the commerce of Germany, even in the life-time of Henry VII, increased to such a degree after his death, that certain cities of the Rhine were obliged to enter into an association with the prince palatine Redolphus, duke of Bavaria, who signed an instrument in his own name, and that of his brother Lewis, for their mutual security against highwaymen, and their protectors or relations, who might attempt to revenge the death of such as should fall a sacrifice to justice, by committing outrages on the inhabitants of the cities where they had been executed. This confederacy was formed during the interregnum, which continued from the 24th of August, when Henry died, to the 18th of October in the following year. All that intermediate time was employed in the intrigues of Frederic, duke of Austria, and Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who, though first cousins, and grandchildren of the emperor Redolphus I, now set up for the throne in opposition to each other.  

The long vacancy in the empire was owing to several concurring causes. Henry, duke of Carinthia, disputed with John of Luxembourg, not only the title of king of Bohemia, but also the quality of elector, which last was likewise contested between John and Redolphus, dukes of Saxony; for the number of electors was not yet regulated; and in the elections of William of Holland, and Alphons of Castile, two princes of the house of Brandenburg, had given their suffrages; nay, two of the Bavarian family had voted for Richard duke of Cornwall. Some of the princes were of opinion, that the right was inherent only in the elder branch of the electoral house; but this affair, though often discussed, was never determined till the reign of Charles IV. by the famous constitution called the Golden Bull.  

Exclusive of these civil divisions, Germany groaned under all the miseries of plague and famine, by which whole towns were depopulated, and provinces left in desolation. The rich fled for refuge to other countries, while the poor perished of hunger and fasting; wolves and other beasts of prey, compelled by famine, quitted their savage haunts, and rushing into the villages, destroyed all who fell in their way. The air was tormented with storm and tempest, the lands were deluged with torrents of rain, and caratacles of water bursting from the mountains, and sweeping trees, animals, and houses, before them with incredible promptness; and the earth was convulsed with dreadful shocks, that seemed to shake it from the center.  

These calamities obliged the princes to shut themselves up in their castles; so that the election of a king of the Romans was for some time delayed; but these evils were no sooner alleviated, than the competitors renewed their cabals, and canvassed with equal industry for the imperial throne. At length, however, Peter, archbishop of Mentz; Baldwin, archbishop of Triers, who was count of Luxembourg, and brother to the late emperor; Henry of Friesberg, archbishop of Cologne; John, king of Bohemia, son of the late emperor; Redolphus, count palatine of the Rhine, and Lewis, duke of Bavaria, his brother; Valmar, marquis of Brandenburg; Redolphus, duke of Saxony, son of Albert II. and Eric, duke of Lower Saxony, assembled at Frankfort, in order to deliberate upon the choice of an emperor, when a schism happened among the electors (A). Those of Mentz, Triers, Bohemia, and Brun.

1 Nauckler, General. 2 Barke, ubi supra. 3 Geff. Baldwin. i. iii. (A) Various are the accounts of this difference among the electors, in giving a detail of which we have copied Heffe, who seems to have compared all the authors who have written on this subject, and followed the best authority.
The history of Germany.

denburg, declared for Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who was then in the city; while the archbishop of Cologne, the count palatine, and the duke of Saxony, adhered to Frederic, duke of Austria, who had taken up his quarters at Saxenhausen, on the other side of the river. Lewis immediately set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned by the archbishop of Meutz; and the other electors conducted Frederic to Bonn, where he received the crown from the elector of Cologne*. After this double coronation, these two emperors exerted themselves in gaining over the imperial cities, and in procuring advantages, each to the prejudice of the other. Besides those we have already mentioned, Lewis had engaged in his party several bishops and counts, particularly those of Welsdahlia, to whom he granted sundry privileges. The city of Cologne, although its archbishop was of the contrary faction, together with the towns of the Lower Rhine, as far as Selz, espoused his cause. As for Frederic, he was acknowledged by Selz, and all the other cities of the Higher Rhine, except Bern and Soleure, which remained neutral. This dispute, which involved the whole country in civil war and confusion, and had like to have ruined the empire entirely, was maintained in mutual ravages for several years, until the two rivals gave battle to each other, in order to decide the contest at once.

While Frederic, flushed with pride and ambition, and confiding in the power, magazines, and influence, which he inherited of his father, exerted all his endeavours to anticipate and drive his rival from the imperial crown, one Touchi of Alzey attempted to affiancate Lewis, in hope of ingratiating himself with the duke of Austria by this executable action. With this view he and his accomplices repaired to Oppenheim, where the emperor resided with the archbishop of Meutz; but Lewis, having received notice of their design, took measures for their being apprehended. They were accordingly taken, tried, convicted, broke alive upon the wheel, and their quarters exposed in terrorum of all traitors*.

Mean while Leopold of Austria, zealous for the glory of his brother Frederic, assembled an army, and marched towards Spire, whither Lewis had advanced; but this last interchanging him so strongly that he could not be attacked with any probable hopes of success, Leopold, having ravaged the country, took the route of Augsburg, crossed the Black Mountains, passed the river Lech, and entering Upper Bavaria, surprised and set fire to Landsparg. Frederic, supposing that the inaction of Lewis proceeded from his weakness, began to look upon him with contempt, and, instead of purifying the advantages he had gained, amused himself at Bafi with the ceremony of a double match between him and Elizabeth of Aragon, and between his brother Leopold and Katherine of Savoy.

While he trifled away his time in these nuptials, which were celebrated with great magnificence, Lewis was employed in negotiating a treaty with the Swiss cantons, which he knew to be the natural enemies of the Austrian house: but although part of them had already acknowledged him as emperor, they were very scrupulous of taking up arms in his favour, and before he could remove their objections, Leopold endeavoured to prevent the alliance. On pretence of afflicting the abbots of the hermitage of the virgin Mary, who had excommunicated the Swiss, in consequence of a dispute concerning the limits of their territories, he advanced with an army of twenty thousand men against the cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwald, which were confederated for their mutual defence. As their whole force did not exceed one thousand six hundred men, they had recourse to the policy of war; and knowing the enemy must necessarily pass through a narrow defile, they posted part of their troops upon the mountains near Margarten, from whence they rolled down such a quantity of huge stones upon the Austrians, that great numbers of them were killed and wounded, and the whole army put in confusion; then the Swiss fell upon them with great fury, and drove them out of the canton with terrible slaughter. Such exploits of valour were performed by the Swiss upon that occasion, and so much depended upon the fortune of the day, that the fight of Margarten may be compared to the battle of Marathon, which averted the liberty of Greece; and it certainly gave rise to the Helvetic union: for the alliance, which the three cantons had made for the term of ten years only, was now converted into a perpetual league, in which the others occasionally engaged.

FREDERIC, in the mean time, besieged Elchingen on the Neckar; and Lewis coming to the relief of the place with a body of troops which he had received from Bobemia, a battle was fought with great obstinacy, until night parted the combatants: so that neither side could claim the victory: for although Lewis sustained the greatest loss, his rival was so weakened by the engagement, that he was fain to raise the siege, and retire. Thus the two competitors maintained the war with various success, endeavouring to acquire new friends, and strengthen their different factions, by favours and grants, which both bestowed in quality of emperor.

* StrbV. per. 47. sect. 5.  † Adlreiter. part ii. i.  ‡ Simler. de Repub. Helvetic. p. 70.
In the midst of this contention, John XXII. being raised to the papacy, both prince frove to obtain his good graces, and both were disappointed in their expectation; for the he amended each party with flattering promises, he would confirm neither, but resolved to take the advantage of their division for extending his own power in the empire, and ruining the party of the Ghibelines in Italy.

With this view he published the constitutions of pope Clement V. in which that pontiff declared, that the empire is dependent on the Roman church, and that the emperors, in receiving the crown, ought to take the oath of allegiance to his holiness. Then he issued out a bull upon his own authority, annulling the offices of the vicars or lieutenants, whom the emperor Henry VII. had appointed in the different cities of Lombardy, declaring, that as the imperial throne was now vacant, the government of the empire belonged to the pope alone, as successor of St. Peter, to whom was granted all power on earth as well as in heaven; forbidding all perrons, of what rank or quality soever, whether royal or patriarchal, to assume the quality of vicar, or any other office or dignity of the empire, without his permission, on pain of personal excommunication, and an interdiction on his lands and territories; and, lastly, nominating Robert, king of Naples, vicar of the empire in Italy. Not contented with these arbitrary proceedings, he summoned the two competitors for the empire to appear at his tribunal, that he might hear their different pleas, and determine to which of them the empire should belong.

The Ghibelines, far from being intimidated by his threats, still kept possession of their posts and dignities; and the pope, incensed at their contempt of his authority, declared openly for the Guelphs; and the civil war was renewed in Italy with infinite rancour and animosity. The Ghibelines espoused the cause of Lewis, which was likewise supported by Frederic of Arragon, king of Sicily; and the Guelphs, reinforced by Robert, king of Naples, attached themselves to the interest of the duke of Austria. Matthew Visconti, the most powerful of all the Ghibelines, made himself master of Milan, taking to himself the quality of prince and lord of that city, for Lewis of Bavaria, king of the Romans. He reduced Padua, Novara, Placentia, Alexandria, and several other cities; and, notwithstanding a tenetence of excommunication thundered out against him, and all his adherents by the pope, he undertook the siege of Genoa, where the Guelphs prevailed, which he maintained, with the assistance of the families of Doria and Spinola, for the space of two years; during which the place was several times relieved by Robert, king of Naples, and the joint efforts of the pope and Florence, until the army of the besiegers being reduced to an inconsiderable number, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise.

FREDERIC of Austria, seeing the strength of his rival daily increasing, began to be apprehensive of his growing power, especially as he now presumed to act upon the offensive, and had actually made an incursion into Austria. Thither he was followed by Frederic, who obliged him to pass the river Inn, and the two armies came in fight of each other near Muldorff. Here the duke of Austria, perceiving himself inferior in power to his adversary, proposed, that their difference should be decided by a combat between fifteen of each side; and his proposal being embraced by Lewis, the champions were chosen, and engaged in presence of both armies with such fury, that in a very little time there was not one of them alive. This was but the prelude to a general action, which lasted from the morning till the afternoon, when the Austrians were worsted, and obliged to repass the river in the utmost disorder; while Leopold, who advanced on the side of the Lech, at the head of a body of cuirassiers, in order to surround the Bavarians, understanding his brother's defeat, and the dispersion of his army, retreated with great expedition into Swabia, where he employed himself in making new levies.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loss which Frederic sustained on this occasion, he found means to repair it in a very short time, and joined his brother, who was reinforced by Ulric, count de Ferrara (B), and John, bishop of Straffburg. By this juncture, the archdukes were in a condition to appear again in the field, and Lewis, though supported by the archbishops of Mentz and Triers, and the king of Bohemia. While they faced one another on different sides of the Brusgb in Lower Alsace, Lewis sent a trumpet to defy Frederic to battle,
in consequence of which defiance, this last immediately quitted his intrenchments, drew up his army in order of battle, and even paffed the river, in order to attack the enemy, with such resolution, as struck a panic into the Bavarians, who retreated with great precipitation, and were pursued for three days, until they took shelter under the ramparts of Haguenau.

Next year Frederic and Leopold went in quest of Lewis into his own country of Bavaria; and he not being in a condition to oppose them in the field, betook himself to his strong places, leaving the open country a prey to his enemies, who lived at discretion, and ravaged it for a considerable time.

In a little time after the Bavarian was freed from these troublesome guests, he sent a body of horse to the affiance of the Gibelins in Italy; and the pope receiving the affiance of the Guelphs upon the decline, invited Philip de Valois, nephew to the king of France, to come to their affiance, in which case he would declare him general of the holy See. Philip accepted of the dignity, and began his march into Italy, at the head of a number of French volunteers, on the promise of being joined at Alb cardinal Paget with eight hundred horse, and of receiving reinforcements from the king of Naples, and the cities of Bologna, Sienna, and Florence.

But this expedition was ruined by his inexperience and precipitation; for advancing to Mortara, in his way to Vercelli, with fifteen hundred horse only, he was cut off from the rest of his army by Galeazzo Vignoni, and obliged to solicit a conference, in which he agreed to relinquish his enterprise, and actually returned to France with disgrace.

The pope, baffled in his hopes from this quarter, had recourse to Frederic of Austria; whose election he promised to confirm, provided he would deliver Italy from the tyranny of the Vignonis; and this prince detached his brother prince Henry, with two hundred horse, to the affiance of the Guelphs: for by this time John XXII. had published a crusade against the Gibelins. Matthew Vignoni, however, who was equally politic and brave, found means, by artful remonstrances, to convince the duke of Austria, that he acted contrary to his own interest in supporting the Guelphs, who were the declared enemies of the empire, against the Gibelins, who had always been its unshaken adherents. To these representations he added some valuable presents; in consequence of which Frederic recalled his brother, on the pre-}

ence that the Guelphs had refused to put him in possession of Brescia.

HENRY, on his return, joined his brother Frederic, who had made a second irruption into Bavaria, and acquired a considerable booty, with which he might have retired before the arrival of Lewis, who was employed in assembling all the forces he could bring together; but, disliking, perhaps, to make a retreat, which might be construed into the effect of fear, he, though inferior in number, resolved to remain in Bavaria, and contended himself between the Iver and the Inn, where he received a reinforcement from the Austrian nobility: but he was not yet joined by his brother Leopold.

LEWIS, whose army amounted to thirty thousand effective men, under the different commands of the king of Bohemia, the burgrave of Nuremberg, and other experienced chiefs, passed the Inn, and encamped near Frederic, in the plain of Yeebuis, between Muldorf and Oettingen (C). They engaged upon St. Michael's-day, and fought with great obstinacy, till at last Frederic, having obliged his enemies to give ground, began to congratulate himself upon the victory, when an experienced officer belonging to the Bavarian side, found means to rally the fugitives, and bring them back to the charge with redoubled fury (D); so that their first giving way seemed no other than a feint to disorder the enemy. By this very circumstance Lewis gained the battle. The first prisoner that was brought to him was Frederic's brother, duke Henry, dangerously wounded; then the burgrave of Nuremberg preferred to him Frederic himself, who, after having fought with amazing valour, and killed fifty men with his own hand, had surrendered, when he found himself abandoned by all his troops. The duke of Lorraine was likewise taken prisoner on this occasion. Lewis ordered the purflut to be stopped, and sent Frederic prisoner to the castle of Tranfnez, where he remained in confinement for three years.

---

1 Barre, tom. vi. p. 447.  
2 Rainald. ad ann. 1320.  
3 Redb. ad ann. 1322.  

(C) While they lay fronting each other, Lewis sent an herald to tell Henry, that in three days he would give him battle; an intimation which was so agreeable to the Austrians, that he presented the meller with a curious sword. On the eve of the battle, he detached an Austrian captain to reconnoitre the enemy, and bring an account of their numbers; and this officer brought him word, that there was enough to kill, enough to be taken, and enough to run away (1).

(D) The name of this captain was Seffrid Schuweperman. After the battle, while Lewis and his officers sat at table, the steward told his imperial majesty, that there was nothing for dinner but eggs, and of these but a small number; upon which, Lewis ordered one to be given to each guest, and a couple to Schuweperman; adding, "If I lie in my own camp to-night, it will be entirely owing to Seffrid (2)."

The history of Germany.

35

Mean while duke Leopold advanced, by long marches, with a body of troops, from Suabia; but hearing of the defeat and captivity of his brothers, he retreated in a great hurry to his own fiefs on the frontiers of Switzerland, and derived sufficient time to intrench himself on the mountains, from an accident that happened to Lewis, who was taken ill, and fell from his horse, while he was in pursuit. Though disabled for the present by this misfortune, he detached Albert Hamilton de Lechtemburg, in quality of landvoët of Alsatia, many pieces of whom, destined for the conqueror. Nevertheless, Leopold made shift to continue the war in that country, where many severe skirmishes were fought, with various success. He likewise solicited the pope, and the king of France, to employ their credit for the enlargement of his brothers; but all that he could obtain was the liberty of Henry, who did not long survive his release. As for the duke of Lorraine, he was, at the death of Charles the Fair, dismissed, after having taken an oath, importing, that he would never more engage in the cause of the Austrian princes.

LEOPOLD, thus disappointed in the hopes he had conceived from his arms, as well as from his neighbours, attempted to excite a revolt among the Bohemians against their king John, who was his declared enemy. That kingdom was full of malcontents, including not only those who were disgratified at the weaknesses, sloth, and debauchery of their prince, but also such as adhered to the party of Henry Lippa, a factious insolent minister, who, for his maladministration, had been banished, returned, raised disturbances, and been imprisoned in the fortress of Prague. His partisans, who were both numerous and powerful, had written a letter to the king, demanding his release, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to destroy the country with fire and sword. Leopold seized the opportunity of marching with his troops to the frontier, and, in all probability, might have wrested the crown from the legal prince, who was very ill beloved, and worse obeyed by his subjects. But the scheme was frustrated by a reinforcement which John received from the archbishops of Frieburg and Mainz, who headed their troops in person, and effected an accommodation between the king and the discontented nobility. Lippa was let at liberty in consequence of this agreement; yet he seized the first opportunity of John's absence to re-imbroil the state, by means of fomenting a jealousy between the queen dowager and reigning princes; nay, when the king returned to his own dominions, this indefatigable incendiary alienated his affection from his wife, by poffessing him with a notion that she was privately engaged in forming cabals to dethrone her husband, and raise her son to the throne. The king, alarmed at these false insinuations, sent the young prince to be educated in France, at the court of Charles the Fair, and, terrified at the thoughts of a rebellion in Bohemia, resolved to exchange his crown for the palatinate of the Rhine, which was by this time in the hands of the emperor. For all the princes of the empire, who had favoured the party of Frederic, seeing him totally ruined by this overthrow, reconciled themselves with Lewis, and owned him for legitimate emperor, and those that scrupled to submit voluntarily, were compelled by force. But his chief resentment was expressed against Rodericus count Palatine, his own brother, who had favoured the election of Frederic, and afterwards supported his faction. He was driven from his territories, and obliged to retire, with his family, into England, where he died in extreme poverty.

LEWIS, who seized upon his territories, attended to the proposal made by the king of Bohemia, and ordered an act of exchange to be expedited, by which he obliged himself to guarantee the Palatinate to John of Luxemburg, and his heirs. This deed was no sooner known, than it filled all Bohemia with alarm: the estates of the kingdom assembled, and declared the exchange void, and injurious to the nation; nay, so much were they incensed against John, that they resolved to take off the yoke of the house of Luxemburg, and proceed to the election of a new sovereign. In this dilemma, John had recourse to the emperor, who repaired to Prague in person, and having ineffectually used all his endeavours to reconcile the states to the exchange, he cancelled the original act; and the Bohemians, pacified by this sacrifice, took a new oath of allegiance to their king, whom they promised to support against all his enemies.

These civil commotions being appeased, Lewis convoked a diet at Nuremberg, in order to deliberate upon measures for securing the tranquillity of the empire; and in this assembly, among other wholesome regulations, a statute was enacted against proviçures, who, in a clandestine manner, should obtain the reverion of benefits from the church of Rome; a practice which had been shamefully abused by pope John XXII. to whom the noblemen, veiled with the right of presentation, had often complained, without having received the least redress. His holiness was extremely charmed at this new law, which served to augment the rancour of his hatred against Lewis, tho' he would not venture to complain aloud, because he knew the nobility and clergy were resolved to support the edict.
The history of Germany.

After the death of Rodolphus, his children were recalled, and their inheritance restored; though Lewis rendered the electoral dignity alternative between his family and theirs, on condition that they should be the first to enjoy it. He likewise, with the consent of the states and princes of the empire, united to his family the marquiseate of Brandenburg, vacant by the death of Waldemar II. and John IV. who was the last marquis of Brandenburg of the posterity of Otto I. count of Anhals (L).

Besides these acquisitions, Lewis, by espousing Margaret, daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland, attached to the house of Bavaria the two counties, together with Friesland and Zealand, which it preferred during the best part of a century; and he might have likewise made himself master of other rich domains, had he, in imitation of Rodolphus, cultivated the popes, so as to render them propitious to his designs; but he had the misfortune to be ever at variance with the see of Rome, in supporting the rights of his crown, and the canonicity of his election.

Having now nothing to apprehend in Germany, he resolved to employ his whole attention in striving to appease pope John XXII. for by this time Galeazzo Visconti, who succeeded to the command of the Giselines at his father’s death, had been expelled from Milan by the Guelphs; and the chiefs of the emperor’s party at Verona and Mantua had done homage to the pope, and received abolution from the hands of the legate, cardinal Bertrand de Paget. To this prelate, who resided at Placentia, the emperor sent some officers, to desire a cession of arms might be granted to the Giselines; but the cardinal treating them with insolence and contemp, they repaired separately to Lucca, Pisa, Mantua, and Verona, where they tampered so successfully with the inhabitants, that all the Giselines of those cities united under the conduct of count Bertholdi, and marching to Milan, made themselves masters of that city, almost without resistance.

The pope, incensed at this transaction, resolved to proceed against Lewis without further reserve, and forthwith published a monitory, in which he declared, that the imperial dignity commenced a fief of the holy see that very day on which the empire was by the Romans transferred from the Greeks to the French, in the person of Charlemagne; because at that time it was decreed, that the election of an emperor should never take place until after it should be approved and confirmed by the pope, who was the father and prince of all Christendom. He added, that, when the empire was vacant by death or otherwise, it belonged to the pope alone to provide another, and to take care of the administration during the interregnum; and even when the election remains containst between two competitors, his holiness alone has the sole power to decide the dispute, and to exact the oath of fidelity of the prince, to whom he shall have adjudged the empire, in quality of viceroy or lieutenant of him, who is emperor of heaven and earth; for as the foul commands and governs, and the body is bound to obey its orders, so those things, which are frail and perishable in Christianit, ought to be subject to those that are celestial and eternal; that the prophane should be subject to the holy, and the corporeal to the spiritual; a regulation that will take place when the pope, by his own authority, shall dispose of both dignities, when the church shall prevail, and the empire, and all other powers, humble themselves before her, and submit to her laws. He therefore concluded, that as the princes of Germany had been divided ever since the death of Henry VII. and elected two princes, each of them pretending to the crown, he alone had the right to decide the contest, and, in the mean time, to govern the empire; and as Lewis had encroached upon his rights, he commanded him, by virtue of that power which he derived from heaven, to lay aside the imperial dignity, and desist from exercising the functions of an emperor, without pretending to resume them, until he should have obtained the express permission of his holiness; who, in the mean time, laid injunctions upon all patriarchs, bishops, priests, nobles, and commons, to abandon and withdraw their obedience from the usurper.

This bull was no sooner published, than the emperor assembled all the learned men of Germany, both of the clergy and laity, to examine and give their opinions of that performance. They accordingly concluded, that it was unjust, unreasonable, contrary to the Christian religion, and that he ought to call a general council. The emperor followed this advice; and the princes of Anhals, as branches of the ancient house of Brandenburg, remonstrated against this alteration, especially as there was no account of Waldemar’s death; but these representations having no effect upon the emperor or the states, they entered a solemn protest against the investiture which was conferred upon young Lewis, and refused to assent to the ceremony (1).

(E) During the contest between Lewis and Frederic, Waldemar II. elector and marquis of Brandenburg, having no children, set out privately for the Holy Land, in the habit of a pilgrim, after having put his brother John in possession of his dominions. John dying in less than a month after his departure, the emperor befoled the electorate upon his own son, Lewis of Bavaria, as a vacant fief reverted to the empire. The dukes of Saxony,


A. D. 1324.

(1) Robberd. ad ann. 1323.
The history of Germany.

a advice; and having protested against the bull, which he answered article by article, reproaching the pope himself as a favourer of heresy, since he endeavoured to abolish the sovereign power of princes, which was established by God, he signified his appeal with all the requisite formalities. He sent envoys to Aigion, with this vindication of himself, and to delire his holiness would suspend his censures until he could receive the advice of the princes of the empire; but all the favour he could obtain was a delay of two months, at the expiration of which he issued another monitory, complaining, that Lewis had made no use of this indulgence, and declaring, that he would proceed to publish the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him, if he would not, within the term of three months, resign the title of king of the Romans, and withdraw his protection from the Vifconits, and other enemies of the church.

LEWIS was too jealous of the independency of his crown to be swayed by this remonstrance; and the pope's menaces seemed the least terrible, as the Vifconits had but defeated the army of the church, and carried the general prisoner to Milan; an incident, in consequence of which his holiness renewed the censures against that family, and even caused a new crusade to be preached against them, and all their adherents. The emperor therefore, resolving to pay no further regard to the church of Rome, appointed vicars in Italy, and reinforced the Gibelines in such a manner, that they gained several advantages over their enemies; while in Germany he exerted his endeavours to reduce Leopold of Austria, who still refused to acknowledge his authority, or surrender the imperial ornaments, which he kept in the strong castle of Burgau in Aisace. This fortress was accordingly invested by the imperial troops, who had made some progress in the siege, when Leopold, marching to its relief, defeated the rear of the Bavarians, and compelled them to abandon the enterprise 4.

The three months prescribed by pope John being elapsed, he proceeded to the excommunication of Lewis, which was no sooner known in the empire, than the princes and states assembled at Ratibon, where the emperor was requested to take care that the imperial dignity should not be trampled upon, nor the Germanic liberty reduced to bondage. There also it was decreed, that the proceedings of the pope should be deemed abusive and void; and that all those who paid the least regard to his bulls, should be punished as perturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the empire.

At this assembly Lewis, in a distinct apology, justified every part of his own conduct, and produced thirty-fix articles, in consequence of which he affirmed, that the pope ought to be deposed; and again appealed to a general council, desiring that it might be convoked, with all convenient speed, in a place of safety 5 (F).

This step being taken, he published the holding of tournaments at Frankfort and Nuremberg, where there was a vaif concourse of noblemen and knights, a great number of whom he, by his liberality, engaged in his interest, and many private treaties were made, by which they bound themselves to supply him with troops, to frustrate the efforts of the house of Austria. But this expedient proving ineffectual, he had recourse to the princes of the empire, and a confederacy was formed in his favour by the king of Bohemia, the archbishop of Triers, Ferry, duke of Lorraine, and Edward, count de Barr, who engaged to furnish a certain proportion of troops, to be maintained at their own expense; and each prince obliged himself to head his forces in person. In consequence of this treaty, which was concluded as Reenich upon the Mafelle, the city of Metz was besieged, and in a little time surrendered upon capitulation, the articles of which were very unfavourable to the inhabitants, who bought their pardon with a very large sum of money. Against this powerful association the pope resolved to raise a competitor, that should be able to divorce the empire with Lewis, and actually negociated with Leopold of Austria, and some other German princes, for electing Charles the Fair king of the Romans. Frederic of Austria promised to reign his pretensions in favour of the French monarch; the king of Bohemia, the electors of Saxony, Colgne, and Metz, being tempered with, seemed willing to concur in any scheme that would restore peace to the empire; and Leopold, mistaking this favourable disposition for a fixed resolution, desired the pope would give Charles to understand, that it would be necessary for him to have a personal conference with the German princes. Bar fur Aube was the place pitchted upon for this interview, and thither did Lewis repair with a magnificent equipage.

RAINAlD. d. 7. 12. HERIUART. conh. BAZOV. * Nicol. BURG. p. 59. BALUZ. vii. p. 278. AVENT. ubi fu. AVENT. tom. ii. p. 278. Hbst Luxemb. c. 48. KRANTZ i. c. 14. RIC. (F) In order to combat the pope's authority, Lewis employed the pens of Manslilus of Padua, and John of Giant, two famous doctors, and schismatic Cordeliers, who, in the emperor's name, wrote a number of defamatory libells against John XXII. filling him an unjust per- (3) Villan. lii. ix. c. 265.
but the German princes, who had given no positive promise, would not quit their own dominions; so that Leopold was the only person who waited upon the king of France, and that monarch was so chagrined at the disappointment, that he quitted the pursuit, and left Lewis and the pope to battle each other. Leopold, notwithstanding this miscarriage, would not abandon his enterprise; but assembling all the princes who opposed Lewis at Rens near Coblenz, where the pope’s nuncios, and the envoys of France, were present, he proposed, that in order to quiet the troubles of Germany, Charles the Fair should be elected emperor. This proposal was strenuously opposed by Bertold de Bucheck, commander of the Teutonic order, and afterwards bishop of Strasburg; and the French envoys declared their matter would never consent to wear a crown which belonged to Lewis of Bavaria. This succession of disappointments obliged Leopold at last to listen to the advice of his friends, who exhorted him to defend all opposition, and surrender to Lewis the imperial ornaments: he accordingly sent to that prince the lance, sword, and crown of Charlemagne, together with the other ensigns of royalty, in expectation of seeing his brother Frederic released. Lewis received these symbols with great indifference, and still refused to let the duke of Austria at liberty, until he found his conduct was blamed even by his own adherents.

The archbishop of Mentz, shocked at such violent proceedings, which intailed misery and devastation on the empire, begged the emperor to consider, that Germany had never been so much united within itself, but that the popes, by their intrigues, had found means to disturb its repose; and observed, that the most salutary measure he could take in the present conjuncture, would be to make an accommodation with his enemies, and especially with the princes of Austria. In consequence of this advice, proposals of peace were made to Frederic, who, by this time, heartily tired of his confinement; and it was agreed between them, that Frederic should be set at liberty, on condition of his renouncing all claim and title to the imperial dignity during the life of Lewis. This treaty being afterwards executed, the two princes met at Moulpech, where they were personally reconciled to each other; and Frederic, as a proof of his sincerity, promised, by an authentic deed, that the princes of the house of Austria should never pretend to the imperial crown, when any prince of Bavaria should be competitor.

There was no great likelihood, however, that the articles of this accommodation would be inviolably observed; for the pope abjured Frederic from his oath, as an obligation laid upon him by compulsion, while he remained in captivity, and even promised to confirm his election. Frederic himself, and his brother, seemed to consider the treaty in the same light, and waited only for a convenient opportunity of acting openly against the emperor. But, before the necessary preparations could be made, Leopold was seized with a fever, of which he died at Alsfost; and with him expired the hopes of Frederic, whose personal activity was destroyed by a malady which he had contracted in prison. Befides, he was greatly embarrassed by the pretensions of his brother Otto, who claimed an equal share of the succession of Leopold; though this dispute was afterwards referred to the decision of John, king of Bohemia.

By this peace Lewis found himself at leisure to mind the affairs of Italy, to which he was resolved to apply himself in earnest, not only with a view of being crowned at Rome, but also to fortify the party of the Ghibelines against the pope, and the king of Naples, who, for the relief of Florence, which was besieged by Castruccio in the name of the emperor, had set on foot a considerable army, almost wholly composed of French and Gascors. The Ghibelines, far from being discouraged, at the fulminations of the pope against Lewis, were rather animed by them to maintain their party against the Guelphs, whose chief and patron was King Robert. Befides, the Romans had driven the creatures of the pope out of the city, and signified to his holiness, that, if he would not come and reside at Rome, they would take care of their own affairs. It was on account of his refusing to satisfy them in this particular, that they pressed the emperor to come and receive the crown at Rome.

Lewis, finding the conjuncture favourable, convoked a diet at Spire, where the princes and states of the empire granted to him the troops and supplies necessary for his expedition. In the beginning of the next year, therefore, he set out for Italy, and, at his arrival at Trent,
The history of Germany.

a he was met by the chiefs of his party, the deputies of the towns, and the enemies of the pope, who received him as the deliverer whom they had so long and eagerly expected.

Here he convoked a diet, at which were present Cauf de Pafcal, Paffarini, Vifcomi, Gui de Turista, bishop of Arezzo, deputies from Cafruccio, and Frederic, king of Sicily, together with other chiefs of the Gibelines, and a crowd of schismatic Franciscans, with whom Lewis was always surrounded. In this assembly, the emperor took an oath to go to Italy, from whence he would never return until he should have received the imperial crown at Rome; and here he ordered the pope to be excommunicated as an heretic, unworthy of filling the pontifical throne.

From thence he repaired to Milan with the emperor's queen, where he was crowned king of Italy by the bishop of Arezzo, as the archbishop of Milan refused in Genoa, and refused to perform the ceremony, on pretense of the emperor's being excommunicated. The arrival of Lewis in Italy put the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines in great commotion; the Guelphs sent envoys after envoys to press the king of Naples to march to the relief of Tuscany; Rome was divided between the partisans of Lewis and the pope's adherents; and there was a third party that refused to declare themselves for either, until the imperial faction having gained the ascendency, compelled them to relinquish their neutrality, and side with Lewis.

Thus reinforced, they elected Sciarra Colonna captain of the people, and sent ambassadors to Avignon, to summon the pope to come and reside at Rome, otherwise they would receive Lewis of Bavaria as their sovereign. His holiness was solicited to the same effect by the king of Naples, as senator of Rome; but he did not think proper to trust himself in a city where he had such powerful adversaries: he contented himself with exhorting the Romans to preserve their fidelity to their pontiff, and that their gates against Lewis, whom he represented as an enemy to God and man. At the same time he directed his legate John d'Urfini, who refused at Florence, to publish new bulls against the emperor, and, by his personal presence, to keep the peace at Rome. In obedience to this order, the legate advanced towards that city, in hope of effecting a reconciliation between the Romans and Robert king of Naples, who had lately attempted to introduce his brother the prince of Moravia, at the head of a thousand horse, to support the faction of the nobles. As the people shut their gates against this body of troops, the prince ravaged the territory of Viterbo, and some Genoese galleys, in the service of Robert, surprized the port of Offia; so that the Romans, being extremely incensed against his Neapolitan majesty, would listen to no terms of accommodation. The legate, finding he could make no progress in the way of negotiation, joined the prince of Moravia, who, entering the city by surprize, took possession of the church and quarter of St. Peter, and cut in pieces all those who opposed his arms. The next morning, however, the people ran to arms, surrounded the alarm, assailed the Capitol, whence they marched to the gate poffeded by the Neapolitans, which they attacked with such fury, that, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, the prince and legate were obliged to abandon the city in the utmost disorder, and retreat for shelter to Offia.

These transactions were very favourable to the emperor, who, having quitted Milan, held a diet at the castle of Orzi, in the Brescian; then he advanced into Tuscany, from whence he sent ambassadors to prepare for his reception at Pisa; but the inhabitants of that city refusing to receive him, because he lay under the sentence of excommunication, he besieged the town, which he compelled to surrender at discretion: then he entered in triumph, extorted a very large sum of money from the citizens, and, during his abode in this place, renewed the influence which the emperor Henry VII. had pronounced against Robert, king of Naples, as a rebellious subject of the empire. On the other hand, the pope published a new bull of excommunication and privation against Lewis, and forbade all persons, of what quality soever, under the most severe penalties, to furnish him with the means of subsistence. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the emperor began his march from Pisa along the coast towards Rome, without meeting with the least opposition from the king of Naples, who, supposing that the intention of Lewis was to invade his kingdom, and act in conjunction with Peter, king of Sicily, retired, in order to defend his own dominions. At Viterbo, the emperor received a deputation from the Romans, with whom he adjourned the articles of his entry, which was performed with great splendor. The governor and senators came forth to meet him and the empress, whom they conducted to the palace of St. Peter, where he stayed four days with the princes of his train (H). Then he removed to Santa Maria Mayor, where

b is crowned at Milan.

c Great commotions among the Guelphs and Gibelines

d The prince of Moravia furprizes Rome, but is repulsed.

e The emperor reduces Fies.

f Marches towards Rome; where he is received amidst the acclamations of the people.

The nobles of Robert and Radolphus, dukes of Bavaria; Henry de Lechtzenberg, chancellor of the empire; Henry, duke of Brunfosc; Albert de Lechtzenberg; Henry, landgrave of Alaces; Frederic, baron of Nevelberg; Meinhard d'Ortenberg; William de Monfort; and the grand master of the Teutonic order (S).
Scierra Colonna presented him with the keys of the city and fortresses, which he garrisoned with his troops. In a few days, he and the empress were crowned in the church of St. Peter with great magnificence, the ceremony of the union having been performed by the bishops of Venice and Atria, who, as well as Lewis, had incurred the sentence of excommunication. In a word, the emperor, by his liberality and courteous behaviour, gained the affection of the Romans to such a degree, that his enemies durst not even avow their animosity or discontent.

The pope, finding himself disappointed in all the meafures he had taken to prevent the coronation of Lewis, concerted other schemes for diminishing his power in Italy: for this purpose, he, by his emissaries, tampered with the governors of Viterbo and Ofiza, who had actually agreed to receive Neapolitan garrisons in these places; but Lewis, being timely informed of their designs, sent forces to secure the towns, and apprehend the traitors, who were brought prisoners to Rome.

The emperor resided nine months in the capital, during which he fet every thing to rights, and restored the repose of Italy, while the pope renewed his bulls of excommunication and deposition against him, refusing to listen to any proposals of accommodation, unless the emperor would divest himself of his sovereign authority, and, as a private person, submit to the sentence he should pronounce upon his election. In a word, he treated him with such indignity, that Lewis lost his patience, and resolved to be revenged upon him, by chusing another pope. In order to pave the way for this measure, he convoked a numerous assembly at Rome, where the pope was degraded, on pretence of his being an heretic, and a defacer of his flock; and all the subjects of the empire were prohibited from owning him as the head of the church. He afterwards published a decree, by which all the bishops, particularly the pope, were forbidden to absent themselves from their fee longer than three months, or to go farther than two days journey, without the consent of their chapters; and that, after having been recalled three times without returning, they should be no longer owned as bishops, but a new election take place, in the same manner as if they were dead; and, in consequence of the first decree, by which all heretics were made guilty of a capital crime, he pronounced sentence of death upon James of Cabors, so he named pope John XXII, as a person convicted of downright heresy and treason, for having encroached upon the rights of the empire (1), by discarding the emperor's officers, and supplying their places by his own authority.

These steps were no more than the preludes of the emperor's vengeance; for afterwards, assembling all the most considerable personages of his own court, as well as of the city of Rome, he fet Pietro de Rainauci, a Cordelier, upon a low chair on his left hand, ordered the assembly to be asked three times, whether or not they would receive this same Father Peter as pope; and being answered in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, putting the ring upon his finger, and the cloak upon his shoulders. Then placing him upon his right hand, in the pontifical chair, he saluted him by the name of Nicholas V. took him by the hand, and conducted him to the chair of St. Peter, where this new pope celebrated mass, and bestowed the papal benediction upon the people. Some days after this ceremony, Lewis, in order to give more authority to Nicholas, was crowned again on the feast of Pentecost.

JOHN was no sooner informed of the elevation of Peter, than he excommunicated the antipope, and all those who were present at the ceremony, except the poet Petrarch, whom he revered on account of his genius. Nor was Nicholas less active in returning these hostilities; for he published two bulls, confirming the deposition of John, and declaring, that all his adherents, whether ecclesiastical or lay, should be punished as heretics. In consequence

(1) The abbot of Folle, in an harangue to the people, observed, that the fait of Rome of Cabors was a defacer of the church, of which he pretended to be bishop, and a perfector of the Roman people; that he had exerted vast sums of money on pretence of maintaining war against the Saracens, whereas it was used against the faithful, and the friends of the Roman empire, enforced by the preaching of a crusade, and the largesses of spiritual treachery; that he had turned against the Romans and imperials those succours, which he had obtained from the king of France, and other princes, for the relief of the distressed kingdom; that he unjustly refused to himself the distribution of ecclesiastical benefices, which he often simonically conferred upon the unworthy; that he had, by the power of a new John, and the counsel of another Antipeter (meaning king Robert and cardinal Unfils) raised up pernicious scribes and wicked heretics in the church of God; that he had oppressed the cardinals and prelates in such a manner, that they durst not even murmur; that he had perverted the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, with regard to the temporal dominion of emperors, confounding spiritual with secular power, and rashly arrogating to himself the prerogative of confirming or rejecting emperors; and, lastly, that by ranking himself among the notorious heretics, in his false definition concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles, he had forfeited all title to St. Peter's chair (6).
The emperor had resolved to recover the rights and dominions of the empire, which Robert, king of Naples and Apulia, had usurped by order of the pope: but having delayed this enterprise until Robert had time to put himself in a posture of defence, he was obliged to postpone the execution of his purpose: for when he marched out of Rome on the expedition, he found Robert strongly fortified in the Campagna, and, in his attempt upon the province of Labour, had the mortification to see his troops several times repulsed; nay, as the Neapolitans, by being masters of Opiia and Anagni, commanded the whole course of the Tiber, Lewis was so hampered for want of provisions and ammunition, that he could not help returning to Rome, where his presence occasioning a great scarcity, the people began to murmur, and their discontented being fomented by the cardinal d'Ursini, broke out into open rebellion. The emperor, whose troops had been worsted both within and without the city, seeing it would be impossible for him to resist a mutinous populace, as well as the Neapolitan troops, sent his pope immediately to Todi, under a strong escort; whither he himself afterwards retired; and he had no sooner quitted Rome, than cardinal Ursini entered the city and harangued the people, who now acknowledged John as their lawful pontiff, and renounced the antipope and the emperor with all the marks of detestation and abhorrence.

Mean while Lewis had an interview with Peter, the son of Frederic king of Sicily, at Cornezzo, where he bitterly complained, that his Sicilian majesty had been the cause of all his misfortunes, by failing to lend the fleet, and a sum of money, which he had engaged himself by treaty to furnish; and Peter, finding him so ill disposed towards a continuance of the war, set fail on his return to his father's dominions, but was overtaken by a violent tempest, which destroyed the greatest part of his fleet.

From hence the emperor repaired to Pisa, whither he was followed by Nicholas, and there he spent some months, during which he re-published his decree against pope John, and received an embassy from the Algerines, who craved his protection, in consideration of which they promised to affix him with fifty vessels well manned, and a very large sum of money. They were graciously received, and Lewis, in all probability, would have availed himself of the proposal, had he not found a more honourable resource in the friendship of the king of Bohemia, who promised to march to his assistance, at the head of a victorious army, with which he had conquered Lithuania for the knights of the Teutonic order. But, before he could execute his intentions in favour of Lewis, that prince, finding himself destitute of troops, and abandoned by the greatest part of his friends in Italy, whom he had disobliged by his violent proceedings, was obliged to retire into Bavaria, in order to re-establish his affairs.

His back was no sooner turned, than the Pisans reconciled themselves to the see of Rome; the Romans recalled the cardinal legate, and put themselves under the auspices of pope John; the cities of Todi, Viterbo, and Pelfora, followed the example; the Vichonii renounced the emperor's party, and received abdication from the holy see; and the anti-pope Nicholas, finding it impossible to conceal himself longer at Pisa, submitted to John, who, having received his abjuration of the papacy, abolished him of his crimes, and imprisoned him for life.

Having thus far succeeded in detaching almost all Italy from the interest of Lewis, and in making himself master of the person of his competitor, he still continued to press the German princes to a new election; but by this time they were so tired with civil discord, that his remonstrances were altogether disregarded; and even those princes who had opposed Lewis in the beginning, now expressed a desire of seeing him peaceably establisht on the imperial throne. In order to manifest his own pacific disposition, he sent an embassy to the pope, to sue for a reconciliation with the holy see, in consideration of which he promised to retract every thing he had done, said, or decreed, against his holiness. But all his advances were treated with disdain by John, who, far from granting his request, wrote two letters to the king of Bohemia, exhorting, and even commanding that prince, as a son of the church, to depose Lewis, and proceed to a new election.

These remonstrances seem to have had no effect at first upon the Bohemian, who declared for the emperor, and marched into Italy as his lieutenant, at the head of an army, with which he reduced almost all the cities of Lombardy under obedience to the empire.

Elated with this success, he began to harbour notions very different from those with which he crossed the Alps; and the pope, being well acquainted with his disposition, flattered his ambition so effectually, that, by the means of his legate, Bertrand de Pouget, the king of Bohemia engaged with him in a private treaty against the emperor. The nature of this agreement having transpired, alarmed both Guelphs and Ghibelines to such a degree, that they

---

k Spond. ad ann. 1329. Rainald. ad ann. 1329.
The history of Germany.

united against the Bohemian; and the emperor, being suspicious of his fidelity, resolved to cut out such work for him at home, as would soon recall him from Italy: for this purpose he excised against him Frederic, marquis of Mifnia, Otbo, duke of Auffria, by this time reconciled to the house of Bavaria, Uladislaus, king of Poland, and Charobert, king of Hungary, who attacked his dominions at the same time, under various pretenses.

JOHN of Bohemia, being informed of these transactions, left his son Charles as vicar in Italy, and marching into Germany, defeated all his adversaries one after another. Then repelling the Alp, in order to succour his son against the Guelphs and Gibleines, came up just as the young prince had obtained a complete victory; after which, he carried him in triumph to Prague, where, beginning to be jealous of his son's reputation, he bestowed upon him the marquisate of Moravia, that he might have a pretence for removing him from the capital of Bohemia.

A. D. 1332.
Mean while the pope employed his artifices so successfully with Otbo of Auffria, that this prince abandoned the emperor, submitted his dominions to the holy see, and declared himself vassal to the church of Rome. Nevertheless Italy groaned under the utmost misery and devastation; for although the Guelphs and Gibleines joined against the Germans, they still maintained a civil war among themselves with the most implacable resentment, and a number of private noblemen erected themselves into petty tyrants during this period of confusion.

While Lombardy suffered such a complication of disorders, John, king of Bohemia, marched to the assistance of the Teutonic knights, who had been worsted by the Pole, and penetrating as far as Cremona, undertook the siege of that city, which the inhabitants defended with great obstinacy, until they were compelled by famine to demand a capitulation, which was soon succeeded by a treaty of peace, effectuated under the mediation of the king of Hungary. Otbo of Auffria, who was now become a partisan of the pope, being joined by the bishop of Cunisance, took this opportunity to besiege Colmar, which held for Lewis of Bavaria, and actually invested it with an army of thirty thousand men; but it was gallantly defended by the marquis of Baden, until the emperor marched to its relief with a strong body of troops, furnished by the king of Bohemia, who had found means to justify his conduct to Lewis, and by the count of Wirtemberg; so that Otbo, losing all hope of succeeding in his enterprize, and perceiving that he himself was no other than a dupe to the fice of Rome, resolved to make peace with the emperor, which was ratified accordingly. Now Lewis began to govern the empire in peace, though the public tranquillity was often invaded by feuds and animosities among the noblemen and cities, which produced all the terrible effects of a civil war, until they were restrained by associations like that of Strasbourg, Friburg, and Basl, which, about this time, formed a league for their mutual defence.

Notwithstanding the success of Lewis in Germany, pope John would not desist from his intrigues; but having confirmed John, king of Bohemia, in his interest, during an interview which he had with this prince at Avignon, he prevailed upon him to march into Italy, in order to support the concerns of the holy see against Robert, king of Naples, who was now become his most inconstant enemy, and the Pisckus and Esfcal, who had joined his Neapolitan majesty, because they found their account in fishing in troubled waters.

Accordingly the Bohemian, being reinforced by a body of French troops, passed the Alp, as the champion of the church, engaged the enemy near Verona, was twice defeated, and returned to Germany, having loft his troops, money, and reputation.

The emperor, mean while, remained in peace at Munich, without having any share in these transactions; but as the pope solicited, without ceasing, the German princes to revolt against his administration, and he himself, as well as a number of his friends, lay under the cenure of the church, he resolved to assemble a council, in order to stigmatize and depose that refuge pontiff, as a tyrant and heretic (K); but he was anticipated by death, which overtook his holiness in the ninety-eighth year of his age. This turbulent pope left immense treasures, and was succeeded in the papacy by James Dufour, named the White Cardinal, who assumed the name of Benedict XII.

This new pope seemed to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and even confirmed all the bulls which John had iffued against the emperor, who did not so much regard these important fulminations, as he had affairs of greater importance to engross his attention. John of

dl. ad ann. 1332. b Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 415. p Villani, l. x. c. 21.

(K) Among other errors in point of doctrine, John alleged, that the souls of the happy see only the human nature of Jesus Christ in heaven until the resurrection, after which they will enjoy the beatific vision of the Di
tinity (7).

(7) Balzani. lib. Pap. Avent. r. i. p. 788. See the history of the pope.
The history of Germany.

Luxemburg, second son of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, surnamed Great Mouth, heiress of Carinthia; and this prince's accusing her husband of impotence, the marriage was dissolved by the bishop of Frieburg. Thinking herself at full liberty to dispense with her person, she espoused the margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor, who readily consented to a match which added Tyrol and Carinthia to his family; and this contract produced a war between the house of Bavaria and Bohemia, which, after having been maintained for a whole year, with various success, was terminated by a very singular accommodation, in consequence of which young John of Luxemburg renounced all claim to his wife, and ratified her marriage with the margrave.

This war being finished, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appease the domestic troubles of the empire. The magistrates of Strasbourg finding themselves interrupted in their commerce by the incursions of Walter lord of Schauenau, who distressed them from the castle of Erstein, of which he was in possession, joined in an association with Bazin, Frieburg, and all the imperial cities of Aisne, in order to reduce this formidable neighbour. Their first attempt was against Erstein, which they took at the very first assault; then they invested the strong fortress of Schauenau, situated on the bank of the Rhine, and, although Walter defended it with incredible valour for the space of three months, it was at length taken and demolished, but not before Walter had made his escape in the habit of a peasant.

The next disturbance was occasioned by Berthold bishop of Strasbourg, who refused to do homage to the emperor, because he was excommunicated, and ravaged the country belonging to the count de Wirtzemburg, who was his declared enemy, being joined by a reinforcement of troops sent by the duke of Lorraine and bishop of Metz. He took several castles, and began to form schemes of importance upon some of the imperial towns; so that the emperor was obliged to take the field in person; but, finding Berthold strongly posted, he listened to the first overtures of peace, which was granted almost on the bishop's own terms, because he knew him to be an experienced warrior, and understood that he was on the brink of concluding a peace with the princes of Austria.

Lewis being informed of a misunderstanding between Philip of France and Benedikt XII,

on the subject of the crusade, resolved to seize this opportunity of being reconciled to the holy see, and with that view sent an embassy, with submissive letters, to the pope at Avignon, who received them very graciously, and expressed a desire of terminating the long quarrel which had subsisted between Lewis and the see of Rome.

A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, but the pope's favourable intentions were defeated by the remonstrances of the kings of France, Naples, and Bohemia, who protested that, in case Lewis should be absolved from the censures of the church, they would take measures for electing a new king of the Romans.

While Philip of France and Edward of England being on the eve of a rupture, these two princes employed all their art and influence to acquire partizans in Germany: the English formed a strong alliance among the princes of Germany, at the head of which was the emperor himself, who created Edward vicar of the empire, and trusted so much to the strength of this new league, that he recalled his ambassadores from Avignon, and broke off the negotiation with Benedikt: nevertheless, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining of the king of France, as a violator of treaties, inasmuch as he had seized several fiefs belonging to the empire, in the diocese of Cambrai, and solicited his holiness to affix him in making war upon that monarch.

Benedict, instead of complying with this sanguinary desire, exerted all his abilities to produce a rupture between Lewis and Edward, to procure intelligence to Philip de Valois, and to excite a spirit of jealousy in the German princes against the ambitious Englishman: nay, he even detached Henry duke of Bavaria from the interest of Lewis, whom he renounced as an excommunicated heretic.

The pope's conduct on this occasion was chiefly influenced by his dependence upon Philip, who, in order to counterbalance the alliance of Edward, secured the affiance of the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, as well as of the duke of Lorraine and count of Savoy: and the spirit of pope John still reigned in the factions he had fomented against the emperor. John king of Bohemia, elated with the hope of the imperial crown devolving to his son Charles of Luxemburg, in consequence of the assurances which he received from France and Rome, had fortified himself with the alliance of the kings of Hungary and Poland, and raised a powerful army in order to carry the war into the bowels of Bavaria; but the emperor assembling his troops, harrowed him in such a manner, and pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, in which, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, he and his auxiliaries were totally routed. This defeat neither quelled his courage nor diminished his hope.

1 Hist. de Luxemb. l. xlvi. 2 Barke, tom. vi. p. 573. 3 Rainald. ad ann. 1555. 4 Barke, tom. vi. p. 584.
The history of Germany.

hope; for he trusted to the friendship and forces of the French king, to whom he sent his son Charles, in order to concert new measures for repairing his losses.

LEWIS, notwithstanding all the repulses he had sustained, still endeavoured, with all his might, to retrieve the affection of the holy see, in the person of Benedict, who rejected his advances, for fear of disobligeing the king of France. The princes of the empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, assembling at Spire, declared the empire independent of the pope, and Lewis of Bavaria lawful emperor: then they sent deputies to Benedict, desiring he would annul the sentences of his predecessor, otherwise they would proceed against him in another manner; and the pope refusing to give them satisfaction, a diet was convoked at Frankfurt, wherein that famous constitution was made in form of a law, by which the independence of the empire was for ever established *(1).*

LEWIS next year, by his own authority, took off the interdict which had been laid against him by pope John XXII. and expelled from their churches all those who refused to submit to his order. Copies of the manifesto published by Lewis in his own vindication, containing the steps which had been taken in the diet, were sent to Benedict by Berold bishop of Strasburg, who represented his own inability to cope with the emperor, and desired the pope would allow him to do homage to that prince, otherwise he should be destroyed. This permission was granted by Benedict, who now began to perceive that he had carried his resentment too far, and Berold went to Spire, to do homage to the emperor, who invited him with the temporalties of his diocese.* This condignation the bishop was in a great measure determined by the remonstrances of Albert, sur named The Deformed, duke of Austria, who wished to see the troubles of Alsace appeased, that he might have a fairer opportunity of acting against the Switz, whom he had resolved to subdue.

He accordingly assembled all his forces and those of his allies, compounding an army of forty thousand men, with whom he passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, and advanced as far as Kyburg, where his van-guard was defeated by the enemy. Notwithstanding this check, he continued his route as far as the canal of Zurich, where he received the news of fresh disturbances in Alsace, which obliged him to abandon his enterprise, in order to succour the towns of his own dominions.

These disorders were occasioned by a spirit of fanaticism, in consequence of which the lower classes of people assembled under the banners of an inn-keeper, disdained by the appellation of Arnolde, who erected himself into a prophet, and persuaded his followers, that, in order to revenge the death of Christ, it was their indispensable duty to extirpate the Jews. In obedience to this doctrine, which was first broached in France, they affronted great multitudes of that unhappy nation, and the carnage, which extended to Alsace, was so dreadful, that the Jews themselves, driven to despair, augmented the horror of the scene; for, rather than fall into the hands of such inhuman enemies, they made away with themselves, after having murdered their own wives and children, and concealed their riches, which they justly suppos'd had contributed to their disaster. The deplorable condition of these miserable wretches excited the complicity of Berold bishop of Strasbourg, who being moreover affected with the devastation of his own country, laid waste by that frantic herd of enthusiastic, formed an association with some other noblemen of Alsace, and assembling a body of troops, expelled them from that province. The Jews that remained were permitted to live in peace, and Arnolde being taken, was executed as a lover of sedition, and an enemy to the public tranquility.*

This commotion having subsided, the troops of the empire and princes of Germany marched to Moeblin, where they joined the English, commanded by king Edward, who invaded the city of Cambrai, which was so valiantly defended by the French, that, on the approach of winter, he abandoned the enterprise. He afterwards ravaged Picardy, and offered battle to the king of France, which being declined, he retired into Brabant, and the greatest part of his German allies returned to their own dominions. Indeed, by this time, Lewis began to repent of having conferred the vicariate of the empire upon such a powerful prince, and of having engaged with an ally who drained Germany of her best troops, so that he could not spare a sufficient number to maintain the interest of the empire in Italy, where almost all the cities had made their submissions to the pope. When the princes returned

*(L)* The all electors, except the king of Bohemia, who was attached to Philip, assembling at Constance, in the territory of Mentz, declared, by a solemn protestation, that he who was elected king of the Romans by a majority of the princes electors, needed not the approbation, confirmation, or consent, of the holy see, to assume the title of king, administer the laws, and govern the electors of the empire *(2).*

The history of Germany:

a from the Low Countries, the emperor assembl'd a diet, and having represented the posture of affairs in Lombardy, demanded such supplies of men and money, as would enable him to cross the Alps, and punish the revolted towns. But this expedition being found impracticable at the present juncture, when Germany was in a great measure drained of all her funds, he was fain to refer it to a more favourable opportunity. Mean while he was, by the emissaries and intrigues of the French king, so irritated against the king of England, who had neglected to pay the subsidies, and made a truce at Tournay, without his participation, that he abandoned the cause of that monarch, and deprived him of the vicariate, notwithstanding all the protestations and confessions of Edward, who tried every method he could devise to deprecate his anger.

b LEWIS the more readily entered into the views of Philip, as he was flattered with assurances of being reconciled to the pope, by the mediation of that monarch, who accordingly wrote to the pope in favour of the Bavarian; but, in all probability, he was not sincere in his remonstrances, inasmuch as Benefici paid no manner of regard to his interpolation. On the contrary, he amused the emperor with evasive excuses, while he dispossessed of the governments and signories of Italy, as administrator of the empire, which he deemed vacant. About this period, the restless king of Bohemia loft his eye-light, and made his will, by which he bequeathed Bohemia and Styria to his son Charles, afterwards emperor, Margrave to John, and Luxembourg, with the lands he had in France in right of his wife, to Wenceslaus, born of Beatrice of Bourbon; though this last pretension was useless, for that province was seized by Charles the eldost son, while Wenceslaus was yet in his infancy.

In the course of this same year Lewis was chosen arbiter to decide the quarrels of the house of Denmark. Gerhard count of Rendsburg and Waldemar duke of Slesvick had usurped the crown, which of right belonged to young Waldemar, educated at the court of Munich. But the administration of those usurpers was so odious to the Danish nation, that a general revolt ensued, and count Gerhard was affianced with Nicholas Jacobi, a nobleman of that country, who chose this method of vindicating the liberty of his nation: then putting himself at the head of the Danish rebels, he gave battle to the prince of Holstein, and, tho' he lost his life in the engagement, they were entirely defeated, and the lawful heir ascended the throne of his ancestors.

c This young prince had been maintained and protected by the emperor, who now called an assembly at Speinzen, where an accommodation between the new king and the princes of Holstein was effected, on condition that he should renounce all pretensions to the throne, give his sister in marriage to Waldemar III. and remain in quiet possession of Jutland.

All these contentions being ended, Germany began to enjoy the peace with which she was so seldom blessed, and Lewis took this opportunity to establish wholesome regulations for the continuance of public tranquillity. He caused the laws to be regularly executed against vagabonds and criminals of all kinds; he granted his protection to the innocent and industrious, and rewarded merit to the utmost of his power. His mild and prudent administration not only conciliated the affections of his people in general, but also conquered the animosity and prejudices of almost all the princes who had been his enemies; so that they now fought and cultivated his friendship. His court became numerous, gay, and polite; and, in order to render himself more popular, he instituted magnificent tournaments at Munich, after they had been four hundred years discontinued by the princes of Germany.

While the emperor in this manner established his authority on this side of the Alps, his own interest in Italy was almost totally ruined. Pope Benefici dying at Avignon, he was succeeded by Clement VI. a native of France, and archbishop of Rouen, who confirmed by new bulls all the sentences of excommunication pronounced by John XXII. and Benefici XII. and endeavoured to excite all Italy to rebel against the emperor. Lewis, who may be said to have been the independence of the empire, as Henry V. had been to the

f Infinities, in order to manifest his own innocence, made advances to the pope, and, even in the midst of these acts of enmity, sent an embassy to him to treat of a reconciliation; but his holiness precluded such unreasonable conditions, as the embassadors had no power to accept; upon which they desired he would give them his demands in writing, that they might, upon their return to Germany, lay them before the emperor (M). Lewis having obtained


Panikerl. i. ii.

(M) These were the articles: Lewis shall deliver to " the pope William of Ockham, with all his adherents; " he shall retract all the decrees, annul the acts, and " recant the flanders that were published against pope " John XXII. and by a perpetual edict publicly acknow- lledge that the empire is in the gift of the sovereign " pontiff, and that no person is or can be empe- ror, without the sanction of his authority (g).

The history of Germany.

In these articles, sent copies of them to all the states of the empire, and such a general indignation prevailed against the presumption of the pope, that the princes and states assembling at Frankfurt, the articles were openly read, and rejected as an intimation upon the honour of the empire, and a second embassy was appointed to wait upon Clement, and desire he would retract them; otherwise, the states would of themselves take such measures on that subject, as they should judge convenient. The pope, more than ever incensed at this instance of disregard, fulminated new excommunications (N) against Lewis and all his adherents; and, being instigated by Philip of Velis king of France, who, though he had made peace with the emperor, wished to fix him employed at home, he set on foot and managed underhand intrigues and negotiations, in order to raise a faction among the princes, and induce them to proceed to the election of a new emperor.

As all these steps were taken in favour of Charles of Luxembourg, son of John king of Bohemia, who was one of the most considerable members of the electoral college, and as he had already made sure of Baldwin of Luxembourg, archbishop of Trier, the king's uncle, their chief aim was to secure the other suffrages. The pope had already communicated Henry of Verneburg, archbishop of Mainz, because he was in the emperor's interest, and promoted to that see count Geronal of Nassau, who was devoted to his service. The vote of Walderan of Jülich, archbishop of Cologne, was purchased with eight thousand marks of silver, and that of Redolphus duke of Saxony for two thousand. These princes assembling at Rintz near Coblenz, elected Charles of Luxembourg king of the Romans, and as the city of Cologne would own no other emperor but Lewis of Bavaria, he was crowned at Bnn by the new archbishop Geronal, his election having been confirmed by the pope (O).

The other princes and states of the empire preferred their alliances and attachment to Lewis, notwithstanding this schism, which served only to unite them more firmly in his interest: and, some time after this event, his son Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg, attacked and defeated the new king of the Romans in the Styrol, so that the emperor maintained his dignity and good fortune to the last; and reigned with the love, esteem, and applause of his subjects.

Perhaps this opposition might have been much more dangerous to Lewis, had not part of the pope's attention been employed on the affairs of Naples, which was conquered by Lewis king of Hungary, in revenge for the death of his brother Andrew, who had married Jane heiress of Naples, and been assassinated by her domestics: and at the same time Clement was greatly perplexed by a very extraordinary revolution in Rome, effected by an obscure notary called Nicholas Rienzi, who being elected tribune of the people, renounced the pope's authority, and restored the form of the antient republic, which, however, did not long subsist.

The emperor's predecessors were used to move from one imperial city to another, that their courts might subsist at the expense of the inhabitants; whereas Lewis never oppressed his people in this manner; but, except when he was obliged to be present at the diet, he did so at home in his own duchy of Bavaria, and generally amused himself at the chase, a diversion which at length cost him his life: for while he one day exercised himself in hunting the bear, he was attacked, it is said, by a fit of the apoplexy, when falling from his horse, he immediately expired, after having recommended his soul to God, and his body was interred at Munich (P).

This prince, having lost his father when he was but twelve years of age, had been educated at Vienna, in Austria, with his cousins, under the tuition of his mother, who bestowed such care upon his education, that he surpassed all the princes of his age, both in the qualifications of the body and the understanding. He was very tall, though agile; his hair

---

\(a\) A gent. in Chron. Nautilus gen. 45. \(b\) Villani. l. xii. c. 59. \(c\) Mut. l. xxiv. \(d\) Aventini. ann. Bologn. i. vii. p. 631. \(e\) Ibid. p. 630. \(f\) Villani. l. xii. c. 105. \(g\) Herwart contra Bov. ad ann. 1347.

William of Ockham was an Englishman, who wrote a book against Charles and Clement, whom he treats with great furrourly.

\(N\) In a bull published against Lewis, we read the following imprecation: 'May the wrath of God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, crush him in this world and that which is to come. May the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his enemies; and may his children fall into the hands of his adversaries, even in the sight of their father.'

\(O\) Charles of Luxembourg, who went to Aquisgran with his father, to solicit the pope's interest, engaged to annul all the decrees of Lewis, to acknowledge that the county of Aquisgran belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferara and the lands of Matilda, with the kingdoms of Sicily, Saradina, and Corfua; and promised that, if he should go as emperor to receive the crown at Rome, he would quit the city that same day, and never return without the express permission of his holiness (10).

\(P\) He is said to have been poisoned by the widow of Albert of Austria; and prescribed some violent exercise by his physicians, after they had, without success, tried other means of cure. In consequence of this advice, he had rode out to hunt the bear, when the operation of the poison became so violent that he dropped dead from his horse (12).

The history of Germany.

a was fondy, his complexion florid, his nose was long, and his chin lengthened. He perfectly well understood the exercise of arms: he feared no danger; but was haughty, and too much addicted to love: in adversity he needed advice; he was master of himself in prosperity: he was gay, and polished in his manners; but there was rather too much vivacity in his behaviour, and he could not stay long in one place. The monks and nuns gave him the appellation of moût Christian and moût Pius, and expressed great veneration for his knives, napkins, and other things of that fort that belonged to him. For a long time he had no other possession than Hig Bavaria, till after the death of John, duke of Low Bavaria, he succeeded to his dominions (Q).

b)

CHARLES IV. count of Luxemburg, son of John, king of Bohemia, and grandchild of Henry VII. was born at Prague, and named Wenceslaus; but being sent by his father into France, to Charles the Fair, who had married Mary of Luxemburg, his aunt, they cared for him with great affection; and, as they had no children, gave him the name of Charles when he received the sacrament of confirmation. At the same time, they provided him excellent preceptors, under whom, exclusive of the German and Bohemian languages, which were natural to him, he made himself master of the Latin, French, and Italian. After the death of Charles the Fair, he returned to his father, whom he attended to Italy, where he acquired a vicerey of the empire, and ran the risque of being poisoned by Aecon, vicount of Milan. At the age of seventeen, he was invested with the marquessate of Marasia by king John, his father. He repaired the castle of Prague, re-united to the crown of Bohemia a great many lands which the barons had usurped, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, which were in great disorder. He likewise signified himself in some military expeditions: he marched against Bucer, duke of Munsterberg, who refused to do homage to the king his father, and compelled him to submit: he went to war with the count of Goritz, who had sided with the dukes of Austria: he accompanied his father in an irruption into Lithuania: he made a second journey into Italy, where he obliged the Venetians to raise the siege of Parma, took from them the city of Belluna, and then concluded a peace with that republic: he erected into an archbishop's see the bishopric of Prague, which had been suffragan to Menitz, and improved the archbishop's power to perform the office of coronation to the kings of Bohemia. In a word, he acquired a good deal of reputation by his wife government; so that, upon the death of his father (R), he was, with the unanimous consent of the people, raised to the Bohemian throne. The first step he took after this elevation, was to make new preparations for war against the emperor Lewis; and having raised a powerful army, he set out for Bavaria, in order to obey the dictates of revenge; but, in the middle of his march, receiving the news of that emperor's death, "Praised be God, said he, in the wonders of his providence, for having spared me the effusion of Christian blood, and deprived me of the opportunity of being avenged on my enemies!" Then, changing his route, he advanced into the heart of the empire, and was acknowledged as king and emperor of the Romans by Ratisbon, Nuremberg, and four-and-twenty other imperial cities of the Rhine (S).

(Q.) Lewis first married the daughter of a count, whose name is not known; and the died without issue. His second wife was Beatrice, daughter of Henry duke of Glowe, by whom he had Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg; Stephen, who was deformed; Beatrice, married to Charles, king of Hungary; Anne, wife of Muftine Lefials, lord of Verana; and Matilde, who espoused Frederic the Sore, marquis of Pfalz. The emperor's third wife was Margaret, daughter of William III, count of Holland, by whom he had William, Albert, Otho, and Lewis; Elizabeth, first married to John, duke of Low Bavaria, and afterwards to Ulric, count of Würtemberg; Agnes a nun; and Anne, daughter of Guisberto of Schwartemberg, who disputed the empire with Charles IV. king of Bohemia.

Lewis of Bavaria was the first emperor who had a daughter invested upon his seal. In his reign the count palatine founded the university of Heidelberg; and there was such abundance of wine upon the Rhine and the Moselle, that it was used to flake line. The people then contrived those huge tanks, one of which is still to be seen at Heidelberg (1).

(R) This was the blind king of Bohemia, who was slain in the battle of Creacy by the English, and whose motto, Ich dien, was adopted by the prince of Wales (2). (S) Though he was acknowledged by the magistrates of Nuremberg, the citizens took arms, obliged him to fly, and declared for Lewis of Brandenburg, to whom they opened their gates. He was also affronted in divers other places: at Wurz he was arrested by a butcher, who had furnished him with meat; at Ratisbon the Neckar he prefented himself in a tournament, under the name of Schilbard of Neckar, where he was unhorsed by one de la Piere, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit (3).

Thus
Thus established, he returned to his kingdom of Bohemia, and next year began to build the new city of Prague. He had no sooner retired to his own dominions, than Henry, archbishop of Mentz, Robert, count palatine, Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg, and Erich, duke of Saxony, who had not assisted at the election, assembled at Lobstain, and chose Edward, king of England, emperor; but that prince declining the dignity with suitable acknowledgments to the electors, they proceeded to the nomination of Frederick, landgrave of Thuringia, who, being assisted with the gout, renounced his pretensions in favour of Charles for ten thousand marks of silver*. The same electors, notwithstanding this repulse, chose in his room Gunther, count of Schartenberg, a nobleman of great courage, and unquestionable merit, who accepted the honour, on condition that the electors should conduct him to Frankfurt, and publicly proclaim him emperor in that city. This condition he stipulated, because the magistrates and citizens of Frankfurt pretended to have a right of refusing entrance to any king of the Romans, or emperor, who had not been unanimously elected, until he should have overcome his competitor, or at least tarried five weeks and three days before the city, without being questioned by his rival. The electors promised to comply with Gunther's demand, and actually assisted him in raising an army sufficient to compel the city to open its gates, in case of a refusal. Accordingly, being denied admission, he undertook the siege of it, which having lasted two months, the citizens were obliged to open their gates, because Charles had not marched to their relief. During his residence in this city, he fell sick, in consequence of his having taken a medicine which his physician had poisoned (T); and, during his illness, he was so powerfully solicited by the emperor Charles to quit his pretensions to the empire, that at length he resigned in his favour, for the consideration of two- and-twenty thousand marks of silver; and dying in a month after, was honourably interred by his competitors.

A.D. 1349. GUNThER, in all probability, would have rejected such a scandalous composition, had he not felt his faculties and health greatly impaired by the poison he had received, and found himself abandoned by his best friends, whom Charles had found means to gain over to his interest by flight and promises, and magnificent promises. Among these was Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg, who persuaded Gunther to resign the imperial crown, and was for this good office invested by the Bohemian with the marquisate of Brandenburg.

Charles crowned. CHARLES, however, was resolved to chastise the city of Frankfurt for having received Gunther, and, without having any regard to their pretended right, he deprived them of their privileges and clear, which he transferred to Mentz. Nevertheless, he afterwards restored these privileges, but taxed the city in the sum of twenty thousand marks of silver. Being thus rid of all his competitors, he, by his address, prevailed upon those electors who had opposed him to confirm his election, and with his empress, who was daughter of the count palatine, received the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle from the hands of the archbishop of Cologne. During this ceremony, a quarrel arose between the marquises of Jutland and Brandenburg, about bearing the sceptre; and Charles himself interposing, decided the dispute in favour of the marquis of Brandenburg, after having taken the advice of the princes.

Charles, being universally acknowledged, began to employ his mediation towards reconciling the partisans of Lewis with the holy see, and the re-establishment of peace in the empire, when all at once this happy prospect was destroyed by an insurrection against the Jews, whom the people considered as the authors of a dreadful plague, that ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean, and diffused its contagion thro' Savoy, Switzerland, Alsatia, Swabia, Franconia, and some other provinces of the empire.

The miserable Jews, detested on the score of religion, had lived under the immediate protection of the emperors ever since their first settlement in Germany; and as many of them had acquired large fortunes by usury, they became the objects of envy as well as of abhorrence; so that it was in the power of any enthusiast or artful schemer to expel their nation to the fury of the populace, according to the dictates of avarice or superstition. At this juncture they were laid to have poisoned the wells and fountains; and this extravagant notion prevailed to such a degree, that the Jews were put to the torture in Bonn, and several other cities; and, tho' they still refused to own the imputed crime, a great number of those counted the remainder: but observing the physician's countenance changed, he suspected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poison, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days (1).

* Struiv. period. ix. sect. 6. 

(T) The physician's name was Fredank, supposed to be bribed by Charles. When he presented the medicine, he was desired by one present to take it before the emperor. Gunther, perceiving him hesitate, ordered him to swallow part of it, and he obeyed; upon which the count took the remainder: but observing the physician's countenance changed, he suspected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poison, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days (1).

6 (1) Barri. t. vi. p. 678.
The history of Germany.

a unfortunate wretches were poniarded, burnt, and drowned, by the incensed populace; nor was it in the power of the civil magistrates to prevent such cruel sacrifices. At Strasburg, the common people, under the conduct of a butcher, deposed the magistracy, and investing their chief with absolute power, he ordered two thousand Jews to be burnt alive, considering their effects, and decreed, that no individuals of that nation should be admitted into Strasburg for the term of one hundred years.

Two the populace were the perpetrators of this inhuman tragedy, and were inflamed and abetted by the bishop and several other noblemen, who owed considerable sums to the Jews, and took this method of discharging their debts; nor would they listen to any pacific terms, until the emperor promised, in behalf of the sufferers, that the sums due to them should never be demanded.

CH. III. LES, finding his finances exhausted by those largesses, in consequence of which he ascended the imperial throne, and being moreover importuned by some of the princes to perform the promises he had made to them before his election, endeavoured to raise subsidies, by imposing new taxes and tolls upon rivers, which had well nigh involved the whole empire in confusion; for the magistrates of Strasburg not only refused to pay these impositions, but even blocked up the Rhine with stones and chains, so as entirely to obstruct the navigation.

This project miscarried, the emperor had recourse to another expedient: he mortgaged the domains of the empire to divers noblemen and cities, and allowed others to redeem a those that were already mortgaged, by which means he raised a considerable sum of money. Huguenaut purchased, at a very high rate, an exemption from being comprehended in the number of those towns which the noblemen united to their domains. It was confirmed in all the privileges conferred upon it by Richard king of the Romans, and particularly in that of its being unalienable from the domains of the empire. The fame prerogative was afterwards bestowed upon all the towns of the prefecture of Alsace; but they could never obtain an independent of the jurisdiction of the grand bailie, nor of the princes whom the emperor had invested with that dignity. The imperial towns of Alsace, indeed, employed all their endeavours to free themselves from the authority of the princes, which, they apprehended, would in time degenerate into oppression; and they made strong remonstrances on the subject of Charles, who, without paying the leafa regard to their claims, mortgaged the prefecture of the province to Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, for fifty thousand florins; and the towns were, after some restitution, obliged to submit.

In the midst of these transactions, the enemies of Lewis of Bavaria, marquis of Brandenburg, renewed the old imposture of the pretended Waldemar in the person of one Muller Meincken, who confidently asserted, that he was the real margrave returned from Palestina, and invested upon being repose with his dominions, which, he said, were usurped by Lewis of Bavaria. As he resembled the late margrave, and mimicked his deportment, in consequence of having been his groom, the common people espoused his cause, which was likewise supported by the dukes of Saxony, and the princes of Anhalt and Mecklenburg, enemies to Lewis of Bavaria.

The king of Denmark, incensed at the countenance they gave this impostor against his friend and brother-in-law Lewis, equipped a considerable fleet, and made a descent upon the territories of Mecklenburg, which he ravaged with fire and sword: then he undertook the siege of Berlin, tho' he had not time to finish that enterprise; for the duke, who had already defeated Lewis, surnamed the Roman, brother of the margrave, appeared at the head of a strong army, and a battle must have ensued, had not the ministers of both princes advised an accommodation, which was effected under the arbitration of the king of Sweden, who


(U) During this plague, the sect of Flagellants revived; and this taste for self-discipline became so general, that crowds of people of all ranks, sexes, and condition, abandoned themselves to this cruel superstition. Two hundred of these disciplicants from Suffolk, crossing the Rhine, repaired to Spire, and assembling before the cathedral, stripped off their cloaths, and whipped themselves with faggots mixed with iron. The extremities of the weather could not stop their career: they would not speak to any woman: they lay upon the hard ground, and admitted none into their association but such as had wherewithal to maintain themselves during the term prescribed for their penance: they walked by twos and threes in procession, with their eyes fixed upon the earth, croiles on their cloaths and hats, and a rich standard carried before them; their number acquired the addition of one hundred at Spire, and increased considerably at Strasburg; in short, this confraternity was augmented to some thousands, and became so formidable, that the pope, in a Bull to the emperor, ordered edicts against them, and the princes refused to admit them into their dominions; by which precautions, all bad consequences were prevented, and the society in a little time dropped (1).

(1) Chronic. Alsat.
The history of Germany.


Decreed, that Lewis the Roman should ransom his people who were taken prisoners, and ab-


f


s


olve from their oath of allegiance those towns of Mecklenburg antiently included in Wan-
daita; and that he should marry the daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg, who, on his part, should abandon the pretended Waldemar.


Charles, who had likewise protected this pretender, and even issued a decree in his


favour, thought proper to renounce him publicly in a diet held at Sprengberg; and Lewis,


furnamed the Roman, being declared lawful possessor of the cities of Brandenburg, this


counterfeit competitor disappeared.


After the assembly at Sprengberg, in which Eric, duke of Saxony, ceded to the king of


Denmark a certain tribute, called Stuergeide, paid by the regency of Lubeck, which had been


morgaged to the Saxons, Charles returned to Prague, which was the place of his residence.


b


Here he established a famous university, while yet no more than king of Bohemia, and set proper perons at work to form a code of laws to regulate the police of his kingdom.


From hence he detached a body of troops to the Low Countries to the affluence of the em-


prest-dowager, heir of those dominions, and at war with her own son William, who en-


d


deavoured to deprive her of one-half of her possessions. She was a princess of a masculine


spirit, and with the succours she received from England and Bohemia, took the field against


this undutiful child, whom she defeated in a pitched battle, and compelled to retire into


Holland, of which he was count. But he soon reappeared, at the head of a more formi-


dable army, assailed from Cleves, Gueldersland, and the neighbouring provinces, and in his


turn obtained a complete victory over his mother, who was obliged to fly for refuge in

to England. An accommodation was afterwards effected by the mediation of the English


monarch, on condition that the empress should rest contented with the possession of


Hain-


ault, and William remain master of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland.


But the emperor did not intertreat himself so much in this contention, as in the deplora-


ble condition of Italy, where an infinite number of petty tyrants, declaring themselves in-


dependent of the empire, as well as of the holy see, committed every species of outrage


upon those who were unable to reft their power. The chief of these oppressors was John


Vizonti, archbishop of Milan. He made himself master of the city of Bologna, in direct


contradiction to the remonstrances of the pope, who for that reason thundered out a bull


of excommunication against him and his three nephews, Galeazzo, Bernabo, and Matteo,


the sons of Stephen Vizonti.


Notwithstanding these anathemas, the archbishop, under the specious pretext of


defending the liberty of the people against the encroachments of the Florentines, began to


make preparations for enterprises of greater moment: in order to oppose this formidable


prelate, a league was formed between the republics of Florence, Pisa, and some other states;


and Charles sent letters to the pope, in which he promised to cross the Alps, and chastise that


rebelling son of the church.


The archbishop, apprized of his intention, was alarmed at the prospect, and forthwith


made strong advances towards an accommodation with the pope, who being himself je-


alous of the imperial power, and very unwilling to see Charles in the midst of Italy, gave


ear to his solicitations, which were backed with a large sum of money, and granted him


the investiture of Milan and Bologna, after having absolved him from the censures of the


church.


This reconciliation did not divert the emperor from his purpose of crossing the Alps,


though his march was delayed for some time by the domestic troubles of Germany. The


inhabitants of Zurich, thinking themselves aggrieved by the mal-administration of justice,


expelled their magistrates, who interposed the count de Hopburg in their behalf, and even


expelled them upon his undertaking to surpress the city. He accordingly, with some ac-


complices, entered the town in disguise; but being discovered, he was taken prisoner and


loaded with chains; and the people, running to arms, ravaged his lands, and took po-


position of his castle of Reupersville. These proceedings alarmed the dukes of Austria, whose


whole possessions lay contiguous to those of the count: they therefore espoused the quarrel, and


formed a league with Strasburg, Bafli, Cohan, Scolfield, and Friburg, in order to curb the


influence of Zurich. This town, seeing the storm ready to burst upon its head, fortified itself


with the alliance of Sutz, Uri, Underswald, and Lucerne, which last, though belonging to


the house of Austria, resolved to take this opportunity of establishing its own independency.


Austria, furnamed the Sage, having made suitable preparations for the war, demanded the enlargement of the count de Hopburg, which being refused by the inhabi-


tants of Zurich, he took the field, fully resolved to besiege the city; but several noblemen,


foreseeing the miseries of a civil war, interposed their good offices, and arbitrators were


* Chron. de Holl. & de Zel. " Villani, i. li. c. 48. cholen
The history of Germany.

a chosen to decide the difference, which was compromised, on condition that the count de Hapsburg should be set at liberty, and all the places restored, which had been taken from the house of Austria.

This peace, however, was not of long duration. The town of Zug, having enjoyed a transient taste of the sweets of liberty, allied itself more strictly than ever to the confederated Swifs. ... Albert complaining to the emperor of this association, as a direct infraction of the last treaty, and a dangerous example in the empire, Charles interested himself in the dispute; and, repairing to Constance, appointed proper persons to treat with the Swifs, and endeavour to terminate the affair in an amicable manner: but the confederates persisting in their refusal to submit to the house of Austria, all that he could obtain was a suspension of arms, until a more solid accommodation could be effected: in the mean time he made a progres through Alsace, where he established several wholesome regulations for the maintenance of the public tranquility.

Having performed this expedition, he returned to Strasburg, where, being importuned by duke Albert to take vengeance on the rebellious Swifs, he levied an army, and advanced against the enemy, whom he found already ranged in order of battle; but a dispute arising between the duke of Austria and the bishop of Constance about leading the van, the spirit of the officers was exhausted in vain altercation; and the emperor, judging it improper to begin the attack while his commanders were so divided among themselves, retired at leisure from the neighbourhood of Zurich, while Albert remained to form the blockade of that city.

On his return from this expedition he was made acquainted with the death of pope Clement VI. and the succession of Innocent VI. to whom he sent letters of congratulation, which were answered by the new pontiff in very gracious terms; but he could not yet execute his design of going to Italy, because he was detained by fresh commotions in Germany. He was obliged to go and suppress a popular insurrection at Nuremberg; and to decide a competition between two pretenders to the archbishopric of Mentz, one of whom had been deposited, and the other substantiated in his room, by pope Clement VI. He confirmed the ancient privileges of the church of Triers, incorporated Lusace with the kingdom of Bohemia, renewed the peace with the house of Bavaria, and received from Lewis the imperial insignias, which before this period he would not surrender. Then he made a circuit through the provinces to establish peace, and conciliate the affections of the people: he made a public entry into Mentz as king of Bohemia; for the magistrates would not receive him in quality of king of the Romans, because he had not yet received the imperial crown. During his stay in this city, he erected the counties of Luxemburg and of Bar into dukedoms, in favour of his brother Wenceslaus, and his cousin Robert de Bar, whose lordship of Pont-amouson was likewise raised into a marquisate and principality of the empire.

Having regulated the affairs of Germany, and appointed his father-in-law, Robert count palatine, vicar of the empire, he resolved to cross the Alps, according to an agreement which he had made with pope Innocent VI. By the beginning of January he had arrived at Milan, where he was crowned king of Lombardy on the day of Epiphany. From hence he repaired to Piza, where he tarried some time, in order to compose the divisions of Tuscany, and to receive homage from the cities of that province; then he visited Siena, from whence he rode post to Rome, which he entered in disguise with some of his nobles on Holy Week, during which he visited the principal churches of the city; but on the day of the refuerection, which was the fifth of April, he made a solemn procession from his camp into the city, where he was joyfully received by the pope’s legate, senators, clergy, and people of Rome, and on Easter-day crowned with the emperors, who had followed him from Germany at Rome, for that purpose.

This ceremony was no sooner performed than he quitted the city of Rome, in consequence of the agreement he had made with the pope, although the Romans came to offer him the government of Rome as his hereditary right, and intreated him to re-establish their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate upon the proposal; but, being apprehensive of some treachery, he sneaked out of the city in the evening, on pretence of going to take the diversion of hunting; and afterwards ratified and confirmed, by authentic acts, all the promises he had made to Clement and the reigning pope, so much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy.

His puerile and insidious conduct excited the indignation of the Germans and the contempt of the Italians. The noblemen of his retinue looked upon his coronation as the era of the empire’s decay, as all her rights in Italy were now totally annihilated. He sustained divers

* Barb. t. vi. p. 766. & seq.  
* Fleuri, l. xx. l. 96.
and is infested in divers parts of Italy.

Insults on the road in his return to Germany: there was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at Pisa, from whence he escaped with great difficulty, after having been several persons of his train massacred by the populace. The greater part of the towns attached to the empire shut their gates against him: at Cremona he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the answer of the magistrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a humble stranger, without arms or retinue, and continue for the space of one month only. (X).

He seemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predecessors; for he not only disheartened and rejected the profligates of the Ghibelines, who espoused the interests of the empire, but he affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually sent a reinforcement of troops from Bohemia to the assistance of the Guelphs, who by these means recovered some places which had been taken from the holy see; and, in consideration of these services, he was applauded and flattered by the pope and his dependents with the moft fulsome adulation.

While he acted this absurd part in maintaining the temporalities of the pope, he seemed to neglect the troubles which agitated the northern parts of Germany. A war had broke out between the dukes of Mecklenburg and Stettin about some frontier fortresses, and was carried on with great violence for some years, until Waldemar, king of Denmark, undertook the office of arbitrator, and affected an accommodation. The marching against the princes of Schlesia and Verle, who had revolted, he defeated their forces and ravaged their dominions, where he committed great cruelties. After this expedition, he contented that a dispute subsisting between him and the counts of Holstein, should be referred to the arbitration of Eric duke of Saxony, and Gerhard count de Holo; they decreed, that his Dauphiny majesty, to whom the counts of Holstein had ceded one-half of Fionia, should relinquish all pretensions to that county, and release the Holstein prisoners which he had taken in the last war.

Besides these contests, there were other disputes which hastened the return of Charles to Germany; namely, those proceeding from an opinion of equality, which prevailed among the princes of the empire; and this opinion was derived from the elevation of the emperors, the form of which was not as yet reduced to writing. The number of electors was not yet fixed, nor the quality limited to any particular princes; for the principal states were in general called electors, because all had equally the right of voting. The emperor therefore resolved to settle this point, that due subordination should take place, and future elections be performed without confusion or disorder. For this purpose he ordered a diet to be convoked at Nuremberg, to which the electors, princes, counts, noblemen, and deputies of the free towns, repaired in great number: but, before the chief design of their meeting was brought upon the carpet, the emperor issued a particular decree, touching the difference which Louis and Stephen, dukes of Bavaria, had with Robert count palatine of the Rhine. The emperor had made an agreement with his nephews, the counts palatine, that the right of voting as an elector should be alternately exercised by the chiefs of the two houses; and now the dukes of Bavaria wished to see this convention confirmed by Charles, who, from his hatred to the povertv of Lewis, pronounced a sentence, by which this right of voting was vested entirely in the count palatine, and the other branches of the house of Bavaria were excluded from this privilege.

Lewis the Roman approved of this decree, and for this instance of complaisance received the invective of the marquisate of Brandenburg; but Lewis the elder and Stephen presented a memorial to the diet, containing a detail of their pretensions; and this being overlooked, perfected in form against the decree.

This affair being discussed, the assembly deliberated upon the other more important affair, and was not only resolved, that many customs, which had never been reduced to writing, should, in the form of constitutions, be augmented, with several regulations for


(X) The poet Petrarch, who adhered to the party of the Ghibelines, reproached him in a letter couched in these terms: "You have then profaned upon oath, that you will never return to Rome. What shameful conduct in an emperor, to be compelled by Rome to content himself with the bare title of Cæsar, and exile himself for ever from the habitation of the Cæsars, to be crowned emperor, and then prohibited from reigning, or acting as chief of the empire: what an insult upon him who ought to command the universe, to be no longer master of himself, but he has reduced to obey his own vassals! (1)." Charles is justly reproached for his too great complaisance to the pope; for, by the treaties which were made between them, they seemed to act in concert for the destruction of the empire; one by his avarice, and the other by his ambition to extend the patrimony of St. Peter, to the prejudice of the imperial fefts (2).

(1) De Vit. Selvit. l. ii. sed. 4. c. iii.  (2) Spend. Cont. Barons. t. i. p. 737.
The history of Germany.

a the public good; but also to compose and publish the celebrated edict touching the form and ceremonies of the election of emperors, the number of electors, their particular functions, rights, and privileges, together with every circumstance relating to the government of the empire. This is the famous edict called The Golden Bull (Z), composed of thirty articles, three-and-twenty of which were confirmed in this affiliate, where the emperor sat on his throne, wearing the crown and other imperial ornaments, and heard them read and published with the unanimous consent and approbation of all present.

Towards the latter end of that same year another diet was held at Metz, where the other seven articles were added in presence of the same electors, princes, and states, as well as of the cardinal-bishop of Avola, Charles the eldest son of France, who was duke of Normandy, dauphin of Vienne, and the emperor's own nephew. This edict being published, with all the formalities necessary to make it a fundamental law of the empire, the emperor, in order to put the articles in execution, prepared a magnificent entertainment, at which each of the electors should exercise his own particular function. The emperor and emperors in their royal robes, having heard a solemn mass, repaired to the place appointed for the festival, accompanied by all the prelates and princes; and being seated at a table raised upon a scaffold in the market-place, Lewis archbishop of Metz, Common archbishop of Trier, and Frederic archbishop of Cologne, as arch-chancellors of Germany, Gaul, and Italy, appeared on horseback, each having a seal hanging from his neck, and a letter in his right hand. They were followed by the four secular electors, likewise on horseback.

The first of these was Wenceslaus, duke of Saxony, with a silver peak full of coins in his right hand, asotten mark of the empire; and, as it was his function to regulate the precedence, he alighted, and put each of his colleagues in his proper place. Then Otbo, marquis of Brandenburg, dismounting, presented the emperor and emperors with water to wash in an ewer of gold, placed in a basin of the same metal. Robert the Red, count palatine of the Rhine, served up the victuals in plates of gold; and Wenceslaus duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, representing the king of Bohemia, who was the emperor himself, placed upon one corner of the table a golden flagon full of wine, of which he presented a draught to the emperor in a cup of gold. After the electors rode the marquis of Mijnis, and the count of Schwartzenburg, great huntsmen, founding their horns, who, being followed by their hounds, killed a stag and a bear in presence of the emperor, who, after dinner, having bestowed presents upon the electors, princes, counts, and noblemen, gave them leave to depart, and put an end to the diet.

From Metz the emperor marched against the dukes of Bavaria, who had formed a league with the princes of Austria, in order to maintain their rights, which they conceived were invaded by the golden bull; and he compelled them to renounce this alliance, and agree to an accommodation on reasonable terms. Then he took the route to Prague, where he finished the citadel of Carlsberg, not without attracting the jealousy of his subjects, whom, however, he found means to appease, by reminding them of the care he took to increase and confirm their prerogatives in the golden bull.

c But one article of that famous constitution produced great disturbance in some of the imperial towns. This related to the Phalburgers, or false burghehrs; and ordained, that the burghehrs belonging to any prince should not be received as free citizens in the imperial towns. The design of this law was to prevent subjects from withdrawing themselves from the obedience and dominion of their natural lords; but under this pretext the princes endeavored to deprive the people of the undoubted right they have from nature to shift the place of their residence, in order to better their situation in life. Among others, the inhabitants of Strauburg were expressly forbid to give the freedom of their city to strangers; and this prohibition they rejected, as an infringement of their privileges.

While Strauburg thus defended its rights from innovation, Alsace was ravaged by a troop of robbers, who distinguished themselves by the apppellations of Malandrines, Tard freebooters, or late comers, and Great Companies. They were originally formed of defectors from the armies of France and England, and grew to such a pitch of insolence and power, that the emperor was obliged to assemble the forces of the empire, which drove them out of Germany. Then they marched towards Artois, in order to lay the pope and cardinals under contribution; but finding it impracticable to make themselves masters of that place, which was defended by the marquis de Montferrat, the greatest part of them inlisted under


(2) So named from a golden seal, called Bulla. A translation of this famous edict will be inserted at the end of this history of the empire.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. P
The history of Germany.

The emperor returns to Bohemia.

A.D. 1358.
Encouragement to the liberal arts, and in particular to the administration of justice.

He falls the imperial jurisdiction in Italy.

A.D. 1359.
Difference between the emperor and pope.

Troubles in the north of Germany.

the banners of that experienced commander, who led them against the Milanese, whom he defeated in several engagements.

On his return to Bohemia his whole care was engrossed in accumulating treasurers, and extending the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom, which he considered as his real patrimony. He had already augmented it with the addition of Slavonia, which he held of Poland, and Ljubljana, which was a fief of the empire; nay, he even sold new privileges to several cities, and for money incurred the rights and power of other dominions. He left no stone unturned to enrich himself; but anticipated the wish of those who wanted to sell, give, mortgage, or alienate, the lands and privileges of the empire, as if he had entered into a league with foreign princes, in order to weaken its power.

In other respects he was not a bad prince, although the Germans have no great cause to applaud his reign, because he expressed no zeal for the glory and dignity of the empire.

It must be confessed, nevertheless, that he possessed some qualities that were very commendable: he was perfectly well acquainted with the languages, and an encourager of the liberal arts. An illustrious proof of his munificence in this particular is the university of Prague, which he founded on the model of that of Paris, having procured copies of its statutes, while he was employed in his studies in France. He expressed great avarice to the ambition and pomp of ecclesiastics, which was at that time excessive, and even made public remonstrances to the bishops, when they gave him reasons to complain on this head.

He applied himself with extraordinary care to the administration of justice, and usually sat in person as a judge on the appeal; but, on the other hand, he was inexcessibly remiss in the affairs of Italy, where every thing revolved into the utmost confusion. He had fold, for a large sum of money, to the dukes called Sforza, the vicariate of Lombardy, with the state of Milan; and he found his own private interest in neglecting to recover the cities of Padua, Verona, Venice, together with the other dominions of the empire and their jurisdictions, which the Venetians had gradually appropriated to themselves, and now peaceably enjoyed.

The princes of the empire, excited by the universities of Germany, represented to him, that among the bulls of pope Clement VI. there were some that reflected disgrace upon him and the Germanic body, especially that which imports the emperors to be valets of the pope. In consequence of this representation, Charles wrote to his holiness, declaring that this odious inquisition might be cancelled; but Innocent VI. gave him to understand, that it was become a fundamental law of the church; and, in order to amuse the emperor in his turn, sent the bishop of Carcassonne as his prelate into Germany to demand the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of the holy see. This extraordinary demand alarmed the clergy and the princes of Germany to such a degree, that the emperor convoked a diet at Montaigu, to deliberate upon the subject, and the result of their deliberations was a flat refusal delivered to the nuncio, with heavy complaints of the pope's presumption.

At this period the provinces situated in the center of Germany enjoyed peace and tranquility; but Charles seemed to neglect the northern parts, which were almost always involved with Waldemar king of Denmark, who, by imposing a severe tax upon the Jutlanders, had provoked these people to revolt, and they were supported by the duke of Slavonia and the counts of Holstein. In the beginning of this war the confederates were success-

---

Footnotes:

(A) The incorporation of these two provinces with the kingdom of Bohemia involved him in a war with the duke of Austria, who represented to the states the bad consequence of such an alienation from the empire; but his real motive was to appropriate to himself the province of Ljubljana, upon which he had long looked with a wild eye. In order to determine this difference, the two princes took the field; and the emperor, perceiving himself greatly inferior to the enemy, fled by his promises three of the duke's principal officers, who preferred their matter that the emperor's forces were infinitely superior to his, and produced a forged list of his troops, which they pretended to have intercepted. In consequence of these treacherous representations, the duke thought proper to confute his safety by a precipitate flight; when the traitors came afterwards to demand the recompense of the emperor, he expelled them from his court with disgrace, and even threatened to detect and deliver them to the duke, whom they had betrayed.

(B) The emperor, having resolved to reform the German clergy, communicated to the bishops the measures he had taken for that purpose, and threatened to confiscate the revenues of those who should refuse to obey his orders. The pope, believing the honour and liberty of ecclesiastics at stake, defined the emperor to forbear meddling with the reformation of the clergy, which was his province, and inflicted upon his refractory what the secular nobility had at different times suffered from ecclesiastics. Charles, in order to pacify Innocent, whole refutation he had dreamed, published the famous constitution called The Caroline Bull, cancelling all the statutes or regulations which had been made to the prejudice of ecclesiastical liberty, and denouncing the severest penalties against those who should agrivate the persons of the clergy.

The history of Germany.

a ful; but, in the sequel, Waldemar defeated their army, razed the fortifications of Gamburg, conquered the inland of Langeland and Alten, and compelled them to sue for peace, which was accordingly ratified at Stralsund. 1

Meanwhile pope Innocent implored the assistance of the emperor against Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, who was then employed in the siege of Bologna, which was garrisoned by the troops of the holy see; but all that he could obtain from Charles was an imperial edict, commanding Bernabo to desist, which Visconti treated with great contempt; and Bologna certainly would have fallen into his hands, had not Galeas Malatesta entered in the night with a considerable reinforcement; and next day, making a vigorous sally, defeated the enemy with great slaughter.

Yet the emperor’s indifference on this occasion was not so remarkable as his total neglect of the commotions in Lower Germany. The hans towns, being interrupted in their commerce by the Danes, had craved his protection in repeated solicitations, which being denied, they renewed their ancient alliance, entered into a league with the king of Norway, the duke of Mecklenburg, and the count of Holstein, and equipping a considerable fleet, laid Copenha gen under contribution. The war was maintained for some time with various success, till at length, all parties being tired of hostilities, an accommodation took place, though not until his Danilo majesty made satisfaction for the damage his subjects had done to the trade of the confederates. 2

In the course of this year the empress was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Wenceslaus, and his birth was solemnized with great magnificence: but the noblemen, diffident with the sloth and indolence of Charles, preferred to him a renunciation, importing, that the occupations of an emperor consisted in holding diets, visiting the provinces, administering justice, and maintaining good order. He paid, however, no regard to these representations; but replied to the deputies, that he was not at all disposed to maintain an emperor in the provinces with the revenues of Bohemia. In a word, he was by this time grown extremely covetous, and sold privileges to all the noblemen and towns that chose to pay the price he demanded. The town of Dille, in Upper Alch, purchased the power of inflicting death upon certain criminals, and even of conferring the right of burgershiship on all persons whatever, not excepting the vassals of the noblemen, if they were not reclaimed within the year. The bishop of Strasburg paid a round sum for uniting to his see the landgravate (C) of Alch, and several fiefs which had been poissed by the counts of Ottingen; and it might have been said of Charles, that he bought the empire wholesale, and sold it by retail. 3

John, bishop of Strasburg, by this new acquisition, excited the jealousy of the inhabitants of Haguenau, who committed hostilities upon his vassals, and obliged him to take the field as the head of an army, with which he ravaged their territory, and even invaded their city: but a peace was soon concluded by the mediation of Burcard, burgrave of Magdeburg.

These troubles were hardly appeased when other disturbances arose from the death of Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who having made no regulations in his will, touching the tutorage of his son Manchard, by his second wife Margaret Maulfach, heiress of Carinthia, his brother Stephen took charge of the young prince, who dying in a few months, his tutor was acknowledged duke of Bavaria, and received the investiture from the emperor: but Margaret Maulfach, who hated the Bavarian house, made a formal cession of all her right and pretenstions upon the Tyrol, the county of Goritz, and the territory situated between the Inn and the Adige, to Rodolphus of Austria, who promised to take her for his wife; so that a war broke out between the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and pope Urban, who had succeeded Inno cent, prevailed upon both parties to agree to a truce for three years, in conformance of which each competitor retired to his own dominions. 4

About this period, Peter de La Fignon, king of Cyprus, finding himself unable to withstand the power of the Egyptian sultan, repaired to Aigues, to solicit succours against the

1 Hufefeld, Hist. Dan. t. iii. 2 Pontan, Rech. Danic. Hist. 3 Spiner, t. ii. l. ii. c. 2. 4 Adler, an. Bocic. gent. par. ii. l. v.

(C) The dignity of landgrave was originally a com mitment given by the emperors to a certain nobleman, constituting him judge and governcr of a province, but in the sequel it became an hereditary fief; and besides the rights and privileges attached to the dignity, there were certain fiefs united to it, of which some depended immediately upon the emperor, and others upon the bishop, or some powerful nobleman of the province; so that the landgraves not only received the investiture of their office, and its fiefs depending upon the empire, from the emperor himself, but they were likewise obliged to do homage for the other fiefs to the lord paramount (t).
The emperor solicited in vain to succor the king of Cyprus.

Reconciliation between the pope and Bernabo Visconti. A.D. 1364.

The history of Germany.

infidels, and persuade the pope to let on foot a new crusade for the conquest of Jerusalem. His holiness and the king of France seemed very well disposed to promote this enterprize; but all their remonstrances had no effect upon the emperor, who was not the man to sacrifice the tranquillity he enjoyed to the prospect of uncertain conquest; nor would the German princes, though severally exhorted by Urban to engage in such a glorious expedition, affix his Cyprian majesty with any thing but fair promises, which they had no intention to perform.

CHARLES, however, to manifest his regard for the successor of St. Peter, interposed his good offices to terminate the war, which still raged in Italy between the pope and Bernabo Visconti; and finding the latter extremely obdurate, and averse to an accommodation, he ordered all the vicars of the empire in Italy to take up arms, and pursue that prince, as an enemy to God, and a rebel to the empire. It was owing to this vigorous step that Visconti began to listen to terms of peace, that were confirmed by a treaty; in consequence of which he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication.

The emperor, notwithstanding his pacific disposition, involved himself in a quarrel with Lewis, king of Hungary, whose mother he had asperified; and the licence of his tongue would have intailed upon him a very troublesome war, had not the affair been compromised by the mediation of the pope, who interested himself greatly in the cause of Peter de Laugnu, and forebore that no substantial assistance could be granted to that monarch, while the princes of Europe were at variance among themselves. Immediately after this accommodation, Charles, being a widower, married Elizabeth, daughter of Burgi, duke of Pomerania, and grandchild of Casimir, king of Poland, who defrayed all the expence of the nuptials, which were celebrated, with incredible magnificence, at Cracow: nor was her reception at Prague inferior to the pomp and splendor of her marriage; for the emperor seemed to have laid aside his natural disposition on this occasion. He must be owned, that he knew how to counteract those virtues he did not posses: he concerted the estate of strangers by a skew of hospitality; he engaged in great designs, which he had not spirit to execute; he embellished Prague, encouraged learning, projected a scheme for the reformation of monks, and railed the abbots of Fulde, Weissenburg, Kempen, and Burgha, the most rich and powerful monks of Germany, to the rank and dignity of princes.

His tranquility was again invaded by another body of freebooters, who made a fresh irruption into Alsace, where they plundered towns, villages, and passengers, with impunity; while another army of banditti, under the command of Arnold de Carnelle, surnamed the High Priest, fell upon Champagne, to the number of forty thousand, pillaged the open country, entered Bar and Lorraine, laid Main under contribution, and afterwards marching into Alsace, made incursions to the gates of Strasbourg. Charles being apprized of these outrages, and preffed by the princes of Germany to oppose the progress of such lawless ruffians, at length took the field, and having put the most exposed places on the Rhine in a posture of offence, marched towards Strasbourg, where he was joined by a strong reinforcement. Arnold, who had committed dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood, finding himself unable to cope with the imperial troops, and having made certain proposals, which were rejected, took the resolution to retreat into Burgundy, where he was affissinated by his own followers, who were soon dispatched after the death of their chief.

On the emperor's return from this expedition, his council having represented to him, that he ought to act with more spirit in Italy, and hinder the rights and dominions of the empire from falling into the hands of the first comer, he resolved to go to Avignon, and conclude an alliance with Urban V. and some of the princes of Italy, against Bernabo, tyrant of Milan. There he was honourably received by the pope, and, during his stay, they treated each other with reciprocal marks of the most sincere friendship. The emperor was present in his imperial robes at a solemn mass which the pope sung on the day of Pentecost; after which, he went to the city of Arles, and was crowned by the hands of the archbishop. Then he returned to Avignon, where the treaty was concluded between him, the pope, and several Italian princes, against the usurpers of the church lands, and those belonging to the empire in Italy; and as he obliged himself by the treaty to assemble, as soon as possible, a number of troops to march against these usurpers and their adherents, his holiness granted a tenth upon the clergy of Germany, to help him to defray the expence of the war. The enterprise, however, was not set on foot till three years after; so little had he at heart the concerns of the empire on the other side of the Alps; nay, as an authentic proof of this disregard, some historians relate, that, for one dinner which he received from Lewis, duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. at Villeneuf, near Avignon, he yielded to France the sovereignty.
The history of Germany.

The regency of Dauphiny, which had been referred to the empire by the donation which Humber, the last dauphin, made of that province to the crown of France.

The chief design, however, of the assembly at Avignon, in which a great number of princes affected to reprove the abductions of those vandals who infested the provinces, and for afflicting the king of Cyprus against the Jolant of Egypt, but Charles, instead of condemning the measures which were proposed for the relief of that prince, represented the necessity of forming a crusade against the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, and threatened all Christendom with destruction.

After much altercation, the assembly broke up, without having come to any resolutions on these interesting subjects. The banditti continued their devastations to the very gates of Avignon, so as to endanger the person of the pope, who, on this account, hastened his departure for Rome, after that city had been deserted by the pontiffs for the space of sixty-two years; yet, as the Viscontis were masters of all the passages of the Alps, and Urban was not at all disposed to put himself in their power, he embarked on board a galley belonging to the queen of Naples, and made his entry into Rome, where he was received with great honours by the clergy and the Roman people.

He had solicited the emperor to march against the Viscontis, who continued to tyrannize over the states and cities depending upon the Roman see; but Charles was resolved to gratify his own insolence, and excused himself from leaving his dominions, on pretence of the war which was now reviving between the dukes of Austria and Bavaria. These princes had actually taken the field to decide their pretensions to the Tyrol; and the armies were in fight of one another, when Waldemar, king of Denmark, arrived from the emperor's court, and prevailed upon the contending parties to agree to the prolongation of the truce.

Waldemar had no sooner transmitted this affair to the satisfaction of the emperor, than he was called to his own dominions, in consequence of a revolt in Sweden; and in the mean time a war was kindled in Lower Saxony by count Egon, who endeavoured to make himself master of Fribourg, to which he had some pretensions as over, or defender. The inhabitants, who had declared themselves independent, ventured to meet his forces in the field, and were defeated; and Egon ceded his right to the house of Austria, in consideration of a sum of money; so that Fribourg lost that liberty which it had maintained for several years.

Visconti full persisting in his hostilities, and Urban in his solicitations, the emperor at length determined to cross the Alps at the head of an army. With this view, he employed some time in putting the affairs of Bohemia in order; and being supplied by the princes of Germany with a strong body of forces, he began his march for Italy. His first operations were directed against Verona, which he took by assault, while the duke of Austria reduced Vicenza, and compelled the inhabitants to renounce the alliance of the Visconti. Bernabo, finding himself unable to cope with the imperial forces, joined by those of the pope, set on foot a negotiation, by means of his son-in-law, Stephen duke of Bavaria; and peace being made, the pope confirmed the treaty, which was not much for the honour of either.

Notwithstanding this accommodation, the emperor punished the towns and noblemen who had followed the fortunes of Bernabo, by revoking the privileges they had obtained from his predecessors, and remained deaf to all their remonstrances and intreaties, until they found means to appease him with sums of money; and then he not only restored, but augmented their prerogatives.

Having nothing else to fear from this quarter, he continued his march to Viterbo, where he was met by his holiness, whom he accompanied to Rome, where he held the flirrup till the pope alighted, after having led his horse by the bridle to St. Peter's, in which the emperor was crowned at the altar on the feast of All Saints, having been first anointed by the cardinal bishop of Ostia. This ceremony being performed, the emperor quitted Rome, and retired to Tuscany, where he laid some months, during which he exacted a great deal of money from the cities, and even from Florence itself, which was fain to purchase his forbearance. Then returning to Germany, he convened a diet at Frankfort, where measures were taken to maintain the peace of the empire; and in particular an imperial edit was published, in order to prevent the feuds that used to rage among the nobles. These precautions, however, did not hinder Magnus, duke of Brunswick, and Gerhard, bishop of Hildesheim, from taking the field against each other: a battle ensued, in which the latter was victorious. The war was renewed by Otho, duke of Lauenburg, who resolved to revenge the disgrace of his kinsman; and after they had fatigued each other with marches and coun-

The emper of is round at Rome.

Vot. 2. p. 3. i. Pape Avent. t. i. Hoftell. t. iii. ad ann. 1652.
The history of Germany.

ter marches, a treaty of peace was concluded. This quarrel did not so much disturb the emperor, as did the war which broke out amongst the pope and Veneti, which last obtained a victory over the troops of his holiness, and filled the whole country with outrage and devastation. Urban had recourse to Lewis, king of Hungary, who actually levied forces march to his alliance: but he could not obtain the permission of the emperor for his passing to the Alps, because Charles was jealous of his designs; yet he sent such intimidating messages to Bernado, as induced him to recall his troops from the territories of the church, and make the first advances to a pacification, which the pope would have rejected, had not he been prevailed to accept them by the emperor, who dreaded the thoughts of the Hungarians entering Lombardy, and therefore importuned Urban to embrace the proposals of Bernado. His holiness did not long survive this pacification; for he died in a few months, on his return to Avignon, and was succeeded by Peter Roger de Meun, who assumed the appellation of Gregory XI, and sent intimation of his promotion to the emperor, and other Christian princes. Amongst these, Waldemar, king of Denmark, begged the emperor to interpose the papal authority in his behalf with the counts of Holstein, and the duke of Mecklenburg, who supported the Jutlanders in a revolt, and even formed such a strong alliance with the king of Sweden, the duke of Slesvig, and other princes, that Waldemar was obliged to fly from his own kingdom to the court of the emperor, who would afford him no other alliance than some letters of recommendation to the marquis of Misnia, the duke of Stettin, and some other noblemen, whom he exhorted to take arms in defence of the Danish king.

His embassy to the pope met with no greater success; for Gregory having heard the complaints of the Jutlanders, who accused the king of tyranny and oppression, he advised him to reform his character, and strive to regain the affections of his people by a milder administration. Disappointed in his hope from the emperor and his holiness, Waldemar set on foot a private negotiation with the towns of Wandschau, which having detached from the league, he re-took possession of his dominions, confirmed the treaty of Stralsund, and obtained a deed from the hans towns, by which they obliged themselves to restore to the crown of Denmark, at the expiration of fifteen years, those places in Scania, which had been mortgaged to them for that term. Charles (B), without intriguing himself greatly in these contentions, enjoyed himself at his ease in Prague, where the arts and sciences flourished under his protection; but, in the midst of these literary amusements, he was alarmed with the news of a quarrel between his brother Wincenaus, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, and the duke of Jutlers, which laft is said to have countenanced a band of robbers, who committed outrages on the highway. Wincenaus, being vicar of the empire in the Low Countries, and intendant of the highways, sent deputies to the duke of Jutlers, to complain of his conduct; and these being treated with contempt, he raised an army, at the head of which he entered the dominions of the duke, who defeated and took him prisoner. The emperor, being apprized of his brother's disafier, resolved to take ample vengeance on the victor; and, in a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, commanded all the dukes, counts, barons, and noblemen, there assembled, to furnish their proportions of troops, that he might lay waste the dukedom of Jutlers with fire and sword. But he was diverted from his purpose by the intercession of the ecclesiastical electors, and the princes of Bavaria, who prevailed upon their cousin the duke of Jutlers to release Winzenaur, and all the prisoners, without ransom, and ask pardon on his knees before the emperor, who raised him up, and embraced him, in token of reconciliation.

So many mischievous consequences were produced by these petty wars between the noblemen of the empire, that Charles, in order to remedy this disorder, convoked a diet at Nuremberg, where it was decreed by an edict, that no prince or nobleman, who conceived himself aggrieved by another, should have recourse to arms, till the expiration of two months after the offence received; and this law, called the regulation of sixty days, was of signal service in the empire. This constitution being enacted, Charles relapsed into his former indolence, and seemed to renounce entirely the interests of the empire in Italy. He winked at the enterprises of Gregory upon the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily: he refused to afflict the holy see against the incursions of Bernado Veneti, whom no treaty could restrain; and he lent a deaf ear to all the solicitations of the pope, who exhorted him to engage in a crusade.


(B) While he was one day hunting in a forest, he observed a flag and a hound fall into a fountain, and afterwards lost their hair. In consequence of this re-

mark, he ordered the spring to be examined; and the water being found hot and medicinal, it was called by the name of Carlsbad, or Charles's Bath (1).
The history of Germany.

a for the relief of Hungary, which was threatened with an invasion by Amorath, emperor of Hungary in the Turks.  

b Notwithstanding this indifferency towards the affairs of the empire, he exerted himself with great industry when the concerns of his own family were in question. For a considerable sum of money he purchased of Otbo the marquisate of Brandenburg, with which he inveted his second son Sigismund; and he, by his eminaries, privately canvassed among the princes of the empire, in order to secure the succession of the imperial throne to his eldest son Wineglaus. For this purpoze he made a journey into Germany, where he managed matters with so much address, and applied his money to such good purpose, that, in consideration of an hundred thousand ducats paid to each of the electors, his son, though but fifteen years of age, was chosen king of the Romans at Renz, where a diet was assembled for that purpose, and afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. That he might not, however, entirely exhaust his ready money, he mortgaged to some of the toll which he had upon the Rhine, and sold towns to others. Thooffe of Beppart and Oheoswil were purchased by the electors of Friers; he disposed of Kaiselurer, Oppenheim, Oberheim, and Ingelheim, to the elector Palatin, and some other cities to the duke of Aylbia; so that people were wont to say, He had enfeebled the empire, and plucked the eagle. At length Charles, having seen his son Wineglaus received in several of the imperial towns, returned to Prague, where he received the news of the pope's return to Rome, which did not greatly relish his proceedings, after having so long enjoyed the sweets of independence while the pontiffs resided at Avignon. Going at the same time, wrote a letter to the emperor, deferring he would mediate a peace between his nephew the king of France and the English monarch; and Charles, who had this affair at heart, resolved to make a journey to Paris, that he might be nearer at hand to act as the emergency of the cause should require. Having therefore quelled some intestine commotions in Germany, and seen a war between the king of Denmark and the duke of Mecklenburg happily terminated, he sent an intimation of his design to Charles V. of France, and set out by the way of Brabant, accompanied by his son Wineglaus, and a moderate retinue. At Cambrai he was met by a number of noblemen, whom the king had sent to receive him; at Compiegne he was complimented by the duke of Bourbon, the count de Eau, and several bishops; and he made his entry into Paris riding on horseback on the right-hand of the king, who treated him with great splendour and magnificence. Whatever his pretence might be for visiting France on this occasion, his real motives seem to have been the desire of seeing the French monarch, for whom he expressed great tenderness of affection, and a superfluous zeal for paying his devotions to St. Maur; for it does not appear that he transacted any other affair in France, except his declaring the dauphin his perpetual vicar in the kingdom of Arles and county of Dauphiny, and his permitting a private gentleman, called Enguarand de Couci, to maintain by arms the right he pretended to have to the succession of the house of Aylbia by his mother Catherine, granddaughter of the emperor Albert.  

Couci having obtained this permission, and received a supply of troops from the king Enguarand of France, he published a manifesto, ravaged the territory of Strasburg, and in the winter proceeded enter the country of the Swifs, where his soldiers perished with cold and hunger in ssuch numbers, that he was obliged to retire into Picardy, and desert from his enterprise. As for the emperor, he, in his return from France, took the road to Luxemburg, where he prevailed upon Duke Wineglaus, who had no issue, to declare him and his sons heirs of his clutchy, and all its dependencies; and, soon after his arrival at Prague, he died of a fever, having reigned about one-and-thirty years from the death of Lewis IV. his predece  

e Spowd. Cont. t. i. p. 818.  
f Krantz. Sax. i. x. c. 3.  
g Barre,  
h Idem ibid.  

(C) He was four times married; but had no children by his two first wives, who were Blanca, daughter of Charles, count of Valois, and sister of Philip, king of France; and Agnes, daughter of Rodolphus the Young, count palatine. His third wife was Anna, daughter of Bagiadin, duke of Svecia, by whom he had Catherine, married to Rodolphus IV. duke of Aulbia, and Winecfaus, who succeeded him in the empire. His dowry was the county of Tyrion and the duchy of Svecia. His fourth wife was Elisabeth, daughter of Bagiadin V. duke of Steffan, who was niece or grand-daughter of Casmir, king of Poland. By her he had Sigismund, who was king of Hungary, and afterwards emperor; and John, marquis of Moravia, duke of Carlowitz and Svecia; with several daughters; namely, Margaret, wife of Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia; Elisabeth, married to John Galuse, duke of Milan; Ann, married with Ost, duke of Bavaria, and margrave of Brandenburg; Margaret, married to John II. burgrave of Norburg; Elisabeth, wife of Albert, duke of Aulbia; Margaret, wife of Amadeus, count of Savoy; Agnes, married to William the Ambitious, duke of Aulbia; and Helen, queen of Henry IV. of England.  

x Heft. i. xi. c. 27.
The history of Germany.

When the princes once intreated him to quit Bohemia, and shew himself in Germany, he is said to have conducted them into his treasury, in which there was a prodigious quantity, of gold and silver bullion, and spoke to this effect: "The city of Prague gave me birth; the kingdom of Bohemia furnishes me with all these riches: were I more attached to Germany, I should be obliged, like you, to pluck the eagle. You know very well how to strip her of her feathers when she flies towards your quarters, and she might, in her turn, be provoked to make reprisals; in which case, the wings of some of you would not grow again for a considerable length of time."

Besides the golden bull, which we have mentioned, Charles published divers laws and constitutions. By an edict, dated at Prague, he decreed, that, in case the royal family should fail, the states of the kingdom should be at liberty to choose a new king; and that by the same year he confirmed the right of electorate to the crown of Bohemia. He granted to John, duke of Brabant, a privilege, in consequence of which none of his subjects could be carried out of his own jurisdiction, nor arrested in the empire, for any cause whatever. He confirmed to the abbots of Fulde the dignity of arch-chancellor to the emperors, together with a new privilege at the time of her coronation, and all other ceremonies; namely, the right of putting the crown on her head, and of taking it off again. He invested Rupert the Old with the right which he had to the electorate Palatine. He published a decree for exempting the estates of the clergy from all secular jurisdiction. Chancing to pass through Würzburg, he had the curiosity to go and fee the tomb of the great Wittelsbach, which was repaired by his order; the arms of Charlemagne being placed at the head, and those of Bohemia at the feet. Finally, he ordered the feast of Charlemagne to be annually solemnized in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle (D).

(D) It is generally supposed, that cannon were first used in the reign of this emperor, in consequence of the invention of gun-powder, which is attributed to an accidental discovery of one Bernabius Scharto, or the Black, a monk of Freiburg; yet there is in the arsenal of Annberg a piece of cannon made in the year 1303, so that those instruments of death must have been known before the reign of Charles (t).

(1) Barbe, t. vi. p. 367.
The history of Germany.

CHAP. VIII.

Comprehending the Wars of the Huttites in Bohemia.

WINECSLAUS.

A Winecslaus, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, at a time when the church was divided by a great schism. The Romans had elected Urban VI. who confirmed the election of this new emperor, and the French had chosen Clement VII. for pope. During these troubles, Winecslaus appointed Jades, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy, laid injunctions upon him to inquire which of the two was the true pope, to acknowledge and protect him whom he should find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himself into the chair. He likewise held a diet at Nuremberg, and afterwards at Frankfurt, where, after having examined this affair of the popes, Urban VI. was acknowledged by the archbishops and bishops, and Winecslaus, together with the princes of the empire, engaged to protect him in the papacy. After the diet of Frankfurt, the emperor repaired to Aix la Chapelle, where he resided for some time, because the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the provinces became a prey to those banditti, whom we have already mentioned by the name of Late Comers and Grand Companions; and the princes and towns were obliged to engage in aficio;ations for their mutual defence. The free-booters, however, were afterwards taken into the pay of Winecslaus, who, on his return to Prague, by his misconduct, provoked his subjects to revolt, and, in order to punish them for their rebellion, allowed those vengem in Bohemia, they enlisted in the service of Jane queen of Naples, who had lately married Olbo of Brunsvik, and was in the sequel barbarously put to death by Charles Durazzo, even after the pope had declared that prince her successor to the crown.

Notwithstanding the seeming attention which Winecslaus paid to the peace of the church, he was a prince of a depraved taste, and the most vicious inclinations. His cruelty seemed to be aggravated, by his being the occasion of his mother’s death when he was born, and the impurities with which he profaned the font at his baptism, and the altar at his being crowned king of Bohemia, looked like omens of the unworthy actions, with which he dishonoured his reign. His whole conduct was a series of debauched cruelty and baseness. In imitation of his father, he despised all the rights of the empire in Germany, which remained unfolded; and as for the cities and provinces of Italy, which his father had alienated, he exacted money from them for a confirmation of their privileges. He explicated blank patents, forged and sealed, to be filled up at the pleasure of the purchasers; by which means the rich and powerful were authorized to oppress the weak and poor. This was accordingly done with such impunity and licence, that there was no security for commerce, no policy, no order in the empire. Such confusion could not fail to produce civil wars. The cities of Swabia and the Rhine took arms against the princes in their neighbourhood, of which the chief were the count palatine, the count of Würtemberg, and the duke of Austria.

The electors, and other princes and states, tired of all these disorders, and chagrined to see Germany without a head, and the privileges of the empire alienated, in order to fill the purse of Winecslaus, sent an embassage to Prague, beseeching him to come and reside among them. When this proposal was made him, “Our dear ambassadors (said he), all the world knows that we are emperor, and if there is any person in the empire, who is dehors of seeing us, let him come to Bohemia, and we will freely give him audience.” This was all the answer they could obtain, and the electors were so scandalized at the contempt with which he received their advice, that, seeing no prospect of his reformation, they of themselves took cognizance of the general affairs of the empire, and interpolated in the quarrels and disputes subsisting between several states, which they with difficulty accommodated: to such a degree was their animosity inflamed.

The towns of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, formed what they called the Great League, and the princes formed associations for their mutual defence: by these precautions the public tranquillity was maintained, and even Lower Germany secured from these shocks, which were occasioned by a revolution in Sweden. At the death of Olaus, king of Denmark,
his mother Margaret ascended the throne, with the unanimous consent of the people, and even recommended herself so strongly to the Swedes, who were oppressed by their own king Albert, that they renounced their allegiance to that monarch, and made her a solemn tender of the crown; in consequence of which she marched to their assistance, defeated Albert, who was deposed, and obliged to retire to the dominions of his brother, the duke of Mecklenburg, and then she assumed the reins of government, and was distinguished by the appellation of the Semiramis of the North.

Notwithstanding all the measures which had been taken to prevent civil broils in Germany, war broke out between the house of Austria and the confederate towns, which had shaken off the yoke of dependence. Leopold of Austria, son of Albert the Sage, confiding too much in his own strength, raised a considerable army to reduce the Swits, eight cantons of which had already withdrawn themselves from his dominion. He accordingly gave them battle, which he lost, together with his life, so that they entirely freed themselves from the Austrian chains, and their dependence upon the empire, while their successes encouraged other cities to follow their example.

The towns of Alsace, Suabia, and the Rhine, made preparations for defending themselves against those princes, who attempted to dominate over them: Spire, Worms, and Mentz, levied a body of forces, which ravaged the territories of Robert the Young, count palatine, who took the field, and made reprisals with great cruelty; the inhabitants of Strasburg, aggrieved by the marquis of Baden, plundered the lands of the margravate, and destroyed the town of Brampf, belonging to the count de Linange, who joining the marquis of Baden, and the old count palatine, made incursions to the very gates of Strasburg, and laid waste the whole country, from Habsbergen to Mainzheim, with fire and sword: in a word, Alsace was, by these mutual ravages and cruelties, reduced to the last extremity; when peace was re-established by the mediation of some princes of the empire.

WINCESLAUS, without giving himself the least trouble about these transactions, still resided in Bohemia, plunged in all manner of debauchery, by which he rendered himself every day more and more contemptible in the eyes of his subjects (E). He ordered John Nepomucen, his wife's confessor, to be drowned, because he would not reveal the particulars of her confession; and in all other respects behaved with such barbarity and indiscipline, that his subjects looked upon him with detestation and abhorrence. But while he thus attracted the odium and contempt of all good men, his brother Sigismund distinguished himself by his valour and capacity, and at length ascended the Hungarian throne, after the death of Charles Durazzo, who had been elected by the Hungarians, and affiliated by order of the queen-mother, because her daughter, the princess Mary, was deposed by her right by his election.

The death of Durazzo involved the kingdom of Naples in great confusion. One party espoused the cause of his son Ladislaus, still a minor, and another adhered to the interest of Lewis of Anjou, who pretended to the crown; while pope Urban, though equallycourted by both, remained neutral, in hope of raising his own nephew to the throne, after the other two competitors should have enfeoffed each other. Mean while Otho of Brunswick, the last husband of the unfortunate Jane, was appointed captain-general for Lewis of Anjou, and marching to Naples, at the head of an army composed of French and Germans, reduced the whole kingdom to the dominion of his principal. Urban could not help repining at his success, which not only rendered his own scheme impracticable, but likewise strengthened the interest of his rival Clement VIII, who patronized the duke of Anjou: he found himself, moreover, hated for his severity and ambition, and abandoned by Bologna, and several other towns, who embraced the party of his competitor. These concurren mortalities affected him so nearly, that he died of chagrin; and, in a few days after his decease, the fourteen cardinals refiding at Rome elected Peter Tumacele in his room. This new pontiff assumed the name of Boniface IX. and excommunicated Clement, who retorted the sentence upon him with equal animosity.

The repose of Germany was about this period disturbed by insurrections against the Jews, who being accused of having poisoned the fountains, and inflamed the hoft (though in reality their wealth was all their crime), were burned in their synagogue at Prague, butchered at Spire, without distinction of age or sex, plundered in almost every province, and, as the authority of Wenceslaus was not sufficient to protect that unhappy people, at last obliged to escape into Lithuania, where they found an asylum in the favour of Jagellon, who was en-moured of a Jewish damsel.

(E) In this year the doctrine of Wicliff was introduced into Bohemia, by a gentleman of that country who had studied in England (1).

(1) Hijsi. Hist. xi. c. 25.

These
The history of Germany.

These disturbances were succeeded by commotions in Alsace and other provinces on the Rhine; the inhabitants of Strasbourg reclaimed some towns which Charles IV. had mortgaged to Robert count palatine, alleging that the emperor had no power to dispose of their property; and, the count refusing to comply with their demand, they took the field, in order to subdue him by force. This war produced nothing but mutual ravages, and the Strasburgers were fast to retreat for the safety of their city, which was endangered by an affair of greater consequence. Repestein, an Alsatian nobleman, on whom they had conferred the right of burgheiship, imprisoned an Englishman, called Harlestan, because he had served in the army of Enguerrand de Coucy, when that nobleman laid waste the territory of Strasbourg. The king of England demanded the release of his subject: the emperor commanded the Strasburgers to let him at liberty; and they disregarding the order of such a weak prince, put the city to the ban of the empire. A.D. 1392.

The abundance of noblemen, jealous of the power of Strasbourg, took this opportunity to engage in a league to humble her pride: the bishop himself joined in the confederacy; and an army being raised, the allies undertook the siege of the place, which, however, they could not reduce. At length peace was effected by the mediation of the bishop of Bamberg, though the emperor would by no means content to the treaty, until the citizens purchased his condensation with a present of thirty thousand florins. The peace being thus re-established, John, Stephen, and Frederick, dukes of Bavaria, agreed to a partition of their dominions, which had hitherto been divided, and subscribed a pact or treaty for regulating the order of succession, and the alienation of their fiefs, by which any one of them was restricted from partaking with his lands, until he should have first offered the purchase to the other two, and obtained their consent to alienate his property; and all disputes were referred to arbitration.

While Wenceslaus continued immersed in debauchery, and seemed indifferent in acquiring the implacable hatred of his people, by the extraordinary taxes he imposed, and the cruelties he exercised indiscriminately upon all sorts of people; not even respecting the magistrates of Prague, whom he ordered to be beheaded without form of process. Nay, in order to familiarize himself to blood and carnage, he defended so low, as to contract an intimacy with the common executioner, whom he distinguished by the appellation of his gossip. Nevertheless, some authors allege, that this cruel disposition was not natural to him. He is said to have been twice poisoned, and the medicines he took prevented the doses from having their whole effect; but they left an extraordinary heat and dryness in his constitution, which he was obliged to affage with drinking. Thus he contracted the habit of drunkenness, which sometimes inflamed him to such a degree of fury, that it was dangerous to be near him; for, in one of those fits of intoxication, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive.

The noblemen of Bohemia, perceiving that his cruelty and excesses daily augmented, thought it highly necessary to lay him under some restriction; and by the advice of his brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, actually confined him in close prison, from which, however, he found means to escape. After having lived several months in a dungeon, he obtained permission from the senate to be conducted to a bath to refresh himself. There perceiving a fisher’s little boat on the banks of the river hard by the bath, he embarked with the woman who attended him (both being naked), and, rowing to the other side of the river, retired to a fortess, which he had formerly caused to be built as an asylum against the enterprises of his enemies. He was suffered to resume the reins of government; but as he did not reform his behaviour, his subjects had recourse to his brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, who marched into Bohemia at the head of a strong army, compelled the emperor to submit, was declared regent of the kingdom, changed the ministers and officers of state, and redressed the grievances of the people. Wenceslaus, being again apprehended, was kept prisoner, sometimes in one castle and sometimes in another, till at length he was privately sent into Vienna, and committed to the care of Albert archduke of Austria, who ordered him to be shut up in one of the towers of the city: from thence also he made his escape by the assistance of an old fisherman, called Grundler, who used to come and distribute the effects of his prince. Wenceslaus, finding for him one day, said he wanted to know the situation of a man’s mind, when he expected to have his head severed from his body; he, therefore, bound up his own eyes, and, kneeling, defied his friend to cut off his head. He is thus committed to the care of Albert duke of Austria. A.D. 1396.


(F) This executioner is said to have perished at last by the hands of his prince. Wenceslaus, finding for him one day, said he wanted to know the situation of a man’s mind, when he expected to have his head severed from his body; he, therefore, bound up his own eyes, and, kneeling, defied his friend to cut off his head.

64

The history of Germany.

Esates by the
affiance
one Grundler,
a fisherman,
and refuse
his authority.

Measures
taken to termi-
nate the schism
in the church.

Clement VII.
det., and is
successed by
Benedict XII.
A.D. 1397.

Diet at
Frankfort.

Depuities sent
to Rome.

The emperor
has an inter-
view with the
king of France;

who renounces
and imprisons
Benedict.
A.D. 1398.

Margaret,
queen of Swe-
den, Den-
mark, and
Norway; efforts
the union of
these three
kingdoms;

and goes to
war with the
Teutonic
order.


distribute his charity among the prisoners. Winceslaus, perceiving him one day from his a
window, promised him an ample recompence, provided he would affix him in procuring
his liberty (G). Grundler, induced by his promises, conveyed to him a silken cord, by
means of which he descended from the tower; then, being rowed by him across the Da-
nube, he returned to Bohemia, regained possession of the city of Prague, by means of some
noblemen who were his friends, and was permitted to resume his authority, on condition
of amending his way of life *.

During these vicissitudes in Bohemia, the theologians in Germany endeavoured, by
their writings, to finish the schism in the church, occasioned by the two competitors for
the papacy. The university of Cologne, though it had owned Boniface as the lawful pope,
nevertheless inclined to the convocation of a general council, as the only sure method of b
re-establishing the peace of the church; and wrote to the university of Paris on this sub-
ject. The death of Clement VII. which happened at this period, seemed to be a favourable
conjunction for attaining such a desirable end. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne,
and several other princes and prelates of the empire, conjured the cardinals at Avignon to
defit from a new election, until some measures could be taken to terminate the schism; and
the king of France wrote to the same purpose; yet, in spite of all these remonstrances, they
elected Pedro de Luna, cardinal of Arragon, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. His
election was no sooner known in Germany, than the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, to-
gether with the other princes, convoked a diet at Frankfort; where, after due deliberation,
it was resolved to exhort both competitors to abdicate the papacy, so as that a canonical
election might take place; and this was the declared opinion of the French king, whose
ambassadors were present in the assembly.

In consequence of the determination of the diet, deputies were sent to Rome, to com-
municate the sentiments of the king of France, and the princes of Germany; but although they
were caraffed by Boniface, who affected to heap favours upon them, they could never bring
him to treat upon the affair of the cession, which he evaded with great dexterity. Winces-
laus, though he did not affix at the diet, believing his own personal importance sufficient
to determine this dispute, proposed an interview to Charles king of France, at Rheins, where,
though he was almost constantly intoxicated with strong liquor, he agreed with the French
monarch to send the bishop of Cambrai to Rome, in order to persuade Boniface to resign
the papal chair. Boniface, having consulted his cardinals, answered, that he would willingly
comply with the request of the emperor and the king of France, provided they would
oblige the pretended pope of Avignon to quit his pretensions also, and appoint a proper
place, where he might appear with his cardinals to proceed to a new election. In con-
sequence of this answer, the same deputy was dispatched to Benedict, who flatly refused
to comply with the proposal, and declared he would maintain his dignity to his latest breath:

Perhaps his confinement would not have been of such long duration, had not the revolu-
tions in the North hindered the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from attend-
ing to the schism in the Roman church. Margaret was engaged by the project of uniting
these three kingdoms, and employed her endeavours to engage the German princes in the
support of her scheme. Being importuned by the Swedes to marry, she lent a deaf ear to
their remonstrance on this head; but, in order to quiet their apprehensions, she appointed
the son of Wratishlaus, duke of Pomerania, her successor, and her choice was approved by
the states of the three kingdoms assembled at Colmar, where also they formed that union
which she had so much at heart, and confirmed it by the famous edict called the Union of
Colmar. After this truce she engaged in a war with the Teutonic order, about the island of
Gotland, which the knights refused to surrender, on pretence of having acquired the
right of conquest, by expelling the tyrants by whom the greatest part of it was pillaged.
Margaret, finding her arms did not succeed to her expectation, had recourse to the med-
iation of the emperor, who appointed a congress at Helsinburg, to which he sent his de-
puties, and there a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that the knights should
cede the island to Margaret, in consideration of a sum of money to indemnify them for
the expanse of the war *.

Wineceslaus, having in this manner restored peace to those northern countries, ef-
pousted Sophia, daughter of Stephen duke of Bavaria; and after this marriage, his extra-

* Barre, t. vii. p. 58.  
* Froissard. I. iv. c. 97.  

(G) He was not ungrateful to his deliverer; for, as soon as he re-ascended the throne, he sent for Grundler and
his whole family from Vienna, ennobled, and granted to him a considerable revenue (3).
The history of Germany.

The emperor Philip of Spain, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, had already observed, that the sovereignty of Milan, Florence, Siena, Pavia, Lodi, Brescia, Bergamo, Vercelli, Novara, Tortona, and others belonging to the Milanese and Lombardy, which depended upon the empire.

The subject of this embassy was to buy him the feignories and royalties of all the countries belonging to the title of duke of Milan. These Wincelasius told for a considerable sum of money, without the participation or consent of the princes of the empire. This was one of the reasons, that the time after induced them to think of dispossessing him in good earnest. They perceived, that he seemed to take pleasure in dispersing the empire for his own forldis views, at a time when it was too much divided by the schism which prevailed in the church; and when Christendom was weakened by the enterprises of the Turks, who had gained divers signal advantages over the Christians, which were followed by the famous victory obtained over them by Bajazet, near Nicopolis.

The electors, after long delays, concluding that the public safety demanded a chief capable of re-eftablising and protecting the peace, as well as of supporting the dignity of the empire, assembled at Boppard, and afterwards at Frankfort, in order to deliberate upon the present posture of affairs; and notwithstanding the representations of Wincelasius, who sent the margrave of Nuremberg to inform the electors, that he could not quit Bohemia on account of some domestic troubles, and the coronation of his empress, they convoked a diet at Frankfort, where they resolved to oblige the emperor to chuse an administrator, and made him acquainted with their determination. But Wincelasius absolutely refusing to comply with their decision, they entered into a confederacy, confirmed by oath, to redeem the grievances of the Germanic body, preserve the rights of the empire, and prevent the alienation of its domains.

The refusal of this association was a diet at Mentz, to which they invited the emperor; and he refusing to appear, it was determined that he should be obliged to make a formal renunciation of the empire, and the imperial insignia, after which they would proceed to a new election. Wincelasius, far from abdicating the throne by a voluntary renunciation, gave the electors to understand, that he annulled, by anticipation, all the resolutions of their assembly, and that he would put all those to the ban of the emperor, who should presume to execute their decrees. Without paying the least regard to his menaces, they, by the advice of pope Boniface IX, assembled at the castle of Launstein, on the Rhine, in the archbishopric of Trier; and, having declared Wincelasius incapable, pronounced and published the sentence of his deposition, revoking at the same time all the rights, exemptions, privileges, and domains, fold or mortgaged by his own particular authority, without the consent of the princes and states of the empire.
The history of Germany.

A new emperor, they raised to that dignity Frederick duke of Brunswick and Luxemburg, a wise and valiant prince; but he being basely murdered by the count of Waleck, when he went to Frankfort to take the imperial crown, they elected Robert count palatine in his place.

Winckelmann's death.

Wineckeslaus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that, when he received them, "We are overjoyed (said he) to be delivered from the burden of their empire, because we shall have more leisure to apply ourselves to the government of our kingdom;" and indeed, during the nineteen years that he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was considerably amended, and he applied himself seriously to calm the disturbances which had been raised by John Hus, professor of theology in the university of Prague, who had embraced the doctrine of Wickliffe (1).

After he had reigned twenty-two years as emperor, and fifty-five as king of Bohemia, being one day at dinner informed of a tumult in the city of Prague, he rose from table in great consternation; and one of his domestics imprudently saying, he knew three days before that this disturbance would happen, Wineckeslaus flew upon him, pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and would have instantly put him to death, had he not been restrained by the interposition and remonstrances of those who were present; such was the excess of his passion, that he fell down in an apoplectic fit, and in a few days after expired (K), in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Robert refused entrance by the citizens of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Although Rupert or Robert count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Short and the Debonair, had been formally chosen emperor by all the electors in the field of Reintz upon the Rhine, then consecrated and confirmed in the church of Cologne, by the archbishop of that metropolitan; yet the inhabitants of Aix-la-Chapelle would not allow him to be crowned in their city, alleging they were not yet absolved from the oath they had taken to Wineckeslaus; but the true reason was their affection and attachment to that prince. They were, therefore, put to the ban of the empire, and otherwise maltreated, until they had taken the oath of allegiance to Robert. But the citizens of


with his own hand, or by the help of his executioners, murdered, drowned, or burned, or buried, priests, and a number of other persons of distinction: in contempt of Christianity, he had made a league with the king of Poland, protector of the Tartars, against the knights of the Teutonic order: he hath, without cause or danger, squandered away the revenues of Bohemia and the empire, and put the government of his kingdom into the hands of inexperienced and evil-minded persons, who have led his subjects with excessive taxes: in his negotiations with the princes of the empire, he hath practiced such equivocation and dilatoriness, that none of them will trust his word: he hath destroyed the university of Prague, founded by the emperor his father: he hath expelled the doctors, and put many of them to death, without form of process or previous sentence: finally, he hath abandoned himself, night and day, to debauchery; he hath utterly neglected the affairs of the empire; and, having been more than once exiled and solicited to reform his conduct, he hath perfecuted those who gave him such salutary advice."

"We therefore, the electors, having invoked the holy name of God, and fitting in our tribunal of justice, mov- ed by the grievances aforesaid, and other causes of still greater importance, have, by our present sentence, depoited Wineckeslaus, a dissipator of the Germanic body, as an useless member, and as a chief unworthy to govern the holy Roman empire; and as such we have deprived him of the dignities thereto annexed: we likewise intimate to all princes, potentates, knights, cities, dominions, and subjects of the holy empire, that they are absolved from the oath of allegiance they owe him as emperor."

"Moreover, we caution and forbid them to obey the said Wineckeslaus for the future, or to serve him under any title whatever; but require them to restore their obedience and service for a more useful and worthy prince to be substituted in his place."

"On the faith of which, we, John archbishop of Mentz, have taken care to make a transcript of the present act of deposition, sealed with our great seal. Enacted and solemnly published at Landefin, in the year after the nativity of Christ 1400, on Friday, August 20, a little before nine o'clock, in the eleventh year of the pontificate of our holy father pope Boniface IX. in the presence of the noble princes John and Robert, Frederick, burggrave of Nuremberg, Philip of Nassau and Sarbruck, George de Lieningen, John de Zeylingehein, Conrad count palatine of the Rhine, Renard de Wijenburg, John d’Isemburg, Renard de Hanov, and several other lords, knights, and princes, both secular and ecclesiastic (1)."

Frickliffe’s doctrine had gained ground in Bohemia, and been embraced by several masters of the university of Prague, particularly by John Heis, who became the head of a sect, which grew very formidable to the church. Wineckeslaus found his account in conniving at the progress of this reformation, by the taxes which he levied on pretence of quelling the tumults which it daily occasioned. He was even heard to say, that he must take especial care of a goose (the interpretation of Heis in the Bohemian tongue) which laid him such eggs of gold (2)."

(K) Wineckeslaus was twice married: his first wife was Jeanne daughter of Albert duke of Bavaria and count of Holland, who was crowned with him at Aix la Chapelle, and died in the year 1387. After he had clapped for the second time from prison, he, in order to fortify himself on the side of Germany, espoused Sophie daughter of Stephen duke of Bavaria; but he had no issue by either, tho’ the annals of Poland import, that he had one daughter named Euphemia, married to Uladius II. king of Poland (3).


Nuremberg.
The history of Germany.

a Nuremberg were more fortunate; for, in consideration of a present of the wine of Bocharne, that prince discharged them from the oath which they had taken in his favour.不过，尽管如此，他还是放弃了。The king of France, in particular, sent ambassadors to Mentz, to express his concern for the difference between Robert and Wincelas, and desired that a certain day might be fixed, when all parties should assemble, and treat of an accommodation. For this purpose he offered his own good offices, and demanded that Robert would consent to a year's truce, and be personally present at the assembly, while he undertook for the appearance of the king of Bohemia, who had already referred himself to his arbitration. He himself likewise engaged to be there in person, or, in case of impediment, to send another prince of the blood. Robert, and the electors of Mentz and Cologne, pretended to be interested in this proposal of an accommodation; which, in order to effect, they promised to be at Cologne on the day of Epiphany of the following year; but as their sole intention was to gain time to strengthen their party, the negotiation did not succeed. That which was set on foot by the king of Hungary, and the principal noblemen of Bohemia, had no better effect, altho' they had assembled and agreed to assist Wincelas in his endeavours to recover the imperial crown. This affair miscarried, because, when they were deliberating upon measures for raising money to defray the expense of the war, Wincelas refused to contribute, and the assembly, being incensed at the fordid refulal, broke up abruptly, without having come to any resolution. The king of Bohemia, indeed, earnestly treated them to renew the negotiation, and Sigismund, in consequence of his intrestes, consented to an interview, when he promised to supply him with considerabe succours, provided he would yield to him some territories, and bequeath to him the kingdom of Bohemia at his death; conditions that were so displeasing to Wincelas, that he retired without taking leave of his brother. Meanwhile the new emperor employed his whole care in remedying the disorders and divisions which had crept into the empire, during the reigns of Charles IV. and his son, and in reclaiming the dominions which they had alienated. For this purpose, in the first year of his reign, a diet was convoked at Frankfort, where he deliberated with the electors, princes, noblemen, and deputies of towns, upon ways and means for re-establishing tranquility, order, and security in the empire; and, in consequence of these deliberations, several laws were enacted and put in execution. As the electors, in their sentence of deposition pronounced against Wincelas, had alleged, among other things, that he had, for a sum of money, created 'John Galeazzo duke of Milan,' tho' he was no other than governor of Lombardy; and that the new duke, not contented with this promotion, pretended to withdraw those countries from the sovereignty of the empire, and by force of arms make himself master of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his duchy; Robert found himself under a necessity of raising an army for restoring the affairs of Italy to their former situation; being moreover invited to this expedition by pope Boniface, and the Florentines, who promised to advance two hundred thousand florins for the expense of the undertaking. He therefore made long marches to Italy, and encamped before the city of Brixen, in the duchy of Milan: but Galeazzo, being well provided with cavalry, had in all their skirmishes the advantage of the imperialists, whom he fatigued and diminished in such a manner, that, notwithstanding considerable succours which arrived that same year, with the archbishop of Cologne and Leopold duke of Austria, Robert was obliged to return to Germany, without having been able to strike any one stroke of importance. Besides, his return was rendered necessary, because the other states refused to perform their promise to second the enterprise, being in this particular influenced by the elector of Mentz, who, not contented with hindering the ecclesiastics from paying the tenth which the pope had granted to Robert for his Italian expedition, had also alienated their affection from the emperor. For these reasons he was obliged, next year, to march back into his own country, without having advanced his own cause in Italy, either against Galeazzo duke of Milan, or done any thing in favour of the pope, against Ladislaus king of Naples, who some years after took the city of Rome, and expelled Boniface, &c. (L.)

b Krantz, x. 1481. 1 Heins, i. ii. c. 29. k Spon, Cont. Baron. x. xi. p. 114. Chron. Magdeh. ex Mein. i. ii. p. 305. 2 Aret. lib. xii. Arton. tit. xxii. c. i. febr. 35. 3 Avent. Ann. etc. lib. viii. p. 46.

(L) Ladislaus was so successful in Italy, that he aspired to the empire, publicly assumed the title, and ordered this motto to be wrought in embroidery upon his robes: Ast Carpi am nibil (1).
The retreat of Robert leaving the field free to Galeazzo, he proposed no less than the conquest of the whole kingdom of Italy; and fortune at first seemed to declare in favour of this undertaking; for he made himself master of the city of Bologna, and was on the eve of reducing Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which put an end to his life. As he left but one daughter, who was not of age, the pope availed himself of this opportunity to wrest from the Milanese, Bologna, Perugia, and some other places. The city of Milan shook off the yoke of Galeazzo: Verona submitted to the vicar of the empire established at Padua, but some time after the Venetians posseeded themselves of that city. Ladislaus, who had been invited to ascend the throne of Hungary, found himself, in consequence of a strange revolution, unable to cope with his competitor Sigismund, and at the same time in danger of losing his hereditary kingdom of Naples, the nobility of which had revolted in his ableness. Thither, therefore, he repaired with all imaginable dispatch, and punished the rebels with such severity, as seemed to be rather the effect of cruel revenge, than the facric of deliberate justice.  

This was a favourable conjuncture for retrieving the authority of the empire in Italy, if Robert had undertaken a second expedition into that country; but this he found impracticable, because the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Trier, opposed the levy of the tenths. He, therefore, employed himself at home, in pacifying the troubles of the empire, in reducing the towns that refused to acknowledge him for emperor, and aggrandizing the dominions of his own electorate; for which purpose he purchased of William, bishop of Strasburg, the feoff of Gegenbach, Ortenberg, Offenburg, Zell, Hermanbach, and several other lordships of Alsace, tho' not without great opposition from the chapter and body of burgheis, who would by no means consent to this alienation; and the emperor did not think proper to use violent methods for the support of his acquisition, as he was not yet quite fixed on the imperial throne.

BERNARD, marquis of Baden, had established tolls in his dominions, contrary to the regulations of the public peace, compelled passengers to pay ransom, and imposed excessive duties upon commerce; so that complaints of these exactions were laid before the emperor, who defied Bernard to suppress these iniquitous impositions; but he, instigated by the elector of Mentz, refused to obey the orders of Robert, who declared war against him, took the castle of Mulberg, and compelled him to sue for peace; which was granted, on condition that he should, for the future, attempt nothing against the liberties and immunities of the noblemen, cities, and subjects of the empire.

NOTWITHSTANDING this accommodation, he afterwards engaged in a treaty with Eberhard count de Wurttemberg, the magistrates of Strasburg, and the towns of Suabia; the principal article of which imported, that, should the emperor presume to encroach upon the rights and privileges of any one of the confederated parties, the rest should affit the said party with their troops and means of defense. Robert complained of this injurious association, which was supposed that he had an intention to invade the privileges of his subjects, and even humbled the towns of Suabia to appear at a general diet, and explain their motives for this confederacy, which, however, subsisted to the day of his death.

In spite of all his endeavours to preserve the peace of the empire, a war broke out between Catharine of Burgundy, wife of Leopold of Austria, and the inhabitants of Bafel, and notwithstanding the interposition of Lewis count palatine of the Rhine, who attempted to compromise the dispute, hostilities were committed with various success, and great cruelty on both sides (tho' the Austrians were the greatest sufferers in the defoliation of the province of Suntgau), until peace was at last established; after the war had raged for the space of two years. The negotiations were renewed by means of Redolphus, marquis of Hohberg, allied to the city of Bafel. A congress being appointed at Euffelheim, the peace was happily concluded, and a league, offensive and defensive, for the term of six years, took place between the town of Bafel and Frederic duke of Austria, succesor to Leopold, who died without male issue; tho' his widow Catharine was left in possession of Suntgau, and the territories belonging to the house of Austria in Alsace.

During this contest in Alsace, Bohemia was involved in new disorders, in consequence of a new doctrine in religion, first broached by Wickliffis, in England, and now adopted by John Hufis, rector of the university of Prague; who, tho' opposed by the archbishop, and cenfured by pope Alexander V. elected by the council of Pisa, continued to preach, and make converts with great success, under the protection of Winceflaus and his queen, who even condescended to reconcile him with the archbishop.

JOHN XXIII., who succeeded Alexander, cited Hufis to appear at his tribunal, and the rector, refusing to obey, was excommunicated. At the same time the pope laid the city of Prague under interdict, and forbade all the priests to celebrate mass, baptize, marry,

---

The history of Germany.

or perform any other religious function, while Hys should reside in that capital. The publication of this tenente was followed by troubles and sedition: Wineflauts shut himself up in the fortress of Vizgrade, and John Hys retired to Huyfluct, the place of his nativity, where he appealed from the judgment of the pope, to the holy trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at the hazard of the fire, before the university of Prague, and in the presence of those who had attended his lectures and sermons.

The success of John Hys, however, was extremely prejudicial to the university of Prague; for he was no sooner admitted into that body, than, by his cabals and interest with Vinciflaut, he deprived the German of two in three votes which they had in the election of a rector; and this deprivation incensed them so much, that they abandoned the university; some repairing to the academy at Leipzig, lately founded by Frederic William duke of Saxony, and others settling at Erford, Ingoldstadt, Reitshack, and Cracovia.

The church of Rome not only suffered from these innovations, but also continued in a state of disfavour from the schism which still prevailed, and which the emperor attempted in vain to extinguish.

Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. tho' they had sworn to resign the pontificate, still found new pretences to evade the performance of their oath; and in the mean time their dispute was attended with very tragical consequences. John of Bavaria was appointed bishop of Liege by Gregory, and Theodor de Peveris nominated to the same see by Benedict. This competition produced a civil war, in which were engaged the counts of Flanders, Namur, Holland, and the elector of Cologne, as the supporters of John; while the party of Perivis was supported by Liege, Louvain, Bruges, and all the towns of Brabant, which raised fifty thousand men for his service. Perivis, at the head of this army, invested Maastricht, to which John had retired, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that the place was reduced to the utmost extremity, when it was relieved by the duke of Burgundy, who marched to the succour of John, defeated his adversary in a pitched battle, and conducted him in triumph to Liege, which was abandoned to pillage. John, upon this occasion, condemned one hundred and twenty noblemen to lose their heads; a greater number was hanged; and four-and-twenty were thrown headlong into the Meuse, together with the legate of Benedict, and all the officers of Peveris. The savage prelate, not contented with these sacrileges to his revenge, re-united to his see all the privileges of the city of Liege, the county of Loos, the Hasbaye, St. Tron, and the duchy of Bouillon: he suppressed the offices of bailie, provost, mayor, and sheriff, and fined the province and the town of Liege in two hundred thousand crowns, for which he took hostages.

While Gregory XII. who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council in Aquileia, to which he invited Robert and other Christian kings; and Benedict XIII. who was owned for pope in France, held another council at Catalona; the cardinals convoked a third at Pisa; and the emperor, assembling the electors at Bacharat, and afterwards at Nuremberg, appointed the meeting of a diet in the city of Frankfurt; at which were present two cardinals, one from Gregory, and another from the sacred college. After long and public debates, the opinions of the assembly were divided between the two popes, the greatest part of the archbishops, prelates, and princes, espousing the cause of the cardinals; and the emperor, together with the archbishop of Trier, the duke of Bavaria, and four other cardinals, declaring for Gregory, who proposed that a council should be held at Udine, in the Friuli, under the direction of the emperor, by whose decision he promised to abide. Robert, therefore sent an archbishop, two bishops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambassadors to Pisa, to prove, by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to have deposed Gregory; but finding they could gain no converts to this opinion, and that the cardinals being attached to Wineflauts, would not even own their matter for emperor, they appealed from the council of Pisa to an eccumencal council, and retired without taking leave. Notwithstanding this appeal, the council proceeded to the deposition of the two popes, and raised Alexander V. to the papal chair; by which election the schism was augmented. The emperor wrote to several princes, affurign them, that the council of Pisa was not canonical, and that he would continue to acknowledge Gregory as the true pope, until a lawful and canonical sentence should be pronounced against him.

As for Alexander, he notified his elevation to the sovereigns of Europe, and, in his letter to Wineflauts, beflowed upon that prince the title of king of the Romans; a circumstance which intailed upon him the hatred of Robert, who complained of the infult to the princes of Germany, and prohibited them from acknowledging Alexander as pope. This last, in

A.D. 1412: The emperor declares for Gregory; sends ambassadours to the council at Pisa; invites to several princes in his favour.


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
order to weaken the force of the emperor's resentment, found means to detach several German bishops from his party, by creating them legates of the holy see; and these exerted all their endeavours to establish the authority of the council at Pisa. But the efforts of their zeal were in a little time suspended by the death of Alexander, in whose room seventeen cardinals, in the conclave, elected Bolehuser Cofta, cardinal dean of St. Eufyches, who assumed the name of John XXIII. and was acknowledged by the greatest part of Europe; for Benedetto was owned by no nation but Spain and Scotland; and all Gregory's influence extended no farther than some dominions of Italy and Germany, in which the authority of Robert prevailed.

LADISLAUS, king of Poland, was diverted from interfering himself in these events, by a war in which he was engaged with the knights of the Teutonic order, who had detained twenty of his ships laden with corn for the use of the Lithuanians, and refused to make proper satisfaction. Both parties had recourse to arms; the knights made an irruption into Poland, and were defeated with great slaughter, near Kalish. This misfortune was the more severe, as it produced a revolt in the towns of Prussia, which returned to the dominion of Poland.

By this time Robert had almost extinguished all the factions in Germany, and would have enjoyed the peaceful fruits of his policy and discretion, had not John, elector of Meun, who was his indefatigable enemy, still found fresh expedients to keep him in vexation. He had been the instrument of forming associations and leagues against the imperial authority; he had traversed him in all the steps he took for terminating the schism in the church; and another cause of misunderstanding between them was a cattle, which the elector began to build in Hochst against the will of the emperor, who put his troops in motion, in order to hinder him by force from proceeding; but this design was frustrated by a fever, which attacked him at Oppenheim, and put a period to his life, in the ninth year of his reign.

He was buried at Heidelberg (M), where, before his elevation to the throne, he had founded an academy, which was confirmed by pope Urban VI.

This prince acquired the surname of Short, on account of his stature, theo he was extremely vigorous and active. Yet he is more celebrated for his justice and clemency to men, and his piety to God, than for his magnanimity, or warlike exploits. He had made some progress in letters, was endowed with uncommon penetration, and there is no other blemish in his character, than that of being a little addicted to the love of money. During his last illness, he named seven trustees (N) for the distribution of his dominions among his children; and, according to their regulation, Lewis with the long beard, otherwise pained the Blind, whose elder brothers, Rupert, Pepin, and Frederic, were dead, succeeded to the electorate of Palatine and the lordship of Amberg. John had Sulzbach, Nurburg, and the county of Cham, Simmerin, Deux Ponts, Lutzetal, fell to the share of Stephen, and Sintzheim was Otto's patrimony (O).

THE-history of Germany.

JOSE, or JODOCUS.

After the death of Rupert, Jodocus, or Jaffe, marquis of Moravia, is said to have been elected emperor, and to have lived six months after his election; but as he was never acknowledged, he cannot justly be ranked among the emperors. But not that he was regularly elected at Frankfort by a majority of the members assembled at the diet convoked by John archbishop of Meun: the Sigismund was at the same time proclaimed king of the Romans by the archbishop of Trier and the count palatine; so that at this period there were three emperors and three popes, and each had a number of adherents; for Wenceslaus still maintained his title to the imperial throne.

SIGISMUND, hearing that his cousin Jaffe was elected, threatened to invade the marquise of Moravia, and was actually employed in making preparations for that expedition, when he received the news of his death; which happened at Brin about three months after his election.


(M) Some authors allege, that he was buried at Spire; but that he was interred at Heidelberg plainly appears from the testimony of Cuspinianus, who not only positively affirms that he was royally interred in the church of the Holy Ghost in this city, but even infers the inscription on his monument (1).

(N) The trustees were Huben, bishop of Spire, John of Hirsbach, John of Dalburg, Hermann of Rodenheim, Francis Wolbert of Sickingen, Rupert of Heimburg, and Tham Knobel (2).

(O) His daughters were, Elisabeth, married to Frederic archduke of Austria; Agnes wife of Adolphus duke of Cleves; and Margaret, matched with Charles I. duke of Lorraine. All these children were born to Robert by his wife Elisabeth, daughter of Frederic burgrave of Nuremberg (3).

(1) Cuspinian. P. 393.  (2) Remarq. for Hift, cxt. fap.  (3) Id. ibid.
The history of Germany.

SIGISMUND.

This prince's death was no sooner known, than the archbishop of Triers, and the count palatine of the Rhine, prefaced the electoral college to confirm the choice which they had made during the preceding year; but as it refused to decide an affair of such consequence, without the participation of the states, the archbishop of Mentz assembled a diet at Frankfort, where Sigismund was elected by the unanimous consent of the electors.

SIGISMUND, the son of the emperor Charles VI. and brother to Wenceslaus, had, before his elevation to the imperial dignity, reigned seven-and-twenty years in the kingdom of Hungary, since the death of Lewis his father-in-law, whom he succeeded. As this prince was promoted to the empire on account of his great qualities, and the wife he maintained in his own government, in the midst of many difficulties, it will not be unreasonable to say something in this place of the means by which he was raised to that throne.

He had been sent while he was yet very young, to the court of Lewis king of Hungary; he had no other children than two daughters, Mary and Hedwig, the younger whom had been promised to Jagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, who married her, and afterwards ascended the throne of Poland, while Mary the elder was betrothed to Sigismund. Lewis, for this reason, caused him to be educated with great care, and prevailed upon the states of the kingdom to nominate him as his successor, on condition that his marriage with Mary should be consummated. But, before this condition could be fulfilled, Lewis died, and Mary succeeded to the throne, under the regency of queen Elizabeth, her mother, assisted by the counsels of Nicholas Gara, count or grand master of the palace, because Sigismund, being at that time but fifteen years of age, had not married the princesses, nor was supposed capable of governing the dominions. This minister engrossed the whole authority under these queens, and became extremely arrogant in consequence of his successes; yet, in order to render his power still more absolute, he began to low fusions and jealousies between his mistresses and the principal noblemen of the kingdom; a wicked piece of policy, which proved fatal to the state, by creating a general aversion against the government; and to such a degree did this dissatisfaction prevail, that the nobles privately sent the bishop of Zagabria, with an offer of the crown of Hungary to Charles Durazzo, king of Naples, who was related to the young queen. That prince joyfully embraced the proposal, notwithstanding the dissatisfactions of his own, and most faithful adherents; and, after having settled the affairs of Sicily to his own mind, began to prepare for his journey to Hungary. Queen Elizabeth, apprised of these secret transactions, and understanding that Charles was actually upon the road to take possession of the kingdom, and effect a marriage between Mary and his son Ladislaus, in order to secure the crown to his own family by that alliance; the queen, I say, informed of these circumstances, resolved, if possible, to frustrate his designs, and, as the first step, solemnized the marriage of Sigismund with her daughter. This affair was no sooner concluded, than the royal Sigismund into Bohemia, because he was not yet powerful enough to maintain an open war against his competitor. In the mean time, Charles arrived at Offen, where the court of Hungary resided, and was very honourably received by the queens; who, diffusing their resentment, seemed even to concur with the Hungarians in raising him to the throne. He was no sooner acknowledged king, than he took the administration into his own hands, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great magnificence. But, as his promotion was entirely owing to popular passion and caprice, the noblemen and people in a little time grew tired of his government; and, changing their note, expatiated on all occasions upon the virtues of their queens. Elizabeth, who had amused Charles with the hopes of a treaty, by which Sigismund would resign the kingdom in his favour, having observed this happy change in the minds of the subjects; resolved to profit by the occasion, and rid herself of this new intruder; and, this expedient she used to effect her purpose. She and her daughter, together with the Palatine Gara, invited him to their apartment in the palace, in order to communicate a letter, which she pretended to have received from Sigismund, touching his renunciation of the crown. Charles went thither without the least suspicion, and had no sooner sat down by Elizabeth, than the Palatine entered the room, accompanied by a man employed for that purpose; who, passing behind the king, cleaves his head with a flamberge, tho' he did not die till some days after he had received the stroke (P).

ELIZABETH.

SPOEND. CONT. BARKES, t. ii. p. 44.  
THUR. IN CAP. PRIV. 8.  
CAPIT. 3. DEC. 1.  
CAP. PAR. 5.

(P) He was wounded by one Blasius Flach, a man for his bodily strength and audacity, while by Nicholas Gara. After having received the wound, he
The history of Germany.

Elizabeth, thinking she had thus dissipated the faction of Charles by his death, re-established herself in her former authority, and few people presumed to call her conduct in question, as this cruel scheme had been executed in confession of the sufferings she had received of the fidelity of her subjects. Nevertheless, this murder did not pass unpunished; for some time after, the queens being on a progress through Lower Hungary, with the Palatine Gara and their ordinary retinue, Hiornard, governor, or judge provincial, of Croatia, who had been appointed by king Charles, resolved to surprise the affianced. For this purpose he assembled a good number of men, and laid an ambush upon the road; by which the court was surrounded, the Palatine and murderer of Charles were cut to pieces, and all the domestics of Gara killed, without pity, in their endeavours to save the life of their master. Nor was less inhumanity used towards the queen-mother Elizabeth, whom they pulled out of her vehicle, and dragged by the hair of the head before the judge provincial. There she, in a pathetic manner, pleaded her own cause; alleging, that king Charles had treated the princes Mary with contempt and derision, and unjustly dispossessed her of her kingdom. She, moreover, threw herself on her knees before him, implored his pardon for the affianced, and conjured him to remember the favours he had received from the late king Lewis her husband. The princes Mary, kneeling also before him, reinforced the supplications of her mother, beseeching him to manifest his gratitude to her father's house; but their grief, humiliation, and remonstrances, had no effect. Mary was enclosed in a dismal dungeon, and the queen-mother, notwithstanding all her tears and intreaties, miserably drowned in the rivulet of Rofed. Such was the fruit of her minister's violent counsels, to which she had paid a blind and implicit regard. Sigismund no sooner understood the particulars of this piteous catastrophe, than he set out with a powerful army, which he had gradually assembled, and marched straight into Hungary, where he was received with open arms, and universal applause. His arrival in that kingdom did not a little disconcert Hiornard, who had no reason to expect that his cruelty would pass unpunished. With a view, therefore, to divert, or at least diminish, the fury of the impending storm, he removed queen Mary into a comfortable apartment, and ordered her to be treated according to her quality. He even visited her in prison, and proposed that she should be allowed to return to Hungary, provided she would insure his life, his office, and his fortune. This was such a welcome proposal, that she confirmed the promise by an oath; adding, that she would look upon him as her father, from the moment she should obtain her liberty. In consequence of this promise, the judge provincial sent her with an escort of troops to Offen, where her husband king Sigismund waited for her coming, and where she was received with all the demonstrations of public joy.

Some days after her return, the states of Hungary assembled at Crenweinbourg, where Sigismund was crowned, in the twentieth year of his age; and this ceremony was no sooner performed, than he resolved to revenge the cruelty which had been exercised upon the queen his mother-in-law: his wife, indeed, had promised, and even swore, that she would never punish the perpetrators of that murder; but the said could not undertake for the conduct of her husband, who determined to make an example of the chief actor in that tragedy. He accordingly sent proper persons into Croatia, who apprehended the judge provincial and his accomplices, and conducted them to the city of the Five Churches, or Funfjerkeben. There, in consequence of a sentence pronounced by Sigismund, Hiornard's hands being tied behind his back, he was dragged through the streets, his flesh tore off with red hot pincers, and, being quartered, the four parts of his body were hung up in the four most conspicuous places of the city: while all his accomplices were beheaded, except the bishop of Zagabria, whose head was spared on account of his function, tho' he was expelled from the see, and his estate confiscated. Sigismund had not been many years in possession of his good fortune, when, upon a journey he received the news of his queen's death, which affected him to such a degree, that he detached himself from the world for some time, and indulged his grief in retirement at Offen. Whether this melancholy occasion recalled the remembrance of the revolt, in consequence of which Charles had been invited to the throne; or that he could no longer suppress the resentment which he harboured against the authors of that revolution, who seemed to bow-beat him in security, without having ever endeavored to solicit his forgiveness; certain it is, he resolved to call them to a severe account for the rebellion in which they had been engaged; and employed an officer, whose name was George Weidaffen, to arrest them privately, without reflecting on

1 Bonin, ubi sup. Thuc. in Sigif. cap. i. 2 Spond. Bonin, tom. ii. p. 49.

he was thrown in prison, a poisoned plaster applied to his head, and, that not producing the desired effect, he was strangled. His body was buried without pomp, in the church of St. Andrews; and afterwards, being dug up, lay a long time exposed, on account of his having died under a sentence of excommunication (1).

The history of Germany.

a the troublesome confinements of such a measure. A prince cannot too cautiously resolve every circumstance of a step which he proposes to take without the advice of his council, every member of which is, in some measure, an addition to the sagacity, as well as a function to the conduct, of his sovereign. Weidagen, having assembled a good number of troops, on pretence of going to visit Lower Hungary, fell in with the delinquents; who, supposing his design, had united in a body and taken the field: but he attacked them in the night, took them all prisoners, loaded them with fetters, and sent them to the king at Offen. When they were brought to their trial before Sigismund, and some princes and noblemen, they would not make an obeisance to the king, nor answer to the questions that were asked; so much did they defy the danger of their situation. An instance of indifference and put to death.

b and disrepect, which provoked Sigismund to such a degree, that he ordered them to be instantaneously beheaded; and the sentence was accordingly executed upon two and thirty noblemen, distinguished not only by their birth, but also by the services they had done the state. Stephen Centus, one of the chiefs of this confederacy, looked upon death with such fortitude and contempt, that he defied the executioner to strike him on the forlorn part of the neck, because he could never brook the thought of receiving a wound behind. This cruel execution made such an impression on many of the princes, that they conceived an abhorrence for Sigismund, whom they inveighed against as a tyrant, and against whom they afterwards rebelled.

Bajazet, the Turkish sultan, taking the advantage of these intestine troubles, and probably invited by the malcontents of the kingdom, marched towards the frontiers, in order to invade the country; but chancing to intercept a messenger with a letter from Emperor Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, to Sigismund, apprising him of the Turkish expedition, he was so much incensed against the sultan, that, postponing his design upon Hungary, he turned his arms against Constantinople, which he suddenly invaded by sea and land: being there informed that Sigismund had taken the field with a numerous army, reinforced by French and Germans, to the amount of 100,000 men, and advanced to the city of Nicopolis, he instantly raised the blockade; and, marching thither with great expedition, attacked the Christians in the night, and cut their whole army in pieces. In this battle, a great part of the Hungarian nobility was slain, and the kingdom sustained such a loss, as laid it open to the incursions of the enemy (Q). As for Sigismund, who escaped the carnage by flight, instead of exerting his endeavours to repair this fatal overthrow, he abandoned himself wholly to his pleasures, without bestowing the least attention to the necessities of the state; so that the averment and contempt of his subjects every day increased against him; the nobles and governors of provinces openly taxed him with indolence and mal-administration, and, finding the people ripe for revolt, secured his person, and committed him to the custody of the two sons of Gara, whom he had put to death, because they were known to be his most bitter enemies. Then they proclaimed Ladislaus king of Hungary; and this prince, who was son of Charles king of Naples, entering Dalmatia, was received as sovereign in the city of Zara: nevertheless, the castle of Suda, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, together with Thibb Hungary, still faithfully adhered to the oath which they had taken in favour of Sigismund, even while he was a miserable prisoner, subjected to all the indolence and inactivity of his most invertebrate foes. Notwithstanding this deplorable situation, such was his address, that he gradually inferred himself into the favour of Gara’s widow, who, at length, fairly undertook to effect his enlargement. With this view she held frequent consultations with her sons, to whom she observed, that such attempts upon the person of a sovereign were usually attended with fatal confinements; that the people were unsteady in their resolutions, and might as suddenly reform as they had deplored the king; and, even if such a revolution should not happen, that the successor would revenge upon them the caufe of Sigismund, through fear of meeting with the same ill usage. She likewise displayed the honour and advantage which they might acquire by setting the king at liberty. These remonstrances were not lost upon her sons, whom the king promised, upon oath, to invest with Moravia, provided they would enable him to make the grant effectual. Thus persuaded, they enlarged, and conducted him to that province, from whence he repaired to Bohemia.

d The Hungarians confine their king its

e afterwards his liberty, and retires to Bohemia.

f (Q) Hilarians are much divided about the battle of Nicopolis. Lautrevier affirms, that it was fought in the year 1395: and Jovanous Ustinas, archbishop of Rheims, an historian of that time, says that he observed, that Sigismund wrote a letter that same year to the king of France, describing the battle, and soliciting succours to repair his loss. On the other hand, Bogumilo, Tereziau, and Asenitius, agree in placing it three years later; so that, in all probability, the Hungarians were twice beaten near the same place; but the overthrow they sustained in the year 1396 seems to have been the most important: for we do not find, that Sigismund made another effort against the victor. It appears also, that there was a great number of French in his army at this battle, who were probably sent in consequence of his solicitations, after his first defeat.

u There


a Thurn. in Sig. c. 9. & seq.
The history of Germany.

he returns and restores his authority.

There having raised a considerable army, he marched back into his kingdom, and, without opposition, reduced the whole country to obedience. He kept the promise which he had made to his deliverers; and, during the rest of his reign, comporting himself with such clemency and affability towards his enemies, as well as friends, that he soon retrieved the friendship and confidence of his people. From his own experience, which cost him so much, he extracted this maxim, that he who can neither forgive, nor occasionally condescend, will never make great proficiency in the art of reigning.

His reputation extended to the neighbouring nations; and the states of Germany thought they could not find a more accomplished prince to wear the imperial crown.

The news of his confirmation found him in Hungary, from whence he immediately set out for the empire; and, in order to fulfill the expectation of those who called him to this high dignity, he resolved to employ his whole attention in remedying two grievances, under which Germany at that time groaned; these were, the confounding, oppression, and disorder, which prevailed in the provinces, and the schism which had for thirty years distracted the church. He began his reign with alienating the electorate of Brandenburg in favour of Frederick burgrave of Nuremburg, sprung from the counts of Hohenzollern, a prince of great merit, from whom the present marquises of Brandenburg are descended. For this purchase he gave four hundred thousand florins; but Sigismund referred to himself and his brother the right of redemption for the same sum, in case the male heirs of the burgrave should fail.

At this assembly too, he mediated an accommodation between William count de Borg and Theodor de Murs, who had been at war for several years about the archbishopric of Cologne, for which William and Theodor were competitors. The first had been confirmed by Gregory X. and the other by John XXIII. The dispute was left to the decision of arms. Theodor defeated his adversary, and returned in triumph to Cologne, where he was received with extraordinary acclamations; while William was fain to sue for peace, which he obtained, on condition of renouncing all his pretensions to the archbishopric, and marrying Theodor's niece, daughter of the count of Tecklenbourg.

This affair being happily compromised, the emperor endeavoured, by remonstrances, to reform the court of his brother Wenceslaus, which was a scene of riot, luxury, and excess, and afforded a dangerous example to the whole kingdom of Bohemia; but all his representations proved ineffectual, even though Sigismund threatened to put him to the ban of the empire, unless he would amend his way of life.

The next affair that engrossed the emperor's attention, was the war between Ladislaus king of Poland, and the Teutonic order, which, though generally disadvantageous to the knights, was still maintained by the industry of Henry de Plaven, the grand master, who raked up sums of money, by mortgaging to Wenceslaus some fiefs belonging to the order in Bohemia, and even found means to detach the duke of Lithuania from the interest of Poland. Ladislaus, in this emergency, made advances towards a peace, which was accordingly effected, on condition that his Polib majesty should relinquish all his pretensions upon Prussia to the Teutonic order. But he afterwards engaged in a private treaty with the emperor, who repaired to Cracovia on pretence of a visit; by which agreement the two princes promised to join their forces, invade Prussia, destroy the Teutonic order, and divide between them the conquered dominions. At the same time, both these princes made an offensive and defensive alliance with Saladin, cham of the Tartars, who engaged to affix them against all their enemies.

Some time after this agreement, he was obliged to march towards Dalmatia, in consequence of a quarrel with the Venetians, touching the possession of that country, on which they had laid violent hands, as well as upon many places that belonged to the empire: provoked by these invasions, he marched against them with an army of Hungarians, and reduced several castles and strong places; but as he had, by a public edict, commanded the German princes to take the field, and assist him in this war, and not one of them had obeyed the summons, he did not think it prudent to proceed at his own expense; but concluded a peace with the first opportunity. After this treaty, he advanced into Lombardy, under various pretences, though his sole aim was to finish the negociation which he had begun with pope John XXXII. touching the convocation of a general council, by which the peace of the church might be restored, in extinguishing the schism produced from the fac-


(R) At the same time he granted, by letters patent, to the city of Nuremburg, the privilege of keeping the imperial ornaments and the jewels of the crown, which are sent to the coronations of emperors by a solemn deputation from that city (13).

(13) Remarq. sur Etifs, l. xi. cb. 30.
The history of Germany.

a tions of three pretended popes. Upon this subject, he had several conferences with the legates of John, who waited upon him in person at Placentia, and then accompanied him at Lodi, where they came to a determination of convoking a council. Bulls were accordingly expedited, appointing it to be held at Constance, and to be opened on the first day of November, in the following year.

The emperor, upon this occasion, published a memorial inviting all the bishops of Christendom to the council, and promising safe conduct to all those who should think them necessary; he sent ambassadors to Charles VI. of France, to solicit his personal appearance at this assembly; he wrote on the same subject to Benedict XIII. who had retired into the dominions of Spain, and in a letter to Gregory XII. who resided in the kingdom of Naples, earnestly desired he would repair to Constance, and refer his cause to the decision of an ecclesiastical council, which he (the emperor) had agreed with John to assemble, in order to terminate the fatal disputes of the church.

Over and above these precautions, Sigismund, overflowing with zeal for the interests of religion, repassed the Alps, and made a progress through divers provinces in Germany, in order to dispose the minds of the people for concurring with his pious intention of finishing the schism. He reconciled the bishop and chapter with the citizens of Strasburg, and confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessor to the imperial towns united to the prefecture of Aix; but the two antipopes exerted all their endeavours to traverse his design: both protected against the council with great virulence. Benedict convoked an assembly at Perpignan, where he did not fail to fulfill bulls of excommunication; and Gregory, who frequented at Bologna a public assembly of cardinals with the pontifical ornaments, and enjoyed the protection of Ladislaus, whom he had gained over to his interest.

This prince, contrary to the peace which he had lately made with pope John, took possession of the city of Rome, together with the church-lands, and resolved to make himself master of all Italy. With this view he marched towards Tuscany, with a powerful army to act against the Florentines and pope John, who had retired to Bologna; but being attacked with a violent disorder, which was the effect of poison, he retired to Naples, where, in a few months, he expired. The peace of Italy being restored by his death, left the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and prelates, at liberty to repair to Constance, where John arrived in the end of October. In the mean time Sigismund, who had returned to Germany, in order to be crowned before he should set out for the council, being at Spire upon some business which had called him thither, granted a safe-conduct, on the faith of which John Hütz repaired to Constance, to give an account of his doctrine. Then Sigismund set out for Aix, where he was crowned on the eighth of November; and the ceremony was no sooner performed than he departed, with his empress queen, and a very numerous court, for Constance, where he arrived on the twenty-third day of December, in the evening (S). Next day he assembed at the midnight mass, which pope John celebrated in his pontificals, the emperor himself being clothed in the imperial dalmatic, and performing the office of a deacon, according to the custom on such occasions. On his first arrival at Constance, he convoked a general congregation, in which he gave an account of his negotiations with Gregory and Benedict, and, in particular, gave them to understand, that he had sent a doctor of laws to Spain, to expostulate with Benedict, who had promised to give the emperor a meeting at Nice in Provence, in the month of June. At the same time, measures were taken for preventing that confusion, which might have arisen from a confluence of above one hundred thousand strangers, who repaired to Constance on this occasion; and Sigismund left the fathers of the council at free liberty to treat of the affairs of the church.

In the first session, which was held on the sixteenth of November, the meeting was protracted to the second of March, in the next year, when they expected the emperor in person; and that day being arrived, the fathers of the council having deliberated upon expedients for removing the schism, and re-establishing the union of the church, concluded, that nothing could effectually conduce to this salutary end as the resignation of the competitors. John himself, who presided in the council, attented to this opinion, and promised authentically to renounce his title, provided Angelo Corrario, who had assumed the name of Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna, distinguished by that of Benedict XIII. would imitate him in that act of self-denial. He had no sooner made this declaration, than the emperor, rising from his chair, ran and embraced his feet, applauding him for such a Christian renunciation; for which also he was solemnly thanked by the patriarch of Aquis, in the name of the whole council; but some days after he repented of this condescension, and, by the advice and affiance of Frederic duke of Austria, fled from Constance in the night, disguised in


(S) For the particular transactions of this famous council, see the History of the Popes. a
The history of Germany.

A.D. 1415.
The council confirms his deposition.

The duke of Austria is divested of his dominions.

John Hus appears before the council.

A.D. 1415.
it is accused of heresy; convicted, degraded, and condemned to the flames.

Dies with great constancy.

Sigismund is dispossessed, because no regard was paid to his safe-conduct.

a lay habit, and retired to Schaffhausen; whither he was followed by several cardinals, and from whence he afterwards withdrew to the castle of Lauenburg. Though this sudden retreat at first disconcerted the council, which John declared to be dissol vent in consequence of his deposition, yet at length agreed that a council was superior to the pope: and, after many debates, and proceedings, confirmed the sentence of his deposition, decreed that no other pope should be chosen without the deliberation and consent of the council; and that he, together with his competitors, Angelo Correria and Peter de Luna, should be for ever excluded from the papacy. John, finding them determined, thought proper to yield to the torrent, rather than run the risk of meeting with worse treatment in attempting to oppose it, and quietly acquiesced in the sentence, freely renouncing the pontificate, the marks of which he immediately resigned. Some days after this resignation, Gregory XII. b s ent a legate to the emperor and council, to renounce his title in the same manner. As for Frederick, duke of Austria, he bad been summoned by the emperor to appear and answer to the charge of being accessory to the flight of John; and as he did not think proper to obey, was outlawed, put to the ban of the empire, and divested of his dominions; which the Switz were impowered to subdue for their own benefit. They accordingly conquered the country of Terras, which they afterwards refused to restore, upon the emperor's reconciliation with Frederick, who was obliged to confirm their conquest by an authentic deed.

In the following sessions of this council, the affair of John Hus and Jerome of Prague was brought upon the carpet; the former, as hath been already said, had imbibed his new doctrine from the writings of Wickliff (T), and conformed to his opinions several masters of the university of Prague, together with an infinite number of other people. Among others, his fect was espoused by Jerome, master of arts, whom he engaged as his colleague, and prevailed upon to preach against the primacy of the pope; who, being apprised of their pretension, had cited them both to appear at Rome. Though they refused to obey this citation, they afterwards condescended to appear at the council of Constance, in order to justify the doctrine they professed. John Hus, being provided with a safe-conduct from the emperor, attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council, who were disposed to condemn him unheard, when John of Rhum and Wenceslaus of Duba, having protested against such unjust proceedings, the emperor sent the count palatine and margrave of Brandenburg to define the cardinals would hear what Hus had to say in his own defence. He was accordingly questioned in presence of Sigismund, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles, part of which he denied, and part he offered to defend; but his voice was drowned by the noise which was purposely made by the fathers of the council (U). At length, being asked if he was willing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he answered in the negative. He was immediately declared by the council a sower of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and obstinate defender of Wickliff. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and cloathed with another dres. His hair was cut in form of a crois; upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representa tion of three devils, and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the sixth of July for his execution.

Being brought to the place of punishment, he was tied to the stake, and surrounded with faggots of wood and bundles of straw, and before they were kindled, the duke of Bavaria and the count of Papenheim approached, and exhorted him to recant; but as he rejected their advice with disdain, protested his own innocence, and began to declaim against the emperor and fathers of the council, the duke retired, and ordered the executioners to do their duty. But his adherents might not carry off his ashes, they were thrown into the Rhine; but this precaution did not hinder his followers to take up the earth on which he suffered; of this they transported parcels to their separate homes, and preferred them as sacred relics. Nay, they protested, in public writings, against the execution, as an act committed contrary to the law of God, of nature, and of nations, as well as to the inclination of the emperor himself. Certain it is, that prince took umbrage at these proceedings, which he thought prejudicial to his honour, on account of the safe-conduct which he had granted. But he was given to understand, that his word could not be called in quef-


(T) Wickliff, who was principal of Balliol college in Oxford, wrote and preached against the infallibility and supremacy of the pope, the temporal power of ecclesiastics, the order of mendicants, auricular confession, and the doctrine of transubstantiation (14).

(U) John Hus is said to have spoke to this effect: "I am come hither to prove my innocence, and give an account of my faith; but I did not come until I had obtained the pallium of the emperor, who is here present, and who undertook for the security of my person." So saying, he fixed his eyes upon Sigismund, who blushed at this address, as being ashamed of his breach of promise (1).

The history of Germany.

After the execution of John Hufs, the council refused the affair of Peter de Luna, who still obstinately refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. Upon this occasion Sigismund offered to go to Spain in person, and engage the mediation of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge, by which he hoped to effect a voluntary renunciation like that of the other two, but the council should proceed to extremity. His journey had before been resolved upon; but the time and place of meeting were changed. He set out for Spain, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negotiation with Peter de Luna, the result of which was sent to the council, though his interposition had not the desired effect.

The obstinacy of Benedects incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that which the other refused to give by fair means; and Benedects, in consequence of these menaces, retired suddenly to the fortress of Panisfola, where he resolved to prefer his pontifical dignity to his latest breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partizans. The king of Arragon, with all the princes and bishops of his party, sent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne, with whom they agreed, that the council should invite all the former adherents of Benedects to come to Constance, and join their endeavours for re-establishing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope should be chosen. This agreement, known by the name of the Capitulation of Narbonne, being transmitted to the fathers of the council, was with great joy in execution; and Sigismund, that he might neglect nothing which could contribute to the peace of the church, or the re-establishment of concord among Christian princes, particularly the kings of France and England, resolved to visit Charles VI. by whom he was so magnificently received, that the people took umbrage at the honours that were paid to him; for he sat in parliament as if he had been his own tribunal, and created knights by his sole authority. From thence he crossed the sea to England, and propounded a truce between the two crowns, which, however, was not concluded, because in the interim, the English received an account of their having been worsted by the French at Harfleur; and as they had been very much elated by the victory of Agincourt, they could not brook the thoughts of peace, until they should have wiped off the stains of this subfrequent disgrace: (X) France, in all probability, suspected Sigismund of partiality in favour of England; for his proposals of mediation were rejected: and indeed that suspicion seems to have been well grounded; for the emperor, before he quitted England, engaged in a treaty with king Henry, by which he obliged himself to assist the English monarch against Charles VI. in recovering Guienne and Normandy; and in consideration of this alliance, the king of England promised to compel Charles, and some other princes, to do homage to the emperor, for certain countries to which the empire had some old pretensions. On his return to France, he, at the earnest intreaty of Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, erected his county into a duchy, and invested him in the castle of Chambery.

In the absence of Sigismund, the affair of Jerom of Prague engaged the attention of the council. This man had repaired to Constance, with a design to assist John Hufs in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency and justice of the fathers, he resolved to retreat with all expedition into Bohemia; but being apprehended upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Constance, where, in order to avoid the punishment which had been inflicted upon his colleague, he solemnly abjured the heresies of Wicklife and Hufs. He afterwards, however, espoused the same doctrines, was, in the twenty-first session of the same council, condemned as a wicked apostate to the flames, and suffered with great constancy and fortitude.

The public feissions of the council were less frequent in the absence of the emperor, something always occurred to employ the deliberation of the fathers. The bishop of Trent, who had been imprisoned by the duke of Austria, and deprived of the towns and castles depending on his fee, complained to the council of these outrages; and Frederic, who remained as an hostage at Constance since his reconciliation with Sigismund, was ordered to release the bishop, and restore his lands, on pain of privation. But, instead of complying with this decision, he withdrew privately from Constance, and repaired to the Tyrol, which


(X) Emilian, who affirms this reason as an obstacle to the peace, pretends, that 400 English were cut in pieces by some English, who had passed there with some skirmish in which the English were worsted; but at the battle of Harfleur, which was fought in this very year, the confabul of France, who had invested the town, was entirely defeated (1).


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
he found in great confusion, occasioned by the intrigues of his brother Ernste, who had usurped his dominions, and gained over the greatest part of the nobility and clergy to his interest; so that the two brothers began to make preparations for a bloody war.

While the council, incensed at the refusal and retreat of Frederic, complained of his conduct to the emperor, who caused him to be put to the ban; and the bishop of Lod, president of the Italian nation at the council, ordered, in the name of the fathers, the syndics of the church of Trent to compel Frederic to fet the bishop at liberty, and restore his domains. At the same time Ernste resolved to support his usurpation by force of arms; and abundance of bloodthirsty mutiny had ensued, had not the neighbouring princes, interposed and brought about an accommodation; in consequence of which Frederic recovered the Tyrol, and Ernste returned to Stiria, which was his inheritance.

SIGISMUND, on his return to Constance, bestowed the investiture of their fiefs upon John de Nassau, archbishop of Merse, the elector of Saxony, the count palatine, the count of Nillembourgh, and the duke of Pomerania; and upon this occasion, he conferred upon Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, the electorate of Brandenburg, which reverted to the emperor by the death of Jeffer, marquis of Moravia; tho' this alienation was not made without the murmurs of the Bohemians, who alleged that it was a thief belonging to their kingdom; nor did the new elector find the Brandenburgers very well disposed to receive him, but in a little time conciliated their affections by his mild and prudent administration. Among the princes who appeared at Constance, he who shone with greatest magnificence was Frederic, surname the Wartie, margrave of Mynia, and landgrave of Thuringia, who, by his noble qualifications, had acquired the emperor's particular esteem; notwithstanding which they now parted with great animosity. Besides the investiture of Mynia, Frederic demanded that of some towns in Bohemia, which he poissessed by right of conquest; and Sigismund, who was himself heir of that kingdom, absolutely refused to comply with his desire, so that he left Constance in great wrath. But the emperor appeased him in the sequel, by putting him in possession of the electorate of Saxony, vacant by the death of Albert III, the last elector of the house of Anhalt.

After these transactions, the council proceeded against Peter de Luna for contumacy; and in the thirty-seventh session, the definitive sentence of his deposition was pronounced and published. Then their next care being to elect a new pope, Odor or Otho Colonna, a Roman was propos'd, and chosen on St. Martin's day, whence he took the name of Martin V. and his elevation met with universal applause. The conclave was no sooner opened after the election, than the emperor entered, and prostrated himself before the new pope; then his holiness, mounting a white horse, rode in procession to the cathedral, Sigismund holding the reins on one side, and the elector of Brandenburg on the other: during the cavalcade, the Jews of Constance did him homage in certain prayers, while certain elders held the penta-tuch in his hand. The pope gave them his benediction, saying, "You have a law, but "you do not understand it; may the Lord take the veil from before your eyes."

MARTIN being consecrated and crowned, sent the cardinal of Pisa to exhort Benedict to reign his pretenions, but all his remonstrances proved ineffectual. Then holding a public consistory in the episcopal palace of Constance, he endeavoured in vain to accommodate matters between the dukes of Bavaria, who had quarrelled about the division of their dominions, though his endeavours were more successful in reconciling the emperor with the duke of Austria, who promised to take the oath of allegiance, and pay 70,000 florins by way of fine to Sigismund, who, on his part, undertook to restore him to the possession of those dominions, which he had lost when he was outlawed. In consequence of this agreement, Frederic waited upon the emperor at Constance, and was abdolled, by the pope's order, of the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred, by oppressing and imprisoning the bishop of Trent. Sigismund restored part of his dominions; but, as we have already observed, the Swis refused to part with what they had conquered, and several towns had been mortgaged by the emperor; so that the duke could not recover them until the debts should be paid. Sigismund's finances being very scanty, he was fain to have recourse to various expedients for raising money. He borrowed a considerable sum from the city of Bruges; and the English, with the consent of the elector palatine, paid him part of the portion of the princes Blanche, who was married to that elector. But all these resources being insufficient to defray the expense, pope Martin, after having crowned him king of the Romans with great solemnity, granted him a tenth of all the ecclesiastical effects in Germany, as a remuneration for the pains he had taken to establish the peace of the church; though this imposition gave great offence, and had well nigh involved the empire in trouble and confusion.

While Sigismund practised these schemes for filling his exhausted treasury, Holland, Hainault, and Brabant, groaned under the miseries of a civil war, kindled by a contete b-
The history of Germany.

a. between Jaqueline, daughter and heirs of William, duke of Friesland, and John of Bavaria, her uncle, bishop of Liege, who pretended to the tutelage of his niece, and even to the succession of these provinces. The country was divided into two factions, one of which espoused the cause of the princes, while the other adhered to the bishop. The duke of Burgundy declared for his niece Jaqueline, who married the duke of Brabant, and obtained a victory over her competitor; while the emperor countenanced John of Bavaria, who having resigned his bishopric, in confession of a dispensation from the pope, espoused Elizabeth de Gorlitz, duchess of Luxembourg, after Sigismund had promised to invest him with the dominions in duchy, as fiefs devoted to the empire, upon the demise of the last possessor without male issue. Thus supported, both parties carried on the war with equal vigour.

b. John equipped a fleet at Dordrecht and the Brill, with which he infested the coast, and forsook some of the towns in Holland; while the duke of Brabant sent an army into the field, in order to maintain the pretensions of his wife.

His operations, however, were not successful; and John having made himself master of Rotterdam, the duke was fain to make advances towards a pacification. A congress being accordingly held at Gorcum, peace was concluded, on condition that the duke of Brabant should appoint John of Bavaria governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, for the term of three years, and cede to him several towns; in consideration of which John renounced the pretensions to Holland and Hainault. Sigismund, for his part, acknowledged that this last province did not hold of the empire, and Jaqueline continued in possession of it, without being solicited to do homage for the fief to the emperor of Germany. The important affair of the felo de se being concluded, everything else was regulated by the council, which at length broke up in its forty-fifth session. The disputes about religion still raged with greater violence than ever. The decrees against the Hiftites were no sooner published, than Wineglaus, king of Bohemia, began to put them in execution, forbidding all communicants to partake of both species; a prohibition which incensed the inhabitants of Prague to such a degree, that they raised a desperate tumult, forced the town-house, and murdered the magistrates who were concerned in publishing this order.

The news of this massacre filled the court of Wineglaus with the utmost consternation, and made such an impression on that puiflaminous prince, that he was feized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. Sigismund being acknowledged king of Bohemia, conferred the regency upon his brother's widow Sophia, who fortified herself in the castle of Wibbad and against the Thaborites, or followers of Zifca, who was at this time general of the Hiftites, and revenged the death of Hugh and Jerome of Prague, by committing the most terrible outrages.

Without entering into the particulars of the war, in which Bohemia was involved by this persecution, we shall only observe, that Sigismund having succeeded to his brother Wineglaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, was, after his coronation, obliged to employ that army against the Hiftites which he had raised for an expedition against the Turks. He could not reduce them to obedience; for as they had been incensed to a degree of enthusiasm, rage, by the tyranny, which had been exercised over their consciences, and the cruelty with which they and their brethren had been persecuted, they were now also encouraged to persevere in their own defence, by several advantages which they had gained over the king's troops, by the valor and conduct of John Zifca, who is said to have restored those barbarities upon the catholic party, to have sacrificed the priests, and to have destroyed the churches with fire and sword. Nor was this famous leader's fagacity inferior to his valor. Sophia, being informed that he was in the territory of Pilsen with an handful of Thaborites, assembled a body of troops, which were reinforced by the lord of Schwanberg, and marched against him, in hope of surprising him unawares; but the event did not answer his expectation. Zifca, knowing himself too weak for such a formidable opposition, had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded according to his wish. He posted his troops behind hedges, in such a manner, that the emperor's cavalry could not act against them without dismounting, and the women, according to his direction, went forth from this form of intrenchment with bundles of linen in their arms, like so many children in swaddling clothes, whom they offered as hostages for their husbands: perceiving that the imperial horsemen had alighted in order to attack on foot, they found means to unloose their bundles, by which the spurs and arms of the troopers were so entangled, that they could not disengage themselves; and Zifca, seizing that opportunity, attacked them with great fury, cut in pieces the best part of them, and obliged the rest to confound their safety by flight.

Though Sigismund was very well informed of all these disorders, he did not think himself in a condition to repulse them, because the fear of a Turkib invasion detained him in his kingdom.

---

1 Hiitl, de Hainault, p. 375.  
3 Hiitl. Huf.
The history of Germany.

kingdom of Hungary: and indeed Mahomet I., who resided at Adrianople, was employed in a
preparations for making an irritation into that kingdom; but the vigilance of Sigismund,
who fortified all the frontier places, disconcerted his design, and he turned his forces against
the Greeks. The emperor was no sooner delivered of this apprehension, than he sent succours
to enable Sophia to act against Zisca, who was by this time deprived of his eye-sight,
and the arrival of these troops enabled him to obtain a truce for four months, at the expira-
tion of which the Hufites broke out in a general revolt against the emperor. Alarmed
at this rebellion, Sigismund convoked a diet at Brin, the capital of Moravia, where he re-
ceived affectionate addresses from all the towns and noblemen of Bohemia; but absolutely
refused liberty of conscience to the inhabitants of Prague, a great number of whom re-
tired to their general at Trabour, who continued to surprize and pillage the towns and cat-
tle belonging to the catholics, so as to find his followers and his fame daily increased. He
obtained a complete victory over Albert, duke of Austria, and Henry de Kravatz, command-
and of Moravia; then he made himself master of the new town of Prague, and reduced the
citadel of Würzbad, which, however, was afterwards retaken by the imperialists.

While the chief of the Hufites proceeded in his operations with such rapidity of suc-
cesses, Lower Germany was explosed to the calamities of war, by a quarrel between Eric,
king of Denmark, and the princes of Holstein, who refused to hold the duchy of Sleswig as
a fief of the Danzig crown. They were supported in their right of independency by their
uncle Henry, duke of Brunswick-Luenburg, and the dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg,
and Steint; and though the emperor decided in favour of the Danzig king, the princes
chose rather to hazard the determination of arms, than comply with a sentence which they
deemed oppressive and unjust. Eric equipped a formidable fleet, and assembled a nume-
rous army, with which he marched into the duchy of Sleswig, and built several forts, and gained
other advantages; while the counts of Holstein and their allies, reinforced by the Princes,
Hamburgers, and Henry of Ohnbreg, took the field, in order to oppose his operations. The
war was carried on with various success for some time, until Eric was totally defeated in the
battle fought at Immenswolde in Jutland, and compelled to sue for a truce, during which he
intreated the emperor to act the part of a mediator between him and his enemies; and, left
his interposition should not prove effectual, he strengthened his interest, by forming alliances
with the towns of Wandsberg, which afterwards enabled him to maintain the war.

But, before Sigismund could effect this accommodation, he was obliged to take mea-
sures for appeasing the troubles of Bohemia, which still groaned under the miseries of a reli-
gious war. With this view he assembled a body of troops, and being joined by Frederic,
elector of Brandenburg, William and Frederic the Warlike, marquises of Mänsia, Albert,
duke of Austria, and the princes of Bavaria, he invested Prague, which was besieged by the Tha-
borites; but in one of his attacks he was repulsed by Zisca, with great slaughter, and obliged
to retreat into Moravia, while the Hufites undertook the siege of Würzbad, in which they
proceeded with incredible vigour. Sigismund having recruited his army in Moravia,
marched to the relief of this fortress, and attacking Zisca in his intrenchments, had the morti-
fication to see his whole army cut in pieces. That same day the citadel of Würzbad
surrendered to the Hufites, who, elevated with the repeated advantages they had obtained
over Sigismund, resolved to choose another sovereign, who should maintain them in their
religious liberties. They accordingly, by a solemn embargy, offered the crown of Bohemia,
to Jagellon, king of Poland; and he declining the proffer, they made a tender of it to Co-
rebout, nephew to the duke of Lithuanie: and in the mean time, until that prince should
assume the reins of government, they chose a regency of twenty peers, to take charge of the
administration.

The emperor, alarmed at these proceedings, sent a commissary to their diet, with pro-
posals of accommodation, which they rejected: while the army of crusaders, raised in Ger-
many to war against the Hufites, and commanded by the archbishop of Troyes, was defeated
and dispersed by the invincible Zisca. Sigismund in person had no better success: he levied
another army, advanced into Bohemia, made himself master of Cattemburg, and re-
solved to besiege Breda, when Zisca attacking him with his usual impetuosity, routed the
imperialists, of whom a great number was slain, acquired as much plunder as loaded forty
waggon, and compelled the emperor to take refuge in Hungary.

It was immediately after this battle that Corebout made his entry into Prague, where the
churches protested against his election, which was equally disagreeable to the Thaborites
under Zisca, who professed themselves enemies to monarchical government. The first step
he took was to besiege Carlsburg, whither the catholics had transported the crown; but
the besieged made such an obstinate defence, that he was obliged to abandon the enter-
prise, especially as he understood some disturbances were raised in Prague by the Thaborites,
whom he quelled and punished with great severity.

A ZISCA, incensed at his behaviour, and jealous of his power, exhorted the Hufites to send him back to his own country; and they refusing to clothe him with this advice, he resolved to ruin the city of Prague. As a previous step to the execution of this design, he defeated the count de Vartenberg, who endeavoured to hinder him from surprising Graditz, which he afterwards entered in triumph. He expelled from the kingdom Albert of Austria, to whom the emperor had ceded Moreavia, ravaged the circle of Pilsen, defeated Corebut, compelled that prince to abdicate the crown of Bohemia, and entered Prague, where he was received with great splendour and magnificence. In a word, the repeated victories of this chiefman compelled Sigismund to propose such honourable and advantageous terms of peace, that Zisca felt out in order to conclude the accommodation, in a personal conference with the emperor; but he was unfortunately infected with the plague, of which he died upon the road. His death, no doubt, produced a manifest change in the affairs of the Hufites. Nevertheless, their resolution did not fail; nor did they slacken in their zeal for the common cause, which they cherished to such a degree of superstitious policy, as to stretch the skin of their deceased captain upon a drum, that the sound might awake the remembrance of his valour, and inspire them with the notion that they still marched to the battle under the auspices of Zisca.

SIGISMUND, instead of prosecuting the Bohemian war, indulged the indolence of his disposition at Buda, where he was visited by Erich, king of Denmark, who ceded the counts of Helfenstein to the tribunal of the emperor, and obtained a final sentence, importing, that all the southern Jutland, comprehending the towns of Silfraze and Gettorp, with the Danish forest, the isle of Alten, and the province commonly called Frischiden, with all their rights and dependencies, did belong, under the title of a direct and profitable domain, to the crown of Denmark. In the same assembly at Buda, Sigismund determined a dispute between the duke of Savoy and the prince of Orange, which last laid claim to the county of Geneva, in right of his great aunt; but, as the emperor had already granted the investiture of this county to Amadeus VIII. he now decided the process in his favour, and forbade Lewis de Chalon, prince of Orange, to assume the quality or arms belonging to the county of Geneva.

About this period the knights of the Teutonic order, of which some account hath already been given, degenerating from the courage and virtue of their predecessors, loft a great part of Prussia, which was wrested from them by the Poles, who had defeated them in several engagements. From this date we may derive the decay of the knights in those countries; for they continued to flout one lots on the back of another, and to forfeit their reputation more and more, notwithstanding some affinities which they received from Sigismund, in the heat of his operations against the Hufites; which last entering Silfraze, and separating into three bodies, at the same time attacked Hungary, Poland, and Austria, which they ravaged without mercy.

While Bohemia continued a prey to those ravages, Holland and Brabant did not enjoy tranquility. These unhappy provinces were exposed to the cruelties of a civil war, by the partizans of John of Bavaria and the adherents of Jaquelin, who exercised all sorts of violence upon each other. That princes, disgraced by the duke of Brabant her husband, had prevailed upon Benedich, the antipope, to annul the marriage, and actually given her hand to the duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V. king of England, who resolved to recover by force of arms the dominions of his new wife, which were in possession of her former husband. The duke of Brabant made preparations to oppose his progress; and being affighted underhand by Philip, duke of Burgundy, defeated the troops which the duke of Gloucester had sent to support the interest of the princes. Her last marriage was dissolved by a sentence of pope Martin; but as the duke of Brabant died in a few months after the decision, Jaquelin flattered herself with the hope of taking peaceable possession of her own dominions. In this, however, she was mistaken. The duke of Burgundy had employed emissaries in Hainault, Frieland, Holland, and Zealant, to detach their inclination from her government; and they succeeded so well in their endeavours, that the greatest part of the nobility and people refused to acknowledge her as their sovereign. In this emergency she referred her case to the duke, who, before he would undertake the office of mediator, obliged her to put the government of her dominions in his hands, and declare him her successor.

In this manner Philip acquired Hainault, Holland, Zealant, and Frieland. He had already purchased the reversion of Zutphen and Namure; and he inherited the duchies of Brabant, Loeber, Limbourg, and the marquise of Answeyr, by the death of his kinman Philip of Brabant, who died without issue. All these acquisitions, added to Flanders, Ar-

---


MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. Y 105.
The history of Germany.

teis, the two Burgundies, and several towns situated upon the Somme, rendered Philip one of the most powerful princes of Europe.

Bohemia was still in agitation. The fanatics were divided into three bodies, which assumed the appellations of Thaborites, Orphans, and Hordeites; and their chief general was Procopius the Shaven, whom Ziska had recommended as his successor in command. This leader, who had been a priest, seemed to emulate his predecessor in courage, capacity, cruelty, enthusiasm, and success. He reduced the town of Graditz to ashes, committed terrible outrages against the catholics, defeated the duke of Austria, and obtained a complete victory over a numerous army which had been raised by the princes of Germany, and attacked the Thaborites in their intrenchments. After having obtained this signal advantage, Procopius reduced Kamenitz, routed Menard de Maifon Neuve, pillaged Austria, took Ritzan on the confines of Moravia, and nothing seemed capable of retarding the torrent of his arms and his fortune.

The war in the north kept pace with the troubles in Germany. The princes of Holstein refusing to comply with the decision of the emperor touching Slavonia, Eric levied a numerous army, in order to maintain his pretensions, which, by the bye, were not very justly founded, inasmuch as neither he nor Sigismund had alleged any good reason to prove, that Slavonia alone was a personal fief, when all the other fiefs of the empire were hereditary. The towns of Wandalia, which had formerly espoused his interest, confess of Sigismund's partial decision, and tired of a long war, which interrupted their commerce, and laid waste their country, presented a remonstrance to Eric, intreating him to listen to equitable terms of accommodation; but he paying little regard to their representations, they declared for the counts of Holstein, and equipped a considerable fleet for their service. Holstein was immediately recommended; and though the allies sustained some disadvantages, Eric not only made advances to an accommodation with the towns, but also prevailed upon the emperor to give them notice, that, as almost all the princes and towns of the empire had resolved to join their forces for quelling the sedition in Bohemia, it was incumbent upon them to make peace with the king of Denmark, that he, as well as they, might be at liberty to join in this confederation; and that in case they should obstinately persist in acting offensively against his Danish majesty, he, the emperor, would take effectual measures to punish them for their contumacy and disobedience. In order to strengthen this intimation, he sent Nicholas Stack to the city of Lubeck, with proposals of peace to the senate; from thence he repaired to the counts of Holstein, who inlisted upon the king of Denmark's declaring Slavonia an hereditary fief, and as for Eric, he agreed to comply with every thing the emperor should propose. A congress was appointed at Nikoping, in the isle of Falster, but as holilities were not suspended, the conferences produced no effect, because the demands of the parties concerned rose or fell according to the successes of their arms, which sometimes declared for one side, and sometimes for another. The princes of Holstein offered to refer their cause to the determination of the pope; but rejected the emperor as judge or arbitrator, because he was related to the king of Denmark. Sigismund, on the other hand, forbade all the ecclesiastical judges whatever to take cognizance of this dispute, and ordered the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the duke of Luneburg, to support Eric with their whole force, and compel the counts to obey the imperial decree. Perhaps this vigorous step contributed to detach the cities of Stralund and Rostock from the confederacy; for they made a separate peace with Eric, who, about this period, gained some advantages over the allies; but the negotiations begun at Nikoping, and afterwards carried on at Helfenbourg, proved altogether ineffectual.

Indeed both parties were extremely obstinate; nor did they abstain from the most violent recrimination. The confederated towns accused Eric of having abolished the privileges and interrupted the freedom of trade, of oppressing the princes of Holstein, and of being author of a war that desolated the north of Germany. On the other hand, the king of Denmark reproached them as the favourers of rebellion, not only in the north, but also in Bohemia, where the Thaborites still carried all before them, under the conduct of Procopius the Shaven. Not but these seditions were by this time divided into two factions, one of which, called the Calistins, had favoured the return of Corebut, though they now shut him up in a monastery, on suspicion of having carried on an intelligence with Procopius. During the captivity of this prince, the Thaborites and Orphans ravaged Slavonia, took a number of strong places, defeated the imperial army sent thither to reduce them, under the command of Henry, cardinal of Wincerter, made an irruption into Moravia, which they laid waste; then pillaged the circle of Glatz, and proceeded in such an uninterrupted course of victory, that the emperor was fain to sue for peace, in a deputation to Procopius, who gave the deputies audience at Cuttenburg, and was by this time heartily tired of a war.

---

* Hił. de Hainaut, i. xii.
7 CZECHOR. p. 578
8 MURRIUS HIŁ. DYN. AD AN. 1328.

which
The history of Germany.

a which kept him in a continual alarm. He prevailed upon the different orders of the kingdom to assemble at Prague, and proposed that they should receive Sigismund for their king, provided he would indulge them with liberty of conscience. In a word, he sent some noblemen of his adherents with proposals of peace to the emperor, who was then at Moravia. A general truce was agreed to for three months, during which a diet was convoked at Presburg, where Priscopius appeared as chief of the Bohemian deputation, and demanded, in the name of his constituents, that they should be allowed to communicate both species; that Sigismund should confirm all their privileges, and promise upon oath to defend them against all innovation.

b To these demands the emperor replied, that the first article was not in his power; and that, before he could grant the rest, he must examine into the nature of those immunities to which they alluded, and if he should find them equitable, he would confirm them without hesitation. This answer was deemed evasive, and even interpreted into a refusal by the Thaborites; so that the negotiation was laid aside, and hostilities recommenced. The Hussites, to the number of 30,000 horse and 30,000 foot, commanded by Peterpus, William de Rojska, and John Smirzil, entered Mysia, which they ravaged with fire and sword; and having routed Politzer, general of the troops sent to the relief of that province by the emperor, subdued one place after another, until the whole country was reduced and pillaged. From thence they marched into Thuringia, which, finding in a posture of defence, they immediately quitted, in order to fall upon Frankonia, where they ravaged the duchy of Coburg, obliged a number of princes and towns to redeem themselves from plunder, and then retired to Bohemia with a very considerable booty.

c Had the princes of the empire united against these adventurers, their career, in all probability, would have been stopped long before this period; but such unanimity was prevented by intestine divisions and feuds that hardly ever ceased to rage among the towns and noblemen. Conrad, archbishop of Mentz, having been appointed Sigismund's vicar in the empire, the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate took umbrage at his being invested with a dignity to which they claimed preponderence; and he prudently resigned the office, rather than endanger the public peace; but, notwithstanding his peaceful disposition, he was afterwards involved in an obstinate war with the landgrave of Hesse. Ernest and Lewis, dukes of Bavaria, had been for several years at variance about some fiefs of that province; and the electorate of Trier was subjected to the horrors of a civil war, by two competitors for the archbishopric.

The kingdom of Hungary was no less exposed to continual alarms from the incursions of the Turks, under Amurath II., who, without paying any regard to the truce subsisting between him and Sigismund, committed terrible outrages in Servia, and generally defeated the small bodies of troops which the emperor sent to oppose his progress. All remonstrances to the sultan having proved ineffectual, Sigismund had recourse to Uladislaus king of Poland, and his brother Witold, grand duke of Lithuania, with whom he had an interview at Lutsko in Upper Volinia, where a congress was opened to deliberate upon the affairs of Hungary, and the reduction of the rebels in Bohemia: but the Poles seemed extremely backward in engaging himself in those troubles. He had no affection for the person of Sigismund, who had supported the Teutonic order in their enterprizes against the Poles; and he was far from being desirous of entailing upon himself a war with the Hussites of Bohemia, who were by this time so much accustomed to victory, and even deemed altogether invincible. He therefore evaded the solicitations of the emperor when he demanded succours, and proposed, that the method of negotiation should be tried, preferably to the hazards of war.

At this assembly Sigismund resolved to erect the duchy of Lithuania into a kingdom; and Witold's vanity was so much flattered by the proposal, that his brother Uladislaus in vain used all his rhetoric and influence to divert him from such an extravagant project; nor did he pay the least regard to the remonstrances of the Poles, who gave him to understand, that they would never consent to any scheme for prejudice to their country, which, by the erection of Lithuania into a kingdom, would be dismembered of one of its fairest provinces. Uladislaus, perceiving the obstinacy of his brother, solicited the interposition and good offices of pope Martin V., who, in pathetic letters to Sigismund and Witold, conjured them to desist from the prosecution of a design which would certainly kindle a civil war in Europe, and involve their allies in confusion and calamity. The emperor and duke lent a deaf ear to all these insinuations, and the day was fixed for the coronation; when Uladislaus, thinking it incumbent upon him to exert himself on this occasion, cauled the emperor's envoys to be apprehended in their journey to Lithuania, while all the nobility

The history of Germany.

of Poland took arms, and distributed themselves in different bodies, in order to guard the passages, and oppose the progress of Sigismund's ambassadors, who had halted in Frankfurt on the Oder.

WITHOND, finding it would be impracticable for him to obtain the crown without the consent of the Poles, affected to lay aside the scheme, reconciled himself with his brother, and died at Trocko, whither he had accompanied Uladislaus, who had come to make him a friendly visit.

While this idle scheme was on the carpet, the Turks extended their devastations with impunity, and the Thaborites ravaged Bohemia, and the neighbourhood without control.

Pope Martin being informed of this their progress, had sent orders to cardinal Julian, who was legate à lares at the court of Sigismund, to press the princes of Germany to engage in the crusade which he had ordained against those heretics. It was accordingly published anew at the diet of Nuremberg, where the emperor had assembled the electors and other princes, ecclesiastics as well as secular, a great many of whom embarked as volunteers in the expedition; and that each might contribute proportionally to the expense, Sigismund, with their own consent, made a regulation, which is the first register that ever was made for distributing the quota of money or soldiers to be furnished by each prince and state, not only for this purpose, but also for every other occasion, in which the interest of the empire might be concerned. In consequence of this regulation, the princes prepared for the war against the Hufites, which they undertook with the more eagerness, because they were excited by fresh insurrections of Eugenius IV. who had succeeded Martin V. lately deceased. The army which they assembled consisted of 40,000 horse, and the fame number of infantry: the emperor belittled the command upon Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and the legate resolved to attend the expedition in person. With these forces they marched into Bohemia, and committed horrible barbarities upon the Hufites that fell in their way; but as soon as the forces of that sect appeared, they were seized with an universal panic, and fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all the remonstrances, prayers, and threats, of the legate, who finding his endeavours ineffectual, thought proper to fly with the rest. Such was the hurry and trepidation with which they fled, that all their baggage, furniture, and riches, together with the cross of the legation, and vestments of the legate, fell into the hands of the enemy.

ALBERT of Austria, who had begun his march in order to reinforce the imperial army, was obliged to return to Moravia, and thence to Austria, before Procopius, surnamed the Little, in contradistinction to the other of that name, who had acquired the epithet of Great Chieflain. He found all the villages abandoned, and pillaged the whole country without opposition. Then joining his name-fake, they entered Hungary, where they reduced several places, and enriched themselves with booty; but some disputes arising between the Orphans and Thaborites, the two generals parted. Procopius the Shaven, marching towards Moravia, while the other remained in Hungary, though it would have been more for his advantage to retire with the plunder he had acquired; for the noblemen of Hungary no sooner understood that the Hufites were divided, than they took the field under the command of Rozgon, governor of Hova, and advancing to the river Wag gave battle to the Orphans, who were entirely defeated; so that scarce 2000 returned to Bohemia with Procopius.

CARDINAL Julian, after his defeat, returned to Nuremberg, and advised Sigismund to summon the Bohemians to the council of Bafli, in which he, the cardinal, was appointed to preside. Pope Martin V. had nominated Julian as his representative at this assembly, to concert measures for abolishing hereby, restoring the tranquillity of the church; and this nomination was now confirmed by his successor Eugenius IV. who, nevertheless resolved to transfer the council from Bafli to Bologna, where he might preside in person. His pretence for this translation was, that it would facilitate the union of the Greek and Roman churches: but his real motive was the dread of the Hufite interest, and the armies of Austria and Burgundy, which hovered over the city of Bafli. In vain did the cardinal represent to his holiness the bad consequences that would attend such a translation; in vain were his representations supported by repeated remonstrances of the emperor, who refused all the reasons Eugenius urged for removing that assembly. The pope issued a bull for dissolving the council of Bafli, and convoking another at Bologna; while the fathers, already assembled, continued their session, to which the Bohemians were invited in consequence of Julian's advice.

The history of Germany.

a. Mean while the emperor assembled a diet at Præzburg, to which he summoned the Bohemians, who sent thither deputies, though they could not be prevailed to enter the town, left they should be detained, but sojourned in tents pitched in the open field, where the conferences were begun with all the marks of sincerity on both sides. Sigismund expressed his uprize and concern at their rejecting his administration, after they had been governed by his father and grandfather; and promised to redress all their grievances, provided they would acknowledge him as their sovereign. The deputies replied, that their refusal of him was not owing to any aversion which the nation entertained for his person, but the effect of their being overawed by the adverse armies which had ravaged the kingdom. They said the Bohemians had no objection to the proposal of sending deputies to Basf, provided proper security could be given for the safety of their persons: but that they had a right to take this precaution, considering the treatment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who had been burnt at Confess, in direct opposition to public faith.

b. The emperor, who could not help ascertaining in his heart the truth of what they alleged, assured them he would convene the assembly at Egra, where they should be informed of the intentions of the council, and satisfied with respect to the security they demanded. Accordingly, the Bohemian deputies and those of the council, together with Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, John, duke of Bavaria, and several other princes of the empire, repairing to that place at the appointed time, the Hussites demanded hostages of the nobility, for the safety of those they should send to the council; and, after great and violent altercation, the princes and deputies assembled agreed to engage their word for the safety of the Bohemians, and a safe-conduct was expedited for them to Basf in the most ample form.

c. Sigismund, having taken these measures for restoring the quiet and tranquility of Bohemia, and appointed William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, chose this conjunction to pass the Alps, and repair to Milan. In that city, he received the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop, together with the ring, the sword, the sceptre, and the golden apple; though Philip, duke of Milan, would not assist at the ceremony, and laid at Placentia, on pretence of an indisposition. The real cause, however, was a grudge which he had conceived against the emperor, whom he suspected of an attachement to the Florentines and Venetians, the professed enemies of Philip. By this fulmination he was altogether alienated from Sigismund, who had come to Italy on his invitation, though he now refused to admit him with a few attendants into the city of Milan, which he wanted to see out of pure curiosity. This instance of disrespect, together with the non-performance of the promise he had made to assist the emperor with money and troops, provoked Sigismund to such a degree, that he became the duke's implacable enemy. Nevertheless, he found it convenient to dissemble his resentment, and even to reject the offers of the Genoese, who having been for some years oppressed by Visconti, made a tender of their city and territory to Sigismund, which he declined accepting; that he might not add such a powerful prince as the duke of Milan to the number of his enemies.

d. Mean while he employed his whole attention in compromising the difference between pope Eugenius and the council. The fathers assembled at Basf demanded his protection against the pope who had disdained the council; and this being granted, they sent a legate to persuade Eugenius to annul what he had done in prejudice of their deliberations; or, in case he should not revoke the dissolution of the council within the term of ninety days, to declare they would proceed against him in the severest manner. He was accordingly declared contumacious, and summoned to appear in peron, or by proxy, to give an account of his conduct; and as he did not comply with this citation, they certainly would have proceeded to his deposition, had not the emperor interposed his mediation, in consequence of which the pope confirmed the council of Basf.

e. He at the same time impowered them to concert measures for the reformation of manners, as well as the extinction of heresy; while Sigismund, having succeeded in his endeavours, resolved to be crowned at Rome, after having wintered at Parma and Placentia. When he approached the city, the pope sent out several cardinals, prelates, and Roman noblemen, together with a great part of the clergy and people, who conducted him to Rome with great magnificence. He was received by the pope at the feeps of the Vatican church, with the usual ceremony, and on the day of Pentecost crowned with the appellation of emperor and Augustus, after he had taken an oath of fidelity to the church, and truckled to the pope in all his demands. Having laid some time at Rome, he retired to Ferrara, and afterwards to Mantua, where he created John Francisco Gonzalez, lord of that city.


Cont. t. ii. p. 313.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
a marquis, and allowed him to bear the imperial arms. He afterwards crossed the Alps; and, what was singular in his journey, he quitted Italy in enmity to the duke of Milan, whom he had formerly mortally hated \(^{(A)}\).

At this time the fathers of the council of Basf und the council of the Hufites were employed in a negotiation with the deputies of the Hufites whom they wanted to re-inclose within the pale of the church. They had sent Procopius the Shavon, at the head of their deputies, to Basf; and after a fruitless dispute with the catholics, which lasted fifty days, he returned to Bohemia, made an alliance with the king of Poland, and ravaged the new march of Brandenburg, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, whom they considered as the emperor’s adherents.

DURING these deliberations, the emperor being informed that the Hufites began to disagree among themselves, and that the barons and nobility of that feft, who could not bear the tyranny of their chiefs, had separated from the rest in a distinct body, he resolved to draw towards Bohemia, in order to take the advantage of this division. Besides, he foresaw that the difference between the council and the pope could never be totally determined, while the first perished in the opinion of its superiority over the pope, and he continued to arrogate to himself a pre-eminence over the council. His imperial majesty therefore set out for Germany, and on his arrival at Ulm, received information that the Thaborites, who had for several months been engaged in the siege of Pilsen, had been totally defeated by the catholics, whom the Bohemian barons, already mentioned, had joined in this expedition.

The Calixtins, and almost all the nobility of Bohemia, agreed to the famous treaty of peace called the Compadetia, which was drawn up by the bishops in council; but the Orphans and Thaborites opposing it with all their might, Risemberg and Maistn Neeve, at the head of the noblest, attacked them unwares in the city of Prague, and cut 20,000 of them in pieces on the spot. Flushed with this success, they marched against Procopius the Shavon, who was employed in the siege of Pilsen, and charged him with such fury, that notwithstanding the incredible efforts he made, his troops were totally defeated, he himself being mortally wounded, and his name sake left dead on the field of battle. The bravest of the prisoners were burnt alive in a large barn; those that fled were pursued, and maimed without mercy; and, in a word, the whole feft was utterly exterminated.

Sigmund did not fail to avail himself of this conjuncture, in his endeavours to regain the affections of both parties; and he managed matters with such dexterity, by means of ambassadors, that they afterward owned him as the lawful heir of his brother Wenceslaus: and when he advanced as far as Ratisbon, to hold a general diet of the empire, the deputies of the states of Bohemia, and of the remains of the Thaborites, went thither, and did homage to him as to their king. But, in the meantime, he was obliged to employ his attention in remedying other disorders of the empire. Lewis, duke of Bavaria, of Ingoldstadt, being accused of tyranny, extortion, peculation, robbery, and sacrilege, was summoned to his trial at the diet of Ulm; and as he refused to appear, the emperor put him to the ban of the empire. In pursuance of this sentence, the bishops and noblemen in the neighbourhood declared war against him, and levied troops to make reprisals on his dominions; but he averted the storm, by making his submission to Sigismund, who pardoned him, on condition that he would make good the damage he had done to his neighbours, and renounce all the rights he had to the sovereignty of Donauviert, which henceforward enjoyed the liberty of an imperial town.

With respect to the restitution he coveted to make, it was referred to the diet which the emperor convoked at Frankfurt, in order to determine the difference between Frederic the Warlike, marquis of Misfia, Lewis count palatine, the marquis of Brandenburg, and Eric V., of Saxo-Lauenbourg, who were competitors for the electorate of Saxony, vacant by the death of Albert III. the last of the electoral branch of the ancient family of Alciania. The emperor, upon the demise of this prince, ten years ago, had fequestered the electorate per interim, and declared Frederic the Warlike elector of Saxony, as a first devolved to the empire; but Eric of Lauenbourg appealed to pope Martin V. and afterwards to the council of Basf; and Frederic, surnamed the Peaceable, fon and successor of Frederic the Warlike, having protested against this step, as an encroachment upon the German liberty, Sigismund inflicted an imperial decree, importing, that the cognizance of fefels, the administration of

\(^{(A)}\) While the emperor was at Basf, embassadors are said to have arrived from the Turks with offers of a perpetual peace, and magnificent presents to Sigismund, who received them with great state, embraced the proposals of peace, accepted the presents, acted munificently towards the embassadors, and sent by them royal testimonies of his esteem for their monarch (1).
The history of Germany.

a justice, and imposition of taxes in Germany, had no dependence upon the church, but were the prerogatives of the emperor, electors, and princes; and, finally, at the diet of Frankfurt, with the advice and consent of the noblemen and deputies that were present, he confirmed the house of Württemberg in possession of the duchy and electorate of Saxony, which belongs to it at this day; though the family of Luxemburg still protest against their possession.  

The next diet was assembled at Ratisbon, where Sigismund gave audience to ambassadors from Bohemia, who came to congratulate him upon his happy return to Germany, and to propose, that all the Bohemians should be obliged to communicate of the two species: but this proposal was rejected by the emperor, and one of the Thaborites belonging to the emperor shamingly charged at his body, his body was denied Christian burial.

Lewis of Ingoldstadt having, at this assembly, made full satisfaction to the noblemen of Bavaria and Saxony, whom he had pillaged, the parties were reconciled, and the emperor repaired to Alba Regalis, where he received an embassy from young Ladislaus, king of Poland, notifying his father's death, and proposing a match between him and the daughter of Albert, duke of Austria, who was son-in-law to the emperor; but this alliance was postponed, until the differences between Hungary and Poland could be adjusted.

It was during his residence in this place, that the deputation arrived from the states of Bohemia, promising to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and Albert his successor, provided he would agree to certain articles, which he solemnly swore to fulfill; and this affair being so happily established, he interviewed himself with the deputies of the council, in order to facilitate a general reconciliation between the Bohemians and the church.

After abundance of disputes and negotiations, an assembly was called at Iglova, in the diocese of Olmütz, at which these deputies, as well as those of Bohemia, were present. There everything was regulated by an authentic act, signed and sealed by the emperor and deputies, in consequence of which act, the Bohemians, having protested that they would for the future be obedient to the church of Rome, were absolved from the excommunication, and other censures, which had been fulminated against them, and introduced into the church by the deputies of the council.

The emperor resolving to establish a solid peace in that kingdom, and concluding that nothing could contribute so much to re-involve it in new disorders as the church's lands, which had been usurped during the war, and might be a bone of contention, he made an accommodation upon that subject with the principal noblemen, who thought themselves the more obliged to him for this conciliation, as the deputies of the council had refused to comply with their demands. In order therefore to manifest their gratitude, they conducted him to Prague, where he was magnificently received, and crowned on the 24th of July.

Then the barons and deputies of the cities did homage to him, and took the oath of allegiance.

A small residue of the Thaborites still held out against Sigismund, under the auspices of a gentleman called John de Robas, who was besieged in his castle, taken by stratagem, and hanged, with 100 of his adherents. The town of Graz likewise refused to acknowledge the emperor for its sovereign, and sallied out a long siege with great valour and perseverance, until, being quite exhausted, it submitted on honourable terms.

Immediately after this pacification, the empress Barbara was crowned queen of Bohemia, with great magnificence; and this ceremony being performed, Sigismund applied himself in earnest to the police of the kingdom, which he found in terrible confusion, occasioned by the miseries of the civil war. He established tribunals, appointed minsters and governors of Bohemia, recalled the clergy who had been exiled, and, in order to prevent all possibility of a religious revolt for the future, enlisted the remains of the Thaborites and Orphans to be employed against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary.

These infidels had ravaged the country, and would have maintained themselves in possession of the whole district between the Save and the Drave, had not they been prevented by the Thaborites in the imperial pay, who attacked them with such fury, that they were utterly

---


(B) One great design for convoking the diet at Frankfurt, was to concert measures for a reformation of the empire, both with respect to its head and members; that the reciprocal duties of the emperor and subjects should be enforced; that the rights and possessions of the empire might be recovered, and all her revenues settled upon a solid footing. But great difficulties arose, occasioned by the circumstances which had been made by Charles VI. in favour of those who refused to part with their possessions, in which the kings at their election promised, upon oath, to maintain them: and though the grievances of the empire, which required an immediate remedy, were specified in sixteen articles, yet, as there was not present a sufficient number of electors and princes to give a proper sanction to their proceedings, the assembly was prorogued, and the attempt proved abortive (1).

defeated, with the loss of 20,000 men, besides those who were butchered by the peasants, or drowned in attempting to swim across the Save."

Tudo Sigismund had addressed enough to regain the affection of the Bohemians; his prudence was not sufficient to preserve it. His zeal for religion, and implicit obedience to the church, had entailed upon him the war with the Hussites, in which he had suffered abundance of damage and disgrace; and now, after he had concluded an advantageous peace with those people, instead of improving the footing he had gained in their good-will, by gentle remonstrances and a mild administration, the same indifferent zeal prompted him to tyrannize as formerly over their confinements, and to use violence in compelling several of their principal men to abjure the religion which they professed. These arbitrary proceedings disoblige his friends, and revived the hatred of his subjects, which increased to such a degree, that, finding it uncomfortable and inconvenient to live among a people by whom he was not beloved, he resolved to quit the kingdom, and retire to some place where he could end his days in peace and tranquility. But before he could put this resolution in practice, he found himself attacked by a distemper, which was the consequence of poison. One of his toses was by the advice of his physicians, who believed a cure might be effected by such an operation; but some time after, the disorder re-appearing, the empress began to think of securing to herself the throne by a new marriage. For this purpose the privately assembled the greatest part of the barons, who had great authority in that kingdom; and afflicting them that the emperor must die in a very little time, observed, that the only expedient for preventing the troubles which could not fail attending his death, would be a regulation before-hand, obliging Sigismund's successor to marry his widow. This advice being relished by the barons, a secret agreement was made for that purpose, and confirmed by the oath of all parties concerned. Yet this treaty was not managed with such secrecy, but that it reached the ears of the emperor, who at the same time was informed by his physicians that he had not long to live. He ordered himself to be transported from the kingdom of Bohemia, which he had great reason to suspect of disaffection, to Znaim in Moravia, that he might see his daughter before his death. There he ordered his empress, who had followed him, to be arrested, and the barons of Hungary and Bohemia being called into his bed-chamber, he, in their presence, nominated his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, for his successor, appointing ambassadors, who should, immediately after his death, repair to Bohemia, and present his last will to the grandees of that kingdom. In the mean time all those who were present attested to his nomination, and agreed to acknowledge duke Albert as king of Hungary and Bohemia. In a little time after he had thus settled the succession, he died, on the 9th day of September, in the 70th year of his age, having reigned 50 years in Hungary, 27 in quality of emperor, and 17 as king of Bohemia. His body was, in the course of the direction which he himself had given, carried to Waradin in Hungary, and honourably interred in the church of St. Laudiuous.

SIGISMUND was remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his air. He was liberal, and a patron of learned men (C), he himself having been so well versed in the languages, as to obtain the epithet of the Light of the world. Though he neither wanted courage nor military skill, he was very unfortunate in all his warlike expeditions, and, what is very remarkable in the disposition of a prince, he had a mortal antipathy to all flatterers, who he usually compared to crows, which pick out the eyes of their fellow-creatures. The Roman Catholic writers extol him for his piety and zeal for the advantage of the church, manifested in his concessions to the pope, in his endeavours to remove the schism of the church, and his repeated efforts to extinguish those doctrines, which they thought proper to brand with the name of hereby; but it plainly appears, that every step he took in consequence of this zeal, was the effect of blind superstition, exciting him to the prejudice of sound policy and common sense.

As for his widow, she is said to have equalled the famous Mechtilde in point of liberitim; and though Sigismund had often caught her in the act of adultery, he always forgave her backsliding, because he knew himself addicted to the same vice. When he recovered her liberty after his death, she retired to Kampratsch in Bohemia, where she lived to a great age, in the middle of a number of courtiers, whom she maintained to administer to her infamous pleasures. To such an excess of debauchery did she degenerate, that she held the

(C) Having honoured with the order of knighthood one George Ficklin, the ablest lawyer of his time, and he chancing one day to have some dispute about his new rank, the emperor, by way of rebuke, said to him, "I can create a thousand knights in one day; but, in the space of one thousand years, I could not create one learned man (d)."

(1) Remarks on Heff, loco ii. ch. 30.
The history of Germany.

CHAP. IX.

Containing the History of

ALBERT II.

Albert II. duke of Austria, furname the Große and the Magnanimous, was the son of Albert II. the emperor Sigismund. Upon the death of his father, his cousin Leopold IV. was, by the fates of Austria, declared his guardian; but Ernst, the brother of Leopold, having protested against this disposition, the office was divided between them; and when the former died, Albert took the reins of government in his own hands. By his wife conduct he established the severity of his subjects in Austria, which had a long time been interrupted by intestine wars, rapine, and licence, the authors of which he severely punished, until the peace and tranquility of his dominions were restored. The great reputation which he acquired by his merit, joined to the favours of fortune, which never forsook him, would in all probability have rendered him the greatest prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne, had heaven thought proper to prolong his life. In one year he was honoured with three crowns; on the first of January he was raised to the Hungarian throne, in consequence of the late will of Sigismund, whose daughter and heiress he had espoused; on the sixth of May he was elected king of Bohemia, the choice being based upon an ancient convention between the two families, implying, that when the lawful heir-male of the house of Bohemia should chance to fail, they should bestow the crown upon a prince of the house of Austria. Yet notwithstanding this agreement, and the other pretensions of Albert, he met with a strong opposition from one part of the states of Bohemia, who, by the intrigues of Tafm, a Bohemian nobleman, and chief of that faction, elected Casmir, brother of the king of Poland, and even crowned him in the city of Prague. These were the very people who had confided to the empress Barbara against Sigismund. This competition produced a war against Albert, in which Casmir, being assisted by the Polish troops, for some time disputed the throne.

CASMIR, and his brother Ladislaus, advanced with a body of troops into Bohemia, where joining the Cetics, by whom he had been invited, he obtained several advantages over the Austrians, and great barbarities were committed by both sides. At length Albert assembled all his forces, of which he gave the command to the marquis of Brandenburg, who had acquired the appellation of the German Achilles, and then sent a defiance to the enemy, whom he attacked in their intrenchments, and compelled to retreat to Tabor. This action the marquis of Brandenburg made an irruption into Upper Poland; and this diversion obliging Ladislaus to retire for the defence of his own dominions, Albert returned to Prague, where he again exacted the oath of allegiance from the citizens, appointed the count de Celcy governor of Bohemia; and having taken other means for securing the tranquility of that kingdom, repaired to Breslau. Here he found Roderic, bishop of Burgos, deputed from the council of Basil, to negotiate a peace between him and his competitor for the Bohemian crown; but all the endeavours of this able minifter proved ineffectual, neither would he resign his pretensions; and all that the prelate could obtain was, that both would continue to own the authority of the council against the pope, who attempted to transfer it to Ferrara. At length, however, Albert's fortune prevailed; he differed with the forces of his competitor, made himself master of the whole kingdom, except one or two places.


(D) Sigismund had two wives. The first was Mary, daughter of Louis, king of Hungary, and the second Elizabeth, daughter of Herman, count of Celcy, by whom he had one daughter Elizabeth, wife of Albert, his successor (1).

Perhaps the empress Barbara owes part of this character to the enmity of the catholics, which she incurred by embracing the doctrines of Hug."

Mon. Hist. Vol. XI. Aa two

two places, which still held out for his antagonist, and was crowned at Prague with universal applause; after he had made an accommodation with those noblemen who had espoused the cause of Casmir, and promised, though unwillingly, to be governed by their advice."

The empress Barbara, about this time, having resigned her right to the fortresses of Hungary, was set at liberty, and accommodated with an allowance of 12,000 ducats a year. In the midst of his expedition against Casmir, Albert received the news of his being elected emperor at Frankfort, by the electors and princes there assembled, in order to conciliate measures for terminating the differences between the pope and the council of Bafif. He was, however, obliged to conceal his sentiments on his election, until he had obtained the consent of the states of Hungary, who had chosen him king on condition that he should not accept the imperial crown, in case he should be solicited to receive that honour; for the barons of Hungary alleged, that it was a great disadvantage to their state to be governed by an emperor, on the experience they had of Sigismund, who, while he was occupied in the affairs of Italy, Germany, and his other dominions, left the kingdom of Hungary exposed to the incursions of the Turks, who pillaged it with impunity. Nevertheless the states, feigning Albert strongly preferred to accept of the imperial dignity, consented to his elevation, rather than run the risk of losing a prince whose merit was so conspicuous.

But two days before he was declared emperor, the electors of the empire, perceiving that the council of Bafif and the pope did nothing but publish decrees against each other, resolved to adhere to neither side, until they should have deliberated six months upon their different claims. This was the beginning of the German neutrality, which was prolonged to the eighth year, and was equally disapproved by Eugenius and the council (E). Nevertheless, Albert was no sooner in possession of the imperial throne, than he sent ambassadors to the council, to renew the engagements of public faith and security which they had received from Sigismund: while the fathers, in return for this favour, granted him the money which had been raised by indulgences in Austria, on account of the arrival of the Greeks (F).

After his election and coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, his chief care was to reform the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice: he laid the tribunal of Abregues under proper restrictions; suppressed what was called the secret and Westphalia judgment, said to be as old as Charlemagne, in consequence of which people were condemned to death on simple information, without knowing the crime that was laid to their charge, until the very moment of their execution; and, yet, amidst all the salutary regulations, he never dreamed of abolishing the manner of proceeding observed at Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, where a person accused, or even suspected, of theft, is hanged upon the spot, and tried next day, when, if he is convicted, his body is left suspended on the gibbet; but if his innocence appears, his corpse is honourably interred at the public expense.

ALBRECHT confirmed the neutrality which had been embraced by the electors, and by their advice proposed, that a general council should be convoked in some third town, distinct from the assembly at Bafif, as well as from that which was maintained at Ferrara. Though both parties seemed averse to this proposal, the princes of the empire assembled at Merse, in order to facilitate the expedient: as a previous step to which, they agreed that the council of Bafif should be obliged to suspend the depositional of the pope, which was at that time the subject of their deliberations. The deputies of many European states, which were present on this occasion, approved of the step; yet the legates from the fathers would not acquiesce in this measure, but returned to Bafif; and those that were sent by the pope repaired to Merse, where they in vain employed all their efforts in persuading the princes to reject the council, after having protested against the neutrality.

Nevertheless, both pope and council courted the friendship of the emperor, and even exerted themselves in mediating a peace between Hungary and Poland. Their legates employed their influence in his favour, during the diet at Przemysl: and a congress being opened at Breslau in Silesia, a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that Albert should be

---

(E) Pope Eugenius having published bulls for transferring the council of Bafif to Ferrara, the electors, princes, and prelates, assembled at Frankfort, resolved to continue neutral, that they might be the more able to negotiate a pacification. With this laudable view they wrote letters to the fathers in council, the pope, and Paleologus, emperor of the Greeks, exhorting them to peace and unity, and intreating them to contribute their several endeavours to prevent a schism in the church (1).

(F) This was a sum of money raised to defray the expenses of the Greek emperor and the eastern princes, to the number of 700, who arrived this year in Italy, in order to celebrate an ecclesiastical council (2).

---

(1) Borri, tom. viii p. 407.
(2) Vide History of the Popes.
The history of Germany.

a. From his eldest daughter in marriage upon Ladislaus, and give his younger to prince Casimir together with the kingdom of Bohemia, by way of dower.

b. Hither to every thing succeeded prosperously with Albert, and his subjects began to prejudice happy things under his government, when Anschuth, sultan of the Turks, who had employed a whole year in preparing to invade Bulgaria, now resolved to put his design in execution. He accordingly entered that province, though it belonged to his own father-in-law, George, the duke or duxapo, and began his operations with the siege of Smedundia. Albert, who before his elevation to the imperial throne had rendered himself formidable to the infidels, and engaged in a treaty with this prince, armed for the defence of his ally, as well as of his hereditary dominions, which, in all probability, would be attacked in their turn, and took the field with such force as he could assemble in those kingdoms and in the empire; but in the midst of excessive heats, having indulged himself in eating a great quantity of fruit, he was attacked with a violent dyentery, which obliged him to quit Buda, in order to return to Vienna; but he never reached that city; for death overtook him in the road, at the village of Leog, and his body was interred at Weißenburg. He left the empire with child of a son, who was called Ladislaus, and by the bishop of Strignen, crowned king of Hungary, four months after his birth (G).

c. His death was no sooner known, than Frederic, son of Ernest, count of Tyrol, his nearest relation, was chosen administrator of Austria, by the states assembled at Vienna, until the empress should be delivered, that in case she should bring a prince into the world, he might take upon him the office of tutor; or if the fruit of her womb should be a female, succed to the duchy as coheir with his brother Albert.

d. At the same time the catholics and Calixtus of Bobemia laid aside their mutual animosity; and by the confluence of pathetic letters from the empress Elizabeth, assembled in a friendly manner at Prague, and resolved to wait for her delivery, before they would proceed to the election of a new king.

e. In the short course of Albert's reign, several diets of the empire were held in the city of Nuremberg. In one of these, at which were present a great number of princes, all Germany, except Bavaria and Austria, was divided into four circles; the first comprehended Bavaria and Franconia; the second including the countries about the Rhine, together with Allemannia; Wolfenbuttel and the Lower Countries were contained in the third; and the fourth was constituted by Saxony alone. In another diet it was proposed to divide the empire into fix circles; and this division was afterwards established and followed for the first time by the emperor Maximilian the first, as the death of Albert for the present frustrated the scheme. This prince having inherited the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia in quality of son-in-law of the emperor Sigismund, he may be said to have been the basis of that power and grandeur to which the house of Austria hath since attained. He was of a tall stature and extraordinary strength, liberal, just, and virtuous; he cherished a warm affection for his people, a great zeal for religion, and an uncommon esteem for learned men.

C H A P X.

Including the Emperor's Contests for the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary.

FREDERIC III.

AFTER the death of Albert, the electors, assembling at Frankfort, unanimously agreed to fill the vacant throne with Frederic of Austria, surnamed the Peace, son of Ernse of Austria, of the Stirian line, and Chimbrige, daughter of the duke of Mazovia; he was also cousin-german of his predecessor Albert, and no more than twenty-five years of age at his election (H). The electors had at first agreed to name Lewis III., landgrave of Hesse, as Albert's successor; but he having declined the dignity, on account of the troubles in which the empire was involved, all the suffrages were reunited in favour of Frederic, and the archbishop of Triers was sent to Vienna to notify his election, and invite him to come and take possession of the throne.


(G) He had by the false venter two daughters, Elizabeth and Ann, the first married to Casimir, prince of Poland, and the other to William, duke of Saxony. There was likewise another son, who died in his infancy.

(H) This prince is by some called Frederic IV., and by others Frederic V. but the greatest number of writers give him the denomination of Frederic III. because the last Frederic of Austria, who was only chosen by part of the electors, afterwards renounced his pretensions to the crown, and the election of Frederic of Branitsic was not according to form; so that neither the one nor the other are invested in the number of the emperors.

(1) Heis, lib. iii. ch. 1.
The history of Germany.

We have already observed, that the infant Ladislaus was crowned king of Hungary by the cardinal archbishop of Strigimania. This ceremony was no sooner performed, than his mother Elizabeth carried him to Vienna, and put him under the protection of the emperor, to screen him from the ill offices of one part of his subjects, who had actually offered the crown to Ladislaus, king of Poland, and concluded a treaty with him on that subject.

As for Bohemia, it was still divided between the catholics and Calixtins, the former of whom were inclined to appoint administrators, until the young Ladislaus should be capable of assuming the reins of government: but Piaseck, at the head of the Calixtins, made violent efforts in favour of a new election, and even sent ambassadors to Munich, to notify to Albert, elector of Bavaria, that they had elevated him to the throne of Bohemia; that prince, however, having made proper acknowledgments for their good opinion and intended favour, declined interfering with the interests of the lawful heir.

Being disappointed in this quarter, the Calixtins agreed to assemble with the catholics, in order to provide for the security of the kingdom; and as it appeared absolutely necessary to appoint some person who should take upon him the administration of affairs, they pitched upon the emperor, who desired to be excused from accepting such a troublesome office. Nay, such was the moderation of this prince, that when the states of Bohemia made him a tender of their crown, he refused their offer, protesting he would prefer it for Ladislaus, the son of Albert II. his relation and pupil, whom he considered as the lawful heir of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary.

The Bohemians having suffered these two repulses, proceeded to the election of administrators from among their fellow subjects, when Piaseck was chosen by the Calixtins, and Masson-novice by the catholics; and their government was for some time very quiet, thole of both communions enjoying full liberty of conscience.

Mean while the king of Poland, alighted by the famous Humiades, mother of young Ladislaus; tho' his progress was soon stopped by his German allies, commanded by a Bohemian gentleman called John Gifora, who gave surprising proofs of his gaiantry and conduct. Pope Eugenius being informed of these troubles in Hungary, sent cardinal Julian thereto to negotiate a peace, which was effected on these conditions: That the king of Poland should be declared regent of Hungary, during the minority of Ladislaus, and succede him on the throne, in case he should die without issue; that the Pole should espouse queen Elizabeth's eldest daughter, and his brother Calvin take the younger to wife; and that all the acts and military promotions made in Hungary by the king of Poland should be confirmed.

While these measures were taken for restoring the peace of Hungary, the knights of the Teutonic order were guilty of such outrages and oppression in the neighborhood of Czum, that the nobility entered into an association for their mutual defence, and the difference was referred to the arbitration of the emperor, who decided in favour of the knights; this sentence reduced the states of Prussia to such despair, that they revolted from the Teutonic order, and acknowledged the king of Poland as their sovereign, after he had promised to confirm the rights and privileges of Prussia.

Frederic, in the beginning of his reign, made sundry regulations touching the administration of justice, the police, and coin of the empire; nor did he manifest less concern in his endeavours to extingush ia the schism that still continued in the church. He convoked several diets, to deliberate upon this subject, in consequence of an embassy which he received at the same time from Eugenius and the council of Bafil, which had elected to the papacy Amadeus, duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix. These ambassadors attended him during his coronation at Dux-la-Chapelle, which being performed, they returned to the assembly at Frankfort (1), where each party pleaded their own cause; and, after long debates it was agreed, that the empire should still adhere to the neutrality, until another council should be convoked in some part of Germany, in order to determine all difference, and reestablish the tranquility of the church. Deputies were accordingly sent to notify what had passed to the fathers of the council at Bafil, and to pope Eugenius at Florence, though the behaviour of the states of the empire on this occasion was agreeable to neither party.

Mean while Frederic set out in perforn for Bafil, where he exhorted the fathers to concord and accommodation with Eugenius, and had an interview with Felix, whom, however, he would not acknowledge as pope, though he is said to have been tempted with an offer of

(1) This diet farther regulations were made touching the combat proof, the secret judgment of Wrypialis, and the current coin, the precise value of which was now afferented; and the pala families, between the houses of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, were confirmed (1).

The history of Germany.

A. D. 1442.

Albrecht Frederic failed in his efforts to abolish this chasm in the church, he was more successful in the war which he carried on against his brother Albert VI, surnamed the Prudent. This prince, under the pretext of having been defrauded of his share of his father's cistume, had assembled some forces, with the assistance of Walric de Celcy, and several other noblemen, besieged the city of Laubach, the capital of Carniola, and suffered a repulse from the inhabitants, supported by some Augsbrugian troops which had come to their succour. Albert being incapable of paying the auxiliaries, they abandoned his cause, and resolved to invade Austria, in order to extort money from Frederic the emperor. They accordingly began their ravages, and the disorders continued till Frederic was obliged to set on foot a treaty with his brother, to whom he paid a certain sum of money, and yielded Sankt, and his territories bordering upon the Swis, for the space of six years. He was likewise obliged to gratify his brother's soldiers with 20,000 ducats, before they would desist from the rapine and robbery which they had so long practised with impunity.

During all these disputes, the war had still raged between the king of Denmark and the princes of Holstein; and now, in the 18th year of this dispute, an accommodation took place between the contending parties, who agreed, that count Adolphus should retain, during life, the portion of Slesvock which he then possessed, together with the isle of Tenemsen and Jelise Friesland; but that on the expiration of two years after his death, the king of Denmark and his heirs should submit to a fair trial of his pretensions. In consequence of this treaty, the towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, Lauenburg, and Wismar, made their submission to his Danish majesty, who did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of this pacification.

He resolved to settle the suzerainty upon his nephew Burgkhausen, duke of Pomerania; and this attempt, so contrary to the liberties of Denmark, the crown of which was elective, gave such difficulties to the states, that they summoned him to the diet at Harfou, and he refusing to appear, they deprived him of the sovereign power, and elected Christoph of Brunswick, who was acknowledged king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and solemnly crowned at Kopen by the archbishop of Lund.

This revolution was succeeded by a war between the Augsbrugians and Swis, which engrossed the emperor's whole attention. A difference had happened between the Swis and the city of Zurich, on account of Toggenburg, and of its having put itself under the protection of the emperor, who not only refused to confirm the privileges of the Swis, but likewise demanded the restitution of all the territories which they had wrested from the house of Austria. The inhabitants of Zurich refusing to renounce the treaty which they had made with the emperor, the Swis had recourse to arms, and actually invested the city. Frederic, in this dilemma, demanded succours against the Swis from the princes of the empire, not one of whom would take the field in his behalf. He then solicited the assistance of Charles VII of France, who sent the dauphin his son into Germany, at the head of 40,000 men, although he had only engaged to furnish 5000; for whom the emperor promised to find five free quarters in Alsace. The king of France may have been induced, by several motives, to lend such a considerable army into the empire. Perhaps he wanted to revenge an irruption which had been made by the governor of Montbeillard into the territories of France. He might have had designs upon Alsace: his intention might have been to assist Rene, duke of Lorain, to make himself master of the city of Mentz; and it is not improbable that he was solicited to make such a powerful armament by Sigismund of Austria, or pope Eugenius, in order to disolve the council of Bafel. Be that as it will, the dauphin approached this city at the head of his army, in which were 8000 English, under the name of auxiliaries. The Swis, though few in number, not only kept the field, but also gave them battle, but they were almost all cut in pieces by the French cavalry, who nevertheless, paid dear for the victory (L). About the same time the Swis received another check be

1 Fugger, l. v. c. 5.

(K) About this time the art of printing was first invented, or at least first known in Europe. The Dutch ascribe this excellent and happy invention to Laurentius Fugger, an inhabitant of Augsburg, while the city of Mentz attributes it to a gentleman of their city, called John Gutenberg; and others contend for John Mainlich, and John Fugger, inhabitants of the same place (1).


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. B b fore
before Zurich, which obliged them to raise the siege, and the dauphin returned to Germany. He thought proper, however, to seize upon Montbéliard, and some other cities of Alsace.

In the midst of these transactions, Ladislaus, king of Poland, taking advantage of his namecake's minority and ableness, as well as of the sloth of the emperor, who neglected the interest of his people; encouraged, I say, by these favourable circumstances, the Pole formed a strong party in Hungary, and was actually acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. Immediately after his elevation, he, at the desire of pope Eugenius, excommunicated Stephen, despot of Rascia, whom Amurath had stripped of his dominions, and raising an army of Poles, Walachians, Germans, and Bobemians, under the command of the gallant Gifer, he passed the Danube, made himself master of the town of Sophia, and by the valour and conduct of his general Hunniades, obtained a complete victory over the Turkish army, commanded by the famous Scanderbeg, who, by the bye, was suspected of partiality towards the Christians.

Amurath was greatly disheartened by this defeat, especially as he found himself attacked on one side by Ibrahim, prince of Cicilia, and on the other side by Scanderbeg, who immediately after this battle revolted, declaring himself a Christian, and took possession of Albania, which was his paternal inheritance. The Soltan therefore, in this emergency, sued for peace, which was ratified on conditions very advantageous to the Hungarians, and solemnly sworn to by Ladislaus, who, nevertheles, regards of his oath, from which he was abdowed by the pope, and infuriated by the Greek emperor Paleologus, he and Hunniades refumed their arms, and inviting Scanderbeg to join them, advanced by the way of Torace towards the Exime sea. They came into the Turkish army, commanded by Amurath in person, at a village called Varna, where a bloody battle ensued, in which Ladislaus lost his life, Hunniades his liberty, and the Christian army was entirely defeated.

The fate of Ladislaus was no sooner known in Poland, than the diet, assembling at Czecovia, elected his brother Casmir in his room; and the Hungarians having in vain solicited the emperor to send his young pupil as their king, committed the administration of their kingdom to Hunniades, whom they revered as the favour of their country. This general having been ransomed after the battle of Varna, had defeated the Turks in Upper Mecia, and compelled the count de Celery, though the emperor's father-in-law, to do homage for his dominions to the kingdom of Hungary.

The states assembled at Pafi, sent deputies to the emperor to demand their crown, which had been delivered to him by queen Elizabeth; and, upon his refusal to give it up, they resolved to obtain it by force of arms. With this view they declared war against him, and Hunniades, at the head of 10,000 chosen men, made an irruption to the very gates of Vienna, from whence he returned to Presburg laden with booty, and terrified the emperor to such a degree, that he durst not quit the fortresses of Neufhald, until a truce for three years was established by the good offices of the count de Celery.

By this time the Bobemians, tired and harrowed by the factions supported by their two administrators, began to long for the arrival of their young king, under whose authority they hoped peace and union might be re-established in the kingdom. Mean while, Piacezky dying, the Hulafaes elected George de Podiebrad in his place, that he might counterbalance the power of Maxim Neur, who was their enemy; and their religious disputes continuing, the diet of the kingdom was convened at Prague, where it was resolved to send one embassy to the emperor to demand their young king, and another to the pope, soliciting the confirmation of their archbishop Ruckzane, who had been excommunicated by the court of Rome.

FREDERICK's attention was at this period employed in contriving expedients for defending the dominions of the empire from the troops of the dauphin, called Armagnacs, which committed terrible ravages in Alsace; when the princes of the empire, incensed at these hostilities, resolved to take arms against France, and entrusted Lewis count palatine with the conduct of that expedition; but, before things came to that extremity, a diet was held at Spire, in which, by the mediation of the archbishops of Cologne and Fries, who were in the French interest, ambassadors were sent to the dauphin to demand satisfaction, upon which he nominated five perons of rank as his deputies, who had orders to declare, in his name, that, as the emperor had invited him into Germany, he insisted upon a confirmation of the treaties made with the mobility of Alsace, and upon having winter-quarters assigned to his troops, otherwise the hostilities should be continued. The French had been for some time in possession of Laufnburg, Sickingen, and some other places; but, not contented with these, they likewise demanded Brijeac and Fribourg; finally, they proposed that Sigismond duke of Austria should repair to France, and compound the marriage

---

See the History of Hungary.  
Bonfin. Decal. iii. l. vii.  
with
a with the daughter of king Charles, the dauphin's father, and for that purpose remit the jewels and money which had been left to them by Frederick of Austria. To these demands the emperor replied by the mouth of Albert of Brandenburg, that he had indeed solicited the king of France for a succour of 5000 men, but had never dreamed he would send 40,000; and that, by the custom of Germany, the treasuries and jewels of princes always devolved to their successeurs. At length it was agreed, that the dauphin should retreat with his troops from the territories of the empire, and that the Germans should demand no reparation for the damage they had sustained.

The dauphin's retreat did not re-establish the peace of Alsfeld; for the troops of the count palatine plundered the sieges belonging to the noblemen and towns that favoured the French, and the Austrians committed the same excesses upon the territory of Bafì, which was in alliance with the Switz. These outrages were retorted with great rancour upon the lands, subjects, and allies, of the house of Austria, and the whole country became a scene of rapine, cruelty, and confusion, until peace and order were restored by the mediation of the elector palatine; the marquis of Baden, and the count of Sulbenberg.

These troubles being appeased, the electors of the empire assembled at Frankfurt on account of Theodor archbishop of Cologne, and James archbishop of Trier, whom Eugenius had deposed, because they adhered to Felix and the council of Bafì, agreed among themselves, that unless Eugenius would declare their deposition void, supposes the taxes with which the German nation was burdened by the court of Rome, and own the authority of councils, such as it had been declared at Constance, they would adhere to the sentence which had been pronounced against him at the council of Bafì. This resolution being intimated to Frederick, he sent Atnas Sylvius, his secretary, to Eugenius, exhorting him to receive the electors of the empire with more respect, and, above all things, to restore the archbishops to their former dignity, if he expected to see an end of that schism which divided the church. His remonstrances had such weight with Eugenius, that he promised to be swayed by the emperor's advice; and sent ambassadors to another assembly at Frankfurt, in which certain articles of accommodation were proposed, and afterwards ratified at Rome.

The fathers of the council of Bafì, finding themselves in danger of being utterly deserted, had, a little before this accommodation, published a decree, in which, after having observed, that the best method for removing the schism would be to hold a new council, they prescribed their readiness to concur with that expedient, and agree to any place that should be pitched upon by the emperors and electors assembled at the diet of Frankfurt. But no measures could be contrived to heal the divisions that still remained in Bohemia. The politicians convoked diets after diet, without being able to form any resolution, but that of sending another deputation to demand the submission of the emperor, who would not even indulge them with an audience. In vain did the pope send cardinal Carvajal to pacify the troubles at Prague: though the catholics and Maien Neuve submitted to the directions of the holy see, Pedicribad and his Houstes persuaded the people that the pope and Frederick intended to deprive them of their religious liberties; and taking advantage of the commotion they had raised, attacked and imprisoned Maien Neuve, who died in a few days after this misfortune, not without suspicion of poison. In consequence of his death, Pedicribad remained in peaceable possession of Prague and the whole kingdom, and Rockenau was re-established in his cathedral.

Just as Bohemia began to repose from the horrors of a civil and religious war, Alsfeld was involved in fresh confusion by a quarrel between Frederick elector palatine and the counts of Lutzelstein, who declared war against him on pretence of his having feasted their cattle of Einertzhabren, and plundered their subjects. They first of all wrote him a letter, containing a detail of their grievances, and then committed hostileilities on his lands and officers. Frederick, incensed at their presumption, levied a numerous army, and, investing the castle of Lutzelstein, carried on the siege with such vigour, that notwithstanding the brave defence made by count James, who commanded the besieged, he was fain to make his escape over the Palatine's intrenchments, and the garrison surrendered upon honourable conditions. As for the counts, they were obliged to go in quest of a livelihood in some other country, where they died without issue, after having made some fruitless efforts to relieve their cattle.

The emperor concerned himself very little in these private quarrels, so much was he engrossed in the affairs of religion; however, his endeavours to terminate the schism were at last crowned with successes; for about this time he prevailed with Felix to abdicate upon certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V. who had succeeded Eugenius (N).

For in Alsfeld, the Counts of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and the Counts of Lutzelstein, who left their all.

(N) In the year 1447, pope Nicholas, after his election, sent a legate into Germany, to take cognizance of certain grievances touching church benefices, of which the Germans loudly complained. These grievances were according.
The history of Germany.

FREDERIC, who acknowledged Nicholas for lawful pope, had ordered the inhabitants of Bafil to put an end to the council which was held in their city, and dismiss the fathers of it before the feast of St. Martin. To this first order, which was published on Michaelmas-day, the citizens of Bafil having paid no regard, the emperor, towards the latter end of the same year, sent to them a second imperial decree, and afterwards a third, in which he threatened to put them to the ban of the empire for disobedience. In consequence of these menaces, the fathers were obliged to transfer their council to Layvanne, where they earnestly exerted their endeavours to terminate the schism; and this grand affair was afterwards concluded, on condition that Fidelis should renounce the papacy in favour of Nicholas, who should confirm the decrees of the synod of Bafil.  

FREDERIC, besides his endeavour to re-establish the peace of the church, employed his good offices, though in vain, to terminate a contest, which had lasted some years, between the city of Nuremberg and Albert marquis of Brandenburg, who was distinguished by the appellation of The German Arctiles (O). The city pretended to be free, and independent of any other sovereignty than that of the emperor and the empire; while the marquisses of Brandenburg, being likewise burgraves of Nuremberg, affirmed, that not only the city, but all the country adjacent belonging to the city, depended upon and held by their burgraves. This dispute was gradually inflamed to an open war. Albert, by the affiance of seventeen provinces of the empire, who were his friends or relations, had raised a strong army, with which he attacked the city; and the magistrates and burghers of Nuremberg, being well provided with ammunition, provision, and men, which they received from several imperial cities, sustained the siege with great bravery and resolution. In a word, the war being maintained on both sides in ravaging and ruining the little towns, boroughs, and villages, in the neighbourhood, together with the whole adjacent country, both sides were constrained, by the dearth of provisions, to listen to proposals of peace, which was accordingly concluded.

In the course of this year Christoph of Bavaria, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, dying, was succeeded by Christoph II. son of Theodor of Oldenburg, from whom the present king of Denmark is descended; but the Swedes, being tired of a foreign dominion, elevated Canefon their grand marshall to the throne of that kingdom; and at the same time he had adrest enough to acquire the sovereignty of Norway by the unanimous election of the states of that antient monarchy, to which he repaired; and, after his coronation at Drammen, conferred the charge of the administration upon two principal noblemen of the country.

HUNGARY being again threatened by Amurath, Hunniades made preparation for giving him a warm reception; and, hurried on by the imperiosity of his courage, paddled the Danube, and advanced to the frontiers of Bulgaria, in order to stop the soltan in the midst of his career. Though his troops were greatly inferior in number to the Turks, he attacked them with an undaunted valour; but, after having maintained the battle three days, was at length overpowered, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of the nobility, together with the pope’s legate, were left dead upon the spot; and Hunniades himself, after having sustained incredible hardships in making his escape, fell into the hands of George, delpot of Raffia, who would not release him until he had given one of his sons as hostage.

One would imagine the inhabitants of Ladislaus had been in a peculiar manner destined to unceasing calamities. The Catholics of Bohemia, being oppressed by Podiebrad and Calixtinus, had recourse to arms, and the war revived with all its former vivacity, tho’ it was in a little time suspended by a truce; during which the states assembled at Ceskow, in order to concert measures for appeasing the troubles; and the party of Podiebrad proposed,

* FUGGER. I. v.

accordingly diffused in presence of the emperor and the ecclesiastical and secular princes, and certain articles agreed upon, under the name of Concordato, which were afterwards confirmed and ratified by the pope. Thenceforward, which are almost as famous as the articles of the golden bull, shall, for the information of the reader, be inferred at the end of this history.

(O) The foundation of Albert’s claim was this: Frederic IV. his father, had appropriated to himself the title of burgrave of Nuremberg, not that he had any right of sovereignty over the city, but only because he had acquired a sort of right of proceding, from having frequently asisted it against his neighbours. The emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, had, in the year 1315, mortgaged Nuremberg to Ladislaus of Austria, who did not enjoy it above twenty years; for the people, having thrown off his yoke, entered into an association with the Swiss cantons for the mutual defence of their liberties, and engaged in their confederacy the cities of Constance, Baaé, and Strauburg, which still retained their freedom (1). This Albert was distinguished by the names of the German Achille and the Fox of Germany. He was a prince of great personal prowess, and abounded with all the fratagems of war; was remarkable for his vivacity, eloquence, and craft, as well as for the innumerable fears with which his whole body was covered (2).

(1) Remarq. for Heifs, I. iii. c. 2. (2) Cambus, Epist. I. vi.  

that
The history of Germany.

a that they should elect a sovereign from among the natives, without exposing themselves to further repulses from the emperor; but the majority were of opinion, that they should send another embassy to redeem Ladislaus; and Podiebrad alluding to this proposal, it was forthwith put in execution.

FREDERIC, however, still excused himself, on account of the minority of his pupil; but being alarmed at the design of the Hapsburgs, he sent his secretary Aenaeus Sylvius to remonstrate to the Bohemian diet upon the injustice and ingratitude they should be guilty of in chucking another king to the prejudice of Ladislaus, whose ancestors had laid their country under such obligations.

In a word, this minister, by his ability, eloquence, and ingenuitie addressed, dissipated the Bohemians to acquiesce in the conduct of the emperor, who promised to send Ladislaus to Prague, as soon as he should be capable of performing the kingly function; and at the same time he gained over Podiebrad to the interest of Frederic, who afterwards acknowledged his services, by creating his two sons princes of Mährischberg.

The peace of Bohemia being thus restored, and the important dispute touching the council in which all Christendom had been interested, happily compromised, Frederic began to direct his attention to the affairs of Italy. Upon the death of Philip Maria, the last of the family of Galesio, who, had no legitimate male issue, several pretenders to the succession started up, though the duchy, as a fee, of right devolved to the empire. Nevertheless, Alphonso, king of Naples, demanded it, on pretence, that the last duke had declared him his heir. On the other hand, Charles duke of Orléans, son of Valentina, who was daughter of John Tasso, the first duke of Milan, claimed that duchy by virtue of his mother's contract of marriage; in which it was expressly stipulated, that her children should succeed to the duchy of Milan, in case her brother should die without heirs male; and this clause was confirmed by the pope's approbation.

The third competitor was Francis Sforza, one of the greatest warriors of his time, who, having married Blanche Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria Galesio, by whom he was also adopted, aspired to the possession of his fortune, and resolved to support his pretensions by force of arms. The city of Milan was of course divided into factions, who espoused the cause of this or that pretender; but the people, desirous of profiting by this occasion, chose twelve perfons, into whose hands they put the administration of the state, and offered a certain annual sum to the emperor, provided he would allow the city to be erected into a republic. Mean while the succession of duke Philip became a prey to all who had inclination and force to seize it. Placentia, Cremona, and Lodi, fell into the hands of the Venetians; the duke of Savoy made himself master of Valenza and Conflant; other territories were usurped by other powers; and Francis Sforza attached himself to the city of Milan, the siege of which he undertook in form. The inhabitants, seeing themselves thus invested, had recourse to Frederic, who sent two of his ministers to assist them with their advice. The besieged offered to put themselves wholly under his power, provided he would raise the siege; but after having in vain waited for succours two months, and endured the utmost extremity of want, they were fain to capitulate, and open their gates to the conqueror.

Next year Frederic resolved upon a journey to Italy, in order to be crowned at Rome, with Eleonora, sister of the king of Portugal, to whom he was contractcd in marriage, and whom he had promised to meet at Sienna. Mean while he dispatched Aenaeus Sylvius, with an intimation of his design, to the pope, who, at first seemed very well disposed for his reception; but was afterwards so terrified by the influences of the dukes of Milan and other Italian noblemen, who represented Frederic as an ambitious prince, who wanted to invade the ecclesiastical dominions, that he sent his secretary to diffiduate the emperor from his journey, as an expedition impracticable in the winter. But Aenaeus Sylvius, who tarried at Sienna, being informed of his apprehensions, found means to disipel them so effectually, that Nicholas no longer dreaded the views of the emperor, whom he now invited to Rome with great cordiality; for, at bottom, he was ambitious of having the honour to confer the imperial crown.

FREDERIC's departure, however, was retarded by a revolt in Vienna, excited by a Bavarian gentleman, called Eifinger, who had quarrelled with the emperor about the purchase of a castle belonging to the duke of Austria. He alleged, that Frederic had defrauded him of his purchase, and in order to be revenged, instigated the Austrian noblemen to assemble at Meiiberg, and demand that the emperor would send Ladislaus among them, otherwise they would renounce his authority, and expel the governor, whom he had established. The malecontents afterwards entering Vienna, raised an insurrection among the people, and finally, being joined by the counts of Celicy, ravaged all the towns, villages,

* Anton. lib. xx. c. 12.  
* Mod. Hist. Vol. xi. c c
The history of Germany.

and lands, belonging to the friends and adherents of Frederic, who, having tried to appease these disorders by remonstrances, invested the duke of Austria with full power and authority to levy troops for opposing the progres of the rebellion; and, in the mean time, he himself departed for Italy, accompanied by young Ladislaus, and great part of the Bohemian and Hungarian nobility. The princess Eleanora at the same time embarked at Lisbon; and arriving at Pisa, was conducted to Sienna, where she found the emperor waiting to receive her.* Frederic was met, just as he crost the Alps, by the ambassadors of Venice, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence (O): from thence he repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambassadors from Francis Sforza duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where he should receive the iron crown; and here too he was waited upon by the deputies of Florence and Bologna, who craved the honour of entertaining him at these cities, which he accordingly visited: from Florence he took the route of Sienna, where (as we have already observed) he was joined by the princes Eleanora, attended by a splendid and numerous retinue; and in this city he gave audience to the pope’s legates, who represented to him, that by antient custom, and established right, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of St. Peter’s patrimony; and demanded, that, if he designed to proceed, he should conform to the same practice. Frederic, in this particular, complied with the desire of his holiness (P).

While he spent a few days in this place, until the princes should be recovered from the fatigue of her voyage, which had been long and dangerous, he was solicited for recommendation to the court of Rome by the chief of an embassy from the Augrians, who presented them be sent by the flers to request some favours of his holiness; but Frederic, suspecting his sincerity, ordered his papers and instructions to be feizd, and found that this deputation was from Esinger, and the malecontents, who represented Frederic to the pope and cardinals as a tyrant, oppressor, and usurper of the dominions belonging to young Ladislaus; and gave the college to understand, that for these reasons they had withdrawn themselves from his authority. These remonstrances might have operated at the court of Rome to the prejudice of the emperor, had not he luckily made this discovery; in consequence of which he anticipated the malice of the Augrians, and found means to justify himself to the pope in such a manner, that his holiness entered into his resentment, and promised to excommunicate the rebels as soon as Frederic should be in a condition to challeud them with the temporal sword.

The emperor was received at Viterbo with great splendor, according to the directions of Nicholas. Nevertheless, a great tumult happened when he approached the palace at which he was to alight. Some young people, who had taken possession of an elevated place, drew towards them with iron hooks, the cloth of gold that adorned the canopy under which the emperor rode; and a dispute arising among themselves, it was torn to pieces. This example encouraged others to practice the same licence. The pope’s followers advancing, endeavoured to pull the emperor from his horse, which they imagined

---

4 Etn. Syl. vit. Fred. II. p. 136. 5 Barre, t. vii. p. 528.

(O) When he was about to depart from that city, a curious cup-board of glass was brought as a present from the inhabitants, and placed upon a table in his apartment. It was scarce ferdown, when his jester, directed by his nod, shook the table to such a degree, that the cup-board fell off, and broke into a thousand pieces; upon which the emperor observed with a smile, that, if it had been made of gold, it would not have met with such a misfortune; a hint, in consequence of which he was afterwards presented with some other curiosities of that precious metal (1).

(F) The oath which the emperor took, was conceived in these terms: “Sanctissimo Domino nostro, domino Nicippo, Divina Providence, poteffam pervenerit, fuisse sanctia reddam. Et cuiscunque Italicum regnum committero, jurare faciam illum, ut adjutor fuisse sanctia sit ad defendendant terram S. Petri feendum solum potes: fie me Deus adjuvet, et hae sancta Dei Evangelia (2).”

Thus englighed: “To our most holy lord, Nicholas, by the Divine Providence, pope, I, Frederic king of the Romans, promise and swear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the word of the vivifying eluid, and of these relics of saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come to Rome, I will exalt the holy Roman church, and his holines, who presides over it, to the height of my power. Neither shall I lose life, limb, nor honour, by my will, counsel, consent, or exhor- tation. Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law or decree, touching those things that belong to his holiness or the Romans, without your advice. Whatever part of St. Peter’s property shall fall into our hands, we will reduce to his holiness; and he, to whom we shall commit the administration of our kingdom of Italy, shall swear to affix his holiness in defending St. Peter’s territory to the best of his power. So help me God, and his Holy Evangelists.”

(1) Dobr. lib. xxviii. (2) Peggr. lib. v. c. 7. n. 4.

would
The history of Germany.

a would become the property of that person who should have address enough to seize him; and others, still more prepotent, attempted to snatch off his hat, which they saw adorned with a jewel of great value. In the midst of this tumult, Frederic turning towards the legates, "I find, said he, we must make use of our hands, and think of repelling force by force." With these words he snatched a staff from one of his domestics, and, disengaging himself from those who attacked him, wheeled about, put spurs to his horse, and charged them with great fury, overturning all that stood in his way. The legates followed the example of the emperor, and, arming themselves with the same kind of weapons, employed them to the same purpose. The gentlemen of Frederic's retinue drew their swords, rushed among the crowd, and this sort of battle lasted upwards of an hour; when the populace, being no longer able to resist the blows and wounds which were dealt among them, betook themselves to flight. The governor of the Patrimony, who was the pope's own nephew, committed several of those seductive people to prison; but Frederic, who was more apt to forgive than to revenge an insult, interposed in their behalf, and obtained their release.

From Viterbo, Frederic repaired to Rome, accompanied by the empress and the young king of Bohemia and Hungary, who was still under his tutelage. He was no sooner in the flight of that capital, than the whole college of cardinals went out to meet him; and as it was customary for the emperor, who went thither to be crowned, to stay some time before the town, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched before the walls, where he passed that night.

Next day he made a public entry, and was crowned king of Lombardy, notwithstanding the representations of the deputies of Milan, who protested against this coronation, which was performed at the request of the emperor, on account of the plague of Milam, as well as of the umbrage which that city had given to Frederic, in embracing the yoke of a stranger, to the prejudice of the empire, to which it properly belonged.

The cardinals, being consulted upon this subject, were of opinion, that the pope, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, could confer the crown of Lombardy, and that the emperor's request ought not to be refused; tho' they instituted a new oath, which he took upon the occasion. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to Eleonora, and with her received the imperial crown; then he and the pope ratified the Concordat of the German nation, touching the collation of prelacies and other benefices, which had been some years before agreed to by cardinal Carojus, his legate in Germany. A few days after his marriage he and the empress set out for Naples, on a visit to king Alphonso, who was her uncle. There being treated with incredible magnificence, during Holy Week and Easter, he returned to Rome, where, in two orations spoken publicly by his secretary, he returned thanks to the pope and cardinals for the great favours he had received, and exhorted them to promote the general peace, or military expedition, in favour of the Greeks against the Mahometans. (Q.)

Having transacted his affairs at Rome, he departed from that city on his return to Germany, and in his passage thro' Ferrara was waited upon by Borso marquis of Efora, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio. There also he knighted Galeazzo, son of Francis duke of Milan, a youth of most engaging behaviour and great expectation. Being afterwards royally received at Venice, he quitted Italy, leaving behind him a very contemptible character, both in point of understanding and liberality; nor was he altogether pleased with the success of his journey, as having had occasion to see a great many territories of the empire usurped by those who had no other right to possess them, than that which was derived by force of arms. The duke of Milan had applied to him for the invective of his duchy, which the emperor refused to grant, unless he would agree to pay him a certain yearly sum, or put him in possession of the city of Como and Parma.

On his return to Austria he found himself involved in abundance of difficulties, particularly in a dispute with the Hungarians, who had often intreated him to send home their king Ladislaus, whom they still detained at his court, on pretence of being guardian to that young prince. They had likewise, by the most earnest repeated instances, besought him to restore their crown and regalia, which were in his custody; but he found means, under various pretences, to postpone his compliance with their demands. The Hungarians being joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by several princes of the empire, sent another deputation to expostulate with them upon the same subject; but he still lent a deaf ear to their request, and amusing them with fresh evasions, till at length, tired with his exertions, he left Hungary; the Hungarians, who force him on an accommodation. (£)

(1) Nauclerus, Gener. 49.
The history of Germany.

cuces, and provoked by his delays, they had recourse to arms, took the field under the
conduct of Eifinger, surprised and besieged him at Neufhad; and compelled him to
sign an accommodation; in which it was concluded, that Ladislaus, being yet of too ten-
der an age to take upon him the administration of his kingdom, he should be put under
the tuition of Ulric count Celisy, his uncle by the mother's side, and the dipute, touch-
ing the wardship of the emperor, should be dispuised and determined at Vienna.

Count Celisy's ambition increased with the power which he derived from being govern-
or of Ladislaus. He attempted to make himself absolute master in Austria: he secured
the principal fortresses, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and gradually
removed Eifinger and the Austrian nobility from all offices of importance, which he
bestowed upon his own friends and favourites.

These proceedings gave great umbrage to the people; and Eifinger profiting by their
discontent, routed their renomentum to such a degree, that the count was obliged to retire
to his own country, after having delivered up the person of Ladislaus, who confounded
to take the oath imposed upon him by the Bohemians, and repaired to Prague, where he
was crowned with great solemnity.

During these contests, Mahomet II. succeeding his father Amurat II. and being equally
ambitious of extending his conquest, subdued the rest of Greece, took the city of Constan-
tinople by assault, in which the emperor Constan tine Paleologus was slain with all his followers.

By this expedition the Roman empire in the east was utterly annihilated, under a prince of
the name with whom it owed its beginning; and the Turks at that time seemed to be bent upon
adding the western empire to their conquest. This progres of the Maho-
ometans alarmed the princes of Christendom, and induced them to unite, in order to check
the career of the common enemy. A diet was convoked at Ratisbon on this subject, and
the members unanimously agreed, that there was a necessity for taking some speedy me-
thods to stop the progress of the infidels; but what these methods should be, was a con-
federation referred to another assembly at Frankfurt, where, though there was a great
concurrence of princes, and a vaft appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common
caufe. It was agreed, indeed, that the Hungarians should be reinforced with ten thousand
horse and two-and-thirty thousand infantry; and that the electors and princes should re-
pair to Neufhad, to concert measures with the emperor for raffing these troops. Pope
Nicolas dying in the interim was succeeded by Calixtus III. who lent legates to all the
princes in Christendom, exhorting them to engage in a crusade; and all of them expressed
abundance of zeal for the interests of Christianity: but, how promising these appearances
might be, they produced very little effect to the advantage of the common cause. The
pope himself, indeed, by dint of prebents and solicitations excited the sophi of Perfa
to make a diversion on his side, while the Christians should attack them on the other.

The Germans, by the exhortations and remonstrances of cardinal Carvajal, legate of the holy see
in that country, were prevailed upon to raffe troops and send them to Hunniades, who alone
sustained the efforts of the Mahometans in Hungary. Reinforced by these succours he
marched directly to Belgrade, which was inveeted by Mahomet, and, after a very obinute
engagement, compelled him to raffe the siege, and retreat with the loss of 40,000 men
killed on the spot. But Hunniades dying a few days after of a fever, occasioned by the
fatigue he had undergone in the battle, the Christians were too disconcerted by the loss of
their general, that in minding their own particular affairs, they utterly abandoned the com-
mon cause. Indeed all the schemes, which had for two years been projected for the sup-
port of this holy war, proved abortive, thro' the interruptions occasioned by particular
quarrels in Germany as well by the sloth and timidity of the emperor himself; for Frederic,
notwithstanding the preffing inffances of the pope, the zeal and industry of the legate Car-
vajal, who had effectually the convocation of two diets to deliberate upon measures for the
support of this war, preching up the crusade with great energy and eloquence; I say,
notwithstanding these incitements, the emperor would never heartily embark in the under-
taking. He even declined an interview with Philip duke of Burgundy, who had come into
Germany on purpose to confer with him and the princes on that subjedt; being in all
probability, averse to a war, which would infallibly expose him to danger and expecne.

Besides, a misunderstanding happened between pope Calixtus III. and the princes of
the empire. Frederic had sent an ambaffador to congratulatet the new pope upon his ele-
cration, and to affurn him of his implicit obedience. This step he had taken contrary to
the inclination of some electors, who ufed their utmost endeavors to persuade him, that
it was time to bridle the power of the popes, who could not reasonably expecet to be obeyed,
until they should have granted better conditions; for the Germans were much more op-
prefsed by them than either the Italians or French. The electors of the Rhine alfo affem-

- Coel. p. 323.
bled and drew up a schedule of the grievances, which the nation suffered from the tyranny of the court of Rome. This remonstrance, among other things, importuned the pope not to observe the decrees of the councils of Constance and Bajza; that he did not think himself obliged by the Concordate made with pope Nicholas V, his predecessor, that he defied the German nation, and seemed bent upon exhausting it entirely; that the elections of prelates were generally rejected: that the benefices and dignities of any commendation were reserved for cardinals and prothonotaries: that livings, for the most part, were promised before they became vacant: that the annates were not only exacted with extreme rigour, but more was exacted on that account than was really due: that the government of churches was not conferred according to merit, but always upon those who paid the highest price: that new indulgencies were granted every day, by which the empire was drained of its money: that, under the pretext of a war against the Turks, the ecclesiastic tythes were seized, without the privy or consent of the bishop: that causes which ought to be tried in Germany, were continually appealed to the tribunal of the pope; and a thousand methods invented to attract all the money of the empire to Rome. The emperor himself was disposed to join the electors in this remonstrance, but he was hindered by the influence which his ministers had over him; and the pope answered this accusation article by article in several epistles contained in the collection of Aeneas Sylvius, who indeed wrote them for the justification of his holiness.

As it was absolutely necessary for checking the progress of the Turks, that the Christian princes should act with concord and unanimity, the pope, understanding that the old grudge between the emperor and Lajoskaus, originally owing to Frederic’s having detained him longer than he desired upon his tuition, had now broke out into open war, he not only wrote letters to both, exhorting them to peace and reconciliation, but also sent his apostolic legate, John cardinal of St. Angelo, to use his endeavours for an accommodation, which Lewis duke of Bavaria undertook to effect as mediator between them: but, before this peace could be established, Lajoskaus being at Prague, in order to celebrate his nuptials with Magdalen, daughter of the king of France, he was suddenly taken ill, and died, not without suspicion of poison, which the Catholics fix upon Rokitzane, who had declared himself protector of the Hugistes, to whom he knew the king was averse, while others charge it to Podiebrad, who was supposed to aspire to the sovereignty. Upon the death of this young prince several competitors arose for the succession of the crown of Hungary and Bohemia.

The emperor pretended to dispo.se of the crown of Bohemia, because Lajoskaus had neglected to do homage to the empire, and intended to bestow it either upon himself or upon some other prince of his house. Casimir, brother-in-law of Lajoskaus, claimed it in right of his wife: William duke of Saxony demanded the preference of this prince, because he had married the eldest sister of the last king; while Albert and Sigismund, dukes of Austria, founded their title upon a patrimonial right between the two houses, touching a reciprocal succession, in case of failure of male issue; but Podiebrad, by means of Rokitzane, had the good fortune to foil all his competitors, and was actually proclaimed king of Bohemia, almost without opposition.

HUNGARY” likewise was claimed by many pretenders; but the remembrance of the great services done to that kingdom by Hungary united all the suffrages in favour of his son Matthias, who was then a prisoner in Bohemia, whither he had been removed by Lajoskaus, in consequence of the murder of the count of Celje, for which the elder brothers of Matthias had been beheaded at Buda.

PODIEBRAD, understanding that this young prince was elected king of Hungary, promised to set him at liberty, provided he would marry his daughter; and this condition was fulfilled with the content of the Hungarian states.

As for the dominions of Austria that belonged to Lajoskaus, the succession involved the emperor in a war with two princes, from which he reaped nothing but damage and disgrace. These were his own brother Albert IV, furred The Prodigal, and Sigismund count of Tyrol, his cousin German, who, as well as himself, were descended from Albert the Sage. Frederic, as elder, claimed the possession of Austria; Albert, his brother, alleged that he already was in possession of too many provinces; that he had already too much availed himself of his birth-right in laying the foundation of his house; and that, in case of this duchy, it was but reasonable he should have some regard to the rights of his brother and cousin. On the other hand, the states of Austria would not yield obedience to either of the competitors; so that all three concurred in defolating the country. After these ravages had continued for some time, the affair was accommodated by the mediation of Lewis count.

---

Footnotes:
1. See the History of Bohemia and Hungary.
2. The pope made his envoys to effect an accommodation between the emperor and Matthias, who died before the conclusion of the treaty.
3. The pope was his envoys for effecting an accommodation between the emperor and Matthias, who died before the conclusion of the treaty.
4. Matthias was proclaimed king of Hungary.
5. An agreement made by the mediation of Lewis count.
The history of Germany.

The Palatinate. By this agreement the emperor acquired the possession of Lower Austria as far as the river Enns; the country on the other side of that river was given to Albert; Upper Carinthia, in the neighbourhood of Tyrol, became the portion of Sigismund; and it was agreed, that each of these princes should have a separate palace in the castle of Vienna.

This dispute furnished Frederic with an excuse for absenting himself from the assembly at Mantua, convoked by Aenis Sigismonis, who had by this time succeeded to the papacy by the name of Pius II. To this congress the new pope invited all the princes of Christendom, that they might form a league against the Turks; but so many countries, and Germany in particular, were embarrassed with intestine broils, that the success of this assembly did not answer the zeal and expectation of his holiness. The northern parts of the empire were embroiled by Christian king of Denmark, who seized upon the duchies of Holstein and Sleswic, upon the death of duke Alphonso, and did homage for both to the emperor.

PODIEBRAD was not yet firmly established upon the throne of Bohemia, which he had mounted in direct opposition to Frederic and the pope: Matthias did not think himself secure of the kingdom of Hungary, because he had not yet received the crown, which the emperor detained without any shadow of pretence; and this defect in Matthias had great weight with his superfluous subjects. The kings of France and England absolutely refused to engage in this crusade; Sigismund of Austria had incurred the sentence of excommunication from the pope for having outraged and imprisoned cardinal Cypa, the dukes of Bavaria, the elector of Mentz, the count palatine of the Rhine, and almost all the princes of Germany, were so much disgusted at the indulgence, puffilanimity, and forlorn disposition of Frederic, that they held private consultations, in order to deliberate on the means of setting him aside, and electing a new king of the Romans.

He found means, however, to appease Matthias with fair promises, and to attach Podiebrad to his interest, by renouncing his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia, and undertaking to support the new king with all his influence; and he was screened from the resentment of the other princes by the interposition and good offices of Albert marquis of Brandenburg. But these dissensions, which in a great measure prevented the success of the assembly at Mantua, other disputes intervened to harass and distract the empire. Lewis duke of Bavaria-Landshut revived his pretensions upon Donaustorf, which the emperor Sigismund had declared a free imperial town, and actually invested the place with an army of 20,000 men, which he was enabled to raise by a treaty he had made with Frederic elector palatine, Otho and John counts palatine of the Rhine, Ulric of Wirtzberg, and several other noblemen of the empire.

Frederic complained of these proceedings to the diet held at Nuremberg; and the Bavarian refusing to withdraw his troops, war was declared, and a strong body of forces sent against him under the command of Albert the German Achilles, who soon retook the city of Donaustorf, which had surrendered to Lewis; and conducted himself with such insipidity and discretion, that the emperor created him judge through all Germany, with a delegated power to summon all persons guilty of state crimes before his tribunal.

Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut appealed from this authority to the diet at Nuremberg, and demanded a fight of the patent that established his office, which, being presented to him for his perusal, he read, and tore it in pieces, even in presence of the emperor, who was so much incensed at his presumption, that he forthwith put him to the ban of the empire. The states were ordered to furnish the margrave of Brandenburg with troops to execute the sentence; and the imperial towns of Swabia obeyed, those of Franconia refused their contingent; while the Hutsles of Bohemia, part of Austria, and all Bavaria declared for Lewis. Both armies took the field, hostilities commenced, and notwithstanding the efforts of Podiebrad, who endeavoured to mediate a peace, the war was protracted about three years with various success: Brandenburg and Lower Bavaria were ravaged in their turns: Lewis was affiicted by the count palatine of the Rhine, the bishops of Wurtzburg and Hamberg, and Otho duke of Mosbach; the elector of Brandenburg numbered among his allies the count of Wirtzberg, the margrave of Baden, and thirty-two imperial towns of Swabia. At length the two armies met between Ulm and Nindingen, and a very obstinate and bloody battle ensued, in which the German Achilles, being utterly defeated, was obliged to sue for peace. This was accordingly effected by the mediation of Podiebrad, in a treaty concluded at Prague, importing, that the emperor should permit Lewis to enjoy the rights he claimed to the bishopric of Archib, the honorary of the Jews at Ratisbon, and the fiefs he demanded as of right belonging to the Bavarian house in Austria.  

---

1* Heiss, l. iii. c. 2.  2* Barre, t. vii. p. 594.  3* Dumont. Cap. Dipl. t. i. p. 288.
This was not the only war that disquieted the interior parts of the empire. Another flame broke out between Distrius count d'Yembourg, and Adolphus of Neufland, who were competitors for the archbishopric of Mentz. The first had been elected by a majority of the canons; but he was excommunicated by pope Pius II. because he had not paid the annates, and, by direction of his holiness, recourse was had to a new election, which determined in favour of Adolphus. Then both parties appealed to the decision of arms, and mutual ravages were committed for some years, until Distrius, tired of the dispute, ceded his right to Adolphus, received absolution from the pope's nuncio, and spent the remainder of his life as a private gentleman.

Before these differences were compromised, Albert of Austria, still dissatisfied, and being supported by Lewis of Bavaria, took up arms again against the emperor, still on pretence that he had been injured in the division of his father's dominions; though he now reinforced that pretext by alleging the Augsburgs complained that the emperor had interposed upon their privileges. This quarrel was also made up for the present by the interposition of the king of Bohemia, who prevailed upon both parties to lay down their arms; but the dispute was afterwards inflamed to a greater degree of rancour, which broke out in a more cruel intestine war. Albert, appearing before Vienna at the head of his troops, was engaged by the emperor's forces, who obliged him to retreat. The inhabitants of that city, tho' very little attached to the emperor, were divided into two factions; the senate, and wiser part of the burgbers, seemed to oppose the interest of Frederic, while the people, and the confidants of Albert, as their head, inclined to Albert. In the midst of these transactions, the emperor prefented himself before Vienna at the head of 4000 men, and was at first refused admittance. Some time after, however, the gates were opened, but not before he had promised to overlook the affront he received. Then took cognizance of their affairs, changed the magistrates according to the inclination of the burgbers, and restored the tranquillity of the city, which, however, was soon interrupted by a tumult that arose among the people. In the neighbourhood of the city were some soldiers, part of whom, during the preceding wars, had been in the service of the emperor, and part of them in the army of Albert. These, joining in a body, demanded the arrears that were due to them; and, as no satisfaction was given, they began to pillage the country. Complaints of these ravages were carried to Frederic, who being either disinterested for want of money, or desirous of trying the affection of the people, demanded of the city a loan of 6000 ducats, to which, he said, he would add the like sum, in order to maintain the troops necessary to quell the disturbances of which they complained. The inhabitants of Vienna, refusing to comply with this request, or even to furnish the half of that sum, to which he afterwards lowered his demand, he threatened the city with his retrenchment, and would neither satisfy the soldiery nor take any step for putting an end to the violence which they daily committed. The disorders of consequence increased, and the mutineers, rendered more audacious by impunity, insulted the vintages, and would not suffer them to carry their wine into the city, while those inhabitants who were in Albert's interest, took this opportunity to raise an insurrection against the emperor. The populace accordingly assembled in a tumultuous manner, renounced their allegiance, and set fire to all the money that was found in the public offices. Frederic, who with the empress, and his young son Maximilian, refixed in the castle, thought he could appease the sedition by sending two of his officers to make representations to the ringleaders, and exhort the rest to return quietly to their homes: but, instead of listening to these remonstrances, they imprisoned the two officers, and actually formed the siege of the castle, after having concluded, for two years, a treaty of alliance with Albert. In a word, the emperor was so harassed, and reduced to such extremity, that he and all his attendants must have perished by famine, had he not been relieved by the intervention of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia. By his management a treaty was concluded, importing that the prisoners on both sides should be released: that Albert should restore the fortresses, towns, and territories, of which he had possessed himself: that he should for eight years enjoy the government of Lower Austria in quality of vicar, and pay yearly to his brother the sum of 14,000 ducats. Yet the articles of this agreement were observed by neither side. Albert could not prevail upon himself to part with his acquisitions, and Frederic not only refused to be satisfied with the administration of Lower Austria, but even put him to the ban of the empire, and persecuted the pope to saddle him with the sentence of excommunication.

These violent proceedings induced them both to have recourse again to arms; and their troops engaging near Neufland, a battle ensued, in which a great deal of blood was spilt on both sides. Sigismund of Austria, Lewis of Bavaria, the empress Eleonora, and the papal court urged their utmost endeavours to promote a reconciliation between the two brothers; but all

A.D. 1463. The emperor takes possession of Vienna.

A.D. 1465. They have again recourse to arms.

a Comment. Pii. II. i. x. Coehle. l. xii. Heiss, Hist. de l'Empire. l. iii. c. 2. b Dumm. ut supra.
their efforts proved ineffectual: Albert would not yield what was in his possession, and Frederick inflicted upon being master of all Austria, in consideration of a sum of money, which he was willing to pay. What could not be compromised by human intercession, was determined by the decrees of heaven. Albert was overtaken by a sudden death, which some considered as a punishment from above, on account of his wicked life, and unjustifiable behaviour; while others ascribed it to poison; and a third set to an apotheosis, occasioned by his debauchery and incontinence. The physicians confirmed the suspicion of poison, by declaring they had observed marks of it when they inspected the body, and several persons were apprehended in confession of their declaration; but, as no proofs of their guilt appeared, they were in a little time set at liberty. In the beginning of the following year, Sigismund yielded to the emperor that portion of Austria which he inherited from Ladislaus, to that Frederick at length found himself in peaceable possession of that whole duchy.

The Hungarians, as we have already observed, seeing the difficulties in which the emperor was involved, instead of chusing a king from the house of Austria, had elected, in the room of Ladislaus, Matthias Corvinus, son of the valiant Hunyadi; but the ceremony of his coronation was not performed at that time, because the emperor still detained the crown which they had always used for that purpose; besides, he had actually declared open war against them, with design to add that kingdom to his hereditary dominions; but his efforts were feeble, that they had no apprehension of his being able to accomplish his aim by force of arms. At length, however, being heartily tired of the war, he consented to restore the crown, and concluded a treaty with Matthias, in which it was stipulated, that a mutual adoption of father and son should take place between these two princes; and that in case the king of Hungary should die without legitimate children or nephews, the crown should devolve to Frederick and the heirs of his body.

Pope Paul II., who had succeeded to the pontificate on the death of Pius, understanding that Mahomy II. was employed in making great preparations against Scanderbeg king of Albania, wrote to the states of Germany, demanding the 32,000 men to fight against the Turks, according to the promise their deputies had made in the assembly at Mantua; and at the same time he sent a legate to exhort Christian king of Denmark to join the German troops in this expedition; but the princes paid very little regard to his representations, and his Danish majesty was too much embarrassed at home to engage in a foreign war. Gerard count of Oldenburg, on pretence of demanding certain sums that were due to him as successor to his brother Maurice, took advantage of Christian's absence in Sweden to invade Holstein and Lower Friesland, from the inhabitants of which he exacted the oaths of allegiance. The king of Denmark, being informed of this invasion, postponed his operations in Sweden against Charles Canuton, who had ascended the throne of that kingdom, and began his march towards Holstein, to check the progress of his brother Gerard. Nevertheless, he was prevailed upon, by the mediation of his nephews, to pardon this prince, who made his submission to him at Segeberg, and the Frieslanders took the oath of allegiance anew to Christian.

Meanwhile every thing tended to a rupture in Bohemia and Silesia. Pociebrad laid such religious restraints upon the catholics of Silesia, that the pope declared them exempted from all submission to that prince, and put them under the protection of Matthias king of Hungary. At the instigation of Rockizane he exerted the same tyranny over his catholic subjects of Bohemia, forcing upon them the ritual of the Calixtins, and punishing severely those who refused to communicate of both species. This spiritual oppression drove them to such despair, that they revolted against their sovereign, and were abscinded from their allegiance by the pope, who summoned Pociebrad to appear at Rome within a specified time, impowered his legate to publish a crusade against him, and, finally, declared him convicted of perjury, sacrilege, and heresy, deprived of his crown, and all his children and posteriority incapable of receiving any dignity whatsoever.

The Rodolphus did not succede in his endeavours to excite the German princes against Pociebrad, he was more lucky in another negociation, which he undertook at the same time; namely, that of mediation a reconciliation between the Poles and Teutonic knights, which, after a war of fourteen years, was confirmed by a treaty, importing, that all Pomerania, and some other provinces, should revert to the Poles; and that the Teutonic order in Prussia should be feudatory to the king of Poland.

As for the emperor, he indulged his indolence and timidity to such a degree of carelessness and indifference for the affairs of the empire, that he never dreamed of interfering his good offices or authority in order to prevent the deflation and slavery of Liege, which had revolted against its bishop, Lewis of Bourbon, on account of some privileges he wanted to retrieve, and by this insurrection intailed upon itself a war with his uncle, Philip, duke of Burgundy. He had by this time united Luxemburg to his dominions by a solemn contrat.
The history of Germany.

a with the duke and duchess of Saxony, who quitted all their pretensions to that duchy, in consideration of 50,000 crowns of gold; and this purchase was ratified by Lewis XII. of France, who likewise pretended to have some right to Luxembourg, and its dependencies; but a war afterwards breaking out between the French king and Philip, the inhabitants of Liège solicited the assistance of that monarch, who sent them a small reinforcement; and now they breathed nothing but reproach and defiance. The citizens of Dinant in particular, truliaing to the strength of their fortifications, let slip no opportunity of mortifying the pride and reviling the person of Philip’s son, the count de Charolois, who had taken the field, and entered the territory of Liège. But they soon repented of their insolence; for he invested the town, which he carried by assault, and reduced to ashes, after having put all the men to the sword, without mercy or distinction; and those of Liège were torn to pieces by the most abject submissions, reinforced with 300 hostages chosen by their bishop.

Nevertheless, upon the death of Philip, they had recourse to arms again, confiding in the temerity and inexperience of Charles his successor; and arrested the bishop, who found means, however, to escape, and repaired to his patron at Bruges. Duke Charles incensed at this outrage, levied an army, with which he entered the Liegeois, and invested St. Trond; and the inhabitants of Liège marching out to the relief of the place, were entirely defeated. In consequence of this battle, St. Trond surrendered, and was dismantled: 200 A. D. 1457. of the principal citizens of Liège came with the keys of their town to implore the clemency of the duke, who entered the place sword in hand, ordered all the fortifications to be razed, the territory to be pillaged, and the whole country to be loaded with taxes. (S).

Nor did Frederic interest himself with more spirit in the troubles of Bohemia, which was now threatened with a civil war, in consequence of the excommunication thundered out by the pope against Podebrad. The catholics, thinking themselves abfolved by this sentence from their allegiance, sent deputies with a proffer of their crown to Casimir king of Poland, who had married the sister of their last monarch; but that prince declined accepting it, because he dreaded the power and policy of Podebrad, who besides was supported by Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut, and some other princes of Germany. Then the pope made a tender of it to Matthias king of Hungary, who would have gladly embraced this occasion of gratifying his ambition, had not he dreaded the resentment of the emperor, naturally jealous of such an addition to his power; and, moreover, being engaged in a war with the Transylvanians and Moldavians, which did not much redound to his honour; for, in the course of his operations, he was surprised in Barla, dangerously wounded with an arrow, and obliged to fly for his life across the mountains of Walachia.

Pope Paul II. disapproving in both these quarters, solicited the emperor to declare against Podebrad; but all he could obtain was the conviction of a diet at Nuremberg, to deliberate upon this affair, as well as upon a war against the Turks. At this assembly, the bishop of Ferrara, as legate from the pope, used all his endeavours to engage the princes in a war against the king of Bohemia, who oppressed the catholics, and refused to submit in matters of religion to the holy see; but their different interests influencing them differently, and Levis of Bavaria-Landshut openlyelpoung the cause of Podebrad, no step was taken to the prejudice of that prince. The diet broke up, after having resolved, that, for the term of five years, the empire should maintain 20,000 men to serve against the Turks; and that the pope should be exhorted to negotiate a solid peace among the princes of Christendom.

Mean while the catholics of Bohemia and Moravia, assembling at Iglau, sent an embassage to offer the crown to Frederic, who seemed very well pleased with the compliment, but desired time to consider on an affair of such importance: but before he could take a final resolution on this subject, Matthias, at the pressing solicitations of the pope, accepted the crown, advanced with his troops into Moravia, and besieged Gradelch, while Zdenko of Sternberg, chief of the Bohemian malcontents, ravaged the fields of Podebrad, as minister of the holy father, who had declared that prince an excommunicated heretic. But all these efforts were ineffectual. Matthias was obliged to raise the siege; and after having had a fruitful conference with Podebrad between the two armies, retired to Hungary at the approach of winter. (S).

(5) About this period the celebrated Scanderbeg king which raised his character to a level with the most famous heroes of antiquity (1).

(1) Barbe, t. vii. p. 659.

Mon. Ist. Vol. XI.  
EC  THE
The emperor being at the same time pressed by his holiness to reconcile the princes and towns of Germany that were at variance with each other, in order to draw succours from them against the infidels, he convoked a diet at Miltenfurt, where he expatiated upon the fatal effects of civil discord, and exhorted the states to forget their mutual animosities, that they might be better enabled to revenge the cause of religion against the infidels. His exhortations had some weight with the members of the assembly; and it was proposed, that a tribunal should be erected for terminating the differences subsisting between particular towns and noblemen, as well as to punish rapine, reprefs violence, and re-establish good order.

The confirmation of this scheme, however, was referred to a subsequent diet at Neuburg, where every article and appointment of the tribunal was regulated; but the towns, which complained of being already almost overwhelmed with burthenome taxes, refused to contribute to the expense of such a college, though its duration was limited to five years; and the assembly broke up without having done any thing material for the public peace.

Some states, indeed, seeing the necessity for establishing tranquillity in the empire, compromised their reciprocal disputes; and the electors, with several other princes, meeting at Landshut, endeavoured to pacify the troubles of Bohemia; but this convention was also inexpedient, because the Catholics demanded liberty of conscience, and Paderborn insisted upon communicating of both species.

Whatever precautions might have been taken by some of the princes and states for terminating their quarrels in an amicable manner, it was hardly possible that peace should long subsist between individuals who hated one another personally. The duke of Bavaria-Landshut omitted no opportunity of exciting the enemies of the Elector of Brandenburg: Sigismond, archduke of Austria, could not abandon the hope and design of one day subduing the Switz; and the people of Liege watched for an occasion to break with the duke of Burgundy, whom they detested with the most implacable rancour. Infuriated by these sentiments, they surprized the town of Tongres, put the Burgundian garrison to the sword, made their own bishop prisoner, and murdered several canons before his eyes, with circumstanccs of horrid barbarity.

The news of this masacre arriving at Peronne, where Charles of Burgundy then resided with Lewis XI. of France, who had visited him on the faith of a safe-conduct, and the duke being at the same time informed that the Ligeans had been instigated to this revolt by the intrigues of France, he was so transported with rage, that in all probability Lewis would have perished by his resentment, had not that prince signed the treaty of Peronne on the duke's own terms, and consented to serve as a volunteer in his army against the rebels of Liege. Thus appeased with respect to the French king, but glowing with indignation against the Ligeans, he marched directly to their city, whither he was accompanied by Lewis; refused all their tears, intimations, and submissions; invested the place, which he carried by assault, after the besieged had made several desperate sallies; ordered the prisoners to be murdered, without distinction of age or sex, and the city to be burnt to ashes.

Yet still wearing with these spectacles of horror, he laid waste the country of Franche-Comte with fire and sword; while the wretched inhabitants fled for shelter to the woods, where they perished by famine or the rigour of the winter, which was remarkably severe.

It was in the course of this year that the emperor, finding himself exposed to numberless disquiets from the continual irruptions which the Turks made upon the frontiers of his dominions, was alarmed to such a degree, that he resolved to make another journey into Italy, to consult with pope Paul II. upon ways and means for engaging the Christian princes in a new association against the infidels, and to accomplish a vow which he pretended to have made, though he never explained himself on this subject. For these purposes therefore he set out, with a small retinue, in the feverest season of the year, and on Christmas-eve arrived in Rome, where he was received by torch-light. Mattins being begun in St. Peter's church, where he alighted, he was present during the service, performed his vow, and received the communion from the hands of the pope. He staid in this city fourteen days, during which he had divers conferences with his holiness, touching a war with the Turks; but these consultations produced little or no effect. He proposed to hold a council at Constance, at which he and the pope should assist in person, with a view to promote a general expedition against the infidels; but this expedition was declined by Paul, and all their deliberations amounted to this issue: That letters should be written, in the name of the emperor and the pope, to all Christian princes, deferring and exhorting them to send ambassadors to Rome, at an appointed day, to treat of measures for defending the faith; and that the Venetians, who were exhausted in a tedious war against the Turks, should be indulged with a tenth of the clergy, a twentieth of the jure, and a thirtieth of the laity.
within their own dominions. These negotiations being transacted, he set out on his return to his own dominions, whither he travelled with the greater expedition, as he received information that Matthias king of Hungary, taking the advantage of his absence, had made divers incursions into Bohemia and Moravia, and laid waste the whole country. He was likewise given to understand, that Charles duke of Burgundy, who had three years before succeeded to the extensive dominions which Philip the Good, his father, had so long governed in peace, not contented with that fair inheritance, had increased it with the addition of the duchy of Guelders and the county of Zutphen, and even intended to proceed farther in point of acquisition: for the ambition of this prince was unbounded; and, in order to gratify it, he had augmented the taxes, and added his subjects with new impositions: neither did he wholly depend upon his riches and power for accomplishing the scheme which he had projected to aggrandize his name: he set on foot secret negotiations in the empire, and privately tampered with the electors, in hopes of being chosen king of the Roman. Frederic was not ignorant of his practices, being apprized of all these transactions by Louis XI. of France, who narrowly watched the conduct of Charles, with a view to counteract his ambition.

During these transactions, Matthias was proclaimed king of Bohemia by the catholic party, and his interest increased every day in that kingdom, when Podiebrad, by the advice of the emperor, assembled the states at Prague, and proposed they should settle the succession upon Ladislaus, son of Casimir king of Poland. This proposal they readily embraced, not without admiration and applause of the disinterestedness of Podiebrad, who, for the peace and advantage of his subjects, had voluntarily made this motion, to the exclusion of his own children. This settlement composed the disquietude of the nation, so as to enable Podiebrad to oppose the progress of Matthias, to whom he gave battle, in which the Hungarian was vanquished, and obliged to fly for shelter to his own country.

Meantime while a diet being called at Ratisbon, at the desire of the pope, in order to concert measures for carrying on the war against the Turks, the princes and states assembled in great numbers, ambassadors from Charles duke of Burgundy were present, and Campanus, in the name of cardinal Francis Piccolomini, who was sent thither from the court of Rome for that purpose, made an elegant harangue; in which he expatiated upon the glory of their ancestors, and the zeal which they on all occasions manifested in behalf of the church; and exulted in, in imitation of such noble examples, to take arms against the infidels, whose progres and successes were not so much owing to their own valor, as to the indolence and unjustifiable neglect of the Christian powers. The bishop of Trent spoke to the same purpose; and their remonstrances had such an effect upon the assembly, that they seemed zealously determined to prosecute the war with vigour. Accordingly, after much deliberation and debate, it was unanimously decreed, that every person, who enjoyed a revenue of a thousand ducats, should furnish one horseman; and that a foot soldier should be provided by every person who possessed one half of that fortune. Had this expedient been carried into practice, an army of near 200,000 men might have been brought into the field; but the pacific and florid disposition of the emperor, which was altogether averse to war, and evidence, thence a damp upon the scheme, and the spirit and zeal of individuals infinitely decayed. Notwithstanding the admonitions and solicitations of the Venetians, in whose behalf Paul Morelini, in a pathetic and nervous oration, represented the necessity of taking some measures to stop the career of the Turks, and plainly demonstrated the probability of putting a stop to their conquests, provided the Germans would attack them by land, while the Venetians, assisted by Ferdinand king of Apulia, should undertake to cope with them at sea.

In this year George king of Bohemia dying, great contentions arose among the subjects touching a successor (for the party of Matthias still triumphed), till at length the friends of Ladislaus, the king of Poland's eldest son, prevailing, that young prince, whose mother was a sister of Ladislaus, the predecessor of George, ascended the throne, in the fifteenth year of his age, and was crowned at Prague, though not without considerable opposition from Matthias, who was exasperated at his election. This George Podiebrad was not long survived by pope Paul, who had condemned him as an heretic, and deposed him by virtue of his apostolic power; for he was suddenly carried off by a fit of the apoplexy, after he had made a chearful meal (no person being present when he expired), and succeeded in the papacy by Francis Rvererus, cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who, after his elevation, assumed the


(T) Some writers allege that he was strangled by the devil in the very act of unbinding. (x)
name of Sixtus IV. This new pope was no sooner raised to the chair, than he exerted his endeavours in perfecting the plan against the Turks, for the execution of which his predecessor had laboured so ineffectually. Legates were sent with full powers to reconcile the Christian princes, who were at variance with each other, that they might unite in the common cause against the enemies of their faith. Indulgencies were granted, and subsidies raised, to forward the expedition, and the emperor very warmly solicited to act with vigour as the chief power of this confederacy. But Frederic, whose genius was better turned for negotiation than war, found means to procrastinate all the measures that were concerted for the benefit of this grand association, employing his chief attention in those domestic affairs, which he thought more nearly concerned his interest. He had, for some time, been engaged in treating privately with the electors about obtaining their votes for chusing his son Maximilian king of the Romans; and the steps which he had taken in this affair, were the chief obstacles which Charles duke of Burgundy met with in aspiring to the same honour. That enterprising prince, therefore, finding it impracticable to carry his point, altered his scheme, and resolved to cultivate the friendship of the emperor, who, he did not doubt, would be prevailed upon to erect his dominions into a kingdom, and confer upon him the title of king of Burgundy, and vicar of the empire in those parts. In consequence of this resolution, he made the proposal to Frederic, by which he said all the countries, which had been diphemibred, would be re-united to the empire, and at the same time offered his only daughter Mary in marriage to Maximilian, son of the emperor. While this treaty was upon the carpet, he invited Frederic to a conference at Trier, where he did not doubt of being able to manage him for his own interest. Nay, so sure was he of his compliance, that he had prepared his royal ornaments and regalia, together with the throne, canopy, and all the other requisites for a pompous coronation. The emperor, who had his own private designs upon Charles, accepted of the invitation, and repaired to Trier, where he was treated with infinite splendor. The match was seemingly agreed to, though the emperor defined it might be consummated before the duke should be crowned; but Charles insisted upon its being deferred until that ceremony should be performed. At last Frederic, in all appearance, yielded to his intrigues, and, the following day being fixed for the coronation, he in that expectation did homage to the emperor, and took the oath of fidelity for Guelderland, and all the other territories he possessed within the dominions of the empire. d Frederic, having thus accomplished his aim, and being unwilling to cater for the ambition of a prince, who was already too proud; insolent, and formidable, retired next morning from Trier, in the dawn, on pretence of going to compromise a difference between the archbishop and city of Cologne, leaving the duke overwhelmed with flame and vexation. (U) Affronted and chagrined as he was at this disappointment, he did not defit from his enterprise; but, on the contrary, employed all his efforts to achieve it, sparing neither men nor money in the exertion of his endeavours. Among other things, he thought proper to grant his protection to Robert count palatine, who disputed the archbishopric of Cologne with Herman landgrave of Heife. For this purpose he besieged the town of Nups, situated upon the Rhine, which was defended with great valour and perseverance by Herman, for the space of a whole year, until the besieged were reduced to the utmost extremity and want; when the troops of the empire marched to its relief, and obliged him to raise the siege. (X)

Le Witt XI. of France, having attempted ineffectually to engage the Germanic body in a war with Charles, endeavoured to form an alliance against that ambitious prince, with Rene duke of Lorraine, Sigismund duke of Austria, and the Swiss cantons; and in these negotiations he succeeded to his wish. The first was perverted, by the emissaries of Le Witt, that Charles duke of Burgundy intended to include Lorraine in the kingdom which he had projected for himself; Sigismund was flattering with the hope of recovering the county of Forres, Sinigau, and other tribes in Allace, which he had mortgaged to the Burgundian.

(U) Heife alleges, that the duke of Burgundy incurred the suspicion of Frederic, in consequence of the understandings of Le Witt XI. of France, who was alarmed at the prospect of such a formidable alliance; while the author of the notes upon that historian pretends, that Charles, having assumed the arms of Algaria, because some territories belonging to that family had been mortgaged to him by Sigismund, Freder ic was extremely incensed at this incitance of his preemption, and for that reason commenced his inverteate foe.

(X) Krantz states, that the siege was raised in consequence of a treaty with the emperor, confirming the match which had before been projected between his daughter and Maximilian; while Philip de Communes imputes his retreat to the remonstrances of Eugenius, who had made preparations for invading France at his instigation, and now threatened to deft from the expedition, unless he would immediately march into that kingdom, that they might the more easily ad in conjunction. He was alarmed by the incursions of the duke of Lorraine, who had declared war against him, and invaded his dominions, at the desire of Louis XI. of France.
a and the Swið entered into the pay of France, after Lewis had terminated, in an amicable manner, a war that raged between them and Bohême, afflicted by Strasburg and the imperial cities of Altea, and reconciled them with Sigismund, whose family they had stripped of the towns of Kasperwuth, Dresfahauw, Frewenfeld, and the county of Burgau.

This league being established, Sigismund offered to redeem the mortgage with a sum of money which he had borrowed from the imperial towns for that purpose; and Charles refusing to part with the feoff, he had good reason to complain of the injustice. At the same time Hagenbach, governor of the towns for the duke of Burgundy, oppressed them in such a manner, that their patience forsook them, and they revolted from his authority. Einflesheim was the first that shook off his yoke, and repelled him in the attempt he made to enter and destroy the town. Enraged at his disappointment, he retired to Brissac, where he laid a scheme for massacring the inhabitants; but the garrison, composed of Germans and Wallons, refused to execute his orders. His person was seized upon by the burglars; he underwent a fair trial, in which being convicted of tyranny, murder, and treason, he was condemned to lose his head, and suffered accordingly, by torch-light, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people.

The duke of Burgundy, exasperated at this execution, sent six thousand men into the Sunigau, under the command of Hagenbach's brother, who committed horrible ravages; but he was soon obliged to retire before the Swiðs, who hastened to the relief of that province. They were joined by the inhabitants of Bohême, Strasbourg, and other towns on the Rhine; and, advancing into Franche Comte, they defeated Blamont, the marshal of Burgundy, who had come to raise the siege of Hericourt, which afterwards surrendered to the victors.

The duke of Burgundy was the prelude of a war, that ended in the destruction of Charles. Had that prince contented himself with maintaining the war against Lewis, he might have acquired reputation and advantage from his riches and his power; but, blinded by ambition, he neglected to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Lorraine, and his confederates the Swiðs, who entered into alliance with Lewis, and defeated Charles in three battles; in the last of which fought at Nancy on the fifth of January, he was mortally wounded, and next day found dead upon the ice. The inhabitant of Lige revolts against their bishop, who is slain by the hands of his own councillors. La Marche.

As he had exhausted his finances, and ruined his troops with continual wars, so as to impoverish his subjects, the principal noblemen of his dominions resolved to befriend his daughter upon some prince, who should be capable to protect them in their independency. Lewis XI. demanded the princess for the dauphin, and the emperor claimed her as being already betrothed to his son Maximilian. Lewis, immediately after the death of Charles, re-united to his crown all Burgundy, Picardy, and Pentheu, Artois, with the cities of Artois, Tournay, and those upon the river Somme, as siefs and appendages of France, which could never be possessed by a woman. The precipitation and rapacity with which he made these acquisitions, and the wars he maintained for that purpose, gave such umbrage to the inhabitants of Ghest, that they resolved to break with him entirely, seized the persons of their princes, beheaded two of their counsellors, and dismissed the rest, because they were in the French interest, and levied an army, the command of which they bestowed upon Adolphus, the duke of Guelders, and the duke of Burgundy had imprisoned in the castle of Namur, as an unnatural wretch, who had treated his own father with unconscionable barbarity. They even defined this wicked and dexterous prince for the husband of the young duchess, who was delivered from the horrors of such a marriage by death; for he was slain in an action with the French, whom he undertook to drive from Tournay, which they had surprised. Upon his demise, the people of Ghest no more interested themselves in the fate of their princes, who at one time received the addresses of the dauphin of France, the son of the duke of Cleves, the earl of Rivers, and the archduke of Maximilian. The interest of the dauphin was supported by Lewis of Bourbon, bishop of Liege, and uncle to the duchess; but he was betrayed by La Marche, his own favourite, who caused an insurrection against the bishop, at Liege, where that prelate was hated, as author of all the mischief which Charles of Burgundy had done to that city and its territory. La Marche, having rupulated with the Liegeois, that one of his sons should be raised to the vacant bishopric, levied a powerful army, with which he befeiged Lewis, who, crimsoned a sally, was betrayed by his own people, and slain by the treacherous La Marche. This miscreant not only killed his benefactor with his own hand, but afterwards stripped his dead body, and threw it into the river Meuse. The death of this prelate destroyed the interest of France at the court of Flanders; the young duchess herself declared against the son of the duke of Cleves, who was a youth of very unpromising parts; and the earl of Rivers was rejected on account of his birth, which

Comm. i. v. Krantz Sax. i. xii. c. 15. Hist. Eccles. Leop. part ii. i. 10.

(Y) See the History of the Swiðs.
was not deemed illustrious enough for the husband of the heiress of Burgundy; so that all these competitors gave place to the fortunate Maximilian, who had nothing to boast of but his birth and natural endowments; for his father was so fardily avaritious, that he would not befallow the least expense upon his education.

FRÉDÉRIC, however, seemed to shake off his natural indolence, when the business was to acquire a rich inheritance for his posterity; he sent ambassadors to demand the young duchess in marriage for his son; and at the first audience they produced the letter and ring, which she had formerly sent to Maximilian, with the consent of her father. Lewis XI. of France endeavoured to traverle the success of this embassy, by the intrigues of Robert Gaguin, general of the Trinitarians, whom he sent to Flanders for that purpose: but the duchess dowager's efforts co-operated with the inclinations of her daughter-in-law, in favour of Maximilian, and the emperor managed his interest so successfully, that the marriage was effectuated between Mary of Burgundy and his son Maximilian, who was then about twenty years of age. This young prince was no sooner married than, in order to gain the esteem and good will of his people, he, with the affiance of the Flemings, put himself in a condition to oppose the enterprises of the French, whom he compelled to restore Ypres and Boucaun; in consideration of which restitution, he granted them a truce, and Lewis took this opportunity to make new preparations for war.

During these transactions, Matthias king of Hungary, and Casimir of Poland, took the field against each other, in order to maintain their different pretensions to the crown of Bohemia; and an oblitrate battle was fought near Breislaw, in which Casimir saw himself defeated. However, as the Turks had invaded Moldavia, taken Creia in Albania, and threatened Italy itself, the pope employed all his influence in mediating a peace between the Pole and the Hungarian, that they might turn their arms against the common enemy; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions: that Matthias should pollute Moravia and Silegia, with the titular dignity of king of Bohemia, during life, but the sovereignty of that kingdom should be vested in Ladislaus, son of Casimir; though, in case of the death of that prince without issue, Matthias should be acknowledged as his successor.

After this accommodation, Matthias continued very quiet, until Maximilian was engaged in the war with France, when, either infligted by some new provocations from the emperor, or allured by the prospect of advantage, he marched into Austria with a strong body of forces, and laid siege to Vienna. Frédéric, terrified at this interruption, and being altogether unprovided, and naturally averse to war, proposed and purchased an accommodation, by renouncing all his pretensions to the crown of Hungary, and giving the investiture of Bohemia to Matthias, together with a present of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns; in consequence of which, the king of Hungary raised the siege and retired.

In a few months after this event, the archduches Mary was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of Philip, and Maximilian, seeing the succession of the Low Countries confirmed to his family by the birth of this prince, renewed hostilities against Lewis XI. in order to recover the dominions of which the French had dismembered the duchy. He was assisted in these endeavours by John de Baluns, prince of Orange; but as his father, and uncle Sigismund, refused to assist him with money or troops, and the Flemings were almost quite exhaunted, he made but small progress in the war; while Lewis renewed his alliance with the Switz, who furnished him with six thousand men, and gained several advantages over the Flemings and the prince of Orange.

In this emergency, Maximilian addressed himself to the diet of the empire convoked at Nuremberg, representing that the king of France had made himself master of Cambrai, Boulogne, and Ypres, three towns that were under protection of the empire; and at the same time Frederic exhorted the states to arm for the recovery of these imperial fiefs.

LEWIS, intimidated by these representations, in consequence of which he expected to see the forces of the empire in his dominions, evacuated the places in question, and proposed a truce for a year; which was accepted by Maximilian, who found himself unable to maintain a war. During this cessation, however, he found means to interest the people of Liege in his cause, by sending back their peron, or great standard, which duke Charles had transported to Bruges; and they reinforced him with a body of troops; so that, when the truce expired, he found himself in a condition to act with advantage.

7 Fugger. i. v. c. 26. 8 Barre. t. viii. p. 682. 9 Croiser. i. viii. in fin.

(2) In the course of this year, Christoph king of Denmark arrived at Ratenburg, on a visit to the emperor, who, at his request, erected the country of the Dukmarian, Stormaria, and Helfstein, into a duchy, of which Christoph received the investiture. Then he proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, on his return to his own dominions, solemnized the marriage of his son Jöhen with Christine, daughter of Ercof, elector of Saxony: on which occasion he is said to have instituted the order of the elephant (1).
The history of Germany.

He accordingly took the field against Des Cordes, the French general; and hazarding a battle at Guingamp, near Terouanne, obtained a victory, which, in some measure, re-established the affairs of the Low Countries.

After this action, a truce was agreed to for seven months, during which the pope A.D. 1480. offered his mediation to effect a solid peace: but Louis in the mean time being seized with a dangerous distemper, Edward IV. king of England, who was in alliance with Maximilian, counselled that prince to evade a treaty; but, if possible, to prolong the truce for two years, before the expiration of which, the death of the French king would, in all probability, enable him to procure a more advantageous accommodation.

As for the pope, his efforts of intercession were suspended by the progress of the Turks; who, having taken Otranto, filled all Europe, and Italy in particular, with such consternation, that his holiness made peace with the Florentines, against whom he and the king of Naples had been engaged in a war, and wrote to the emperor and the states of Germany, as well as to all other princes in Christendom, to compromise their differences, and march against the infidels. The German princes were likewise solicited to the same purpose by Matthias king of Hungary, to whom Mohammed had offered the kingdom of Bosnia, provided he would grant him an unmolested passage through his dominions. In compliance with the pope's request, several princes and states engaged in a league against the Turks; but the emperor's sloth and avarice would not allow him to contribute to the success of this expedition, and it was well for Europe that Mohammed II. died at Nicomedias before he could execute the schemes he projected.

Maximilian, far from inheriting the sluggish disposition of his father, exerted uncommon activity during the truce with France, in appeasing the troubles of the Low Countries. He suppressed a mutiny at the Hogue, and exacted a considerable fine from the burgurers of Leyden, who had afforded an asylum to some of the mutineers; then he repaired to Luxemburgh, where he renewed the oath of allegiance from the magnificacy of the town, and the noblemen of the country; and, on his return to Holland, created his son Philip knight of the golden fleece.

After having been proclaimed duke of Brabant, he defeated the people of Gueldern, who had made incursions into the principality Holland, and he and his wife were publicly acknowledged at Nuremberg, as duke and duchess of Gueldern. This expedition being happily terminated, he beleaguered and took Venlo, which had revolted; from thence he marched to Mon, which surrendered, after having been reduced to the utmost extremity; and there he received the accutommed oath from the nobility, clergy, and commons, in quality of count of Hainault.

Lewis, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, sent Philip de Comines to Flanders, to negotiate an accommodation; but the archduke kept aloof, in expectation of the king's death, when he hoped France would purchase a peace at the expense of all the had taken from the house of Burgundy; and, in all probability, Philip's endeavours would have been ineffectual, had not an unforeseen accident contributed to his success. Mary died while A.D. 1482.

She was big with child, leaving a son called Philip, and a daughter, whose name was Margaret; and great disputes arose about the guardianship of these children, which Maximilian claimed as the father, though he was opposed by the near-relations of the deceased princes, supported by the suffrages of the states general. Mean while both sides agreed, that it was necessary to negotiate a peace with France, which was accordingly concluded at Arras, and signed by Maximilian himself; and, in pursuance of this accommodation, the young princes Margaret was sent to Amboise, in order to be educated for a wife to the young dauphin; whose father dying soon after the peace, he ascended the throne of France by the name of Charles VIII.

Maximilian's hands were no sooner rid of this troublesome war, than he turned his arms against the Liegeois, made himself master of Tongres, and defeated their general La Marche, who marched to the relief of the place. He met with the same success in several other petty quarrels, and perhaps his pride increased with his good fortune. Certain it is, the Flemings were very much disquieted with his administration, and loudly complained, that he bestowed the best offices and governments upon Germans and Burgundians: nor did he seem to regard their complaints; on the contrary, some of his council, for their own private ends, having persuaded him that he had a right, not only to the guardianship of his own children, but also to the government of his dominions, he resolved to take both into his own hands; and, with this view, possest himself, by surprize, of Dendermond, Oudenaarde, and some other places. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, dreading the fame fate, secured the person of his son Philip, and sent to demand protection from the king of France, who, in order to take the advantage of this quarrel among his neighbours, detached some forces to their affiance, under the command of the Sieur Creceveux; so that Flandria was saved.

A contrefacte du Sieur Creceveux des Flandres.  
The history of Germany.

A.D. 1485.
An accommodation.

During the troubles of Flanders, there were several commotions in Germany, one of which was produced from a quarrel between Albert of Bavaria and his brother Christopher, about the domain of Landsberg, which the latter continued to possess, in opposition to a previous agreement. The inhabitants, being oppressed by Christopher, complained to Albert, who asserted his own right by force of arms, and hostilities commenced with various success; until, at length, Albert made advances to peace, which was concluded at Landshut, on condition that he should enjoy Landsberg and its dependencies, and yield Schongau, with all its feffes, in exchange to his brother.

In the following year, he prevailed upon the inhabitants of Ratisbon, which had been enfranchised, and declared a free imperial town, by Frederic Barbarossa, to submit again to the sway of the Bavarian house; and afterwards elopied the emperor’s daughter Cunegunda, with whom her uncle Sigismund gave him the county of Tyrol by way of portion. This match being made without the consent or privy of the emperor, he complained of the alliance as an incroachment upon his paternal authority, as well as upon the rights of the empire, and threatened to proscribe both Sigismund and Albert; but, as they knew his indolence and incapacity, they gave themselves no concern about his menaces.

MATTHIAS, piqued at a repulse he sustained from the emperor, who demanded this prince’s marriage, and incensed, moreover, at Frederic’s still continuing to assume the title of king of Hungary, declared war against him, entered Lower Austria with an army of twenty thousand men, and invested Flaimburg, which surrendered after a siege of four months. From thence he advanced into the territory of Vienna, from which he carried off an immense load of booty.

Next year he divided his forces, which had acquired the appellation of Black Bands, into two armies, one of which he led in person to the frontiers of Lower Hungary, which was threatened by the Turks, and lent the other under the command of David Hazi, to besiege Pruck on the river Leit, one of the strongest places in Austria; which he took by assault, and made himself master of all the other towns, except Vienna and Cornembourg. The next enterprise he undertook was the siege of this last place, which was gallantly defended by the governor, in the hope of his being speedily succoured.

FREDERIC had retired to Graz, where he convoked the states of his provinces to demand subsidies; but, as he was not at all beloved by his subjects, they lent a deaf ear to his entreaties. His chancellor advised him to open his treasures, and enlist foreign troops; but he could not be prevailed upon to try that expedient, until his friends represented, that should Matthias once make himself master of Cornenburg and Vienna, he would easily subdue Carinthia, Stiria, and Carniola; then the fear of losing all his dominions triumphed over his avarice; he set on foot levies in Bavaria and Suabia, and a considerable body of forces being enlisted, were ordered to march with all expedition to the relief of Cornenburg. Hazi, informed of their motions, quitted his lines, and gave them battle; when, after an obstinate dispute, they were totally routed; then he recommenced the operations of the siege, and the emperor himself lifted his life in a sally made by the besieged, his place was filled with Stephen count Stepa, and the town at last obliged to surrender.

MATTHIAS, encouraged by this success, took the command of the army upon himself, and fat down before Vienna, which he reduced after a very desperate resistance, whilst count Stephen blocked up the fortresses of Neufhald in such a manner, that no supplies could enter the place, and the governor having held out six months, during which one half of his garrison perished by famine, submitted to the king of Hungary, who, in this manner, became master of all the Lower Austria.

While Matthias was thus employed, Frederic kept aloof, and looked upon the loss of his capital with indifference; an answer to those who preluded him to take measures for its relief, that it had not yet suffered that extremity, to which he himself had been formerly reduced by its rebellious adherence to the interest of his brother Albert. Instead of exerting himself, therefore, in its behalf, he coolly abandoned it to the fate of war; and in order to divert his imagination from misfortune, which he either would not or could not avoid, he resolved to visit his son Maximilian in the Low Countries, confounding himself with an observation, which he had long adopted as an infallible maxim, “that oblivion is the best remedy for irreparable ills.” At length, however, he condescended to solicit the alliance of the states, and Albert duke of Saxony was appointed to march into Austria, at the head of some forces; where finding Matthias too powerful to be attacked, and be-

---

* Fugger, l. v. c. 50.  † Adler, Ann. Boier. Gent. part ii. l. 9.  ‡ Czechoa. I. vii. c. 5.
The history of Germany.

The historian in a war, he endeavoured to compromise the affair, and at length brought it to a tolerable conclusion. In a word, it was agreed, that there should be a truce for eight months; that Matthias should keep possession of Austria, until he should receive the sum of money which he had before stipulated for defraying the expense of the preceding war; and that, provided Matthias should die in the mean time, Austria should return to its old master, who should also retain the title of king of Hungary. The articles were ratified by the emperor, and peace for the present re-established.

In the mean time, the emperor repaired to the Low Countries, where he resided three months; at the expiration of which, he set out on his return, by the way of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he bestowed upon William the Young the investiture of Juliers and Bergue; then he visited Cologne, where he received the oath of allegiance from the prince of Cleves, for his duchy, together with the counties of La Marck and Genop; and from thence he took the road to Frankfort, accompanied by Maximilian, who was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, by six electors, notwithstanding the opposition of Matthias, who made sundry efforts to traverse his election.

The princes of the empire had long ago solicited Frederic to assemble a diet for this purpose; but, knowing the activity of the archduke, he was afraid of losing the little authority he had left, and still evaded their request till this occasion, and even now contented with reluctance. LADISLAUS, king of Bohemia, protested against this election, to which he had not been summoned; and, on the supposition that the Germans despaired of depriving him of his vote, he threatened to do himself justice by force of arms; but he was appeased in the sequel, by an authentic act of the diet, confirming the right of voting to him and his successors; and Maximilian was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the consent of the pope, who congratulated him upon his promotion 1 (A).

After this ceremony, he repaired to Bruges, to put the finishing stroke to the treaty between him and the states of Flanders, which was confirmed in the presence of the emperor, who had gone thither at the head of a good body of troops; and perceiving that his son would have occasion for them, to support the war against France, left them under his command, when he himself returned to Germany. As these forces committed great ravages in the country, which was already desolated, and the nearest relations of the deceased princes Mary were excluded from all share in the education of their young prince Philip, who was entirely under the management of Margaret dowager of England, and some other strangers; the subjects soon forgot the duty they owed to their prince, and now listened to notions but the suggestions of injustice and disgust. To such a degree did this dissatisfaction prevail, that, upon Maximilian's arrival at Bruges, where the states-general of Flanders were assembled, in order to apply some remedy to the disorders which were daily committed by his troops, a report was spread, that he intended to use them for making himself master of the city. The citizens and tradesmen, alarmed at this intimation, ran immediately to arms, and secured his person under a guard in the castle; 2 at the same time imprisoning some of his counsellors and favourites, four of whom were afterwards beheaded. The inhabitants of Ghent, following the example of Bruges, brought Payart, archdeacon of their church, to his trial, together with ten other persons, who left their heads, for having allowed Maximilian to enter the city with five thousand men, in lieu of five hundred, to which number his train had been limited by agreement. On account of this imprisonment of Maximilian, the states of the country were convoked at Mechlin by the young prince Philip, in order to concert measures for obtaining his father's enlargement; and the assembly, at the unanimous desire of the members, was transferred to Ghent, which they considered as a more convenient place for their deliberations. The Fleming began the conferences with heavy complaints against Maximilian, whom they accused of having committed divers misdemeanours and acts of arbitrary power; these articles were answered by his friends and partizans, who defended his conduct with great warmth and resolution; and strong debates ensued upon the reasons alleged on both sides. At length, pope Innocent and the emperor interposed in behalf of their imprisoned sovereign; the first threatening

---

(A) In this diet at Frankfort, a law was made for preserving the peace of the empire for ten years, during which, if any person should injure another in body or estate, he should be prosecuted by all the rest as a violator of the public peace. This law was religiously observed by a great many, particularly by the Saxons, who entered into an association with each other, by which they were rendered so formidable to their neighbours, that several cities of the empire, and powerful princes, desired to be included in their confederacy, which was distinguished by the name of the Saxonic Feder, or the Saxon league (1).

(1) Naude. Gener. 50.
The history of Germany.

them with spiritual, and the other with temporal arms, in case they should persist in detaining him in custody; and the states, in consequence of these remonstrances, engaged in a treaty with Maximilian, which being concluded, signed, and ratified, he was set at liberty, after a detention of ten months, and conducted to his troops, who kept the field, and advanced to meet their delivered monarch. Such was the precaution of the states in executing this treaty, that they obtained an obligation from Philip, duke of Cleves, in consequence of which he accompanied Maximilian into the middle of his forces, and intreated him, now he was at full liberty, to confirm the accommodation by word of mouth. To this request that prince answered, "Nephew, I will keep my promise." Nevertheless, at his arrival in Brabant, where he was met by his father with a strong army of Germans, he changed his resolution, at the solicitation of the emperor, the princes of Saxony, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, Baden, and others who accompanied Frederic, and could not approve of such an extorted peace, which was immediately declared void, and the war recommenced.

The emperor and Maximilian at first endeavoured to engage the duke of Cleves in their party, and threatened him, as a vassal, with the ban of the empire, and proscription, unless he would obey his sovereign; but the duke excused himself, on account of the oath, which, by the express order of Maximilian, he had sworn to the states of Flanders; and, protesting against the infringement of the treaty, he continued firmly to oppose them, resolved to live and die with honour, rather than incur the charge of perjury and equivocation. Frederic, finding him thus obstinately determined, resolved to inflict upon him exemplary chastisement: for this purpose, being at Antwerp, he ordered a throne to be raised in the court of St. Michael's cloister, upon which seating himself in his imperial robes, he solemnly put the duke to the ban of the empire, declaring him a traitor, and divesting him of his honours and dominions. He at the same time undertook the siege of Ghent, in which, after he had spent six weeks, without being able to do any thing of consequence, he abandoned his enterprise, laid waste the country, and returned to Germany, leaving the command of his troops to Albert, duke of Saxony (B).

This abrupt return was owing to the information he had received, that the Hungarians had again invaded Austria, because he still delayed the payment of that sum with which he had formerly purchased their forbearance. He therefore, in his own name, and in that of his son Maximilian, sent an embassy to Matthias, who was at that time sick in Vienna, desiring that a negotiation might be set on foot; and when his ambassadors returned to Lintz, they were accompanied by the bishop of Waradin, who was invested with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. The negotiation lasted a long time without success, because Frederic demanded the restitution of Austria, and refused to reimburse Matthias for the expence of the war; whereas the king of Hungary now raised his demand to a very considerable sum. Maximilian, equally displeased at the extortion of Matthias, and the intercepted proceedings of the emperor, proposed to obverse a medium, and purchase a peace with part of the sum which the king of Hungary demanded: but whether this moderate advice was not agreeable to the emperor, or that he had taken umbrage at the good intelligence that subsisted between the enemy and his own son, he would not allow Maximilian to assist at the conferences. Whatever his motive might be, certain it is, he fought nothing less than the conclusion of a peace; for he could not bear the thoughts of parting with his money for the redemption of a province, which he saw himself on the eve of retrieving without expence, as the ditterem of Matthias was said to be incurable: in effect, his malady every day increaseth, and Frederic found means to invent new delays, which retarded the treaty until the king of Hungary actually expired, when, instead of concluding a peace, he demanded the vacant throne, either for himself or his son Maximilian. Notwithstanding this request, the Hungarians elected Ladislaus king of Bohemia, though Maximilian had already recovered all Austria, made himself master of a good part of Hungary, and had the promise of powerful succours from the empire: in spite of these advantages, Frederic made peace with Ladislaus, on condition that he should be reimbursed in one hundred thousand florins, to defray the expence of the war; that he should remain sole possessor of Austria; that Ladislaus should retain the crown of Hungary; and that Maximilian and his descendents should enjoy the title, with the right of succeeding to the crown in default of issue.

a Chron. Car. VIII. &c.  

b Heiss, Hist. liv. iii. c. 2.  
c To. Rec. 


d About this time the emperor erected Austria into an archduchy, and conferred the title upon Philip, the son of Maximilian, who was the first of the family of Hapsburg distinguished by the name of archduke (1).

(1) Marain. lib. xxv. c. 12.
The history of Germany.

During these disputes, Frederick, by an authentic act, annulled the donations of the Tyrol, which his brother Sigismund had made in favour of Albert duke of Bavaria, on his marriage with Canegunda; declaring that, like the other gifts belonging to Sigismund, it ought to have reverted to the king of the Romans, who was his sole and lawful heir. Albert proteeted against this act, and engaged a number of princes and towns in his interest; while the emperor, tho' diffused by Maximilian from such violent measures, put the duke of Bavaria-Munich to the ban of the empire, together with the inhabitants of Ratibon, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of that prince. In a diet convoked at Nuremberg he adjusted the proportion of money and troops to be furnished by each prince and town of the empire, in order to execute this sentence, and the command of the army was given to the elector of Brandenburg, who, tho' he took the field, could do nothing of consequence against the Bavarian, so well had this prince secured his dominions.

At length Frederick, being tired of the war, which was not at all adapted to his disposition, listened to the remonstrances of Maximilian, who mediated a peace, on condition that Ratibon should be re-established in the privileges of an imperial town; and that Albert should restore Tyrol to the house of Austria, in consideration of being put in possession of the lordship of Akenberg, and receiving a proper dowry with the prince's Canegunda.

In Flanders the war still continued to the utter ruin of the country, till at length an accommodation was patched up between Maximilian and Charles king of France, who wanted to cultivate the friendship of the king of the Romans, that he might, in the course of their correspondence, find some favourable occasion for disengaging himself, without giving offence, from his match with Margaret, Maximilian's daughter, who had been educated at the court of France, and actually betrothed to Charles. Besides this motive, he longed for an opportunity of weaning Maximilian from the thought of concluding his marriage with Ann heiress of Brittany (C), which had been performed by proxy, and which the king of France intended, if possible, to disolve in his own favour; for his design was to reunite Brittany to his kingdom. With this view Charles had recourse to arms, invaded the duchy of Brittany, made himself master of the greatest part of it by force, besieged Ribiden where the prince was with his court, and, by presents and promises, brought over to his interest the noblemen of that country, who delivered the city and the duchefs into his hands. A few days after this achievement, he married Ann, by virtue of a double dispensation from the pope, setting aside his former contract with Margaret the daughter of Maximilian, as well as removing the impediment of confanguinity with his new bride. The king of the Romans, incensed at this double affront, by which his daughter was dishonoured and his marriage annulled, resolved to be revenged on the author of his wrongs; and solicited the affilience of the princes of the empire and the Swits; but, at a time when every thing threatened war and confusion, a treaty of peace was concluded at Senlis, in which it was agreed that the king of France should send back Margaret to her brother the archduke, and reforfe with her the counties of Arteis and Burgundy, but that he should retain the citadels in the four cities of Artois until Philip should be of age to ratify the peace. The king of Poland, marshall of France, and father of Ladislaus, who now reigned over Hungary and Bohemia, and the death of the Polisf monarch was soon followed by that of pope Innocent VIII. succeeded in the papacy by Roderic Borgia, who assumed the name of Alexander VI.

Nor did the emperor long survive these alterations. After the last effort of his resentment against the duke of Bavaria, which routed him from the lethargy of his floth, to the astonishment of the whole empire, he resolved to give himself no farther trouble with the affairs of government, but to spend the remainder of his life in a peaceful retreat.

With this view he retired to Lintz, and applied himself to the study of chemistry, astronomy, and astrology; but, in the midst of these amusements, he was seized with a violent disorder, which being increas'd by his eating melons to excess, put a period to his life in the 54th year of his reign, and 79th of his age. His distemper is said to have arisen from a cancercated ulcer in his leg, which was amputated by the advice of his physicians, though he died of the fever that attended the operation. On this occasion, when he beheld the limb cut off, "I am now convinced," said he, "that a healthy peasant is much better than a sick emperor; and yet I hope I shall enjoy the greatest good that can happen to man, namely,"


(C) This marriage was publicly celebrated in the church, and, that it might be held the more binding, putting his naked leg, as far as the knee, into the lid time that such a ceremony was performed (1).
The history of Germany.

"namely, a happy exit from this life." It is observed of Frederic, that his reign was longer than that of any other emperor since the days of Augustus, and that he never swore but twice during the whole course of his life; one of these oaths he took at his coronation at Aix, and the other when he received the imperial crown at Rome. He was surnamed the Pacific, because he was averse to war; yet there was an inflexibility in his temper, which often prompted him to quarrels and disputes, though when they came to an open rupture he generally sued for peace. He held an infinite number of diets, in which nothing was ever determined, because he always postponed the business to another meeting. In a word, he seems to have been a prince of a contemptible character, absolutely void of generosity, courage, and resolution; yet, by the alliance made with the house of Burgundy, he greatly aggrandized the wealth and power of the Austrian family. He seldom or never had recourse to the advice of his friends, was endowed with a fund of low cunning, and a tenacious memory, and scrupulously exact in the offices of devotion, in which he was rather superstitious than sensible. His person was agreeable, and his countenance dignified with an air of majesty. He was plain in his apparel, moderate in his passes, and an enemy to all sorts of excess. He eat so little, that his life was one continual fast, and diluted his wine to such a degree, that it was no stronger than water. He chose for his device the five vowels (D), which were imprinted upon all his books, carved on his buildings, and engraved on his plate. His body was interred at Vienna, and his tomb distinguished by an epitaph, which contains an enumeration of his titles, an encomium upon his sagacity and moderation, and an account of the acquisition he made of the Low Countries, by the marriage of his son Maximilian (E).

CHAP. XI.

Explaning the Beginning of the Reformation in Germany.

MAXIMILIAN.

A.D. 1493. Maximilian succeeded to the imperial throne.

MAXIMILLIAN, who had been chosen and crowned king of the Romans during the life of his father, received the imperial crown with the unanimous consent of all the electors, immediately after the laf-offices were performed to Frederic; and he brought with him to the throne all the qualities requisite to signalize a great prince, being equally adapted for the administration during war and in the time of peace. His childhood had been so remarkably unpromising, that, even when he was ten years of age, it could not be determined whether he would be absolutely dumb, or altogether idiotical; but this infirmity was so perfectly removed when he attained to a riper age, that in the sequel he attracted the admiration of all those who conversed with him, by the eloquence and facility with which he spoke the Latin, French, and Italian languages. He was particularly addicted to letters, and not only perused the best books with great application, but also employed many hours in writing history with his own hand: yet he owed all this progress solely to his own genius; for he often complained of the preposterous method in which he had been instructed by his preceptor, whose name was Peter Engelbert, afterwards bishop of Neublatt in Austria, a person of great piety, but very ill qualified for forming the mind of a young prince. That very day on which Maximilian was elected king of the Romans, "Whatever, obligations, said he, we may have to our preceptors, if mine was now alive, I believe I should make him repent of the manner in which I received his instructions;" and in one of the first diets he held, he engaged all the electors to establish academies in their respective dominions.

While he was making preparations for his father's funeral, he was informed that the Turks had invaded Croatia, upon which he began immediately to take measures for opposing their progress; and assembling a powerful army in Austria, advanced towards them, with all possible expedition; but the Moslems, aftrighted at his army, and astonished at his dispatch, retreated with great precipitation; so that, finding no enemy to cope with, he disbanded his army, and applied himself to the domestic affairs of the empire.

(D) Among several explications of this device, c, e, i, o, u, that which is most generally received, is king of Portugal, had three sons and two daughters; namely, Christopher, who died in his infancy; Maximilian, his successor in the empire; John, who did not live to be of age; Helen, who died an infant; and Catharina, who married Albert the Wise, duke of Bavaria (5).

(F) His emperor, by Eleonora, daughter of Edward the third king of England (3).

* Heins, liv. iii. c. 2.  
Nucli & Bonfin. ubi supra.

As
As he had now been a long time a widower, he was pressed to take another wife, and it was proposed that he should espouse Blancha Maria, sister to John Galeazzo Duke of Milan, and niece to Lewis Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who being guardian to his nephew Galeazzo, took possession of the state of Milan, not without suspicion of having poisoned his ward. As this prince was reckoned one of the most beautiful women of her time, possessed of a thousand amiable qualities, and a fortune of four hundred and sixty thousand ducats, Maximilian received the proposal with all the demonstrations of the most perfect joy, and married her on the sixth day of March, of that same year; by which means Lewis Sforza, who had been the chief negotiator in this match, reaped all the advantage which he expected from it, in acquiring the favour of the emperor, so as to be able to maintain himself in possession of the duchy, the investiture of which Maximilian in private conferred upon him as a reward for the failure of his armament. By this alliance, the emperor being engaged in the interests of Italy, refused to take the advice of the states of the empire, touching the pretensions which Charles VIII. king of France had to Naples, and the expedition he had undertaken to make a conquest of that kingdom. For this purpose, after he had assembled the states of Flanders at Louvain, where he appointed his son Philip governor of the Low Countries, and saw the deputies take the oath of fidelity to that young prince, he convoked a diet at Worms, where he proposed they should determine whether it would be more for the advantage of the empire to oppose the designs of Charles, or to engage in a war against the Turks; but this alternate being deemed entirely foreign to the interests of the Germanic body, the proposal was left undiscussed, and the deliberations of the diet altogether restricted to the intestine affairs of Germany. An authentic constitution was enacted for the preservation of the public peace among the princes and states of the empire, that they might have recourse to it as to an oracle; in all cases of difficulty; and the emperor, reflecting upon the trouble to which the people were subjected in following the imperial chamber, which always travelled about with the court, fixed that tribunal at Worms, from whence it was some time after transferred to another city, and at last settled at Spire. In this diet also the county of Württemberg was erected into a duchy in favour of Frederic of Württemberg, with the unanimous consent of all present; the league of Stubia was renewed; the investiture of Sforza confirmed; the electors took the oath of fidelity, and René Duke of Lorraine did homage for some of his fiefs which he held of the empire, though he declared his duchy free of all such dependence.

Now would he engage with the emperor in a war with the king of France, though Maximilian offered to support his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and even to create him vicar-general of the empire in Italy. The diet, however, in consequence of the emperor's representations, resolved to keep an army on foot, in order to stop the progress of the French king on the other side of the Alps, and decreed that the states of the empire should raise one hundred and fifty thousand florins for its maintenance.

Charles VIII. king of France, had compelled the Florentines to put four of their strongest places into his hands, and lend him a sum of money; then he marched to Rome, to the great terror of the pope, who himself up in thecastle of St. Angelo, made himself master of the fortifications in the ecclesiastical state, and, having received Alexander's bastard, Cesar Borgia, as a hostage, marched to Naples, where he was acknowledged as sovereign, while king Alfonso, terrified at his approach, and knowing himself hated by his subjects, proclaimed his son Ferdinand king, and retired with that prince to the isle of Sicily, to wait for some favourable revolution.

The pope and the princes of Italy, seeing the king of France master of Naples, Siena, and Florence, engaged in a league against that monarch, and their confederacy was joined by Maximilian, who pretended that the French king had usurped the rights of the empire in Tuscany; and Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Arragon and Castile, acceded to the same treaty. Maximilian took the opportunity of this conjunction to propose a match,

(F) The elector of Mentz alleged, that the duke ought to use the same form of taking the oath, which was practised by the other states of the empire; but René, positively refusing to comply with that proposal, it was agreed, that he should swear in these terms: "I René, king of Jerusalem and Sicily, duke of Lorraine and Bar, marquis of Pont, count of Provence, Vaudemont, Horcourt, &c. doe swear and promise, as duke of Lorraine and Bar, to you Maximilian, king of the Romans, to the sacred Roman empire, and your successors in the empire, fidelity, submition, and obedience, according to the tenor of the charters of my fiefs: So help me GOD, and his help Evangels."

Having taken this oath, he was invested by the emperor, who sat upon a throne, with the sceptre of Charlemagne in his hand; then he paid seven hundred florins for the ransom of his horses, cloths, and privileges, exclusive of the sum due to the elector of Mentz, archchancellor of the empire (g).

---

*Kranz, Sax. lib. iii. c. 21.  
*Serraz, Hist. Mogunt. l. iv.  
*Cuspin, p. 483.  
*Gaguin, l. ii. p. 234.
The history of Germany.

The marriage of Philip with the infanta Jane.

which was afterwards effected, between his son Philip, who had now attained to the eighteenth year of his age, and the infanta Jane, one of the daughters of their catholic majesties; and though at that time this princes was, by the order of birth, posterior to her brother the infant John, who, some months after, was married to Margaret the sister of Philip, and also to her sister Isabella, wife of Emanuel king of Portugal, nevertheless, contrary to all appearance, she, by the death of her brother and sister, and the children of their respective marriages, became sole heiress of the kingdoms of Spain; so that this alliance was no less advantageous to the house of Austria, than that of Maximilian with the princes of Burgundy. 

The league formed by the emperor, the pope, their catholic majesties, the duke of Milan, the marquis of Mantua, and the Venetians, being published at Rome, Charles VIII. thought it was high time for him to return to France, before the allies could oppose his palaige. He therefore began his march with all expedition; but when he advanced into the plain of Fornova, about four leagues from Parma, he found them already drawn up in order of battle, and an engagement ensued, in which they were defeated, so that he pursued his route to the county of Atri without farther interruption, while the duke of Milan laid siege to Nevarra, which had been surprised by the duke of Orleans. By this time Charles was reinforced by fifteen thousand Swifs, with which he intended to attack Sforza; but, understanding that these mercenaries, who were much more numerous than his native troops, designed to exact of him a large sum of money, on pretence of arrears, he clapped up a peace in a great hurry, restoring Novara to the duke of Milan, on condition that he should not assist the king of Naples, and retire to his own dominions.

As for Ferdinand, he no sooner heard of the league against Charles than he quitted his retreat, and assembling an army, which was joined by a reinforcement of Spaniards, took the places which had submitted to the French, compelled the count de Montpenezier, whom Charles had appointed viceroy, to abandon Naples, and, in a little time, reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience.

Charles, on the other hand, as soon as he arrived in France, began to make preparations for retrieving his conquest; and the emperor, being pressed by the duke of Milan and the Venetians to march into Italy with a certain number of horse and foot, to oppose these designs, he accordingly, without staying for the supplies voted in the diet, crossed the Alps with a small body of troops: but, being too weak to attempt any thing of consequence, he, by the advice of Sforza, marched to Pisa, where he was received as sovereign by the inhabitants, who pulled down the arms of France which they had set up, and, in the room of them, erected those of the emperor. He afterwards invested the city of Leghorn, but was obliged to raise the siege with disgrace; then he retired into Lombardy, where having failed some time, fluctuating in his counsels, and altogether undetermined, he at last returned to Germany, leaving behind him a very contemptible opinion of his capacity and power.

He had convoked a diet at Lindau, in order to forward the supplies, and it was determined to execute the resolutions of the former assembly, under certain regulations, which were, however, referred to the consideration of a subsequent diet, convened at Worms, where James marquis of Baden, Wolfgang count of Nassau, and the landwag or governor of Gustavland, prevailed in the name of the emperor. The elector of Mainz opened the diet with a long harangue, expatiating upon the disorders that afflicted the empire, and the means for remedying those evils; and the grand master of the Teutonic order demanded immediate succour against the Puffians, who had defolated Livonia. But in this, as in the preceding diets, nothing was executed, though many schemes were projected.

This resolution served only to nourish the dissensions of Germany, and in particular to encourage the Frielanders and Gutelians in their revolt against the emperor. The inhabitants of Frieland had refused to pay the ordinary tax imposed by the diet for the occasions of the empire; alleging that, as their country was not a fief thereof, they were not obliged to obey the decrees of the Germanic body: and indeed their dependency had never been clearly ascertained; for, although the emperors had appointed governors or podestas of that province, there were always well or ill received, according as they favoured or oppressed the liberties of the people: they had even threatened to hang the commissary of the late emperor, and, in all probability, would have executed the threat, had not he left the country without hesitation. Maximilian, resoloving to assert his right of sovereignty over this stubborn people, nominated the duke of Saxony as podesta of Frieland, and ordered them to receive and obey him as such, on pain of being declared rebels to the empire.

Instead of submitting to this command, they revolted against the duke, expelled him.

---

b Phil. de Comm. iv. viii. c. 16. c Mez. abr. Chron. tom. ii. p. 781. Freher. from
The history of Germany.

from their country, renounced all dependence upon the empire, and put themselves under the protection of Charles duke of Guelderland, who was then engaged in a war with Maximilian, in order to recover the invetus of his father.

The emperor, being still in great want of money and troops, assembled another diet at Fribourg, in the Bruggeau, where the princes whom he appointed to represent his person complained, that the states had given him no assistance in his war against the French in Italy, and demonstrated the necessity of taking vigorous measures against the Frieslanders and the Swiss, who were declared enemies to the confederation of Suabia. The states having deliberated upon these topics, agreed to raise a powerful army against the Swiss, though in the sequel they acquitted themselves very ill of this engagement. Mean while they gave audience to the ambassadors of his Holiness, who demanded succours against the Turks, and sent a deputation to engage the pope to accommodate that monarch with the money raised in Germany by the nuncio, against whole exactions they bitterly complained (G). This embassy had likewise orders to represent to his holiness, that the German noblemen would exact as their undoubted right one-third of the money arising from indulgences, if the holy see should refuse to refrain the excesses of her minister; and to complain, that the Concordata were not observed in the article of benefices, which the pope either bestowed on strangers, when vacant, or disposed of by way of reversion, to the prejudice of the patrons.

A law was enacted in this assembly to regulate the succession of grandsons in the room of their deceased fathers; and Albert duke of Saxony was confirmed in the principality of Wolfenbüttel, which was rendered hereditary in his family.

ALBERT being invested with this new dignity, endeavoured to attach to his interest one of the factions that divided Friesland, but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, they united against his authority, and looked upon the hereditary settlement of his office as an invasion of their rights and privileges, granted to them by Charlemagne and his successors (H): so that the duke of Saxony was on the point of resigning his government, when he was dissuaded from that renunciation by Edward count of Eschwege, who undertook to form a party in his favour by means of the friends he had among the Frieslanders.

In the midst of these transactions, Charles king of France, having died suddenly at Amboise, was succeeded by the duke of Orleans, under the name of Lewis XII. This prince pretending to have an incontestable right to the duchy of Milan, resolved to put himself in a condition to pass the Alps, and take possession of that duchy; which Lewis Sforza, that he might be able to withstand the tempest, took all the necessary precautions to put himself in a posture of defence, and had recourse to the assistance of Maximilian.

He spared neither pains nor money to involve Lewis in quarrels with his neighbours. René II. duke of Lorraine was well paid for laying claim to Provence, in right of his mother Toland, a daughter of René of Anjou, titular king of the Two Sicilies, and real count of Provence; but this dispute was referred to the examination of commissaries, and the duke acquiesced in their decision in favour of Lewis.

But a more formidable neighbour was Philip archduke of Austria, who reclaimed a great many towns of the succession of Burgundy, which had been jealously guarded by Lewis XI. As Philip was very powerful, and well beloved by his subjects, and Lewis bent upon his Italian expedition, he restored part of those places to the archduke, who did homage to him at Arras for Flanders, Artois, and Charolais, while his right to Burgundy was referred to the decision of the parliament of Paris.

Whatever inclination the emperor had to succour his ally the duke of Milan, he was obliged to suspend his favourite intention, in order to attend to the war of Guelderland, in which he was now engaged. That reader may have a distinct idea of this affair, it will be necessary to trace it back to its origin, and observe that Arnold of Egmont, duke of Guelderland, after having been detained prisoner for several months, and extremely ill used by his son Adolphus, had found means to obtain his liberty, and restor his imprisonment on his ungrateful son. As he had been very much obliged to Charles the late duke of Burgundy,
who, upon this occasion, had interposed his good offices and assistance in his favour, he, in order to manifest his gratitude, and punish his rebellious son at the same time, alienated his duchy for the benefit of that prince, who paid to him ninety-two thousand crowns for the reversion of it, and agreed that Arnold should enjoy the revenues during his natural life. In consequence of this purchase, Arnold was no sooner dead than the duke of Burgundy took possession of his dominions; but Charles being slain soon after at Nancy, the people of Guelderland let Adolphus at liberty from the castle of Villeraden, in which he had hitherto been detained; and he being afterwards entrusted with the command of the troops belonging to the city of Ghent, miserably perished, as we have hinted above, in an expedition against the inhabitants of Tournay. Mary of Burgundy, and, after her death, Maximilian, as guardian of her son Philip, had endeavoured to maintain, by force of arms, the right which they pretended to have to that duchy, as part of the succession of the house of Burgundy. Nevertheless, the possession of it was a long time contested by Charles of Egmont, the son of Adolphus, who, to his dying day, enjoyed a part of that duchy, notwithstanding the power of the house of Austria, and the decision of the princes of the empire, who had adjudged it to Philip.

When Maximilian was engaged in the very heat of this war, he was obliged, all of a sudden, to desist, and even to make advances towards an accommodation with Charles of Egmont, that he might be able to turn his arms against the Swifs, who had begun to make incursions upon the Austrian territories; for the good intelligence between the emperor and that people no longer subsisted. Maximilian, when he first succeeded to the dominions of Sigismund of Austria, by virtue of his being adopted by that prince, had often declared that the Swifs would renew with him the friendship and alliance which they had formerly maintained with Sigismund; but this renewal they always declined; besides, the greatest part of the princes, and all the nobility, looked upon these people with an evil eye, since they had erected themselves into republics, and renounced the alliance of Suabia: on the other hand, the city of Constance, which had hitherto refused to enter into this league, or into the confederacy of the Swifs, notwithstanding repeated invitations from both, had at length united with the circle of Suabia. Finally, the revival of the ancient quarrel between the inhabitants of Eschelbronn and the city of Coire, which had been frequently referred to arbitration to no purpose, contributed to bring matters to an open rupture.

When the bishop of Coire died, the regency of Tyrol reigned upon some facts of the bishopric, in hope of obtaining the chapter to own the archdukes of Austria as their avoyers; but these refusing to comply with this demand, several boroughs and castles were pillaged and burnt. The Grisons, informed of these outrages, hastened to the assistance of their allies, and were defeated by the Austrrians, who pursued them to the valley of Engadina, which they laid waste with fire and sword.

In this emergency they solicited succours of the Swifs, who forthwith marched to their assistance, and crossing the Rhine, came in sight of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Bregenz, where a battle ensued, in which the Austrrians were routed with great slaughter.

During this expedition, the inhabitants of the Brugge and Sintgat fell upon the lands of Nuremberg and Rotenburg; but their career was soon stopped by the Swifs of the neighbouring canton, who assembled to the number of two thousand, and attacked them with such fury, that they were forced to betake themselves to flight, after having left a great part of their number killed upon the spot.

Lewis the French king, taking advantage of this favourable conjunction, renewed with the Swifs the ancient alliance which they had formed with his predecessors, and the treaty was concluded at Lucerne, with this reserve, that France should not molest the allies of the Swifs: an article which secured the cities of Strassburg, Basle, Kaysersberg, Colmar, Selestat, and other towns of Alsace.

The emperor, enraged to find such resistance from a people he affected to despise, ordered a numerous army to rendezvous near Constance, which, being divided into small bodies, pillaged the villages and castles in the canton of Schaffhausen; but, while they were employed in acquiring booty, without dreaming of the enemy's approach, the Swifs, who had assembled privately, and reconnoitred their motions, took the opportunity of falling upon them when they were thus divided and incumbered, and cut them all in pieces. The same fate overtook a body of the Suabians, who had surprised Tungen, and plundered the cantons of Appenzel and St. Gall: they fell into an ambuscade, and were destroyed by the Swifs, who retook Tungen, and demolished its fortifications.

The news of these successes having reached the emperor, while he was engaged in the war against Charles of Guelderland, over whom he had gained sundry advantages, he left the command of his army to the duke of Saxony, and, with four thousand chosen men, took

\* Kran. Sax. I, xii. c. xx.  
\* Seller, I. iii. c. 5.
The history of Germany:

Maximilian was at Lindau when he received the melancholy news of this misfortune, which effectually humbled his pride, and induced him to make the first advance to a peace, which, after some negotiations at Zurzib Schaffhausen, was at length established by the mediation of the duke of Milan, and some other princes, and the articles were not very disadvantageous to his interest, considering the ill fortune of his arms during the war.

This peace was succeeded by an accommodation between Maximilian and Charles d'Egmont, to whom the emperor restored the towns he had taken in Guelderland, permitting him at the same time to assume the title of duke, on condition that he should acknowledge the duchy as a fief of the empire. For the Swits, they acquired such reputation by this war, which they maintained against Maximilian, that Bafal and Schaffhausen, and afterwards Appenzel, engaged in their league, and completed the number of thirteen cantons which now compose their alliance.

MAXIMILIAN being freed from these broils, assembled a diet at Augsburg, in order to re-establish the public peace, and reform the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice; and the feoffment was opened with complaints touching the annates, benefits, and taxes, which the court of Rome exacted of the provinces, to defray the expenses of a war against the Turks. The fums thus levied had been remitted to Cesfar Borgia, who had squandered them away in debauchery; and the princes inveighing loudly against this abuse, embassadors were sent to complain of it to pope Alexander, who promised that such profusion should be prevented for the future. This step being taken, they prolonged the league of Swabia for twelve years, re-established the imperial chamber, which was grown into a diocese; and, as this could be of little advantage, unless proper armament should be taken to execute its decrees and support its authority, the empire was divided into the six circles of Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, Saxony, the Rhine, and Westphalia: but as the provinces possessed by the house of Austria in Germany, and those of the electors, were not comprehended in these six circles, Maximilian formed his own German dominions into a circle, as an example to the other electors, and four new divisions were added to the former six, namely, the circles of Austria and Burgundy for the provinces belonging to the house of Austria, that of Upper Saxony for the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and that of the Upper Rhine for the ecclesiastical electors and the Palatinate (1).

Krants. ubi fup. 1 Barke, tom. viii. p. 824.

(1) Each circle chose a director to conduct the civil affairs, and a duke or general to command in all military expeditions, and to keep the troops and fortresses in proper order. At first it depended upon the imperial court.
The history of Germany.

The kingdom of Bohemia was not comprehended in this division, because it was not then connected with the Germanic body, and a misunderstanding subsisted between Ladinians and the emperor.

Although the interior parts of the empire enjoyed the happy fruits of Maximilian's paternal care, the war continued to rage between John king of Denmark and the Dythmarfians, who had revolted against him as duke of Holstein, and put themselves under the protection of the archbishop of Bremen. Before the commencement of hostilities he offered them a general amnesty, and a confirmation of all their privileges, provided they would own their dependence upon the duchy of Holstein; and they, rejecting his advances, he took the field against them. Their towns and villages soon fell into his hands, and their country was abandoned to pillage; yet they seemed to draw fresh courage from despair; they destroyed several detachments which he sent to reconnoitre their situation; for when they received the first account of his approach they abandoned Mindorp their capital, and retired into the centre of their country, where their dykes and canals served them for intrenchments.

These they fortified with great skill and precaution, and when the king advanced to attack them, they waited until they saw his army harnessed among defiles and morasses, and then falling upon them with incredible fury, made a terrible slaughter, and obtained a complete victory. Adolphus and Otto counts of Oldenburg, together with one hundred and sixty officers, were killed upon the spot, and the king obliged to fly for shelter to Holstein, where he set on foot new levies, in order to retrieve his reputation; but he was diverted from his purpose by the neighbouring princes, who negotiated an accommodation.

Mean while Lewis XII. of France, having made his preparations for wresting the Milanese from Ludovic Sforza, sent a strong body of troops into Italy, took, plundered, and burnt, the town of Nevi, made himself master of Valenza, Tortona, and Alexandria, while Ludovic, betrayed by his officers, fled for refuge to the emperor: Milan submitted without resistance, and Genoa received a garrison of French troops. Lewis, being informed of these conquests, set out from Lyons, and repaired to Milan, where he made a public entry, and was acknowledged as sovereign; where all the powers of Italy, except the king of Naples, sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon his good fortune.

Having appointed governors to all the conquered places, and made a truce with the emperor, he returned to France; but, in his absence, Trivulce, who commanded in Milan, rendered himself so odious to the people by his arrogance and cruelty, and oppressed the Ghibelines in such a manner, that they began to cabal against his administration, and, in less than three months, dispersed almost all the towns of the Milanese to receive the banished Ludovic. That prince, finding the emperor neither very able nor willing to give him effectual assistance, had begun to levy a body of horse in the provinces of the empire, and having contracted with the Swiss for eight thousand infantry, begun his march with that army, and entered the Milanese, where the people opened their gates to him, and renewed their oath of allegiance; while Trivulce, perceiving the citizens of Milan ripe for a revolt, quitted the city, and flung himself up in Novarra, which was immediately invested by Ludovic, and, in a few days, capitulated: but the chevalier Bayard, who commanded in the citadel, refused to be comprehended in this capitulation, and held out with incredible fortitude and perseverance. Mean while Maximilian, having received the subsidies that were voted in the great diet at Worms, for the preservation of public peace, began to levy troops in all the provinces, in order to oppose the progress of Lewis: but, all of a sudden, these levies were fulminated, and the French king sent a strong body of forces into Italy, under the command of the cardinal d'Amboise, and the Sieur de la Tremouille, who, without hazarding a battle, carried on a secret negotiation with the Swiss in Ludovic's army; and these, in

---

a Müller, l. i. c. z. & 3.  

b Meursius, Hist. Dam. lib. ii.

c quoted by Barber, p. 829.

---

The history of Germany.

a a most treacherous manner, fold and delivered that unhappy prince to the French king, who ordered him to be confined in the castle of Loches, where he lived ten years, deprived of all the comforts, and even the necessaries, of life, and at last died of grief and mortification.

Lewis having secured himself in the possession of the Milanese, concluded with Ferdinand king of Aragon a treaty, in consequence of which they joined their forces in order to conquer and divide the dominions of the king of Naples; and this poor prince was obliged to renounce his kingdom, and depend upon the generosity of the French king, who bestowed upon him and his heirs the county of Maine and all its dependencies, together with a pension of thirty thousand livres, and all rights and privileges granted to the

b princes of the blood.

In order to preserve this conquest, and confirm the Milanese to his family, Lewis resolved to cultivate the friendship of the emperor, and actually demanded the investiture of that duchy from Maximilian, who was at first very averse to the proposal, because a report prevailed, that Lewis, by the help of the pope, aspired to the imperial crown. However, the French monarch soon undeviced him and the princes of Germany in this particular, by the most solemn protestation, and, knowing the avaricious and interested disposition of the emperor, he conquered his reluctance with a sum of money, and the proposal of a match between Charles fon of the archduke Philip and his own daughter Claudia. This alliance was accordingly negotiated at Trent, by the cardinal d'Amboise, though the parties were in their infancy: a treaty of peace was concluded between the emperor and France, importing, that Lewis should assist the king of the Romans against the Turks; maintain the rights of Maximilian and his successors to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, after the death of Ladislaus, and facilitate his coronation at Rome; and, in consideration of these articles, the emperor should grant to Lewis the investiture of the Milanese? (K).

Other additional articles of this treaty were signed and ratified at Blois in France by the archduke Philip, on his way with the archduchess, through this kingdom to Spain, where they were declared the presumptive heirs of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The city of Basf having joined in the league of the Swifs, in diametrical opposition to the authority of the Germanic body, which had forbid the imperial towns to engage in that confederacy, a diet was convoked at Nuremberg, in order to concert measures for detaching it from that connection, as well as for preventing other cities from following its example; and it was proposed to summon the citizens to abandon the Helvetian league, and unite with that of Swabia, on pain of being put to the ban of the empire; but, after much altercation and debate, they agreed to consider Basf as an imperial town, and compel it occasionally to pay those taxes that should be imposed by the diet on the other cities of the empire.

Measures were likewise taken to reform the current coin, and raise the Teutonic order to that importance they had lost since their last treaty with Poland, by which they forfeited Pomerania, Marienburg, Elbing, Culin, and Gémar, with their territories. The states of the empire interposed their good offices on behalf of the knights, and sent ambassadors to the diet which the king of Poland assembled at Posen, to terminate the dispute; but that prince would neither restore the places, nor remit the homage they paid for the towns they still held in Prussia; and the order, being very much reduced, was fain to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

While the pope sent cardinal Raymond as his legate, to let the emperor know he had resolved to publish a crusade against the infidels, and for that purpose had agreed with the ambassadors of several potentates, that the Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, and Germans should carry on the war against the Turks in Thrace, while the French and Spaniards should make their efforts in Greece, and his holiness with the king of England, the Venetians, and princes of Italy, would attack Constaninople by sea. In conquence of this resolution, he had sent nuncios to all the courts, to exhort the sovereigns to compromise their quarrels, that they might unite their forces against the common enemy of Christendom.

Although Maximilian very well knew that Alexander’s sole aim in this crusade was to amas money by voluntary contribution, he affected to applaud the project; but at the

f

N A U S C E R. Chronic. gener. 51. p. 515.

G U I C C. l. v.

M Ü L L E R. l. i. c. 16.

(K) This article of the treaty was signed by Francis of Valois, presumptive heir of the crown, the princes of the blood, and the princes of the realm. The other articles imported, that the king should restore to their estates and honours those who had been banished from Milan, and that he should receive from Maximilian the

investiture of that duchy, in consideration of a hundred and twenty thousand florins, payable in twelve months, a pair of golden spurs yearly on Christmas-day, and five hundred lances to be fent, when the emperor should go to receive the imperial crown at Rome (1).

(1) Remarq. for Heib, liv. iii. c. 5.
The history of Germany.

A.D. 1504.
The electors engage in an association to furnish troops against the infidels. They complain of the aulic council. Refuse to admit the archduke Philip into the electoral college. New prerogatives attached to the title of archduke.

RAYMOND, in all probability, followed his advice, and was amused with some promises by the princes and towns; for the electors engaged in an association at Gelmbaufen, obliging themselves to furnish a certain proportion of troops to march against the infidels; and they wrote to the kings of France, Spain, and Denmark, inviting them to join in the alliance. At the same time they represented to the emperor, that the erection of the aulic council lately established at Ratisbon, was contrary to the laws of the Germanic body, as the princes of the empire had never consented to the establishment of that tribunal, which greatly interfered with the authority of the imperial chamber. Maximilian, however, paid little regard to these remonstrances, which were next year repeated in an assembly at Frankfurt; and the princes, on the other hand, sent a dea et to his intimates, when he solicited them to admit his son Philip into the electoral college. His design was to erect Austria into an electorate; but failing in that enterprise, he resolved to invest the sovereignty of that province with prerogatives that would as conspicuously distinguish him from the other princes. He began by confirming the title of archduke, which had been conferred upon him by Frederic III. Then he decreed, that the archduke, after having three times demanded his right of the emperor, should be deemed to have obtained it, even though it had been refused; that he should receive it with the sword only, and that gratia, on the frontiers of Austria; and that he should not be obliged to answer any challenge to single combat. The electors, in order to counterbalance these privileges, which they did not approve, renewed their association of Gelmbaufen, engaging to assist each other reciprocally against all violence, to maintain their rights in the election of an emperor, or king of the Romans; to oppose every attempt to diminish the authority of the Germanic body; and to appear every two years, personally, at an appointed time and place, to deliberate upon the affairs of the empire.

The emperor concludes a treaty with Henry VII. of England.

War between the king of Denmark and the ham-towns.

The inhabitants of Lubeck paying no regard to these remonstrances, John threatened to deprive them of their privileges, and, in the mean time, made prize of their ships and vessels, a circumstance which incensed them to such a degree, that they declared war against Denmark, and fitted out a powerful squadron to annoy the Danes by sea. The administrator of Sweden made preparations for co-operating with these allies, and the whole north was on the eve of being involved in war; when Raymond, the pope's legate, at that time employed in preaching the crusade through the provinces of Germany, used his best endeavours for dissuading the parties to an accommodation; the queen of Denmark was released, and conferences were opened; but before they could agree upon the articles, Suante-Sture died, and was succeeded by his son Stenso. The senate of Lubeck having, about this time, intailed upon themselves a war with the duke of Mecklenburg, and terrified at the prospect of falling a sacrifice to two such powerful enemies, sent ambassadors to his Danish majesty, to sue for peace, which was granted on pretty equitable conditions.

JOHN being now at liberty to prosecute the war against Sweden with his whole force, the administrator, by the intercession of the envoys of Scotland and Brandenburg, obtained his consent to the opening of conferences at Colmar, where the Swedes refusing to appear, were convicted of rebellion, the administrator declared a traitor, deprived of his nobility, and his estate confiscated; and this sentence, being confirmed by Maximilian, was published through the whole empire.

This confirmation being obtained, the king of Denmark confiscated all the estates belonging to the Swedes, and gave the ham-towns to underlie, that, should they continue to trade with Sweden, or assist that kingdom in any shape whatsoever, he would revoke all the privileges granted by his predecessors to their ships in the ports of Denmark.

The history of Germany.

The Swedes, alarmed at the emperor's decree, as well as at his Danzig majesty's resolution, sent ambassadors to Copenhagen to sue for peace; but, as they had already deceived the king, all they could obtain was a short suspension of arms.

During these commotions, there was such a formidable insurrection among the peasants in Germany, that it was found necessary to raise a strong army, in order to bring them to reason; for they had resolved, like the Swedes, to shake off the yoke of their masters, and live independent, in the form of a republic. Scarcely was this disturbance quelled, when a new war broke out in the empire. George de Rich, duke of Bavaria, of the branch of Landshut, had made his will in favour of his son-in-law Rupert, count Palatine, son of Philip the elector; and tho' he could not prevail upon the emperor to confirm this disposition, he had, some time before his death, not only bestowed the vicariate of the Lower Bavaria upon Rupert, but also laid injunctions upon the states of these provinces to obey that prince. At his death, Albert and Wolfgang, dukes of High Bavaria, his nearest relations of the branch of Munich, had obtained the investiture of his dominions. Rupert pretended to the succession in consequence of the will, as husband of Elizabeth, daughter of duke George, and because the greater part of the fiefs were alloidal. Albert and Wolfgang, on their side, affirmed, that the will of George was contrary to the ancient treaties of the family, by which it was stipulated, that if any prince of the house of Bavaria should die without male issue, the nearest relation of the collateral line should succeed to his dominions. This affair was brought before the emperor, who adjudged the succession to collateral heirs, and Rupert, refusing to abide by that sentence, was put to the ban of the empire. His father Philip, who was threatened with the same penalty, provided he should espouse the cause of Rupert, hesitated some time between his fear and paternal affection; at length, however, being encouraged with promises of succour from France, he armed for the support of his son, and undertook the same punishment from Maximilian. Armies on both sides immediately took the field: the emperor, who commanded the first, was accompanied by Albert and Wolfgang, dukes of Bavaria, Frederic margrave of Brandenburg, and the bishop of Strasburg; and invading the territories of duke George, committed great ravages, took possession of divers cities, and meeting with a body of troops which Rupert had levied in Bohemia, cut them in pieces near Ratibor. After this action, Maximilian divided his forces, one half of which had orders to attack the territories of Rupert, while the other, headed by the emperor himself, marched towards Alzach against the elector Philip, took possession of several places in the Palatinate, among others Kauffstein, and Gernsbeck, and compelled the elector to sue for peace. Udalric, duke of Wurttemberg, who was at the head of a second army, composed of twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse, entered the dominions of the count Palatine, burned the monastery of Maulbronn, and took possession of several places. A third body, which had been raised by Alexander, count Palatine, duke of Bavaria, and count of Weldenitz, was no other than a number of peasants assembled in a hurry, and much better adapted for plundering and ravaging the country, than for carrying on a regular war. These, however, he sent into the Palatinate, some towns of which fell into their hands: but the greatest excursions were committed by the fourth corps, which destroyed with fire and sword, under the conduct of William landgrave of Hesse, accompanied by Henry duke of Brunswic, Henry duke of Mecklenburg, Emicus count of Leinningen, the counts of Lippe and Koningstein, and several other noblemen, some of whom had voluntarily taken arms, out of hatred to the elector of Palatine, while others engaged with a view to support some particular pretensions, and a third fort embraced the service for payment and promotion.

During these operations, the elector Philip retired to his fortress of Heidelberg, a place strong by its situation, defended by good walls and towers, difficult of access, and provided with a noble train of artillery. The town was likewise well fortified, supplied with provisions for three years, and the garrison composed of people determined to sacrifice themselves for the defence of their prince.

This invasion of the Palatinate lasted five months, at the end of which Rupert dying, the emperor ordered both parties to lay down their arms; and that no person might have cause to complain that his rights were invaded, issued orders for convoking a diet at Cologne, where the pretensions on both sides should be heard and considered, and a definitive sentence pronounced by the princes of the empire. The elector Palatine repaired to this diet, and was by Frederic elector of Saxony presented to the emperor, of whom he asked pardon, and intreated peace. Maximilian received him into favour, and, with the advice of the princes of the empire, regulated the conditions of the treaty between Philip and the dukes of Bavaria. In this accommodation regard was had to the children of Rupert, who, besides the treasuries of duke George, were left in possession of the territories lying between

---

1 Barre, tom. viii. p. 808. 2 Surn. in comment. Basil, in suppl. in Naugler. 3 Barre, tom. ii. p. 797. Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. K k the
The history of Germany.

the Danube, the Náb, and the ancient limits of the Palatinate. His other dominions were given to Albert and Wolfgang; the old quarrel between the elector Palatine and the duke of Wirtenberg was compromised, and as it was fluted in the treaty, that each should remain in possession of the lands and places which he had acquired during the war, the emperor remained master of the fortresses of Rosenburg, Kufstein, and several other towns. Yet the articles of this peace were not fully executed till two years after this period, in the diet which was held at Constance.

It was now that the treaty of Blois was concluded, and confirmed the alliance before projected between France and Austria; an alliance by which, indeed, Lewis XII. acquired the investiture of Milan, but importing, at the same time, that in case Lewis should prevent the fluted marriage between the princes Claudia and the archduke Charles of Luxembourg, this prince should, by way of indemnification, possess the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Abi; whereas, should the match miscarry through the fault of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, the young archduke's father, the house of Austria should cede her pretensions to the duchy of Burgundy, the Artois, Charolais, and other domains; so that this, at any rate, was a very impolitic agreement in Lewis; for by giving his daughter in marriage to Charles, he gave away Brittany as her dowry; and, by refusing the match, he left the duchy of Burgundy, and his Italian fiefs. But this treaty was opposed by the states of France, with the private consent and approbation of Lewis, and the prince given in marriage to Charles count of Angoulême, presumptive heir to the crown.

During these transactions Isabella queen of Castile dying, after having left her dominions to her husband Ferdinand, Philip of Austria repaired to Spain with his wife Jane, in order to reign in conjunction with his father-in-law. Pope Julius II. who succeeded Alexander, made himself master of Bologna, with the affiance of Lewis and cardinal d'Amboise, and projected schemes for raising a new sovereignty by force of arms.

Mean while Philip, titular king of Spain, was overtaken by death at Burgos, and, to the astonishment of all mankind, appointed Lewis XII. tutor to his son Charles, notwithstanding the reason he had to doubt the friendship and integrity of that monarch; but this step was the consequence of the hatred he bore to Ferdinand, whom he looked upon as a perfidious hypocrite; and he knew that the Flemings would never own the emperor as regent during his son's minority.

Nevertheless the seventeen provinces, though they chose their own governors for the space of eighteen months, finding themselves involved in a war with Charles duke of Gueldron, who made great efforts to recover the whole extent of his dominions, were at length obliged to yield the regency to Maximilian, who declared his daughter Margaret of Austria their governante.

Though the emperor had made a very good accommodation with the King of France, with regard to Milan, he could not forget the outrage which he thought he had received from the Venetians, by the part they acted in that affair; besides, they possessed lands in Ibaria, to which he had pretensions. He therefore convoked a diet, where, though under another pretext, it was resolved to declare war against the republic and her adherents; and in order to execute this design more effectually, he engaged in a league with pope Julius II. and the kings of France and Spain, who could not without regret behold the Venetians in peaceable possession of several cities in the duchy of Milan, and in other parts of Lombardy, to which they had no other right than that of conquest. But, before this alliance was made, Maximilian undertook an expedition into Italy, in order to oppose the progres of Lewis, who was suspected of a design to enflave that country; he accordingly began his march with a contemptible number of troops, and was by the Venetians refuted a paffage through the valley of Trent; so that he was obliged to desist from his enterprise, after having sustained considerable losses in an engagement with Bartolommeo d'Alviano, the general of the republic. Thus baffled, he was fain to conclude a truce; and, as he was disappointed in the other part of his design, which was his coronation at Rome, he, by a circular letter, laid injuncions upon all the states of the empire, to give him the appellation of Roman emperor elected, a title which hath since been assumed by all his succeffors, at their election, in consequence, however, of the pope's permission.

As the French troops, which had joined the Venetians, refused to act offensively against the dominions of the emperor, the state of Venice were fain to listen to the proposals of Maximilian, and open a congress at their city, where, after abundance of altercation and political craft exercised on both sides, a separate treaty of truce was concluded between Maximilian and the Venetians, to which Lewis XII. had liberty of accession for the space of three months. The French king was so incensed at this exclusive accommodation, that, with the help of cardinal d'Amboise, he formed the project of a league against the Venetians, in order

---

*a Hiss Hist. de l'Emp. i. ii. c. 3. b Annu. de l'Empire, tom. ii. p. 567. c Trithem. in Chron. Spanheim.
The history of Germany.

The treaty of Cambray concluded against the Venetians. A.D. 1508.

b This league was attended with all the success that could be expected; for the emperor and the king of France wrested from the Venetians almost all the cities which they possessed in Lombardy; nor was the pope backward in taking all that lay convenient for his purpose. In a word, the Venetians thought themselves so little able to withstand this alliance, that they abandoned all their territories upon the continent, after having lost the famous battle of Ghiberti d'Alida, in which their whole infantry was cut in pieces. While the French troops, under the marshal de Chaumont, reduced one town after another, Maximilian advanced at the head of his army towards Innsbruck, in order to attack the Venetians; and Christophor count Frangipani, with the duke of Brunsweig, who commanded the light troops, entering Ibris and Frieuli, retook all the places which had been lost the preceding year. The Venetians were now reduced to such extremity, that they sent a charte blanche to the emperor, and implored his clemency in the most submissive and pathetic terms. But the effects of his compulsion in favour of the republic were prevented by the remonstrances of cardinal d'Ambosse, who exhorted him to seize this opportunity of reducing this insolent state; and, in all probability, it would now have been enslaved, had not the measures of the French and Germans been traversed by the king of Arragon and the pope, who would by no means concur in the ruin of the only power which had hitherto hindered these nations from subduing all Italy.

The Venetians were defeated, and abandon the continent. A.D. 1509.

b They find a charte blanche to the emperor.

c Mean while Maximilian repaired to Trent, accompanied by the cardinal, who there received the investiture of Milan in the name of Lewis XII. The league of Cambray was liked; a wife renewed; and an interview proposed between the emperor and the French king on the frontiers of the Milanese. Lewis kept the appointment; but Maximilian sent an excusas then the king of France repassed the Alps with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of Chaumont.

d He was no sooner gone than the Venetians felt their courage revive. They surprized Padua, and retook several other places garrisoned by the troops of the emperor, who, being informed of these transgressions, solicited succours of his allies, and they reinforced him so effectually, that he found himself at the head of four thousand Frenchmen, with whom he entered Lombardy by the mountains of Vicenza, in spite of an obstinate opposition he sustained from the peasant, who were devoted to the Venetians, and besieged Padua, which was defended so gallantly, that he was fain to abandon the enterprise and retreat to Innsbruck.

The Florentines, knowing that his finances were quite exhausted, took this opportunity of buying their peace with him; and, in consideration of forty thousand crowns of gold, he confirmed the privileges of Florence.

(1) The treaty of league of Cambray consisted of these articles. The pope, emperor, kings of France and Arragon, shall mutually assist one another in recovering the places and dominions which the Venetians had usurped or wrested from them. Ravenna, Cervia, Fano, Rimini, Imola, and Cesena, shall be restored to the pope. Reggio, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and the Friuli, shall return to the emperor. The king of France shall retrieve Brolio, Crema, Bergamo, Cremona, Gieradamullo, and all the ancient dependencies of the duchy of Milan. The king of Arragon shall be put in possession of Trent, Brindisi, Otranto, Gallipoli, and all the ports which the Venetians occupy in the kingdom of Naples. Because the emperor is bound by a truce for three years with the Venetians, the pope, in order to furnish him with a pretext for breaking that truce, shall summon the clergy of the Roman church, to come and assist him in recovering the dominions of the holy see. While the three princes shall attack the republic with temporal arms, his holiness shall pretend to restore what they have usurped, on pain of excommunication. The kings of Hungary and England, the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, shall be exhorted to engage in this league. During this war, neither the emperor, nor his grandson the prince of Spain, shall in any shape molest the king of Arragon, with respect to their pretensions to Cortile. Maximilian shall again below upon Lewis XII. the investiture of the duchy of Milan, in which Brolio, Bergamo, and all the other dependencies of the Milanese shall be included. If the republic shall have recourse to the Turks for succours, the confederates shall redouble their efforts, and the association shall henceforth be regarded as a league against the infidels. None of the confederates shall make peace or truce with the enemy, without the concurrence of the rest: and, in order to prevent the difference subsisting between the emperor and the king of Arragon, touching the possession of Cortile, from obstructing the enterprizes of the league, commissaries shall be appointed on both sides to terminate these disputes in an amicable manner.
not only granted them an amnesty of all their revolts, but even confirmed their privileges in the most ample form. The republic of Venice soon retrieved its loss, and became more powerful than ever; for, when their arms failed, they had recourse to their policy, reconciled themselves to the court of Rome, and effected a breach between the king of France and the pope, who now openly espoused their cause.

"JULIUS, in order to weaken Louis, counselled the Venetians to accommodate matters with the emperor, and he himself undertook the office of mediator. The conferences were opened in a commanderie, near Scala; and the republic, conscious of Maximilian’s avarice and poverty, offered not only to reimburse him for the expense of the war which he had incurred, but also to pay him a sum of money equivalent to what France had expended on the same occasion. But, as they refused to part with Padua, Treviso, and Vicenza, he rejected their proposals, and made a merit of having manifested this disinterested conduct with the diet assembled at Augsburg, which approved of his intention to re-establish the authority of the empire in Italy (M), and promised to support him in the execution of that design, towards which he borrowed one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of the king of France, upon a mortgage of the town of Wallegio.

Then he regulated with Louis the operations of the ensuing campaign, and having, without effect, demanded succours of the king of Aragon and the pope, as his confederates, he appointed the count de Hanau his general in Italy, and ordered a body of troops to assemble in the neighbourhood of Verona. There being joined by the French under the maréchal de Châmont, they pitted the Po and the Adige, and took Vicenza, which the inhabitants redeemed from pillage. In a word, they reduced a great number of places, and filled the whole country with carnage and confusion; but Châmont refused to assist the Germans in the siege of Padua, and a misunderstanding happening between Maximilian and Louis, it was thought necessary to confirm their league by a new treaty, in consequence of which the armies acted with more vigour and unanimity.

MAXIMILIAN was now so well convinced of the French king’s sincerity and affection, that he submitted his disputes with Ferdinand to his arbitration. This prince had, by the intrigues of cardinal Ximenes, secured himself in the possession of the whole kingdom, and the emperor had no friends in Spain but a few noblemen who were dissatisfied at the administration. Nevertheless, Ferdinand agreed that the king of France should be umpire of the contest, which he terminated in an amicable manner; pronouncing that the king of Aragon should govern Camillo until the archduke Charles should have attained his twentieth year; that this young prince should not assume the title of king till the death of his mother; and that the male children which Ferdinand might have by his second marriage should have no pretensions to the kingdom of Camillo.

By this arbitration Louis thought to have attached Ferdinand to his interest, or at least to have hindered him from joining the pope against the French nation. But he was deceived: the king of Aragon had already concluded a secret treaty with Julius, who bestowed upon him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards declared war against Lewis, on pretence of his having refused to cede some towns, to which the holy see had some pretensions; and the duke of Ferrara, as the French king’s ally, was included in this declaration.

LEWIS, incensed at his presumption, as well as alarmed at his preparations, and attempted to turn upon him those arms that were intended to check the progress of the Turks, allied himself still more strongly to Maximilian by a new treaty, concluded at Blois, and convoked an assembly of the clergy, to inquire how far he ought to respect the spiritual power of the church, which the pope exercised so unjustly. The assembly declared, that if the pope should unjustly attack any Christian prince in his temporalities, he might in consequence defend them by force of arms; that Lewis might, on this occasion, re-establish the pragmatic sanction, and insist upon the common rights of mankind, according to the decrees of the council of Basle.

This declaration was equally agreeable to the French king and Maximilian, who had projected a scheme for calling a general council to try and depose Julius, whom he himself meant to succeed in the papacy. In order to accomplish this aim, he resolved to borrow a large sum of money from the Fuggers, who were the richest merchants in all Germany, to

"BRUT. Flor. Hift. i. i.

(M) It was in this assembly that Hamburg was anew declared a free imperial town, independent of the house of Oldenburg, the pretensions of which were referred to the decision of the imperial chamber. This event was the more remarkable, as the city of Hamburg had, for three hundred years, disputed the sovereignty of its territory with the kings of Denmark and the counts of Schonenburg (10).

(10) Dautot. Corp. Dipl. tom. iv. part i.
The history of Germany.

a buy the votes of the cardinals; and he proposed to pawn his imperial ornaments, and to make over to these traders one third of the revenues of the holy see, until the whole debt should be liquidated.

This scheme, however, he kept very secret from every body but a few particular friends; though that he intended to put it in execution appears from some of his own letters (N).

Mean while the pope proceeded to hostilities against the duke of Ferrara, and, being joined by troops from Naples, made a very considerable progress, though he ran the risk of having his person seized, first by Chaumont, and afterwards by the chevalier Boyard.

b The emperor and the king of France sent ambassadors to Burgos, to complain of Ferdinand's having infringed the league of Cambrey, and to exhort him to join in the convocation of a council: but that prince, jealous of their power, and dreading their influence in Italy, answered very coldly on both these subjects; though he privately employed all his endeavours to detach Maximilian from the interests of Leontius, which he demonstrated to be incompatible with those of the emperor. These suggestions had great weight with Maximilian, who was prevailed on to leave his cause to the determination of a general assembly to be held at Mantua, and he intimated the council of France to send a minister to that congress.

Though Lewis was very much chagrined to find his ally amased by such an expedient, in the midst of his conquests in Italy, he did not think proper to signify his disaffection, by which means he might intial the whole burden of the war upon himself, but sent the bishop of Paris to Mantua, where he found Matthew Langbha, bishop of Gurk, the emperor's plenipotentiary, accompanied by the embassadors of Ferdinand.

c *Julius*, who was then at Ravenna, being desirous of founding the bishop of Gurk; and, if possible, of winning him to his interest, found means, by his emissaries, to induce that prelate to visit him at Bologna, where he employed all his artifice to engage him in his interest, and even caajoled him with the promise of a cardinal's hat; but he found Langbha unshaken and incorruptible: and while he amased him with conferences touching a general pacification, attempted to surpise Genoa, whither he sent the bishop of Ventimiglia in disguise. This prelate, however, was discovered in driving a troop of oxen, and all his accomplices put to death. The bishop of Gurk, incensed at this perfidy, broke up the congress at Mantua, while Lewis pursued his advantages in Italy.

d *This fruitless effort, however, was succeeded by a council at Pisa*, convoked at the desire of the French king, under the protection of the emperor, though Maximilian did not send thither any embassador, nor did any German bishop assist at the assembly. Indeed by this time the emperor was greatly cooled in his friendship for Lewis, who, tho' he perceived his indifferency, still dreaded the thought of seeing him among the number of his enemies; and therefore not only overlooked his neglect, but cultivated his good graces with the utmost fidelity; for, while Ferdinand pulled off the mask, by sending troops to Naples, in order to hinder an exclusive accommodation between France and the pope, Lewis engaged in a new treaty with the emperor, and sent his general in Padoa, with a body of forces, to join the imperial troops, and implicitly obey the commands of Maximilian, who would not head the army in person; but reinforced the French general with nine thousand men, and desired him to dislodge the Venetians from the strong posts which they occupied. In obedience to these orders, he attacked and routted the enemy, compelled the towns of the Friul to submit, made himself master of the Gradales, and reduced Ca' pel Novo for the benefit of the emperor, who, notwithstanding these conquests, seemed to be still dissatisfied, because he would not undertake to besiege Treviso with such a small army, but retired into the duchy of Milan.

e The kings of England and Aragon, taking advantage of his discontent, strongly solicited him to join in the league which they had concluded against France; and in the mean time negotiated a truce for ten months between him and the republic of Venice, and promised to furnish him with troops and money to conquer the Milanese, and subdue the duke of Gueldern.

f *Marian. lib. xxix. r. 83.*

(N) In the collection published by Mr. Godfreys, we find a letter of Maximilian, writ in the words: "Quod, quando ipse intelligens, ingenti pecuniae summa quo impendenda erit, geras aequo officio non posse; vidit nobis e re fore nohi propositi, ut cardinales et procuratores alti Romanorum quos ad res noiaris pertinere laniginos, polemiceus, se fonderemur ter consue- mittis ducatorum & Fuggers mutuandum & Rane (11) Lettres de Louis XII. p. 326, tom. iii. & m. i. tom. iv.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.

I. 1
The history of Germany.

Staggered by these insinuations, he indubitably sought occasion to break with France: he loudly complained that he had reaped no advantage from the league of Cambray; that of the three towns to which he had an incontestable right, Treviso and Padua were still in the hands of the Venetians, while Verona was mortgaged to the king of France. He demanded that these places should be conquered for him at the expence of Lewis; that Renza, the second daughter of France, should marry the infant Ferdinand, younger brother to the archduke Charles; and that Burgundy should be dismembered from France, as her dowry. The meaning of these, and other extravagant proposals was plainly dilberned by Lewis, who thought fit to temporize, and endevour to amufe Maximilian with a subsidy of fifty thousand crowns; notwithstanding which, this prince engaged in the league against France; so that Lewis was left alone to sustain the burden of the war. Even then he made a strong effort, and set foot on a powerful army, the command of which was given to Gassen de Fois, who, upon Festival-day, obtained a signal victory over the confederates near Ravenna; but it cost him too dear, that the affairs of France were in as bad a situation as if he had lost the battle, and, to crown the misfortune, the English at that time declared against Lewis, who, being obliged to quit all his advantages on this side, in order to defend his own dominions, Milan, and all that he had conquered in Italy, fell a prey to his enemies. Ferdinand, taking the advantage of this conjunction, wrested the kingdom of Navarre from John of the house of Albret, its lawful possessour, and afterwards endeavoured to find out a title to defend his usurpation. All his rights, however, confinid in a pretended bull, which the pope had unjustly fulminated against John, on account of his adherence to the king of France, whom Julius had also excommunicated; and even this slender pretence was an authority ex post facto, for the invasion happened in June, and the bull was not published till July.

The condition of Lewis XII. was now really deplorable: for though he found means to make peace with the Venetians, he was invaded on one side by the Swiss, and on the other by the English, who had denounced war against him, at the instigation of Ferdinand, and who were joined in Picardy by the forces of Maximilian, where they obtained a victory over the French, well known by the name of the battle of the Spurs.

The success of the confederates was in a great measure owing to a reinforcement of Swiss that joined the Venetians, and were for this service complimented by the pope with the title of Defenders of the Holy See; but the emperor gained little by their good fortune; for the allies became jealous of his power, and resolved, at all events, to exclude him from the possession of the Milanese, which he defined as an establishment for his grandson Ferdinand.

In vain did the bishop of Gurk, at an assembly held in Mantua, display his master’s pretentions to that duky; the pope’s deputies and the Swiss insisted upon its being restored to the family of the Sforzas; and, after much altercation and debate, it was agreed that Maximilian Sforza should receive the investiture. But other disputes still remaining between the emperor and the Venetians, as well as between the pope and the emperor, touching the possession of those towns which they had severally conquered during the war, a congress was opened at Rome, to terminate these contents. The towns subdued by the pope in the exarchate of Ravenna remained in possession of the holy see, qualified by a clause in these words, without prejudice to the rights of the empire. But the Venetians refusing to do homage to the emperor for Padua, Treviso, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema, and insistid upon his restoring the places he had conquered in their dominions, the pope declared against them, and entered into an association with Maximilian, whom he undertook to assist with spiritual as well as temporal arms. This affair being settled, the bishop of Gurk imparted to Julius his master’s design with respect to the papacy, and intreated his holiness to take that prince as his coadjoitur; but this proposal the pope absolutely rejected, although the king of Arragon had promised to support Maximilian’s pretentions: nor could a sufficient party be made among the cardinals to enuir his successeion (O).

JULIUS

(O) There is a letter preserved in GadGräfs collection, from the emperor to his daughter Margaret, in these terms:—

Tres-chiere, & tres-nimie fille, Je entendu l'avis que vous m‘avez donné par Gaglian Fegnun, notre garderobes vray, dont nous avons encore bien peine de les refaire.

Et se trouvons pour nulle resson bon, que nous nous devons francement marier, maes avons plus avant mys notre deliberation & volonté de jamés plus hanter faume nue.

Et envoyons demain Monse de Gurke es quoive a Rome deven le pape, pour trouver facion que nous paysiens accordier, avec le de nous prendre pour ung coadjuteur, ain qu‘apres sa mort pourrons eter sufret de veoer le pape, & devenir preist & apres efet, saint.
The history of Germany.

**A.D. 1515:**

While the war continued in the north of Germany, between John king of Denmark and the hans towns, which ituported the Swedes in their revolt; he solicited the affiance of the kings of England and Scotland, while the regency of Lubeck implored the protection of the princes of Lesser Saxony to defend the hans towns against the king of Denmark; and at the same time forbad John to interrupt their commerce. His Danish majesty, however, without paying the least regard to the prohibition, equipped a powerful fleet, with which he made prize of their vessels, and they fitted out another, with which they alarmed and ravaged the coasts of his dominions. This piratical war continued near three years, until the regency of Lubeck, finding themselves impoverished by the interruption of their trade, sued for peace, and the treaty was concluded at Flensburg, in consequence of which the hans towns undertook to affit John in affrighting his right to the crown of Sweden. But that monarch died soon after this pacification, and was succeeded by his son Christian III.²

During these commotions in the north, the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England and Aragon, formed a league against Lewis, who makes peace with the Venetians, and reinforces their army; and the operations of war recommenced in Italy, while Henry VIII. of England made a descent in Picardy, and gained the battle of Guinegate, at which Maximilian served in his army as a volunteer, for one hundred crowns a day.

This war continued till the death of Lewis, when Francis I, who succeeded him on the throne, found it his interest to make an accommodation with the emperor; and this he the more easily obtained, as the disturbances which at that time happened among several princes of the empire hindered Maximilian from bestowing his attention upon foreign affairs; and he was moreover solicitous about the settlement of his family, being then actually employed in a negotiation for matching the infanta Mary his grand-daughter, with Lewis, eldest son of Lady Jane of Hungary.¹ This marriage was accordingly solemnized at Vienna, and, as the parties were very young, the consummation was deferred until they should attain a riper age.

FRANCIS having established a good understanding with the emperor, he also concluded a treaty of peace with the English and the Venetians, and, thus secure from these quarters, he made preparations for re-conquering the Milanese, of which Maximilian Sforza, son of the late duke, had possesed himself, by the affiance of the Swedes. Having entered Italy with a powerful army, he gained some considerable advantages over the enemy; and meeting the Swiss army, which had come to the succour of the duke of Milan, gave them battle near Marignan. The engagement was very bloody, and so obstinate, that night alone could part the combatants. Next morning both sides returned to the charge, and fought with great fury, until the Swiss, hearing that the Venetian army was come to the affiance of the king, were so alarmed, that they began to give ground, and, in the confusion which necessarily ensued, were all cut in pieces. Next day after this victory, Francis attacked and carried the city of Milan, but he would not make his entrance, until the duke, who had retired into the castle, should have surrendered and submitted to the laws of the conqueror. Sforza was accordingly obliged to renounce his duchy and title, in consideration of a sum of money and a pension for life, to be spent in France, or wheresoever the king should think fit to fix his residence. This treaty being signed, he evacuated the city, and all opposition being now removed, Francis easily made himself master of that whole state.₃

By this rapidity of conquest, Maximilian was so much alarmed, that he resolved to stop his progress, and, for that purpose, to march into Italy with an army of thirty thousand men.

---


"faite, & que jol vous fer de neceléti que après ma mort vous fer de contrafett de me adorer, dont je me trouvere bien glorius."

"Je m'oye fer de ung pape devers le roy d'Aragon, pour le prié que vous voulez syder pour ce parvenir, dont j'oye auffi contenti, moyant que regne l'empire a notre commun fils Chari. de fela auffi je m'es contenti. Le peuple & gentillommes de Ram. ont fait uge alleynce contre les Franches & Elispoins, & font xx. m. combattans, & nous ouint mandé que il veulent efure pour nous, pour nous faire ung papa à ung tel fy grand mare secretament, pour quellu yl fault aover de tant de gens, & de argent fuccers & pratique; & à Dieu, sait de la main de votre bon pere Maximillan futur papa, le xviii jour de Septembre. Le papa à encore les yveres dubbs, & ne peult longemement fyrre. La suftertiuion, à ma bonne fille l'archeduchesse d'Ofris, douairié de Savoye, &c. en ses mains."

Francis
Francis, that he might be the more able to susteın this storm, had recourse to the alliance of pope Leo X. with whom he had an interview at Bologna, where a treaty of peace was

Ferdinand king of Spain being in form, and Charles his grandson and heir apparent very young and unexperienced, he could not much depend upon them or their allies.

All that the emperor could do when he arrived in Lombardy, was to besiege in the city of Milan the contable duke of Bourbon, whom Francis I. had left for the defence of his conquest, and who had abandoned the open fields to the emperor, and retired into the city Maximilian, after having blocked the place for some weeks, began to be in want of provision. He also understood that Ladislaus king of Hungary was taken very ill, and that the French were reinforced by twelve thousand Swerts; for which reasons he interrupted his operations, raised the siege, and returned to Germany. Ferdinand king of Spain dying about the same time, he found it necessary to send prince Charles, who was then in Flanders, to take possession of that kingdom, of which he was heir; and that he might have a free passage through France, Maximilian was advised to make peace with Francis, who, by the articles of the treaty, remained in the peaceable possession of his Italian conquest. In this treaty, which was concluded at Noyon between the king of France and prince Charles, it was stipulated, that this last should marry Louisa, the eldest daughter of Francis, or, the failing, the second, provided a second should be born; if this should not happen, he should espouse Renée, the queen's sister, whose dowry should be that part of the kingdom of Naples to which the king had pretensions, with a reversion in his favour in default of issue; that Charles should pay annually 100,000 crowns for the maintenance of the princess, and restore in six months Navarre to Henry d'Albret, otherwise the king should be at liberty to affix him. The origin of Luther's doctrine.

In this place it will be necessary to mention the circumstance which gave rise to the reformation of Luther, which was attended with such considerable events through the whole empire of Germany. Pope Leo X. intending to finish the church of St. Peter at Rome, which was begun by his predecessor, and being in want of money for this purpose, as well as for defraying the expense of a war which he had projected against the Turk, he imagined that the readiest and fairest expedient for raising contributions among the nations of Christendom, would be to grant plenary indulgences. He therefore sent his bulls to Albert, elector of Meran, with orders to publish them in Germany; and that prelate appointed people to distribute the indulgences, and receive the money, while he laid injunctions on Johns Chastel, a Dominican, and inquisitor of the faith in Germany, and the brothers of his order, to preach up the merits of this contribution. The directors of this collection committed such abuses in distributing those remissions, and the Dominicans behaved with such excessive indiscipline in magnifying their power, that the whole empire was scandalized at their proceedings (Q). The Auguftines, jealous of the honour conferred upon the order of Dominicans, who had been preferred to them on this occasion, and defirous of sharing in the profit of the contributions, openly declared themselves against their proceedings, and pretended to refute what they advanced, as the effect of extravagant and misguided zeal. John Stulpitz, vicar-general of the Augustines, being supported by the elector of Saxony, who had a particular regard for him, was the first who openly attacked the fermons of the Dominicans, and the abuses which were committed in the distribution of the indulgences. In or-


(P) It was at this period that Maximilian, being in great want of money, began to cajole Henry VIII. of England with a promise of ceding the imperial throne to his favour, and actually desired the English ambassadors to let his sovereign know, that Maximilian would assemble a diet at Vienna to regulate this important affair, and that he would afterwards accompany Henry to Rome, where he should be crowned, and assist him in conquering the Milanese. Henry guessed the meaning of these advances, and remitted him a sum of money, in hope of one day profiting by his offers; but, when he afterwards proposed an interview with the emperor in the Low Countries, where this affair might be transacted, Maximilian declined the conference, and, after some evasive excuses, plainly told the English ambassadors, that he had resolved to raise his grandson Charles to the imperial throne (12).

(Q) This commission ought to have been granted to the Augustines of Germany, according to the convention which had been made among the four orders of mendicants. Notwithstanding this agreement, Albert, archbishop of Meran, whether by his own authority, or by order of the pope, bestowed it upon the Dominicans. It was no longer a simple collection. Offices were everywhere set up, even in the houses of publicans, where the collectors confounded in debauchery a great part of the money produced from this traffic of the sacred treasures of the church. It was, moreover, well known, that the pope applied considerable sums of this money to his own particular occasions, his own finances being almost exhausted by the pretexts he had made to his relations and courtiers, and the pensions he bestowed on learned men (1).


(1) Remarqs sur Heisz, loc. iii. c. 3.
der to fortify himself against such a strong party, he chose for his colleague Martin Luther, whom he looked upon to be the most capable of all the monks and doctors of the new university of Wittenberg, to which he belonged. Accordingly this new associate proposed so great a spirit and strength of argument against indulgences and the pope's authority; so that his doctrines were embraced by great numbers, and the other order immediately took the alarm. Nothing more was required to form two powerful factions. John Thietzel, in opposition to Luther, advanced other theses at Frankfurt upon the Order, in defence of the pope and his proceedings, and added to such extremity, as to condemn, in quality of inquisitor, the writings of Luther to the flames. Martin, who was of a warm and enterprising temper, far from being intimidated by the conduct of the inquisitor, maintained a literary war against him, while his disciples burned, in their turn, the writings of the Dominicans at Wittenberg. Thus both parties were heated into the most virulent altercation, though neither, as yet, withdrew themselves from their obedience to the church of Rome. True it is, the Dominicans reinforced their side of the dispute with underhand negotiation, and strongly solicited the pope to condemn their antagonists. Leo, who could not refute his protection to an order which had laboured so effectually, and with such fervour, in his interests, summoned Luther to appear at Rome in sixty days, to be tried by judges whom he appointed for the purpose. At the same time the Dominicans pressed the emperor to declare against their adversaries; but that prince was too busy in finishing his accommodation with France, to interfere in a business, which he considered as a petty quarrel among monks. The troubles of Hungary feigned to him a matter of much more consequence, and indeed demanded his whole attention in settling those affairs that concerned the guardianship of King Lewis, who was at that time no more than ten years of age. Nevertheless, as soon as the emperor had terminated these two negotiations, he resolved not to re-establish the tranquillity of the empire, which those religious disputes had begun to shake, but also to regulate the domestic concerns of his own family, as he perceived his strength beginning to decay.

With this object in view, he convoked a diet at Augsburg, where the first step he took, was to recommend his grandson Charles in the strongest manner to the electors, whom he cultivated with all sorts of good offices and marks of liberality, in order to engage them to choose that young prince for his successor in the empire. As the Dominicans gave him no respite in the affair of Luther, he was obliged, in order to satisfy them, to summon Martin to appear at that diet; he even furnished him with a safe-conduct, without waiting for the answer of a letter, which at the beginning of that meeting, he had, with the advice of the states, writ to the pope, beseeching him to pronounce a definitive sentence, which was like to involve the empire in trouble and confusion. The elector of Saxony, and the university of Wittenberg, had also intreated his holiness to retract the citation which he had formerly sent to Luther, and to consent that the bull should be transacted by cardinal Cajetan, who was at that time his legate in Germany, and actually present at the diet. Luther being thus excused from going to Rome, repaired to Augsburg, and presented himself before the cardinal, under favour of the emperor's safe-conduct. Then, instead of retracting, he undertook to defend the doctrines which he had advanced in his writings; but that his intentions might be made manifest, he, in presence of witnesses, made a voluntary profession before a notary, importing, that he would submit to the judgment of the church, refer himself to other universities, and retract his errors as soon as they should appear to his own conviction. The legate, however, still continuing to press him to a recantation, and even mixing threats with his remonstrances, Luther began to be afraid of being apprehended, and retired in the night, after having, by a writing fixed up in a public place, appealed from the legate to the pope. He at the same time wrote to Leo, complaining of the harsh usage he had received from the cardinal, who was justly accused of partiality in favour of the Dominicans, to which he himself belonged.

In the mean time Maximilian canvassed for the election of his grandson Charles; but as there was no precedent for creating a king of the Romans before the emperor's coronation at Rome, the pope was solicited to lend a legate into Germany with the crown, and other imperial ornaments, to perform that ceremony in the name of his holiness. Notwithstanding the intrigues of the king of France among the princes of the empire, as well as his efforts with the pope, whom he endeavoured to engage in an opposition to this election, by representing how formidable Charles must be, should he succeed to the imperial throne; I say, notwithstanding these endeavours, the emperor's proposal was not rejected, but, by a decree, postponed to the next diet of the empire. Some authors allege, that Maximilian at
The history of Germany.

first intended the crown for Ferdinand his other grandson; but that he was persuaded to prefer Charles, as a prince who, by the vast extent of his dominions, would be more able to maintain the splendour of the house of Austria, and support the dignity of the empire. The emperor did not long survive the end of this diet: for having repaired to Innsbruck, in order to take further measures for the election of Charles, he was attacked by a fever, which, in order to dilate by change of air, he embarked upon the Inn for Austria. On his arrival at the town of Wells, the fever augmenting, he endeavoured to expel it by violent exercises; but one day returning from the chase, he eat a great quantity of melons, in order to assuage his thirst, and having afterwards taken a medicine unfeasably, his disorder, which was before intermittent, changed into a continual fever, and a violent dysentery ensuing, he died in the 60th year of his age. He was, in consequence of his own desire, interred at Neustradt in Austria. He gave directions on his death-bed touching his body, which was neither embalmed nor embowed, but the cavities were filled up with quick lime.

His character, and education.

He was a prince of a very agreeable appearance, sober, quiet, and so modest, that he was never seen naked by any of his attendants. He had a passion for letters, a sprightly imagination, and was particularly addicted to poetry. His memory was so tenacious, that he never forgot the name of any man, whom he had once seen or heard mentioned, during the whole course of his life. In his youth he had applied himself to the warlike exercises; he handled his arms with great dexterity, and no person excelled him in horsemanship. He was patient in suffering hunger and fatigue, personally brave, liberal (R), magnanimous, affable, and obliging. He reformed the military discipline among his soldiers with large muskets and long pikes, and made several new military laws and regulations. But his passion for the chase he indulged even to the prejudice of his affairs, which he often neglected for the enjoyment of that favourite exercise: in the course of which, he used to pursue on horseback the wild goats and other game among the rocks of the Järol, with such temerity, that the inhabitants of those countries were often obliged to lower him down with cords, half dead with hunger, from frightful precipices, among which he had engaged himself. Yet, with all these good qualities, he was inconstant, irreligious, and so profuse, that, by squandering away the money which ought to have been otherwise employed, a great many of his most important affairs miscarried, and his reign makes but an indifferent figure in the annals of the empire (S).

(R) His liberality, or rather his profusion, involved him in numberless difficulties and disgraces, because he was often, by want of money, obliged to abandon enterprises of very promising aspect. Yet, notwithstanding all these necessities, he would never encroach upon the gold, silver, and jewels, which had been left by his own father, his father-in-law, and his grandfather. These he preferred as a sacred treasure, very little to the credit of his fagacity (1).

(S) Maximilian's first wife was Mary of Burgundy, who died of a fall from her horse, when she was big with her third child. He afterwards married by proxy the daughter and heiress of Francis, duke of Brittany; but this marriage was never consummated, for the reasons mentioned above. His third match was with Blanche Maria Sforza, daughter of Galeazzo Maria, duke of Milan, who was a fine-maker's son. She had no children, and broke her heart because she was despised by the emperor, and was buried in the monastery of Santissi in Austria. Towards the latter part of his life, Maximilian was on the point of marrying Anan daughter of Uladislaus, king of Bohemia; but he was distempered from this scheme, and the princess was given in marriage to his grandson Ferdinand. Of his children by Mary of Burgundy, Margary alone now survived. She had been first of all betrothed to Charles VIII. of France; but being refused, and sent back to her father, she was married to the infant John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella: he dying a few months after the marriage, she was again contracted to Philip, duke of Savoy, who died before the nuptials could be consummated. As for her brother Philip, the emperor's eldest son, he died twelve years before his father, leaving by Jane, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, six children, namely, Charles, who succeeded his grandfather Maximilian in the empire; Ferdinand and four daughters, the eldest of whom, Eleonora, married Emanuel king of Portugal, by whom she had one daughter, and afterwards Francis I. of France, to whom the bower no children. Her sister Isabella was wife to Christian, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, who was expelled from his dominions for his tyranny. Philip's third daughter was Mary, married with Lewis, king of Hungary, by whom she had no children, and after his death she obtained the government of the Low Countries. The fourth was a poulhunusus child called Catherine, who was married to John III. king of Portugal. Maximilian had besides a son called Francis, born at Bruges, who died within a year after his birth. He moreover left eight natural children of both sexes; the sons he promoted to honourable employments, the daughters he matched to persons of the first quality.

(1) Remarkarij fur Heijl, liv. ib. c. 5.
The history of Germany.

C H A P. XII.

Containing the religious Disputes between the Emperor and Protestants, to the first Accommodation at Ratisbon.

CHARLES V.

A CHARLES the fifth, son of Philip, king of Castile, and Jane, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand the Catholic, was born at Ghent in Flanders, and passed the greatest part of his infancy at Mechlin, under the care of his aunt Margaret, widow of Philip II, duke of Savoy, and governess of the Low Countries, and with Margaret of York, widow of Charles duke of Burgundy. Anthony Vasse, a Spaniard, who was entrusted with the care of his education, being dead, when he was but seven years of age, Margaret employed as his preceptor Adrian Florissen of Utrecht, professor in the University of Louvain, who was afterwards elected pope. He began to employ the young prince in the study of the belles lettres, but his governor, William de Grez, lord of Arcot, turned his whole attention to military exercises. At the age of six, Charles left his father Philip, at fifteen his grandfather Maximilian declared him of age, and put into his hands the government of the Low Countries. That same year, he recovered from George and Henry, dukes of Saxony, the territory of Wolfzweiland, which the emperor Maximilian had mortgaged to Albert the Courageous for two hundred thousand ducats of the Rhine. At the death of his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, he succeeded to his kingdoms; and next year repaired to Spain, where he was solemnly crowned. Though he was a German by extraction, born and bred in the Low Countries, he chose to make his chief residence in Spain; where he was deficient of ending his days, after he renounced the empire, and abdicated all his dominions, as will appear in the sequel. At length, after the death of the emperor Maximilian, Charles presented himself as a candidate for the imperial throne. His competitor was Francis the first, king of France, who had a long time cherished the scheme of adding the empire of Germany to his other dominions, and carried on fudgy intrigues for that purpose during the life of the late emperor; immediately after whose decease, he had sent a solemn embassy, with four hundred thousand crowns, to confirm the attachment of some of the electors who had espoused his interest. Nor did Charles neglect the means of supporting his pretensions on this occasion. He was archduke of Austria, and lord of the Low Countries, as heir to his father; king of Spain, Sicily, and Naples, in right of his mother; and, as we have already observed, had been proposed to the diet of Augsburg by his grandfather Maximilian, as his succesor in the empire. The electoral college, foreseeing that many inconveniences would attend the election of either of these competitors, and being, in all probability, influenced by the pope, who, though he seemed to favour Francis, was jealous of both on account of their great power, resolved to offer the crown to Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. The preposterous was accordingly made to him, after an interregnum of near six months; but he declining the honour, and declaring for Charles, the elector of Mentz gave his suffrage for the same prince; and their example was followed by all their colleagues, except the elector of Trier, who held out the lift for Francis. What chiefly contributed to the mischief of the king of France upon this occasion, was his being a foreigner by birth and extraction; for the Germans, who are naturally jealous and misruful, were afraid, that he, having been bred up in an absolute monarchy, would change the constitution of the empire, and humble the electors and princes to a degree beneath the dukes and peers of France. Charles was therefore elected emperor at Frankfort; and as he at that time resided in Spain, the elector palatine was sent thither to notify his election; which he so soon understood, than he began to prepare for his journey to the empire; and, having equipped a fleet, he embarked for Flanders, from whence he repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to be crowned, though not before he had crossed the sea, on a visit to Henry the eighth, king of England, who received him at Canterbury, and accompanied him in his return to Flanders. During this interview, he is said to have detached Henry from the interest of Francis the first, contrary to the treaty which had been lately concluded between these two monarchs at Aix-la-Chapelle. The ceremony was no sooner performed, than he quitted that city, which was infected by the plague, and went to Cologne, where he ordered writs to be expedited, and quelled by the empire, for convoking the states at Worms, on the sixteenth of January the following year.


Mean
The history of Germany.

Mean while the Spaniards, chagrined at the departure of their king, whose promotion to the empire they could not relish, as they foresaw it would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and being, moreover, incensed at the avowal of the Flemings, to whom he had committed the management of affairs since the death of Cardinal Ximenes, several grandees of Spain, in order to shake off this oppreession, in the absence of Charles, entered into an association, which they called the Sanita Junta, which was embraced by Toledo and many large cities, and raised forces under the auspices of John do Pedella, and Antonio d'Acuna, bishop of Zamora. Their design was to restore the kingdom of Aragon to Ferdinand, the son of that Frederic king of Naples, who died in France, on condition that he should marry Jane the mother of Charles the fifth, whose person they had actually secured; but he rejected their proposal; and the viceroys of Castile and Aragon, taking arms against the rebels, weakened the faction by degrees, and at length almost entirely extinguished it by a total defeat, in which Pedella and the bishop were slain (A).

The king of France, taking advantage of these infinite broils, sent an army under the command of Andrew de Foix into Navarre, which he conquered in a very little time; but, not contented with this success, he invaded Castile, where he was defeated by the viceroys, who in a few days recaptured the whole of Navarre, and dismembered almost all its towns and castles, by order of the emperor. This invasion did not interfere with the treaty of Noyon; because the six months being expired, Francis was at liberty to act in favour of the house of Albret; but several other circumstances concurred to bring to an open rupture that grudge which the jealousy of two competitors for a throne seldom fails to produce. Francis complained that Charles did not pay the money which he had promised to furnish yearly for the maintenance of the princefs, and consequently had no intention to accomplish the match; that the emperor's agent had spoke disrespectfully of him in the diet, and at the courts of the German princes; that he had reduced from his allegiance Philip de Chalons, prince of Orange, and intrigued in Italy, with a view to incommode him in the possession of Milan. Charles, on the contrary, taxed the king of France with having taken under his protection William duke of Gueldersland, sworn enemy of the Austrian family and the Low Countries, pretending that he was lawful heir of the duchy of Burgundy. Henry king of England preferred a neutrality on this occasion, affecting to act as umpire in the dispute; while the pope entered into a treaty with the emperor, for the mutual defence of their territories, for re-establishing Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and recovering Ferrara to the holy see. Things being thus ripe for a quarrel on both sides, Robert de la Mark, lord of Sedan and duke of Bouillon, being disgraced at the court of France on account of the ravages committed by his company of gens-d'armes, had retired to that of the emperor; where, while he resided, the council of Charles received the appeal of a caufe which had been tried and decided by the peers of his duchy of Bouillon, between the lords of Stow and Emley. Robert considered the determination of this appeal as an affront upon his honour, reconciled himself to the king of France, whither he retired; sent a defiance to the emperor, and his eldest son with three thousand men to besiege Virton in Luxemburg. This insult provoked Charles to raise a powerful army, the command of which he gave to Henry count of Nassau, who chased Robert, to whom a truce for forty days was afterwards granted: and hostilities commenced in the Low Countries between the troops of Charles and Francis, though neither as yet openly avowed these enterprises. Henry of England, seeing matters almost too extremity, proposed that they should refer their difference to his decision, giving each to understand, at the same time, that he would actually declare against him who should decline the proposal. Alarmed at this intimation, they sent ambassadors to him at Calais, with full powers to regulate every thing in a conference, during which, however, the count of Nassau passed the Meuse and besieged Maastricht, which he took upon capitulation, and afterwards committed horrible cruelties wherever he marched. Charles then assembled his forces, retook Maastricht, burned and dismantled Baauemage, reduced Landrecy, and Boucault, and passed the Scheld in quest of the emperor, who had come to Valenciennes, from which he now retired by the favour of a thick fog. In the mean time, the arms of Charles made great progress in Italy; the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, were reduced, in spite of all the efforts of the marquis L'Aubrec, whose army was defeated before Bicouque, in attempting to force the retrenchment.
a trenchment of the imperialists: and this battle was so decisive, that the remains of his troops, which he left to the command of his brother Lejun, were obliged to keep afloat, and be eye-witnesses of the entire conquest of that state by the forces of Charles 6.

But, before we proceed to give a farther detail of this war, it will be necessary to mention the transactions of the diet at Worms, concerning Luther, who, in consequence of a safe-conduct granted by Charles, appeared at that assembly, and being asked, by order of the emperor, whether or not he would retract the doctrines he had broached, or defend the writings he had published, he infiltrated upon the truth of what he had advanced, and refuted, with great resolution, all the admonitions and remonstrances of the bishop of Trier, who tampered with him in private, in expectation of prevailing upon him to retract and submit to the power and authority of the pope. Some of the members of the diet, provoked at his perseverancy, advised the emperor to follow the example of the council of Constance, in violating the safe-conduct which he had given to this arch-heretic; but this advice he rejected with disdain, saying, 'That if good faith were banished from among the rest of mankind, it ought to find a sure retreat in the palaces of princes.' Accordingly Luther was dismissed in safety; though at the same time he was condemned and proscribed, by public edict, as a wicked heretic, who had broached the most damnable doctrines, not only destructive of true religion and good order, but also of the peace and government of his country, so that he seemed to be a real devil in human shape: for which reasons all persons were prohibited, under severe penalties, from affording him countenance or shelter, after the expiration of the time prescribed in his safe-conduct, and commanded to do their utmost endeavours to apprehend and bring him to justice, while his books underwent the fame public condemnation. Notwithstanding this severe sentence, his patron Frederic, elector of Saxony, conveyed him to a safe retreat, where he lived in securite, and composed divers performances, which were occasionally published, and greatly augmented the number of his followers. About this time, his writings were formally condemned by the theologians of the universit of Paris (B); and among other adversaries Henry the eighth, king of England, took up the pen and entered the lists against him, producing a performance for which he was honoured by the pope with the title of Defender of the faith 7.

To this production Luther replied in such contemptuous and virulent terms, as even gave offence to many of his own friends: and, indeed, it must be owned, that moderation was no part of his character, though in all probability the warmth of his temper gave a rapidity to his success, because reformation is generally effected by a spirit of enthusiasm, which is much easier kindled by the violence of the reformer's disposition, than by the force of his arguments, or the rectitude of his caule.

The other affairs of the diet were referred to the next meeting, which was held the following year at Nuremberg, where, in presence of all the members of the empire, the constitution was enacted, by which Germany was divided into ten circles. These and several other regulations being made, his presence became absolutely necessary in Spain, chiefly on account of the promotion of Adrian Fluripen to the papacy upon the death of Leo the tenth, who was supposed to be poisoned by Barnabas Malepine, gentleman of his bed-chamber, Adrian, who was a naturalized German, had been preceptor to the emperor, who entrusted him with the administration of his Spanish dominions, which office he was now obliged to resign, in order to go and take possession of St. Peter's chair; so that Charles was under the indispensible necessity of repairing to that kingdom, in order to supply the loss of such a minister, and quiet, by his presence, the troubles of Spain, which were yet not quite appeased 1. He therefore let out for England, on a visit to his aunt, who was queen of that kingdom, where he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance (C) with Henry the eighth against the king of France; and having past the whole month of June in festivals and rejoicing, he embarked for Spain, and arrived in safety at port St. Andoe, after an agreeable voyage of ten days 2. Mean while the archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, who was lately married to the sister of Lewis king of Hungary, being created A. D. 1522.

The empire divided into ten circles.

Charles fate out for Spain.

The archduke Ferdinand opposes the Lutherans in Spain.

A. D. 1524.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.

N II

lieutenant-
The history of Germany.

lieutenant-general of the whole empire during the emperor’s absence, made preffing in-
stances with the diet to take measures for the execution of the decree made in the assembly at Worms, and of the bull which Leo the tenth had pulminated against Luther; as also to employ their utmost care in healing up the schism which religion had suffered; but he was baffled in all his designs by the efforts of Luther and his followers. Nevertheless, in another diet held at Nuremberg on the subject of religion, the fame proposals were made by the legate of Clement the seventh, who had succeeded Adrian the sixth; but as the Lutheran party, which gathered new strength every day, eluded this blow with equal industry and art, the legate prevailed upon the Catholic princes to form another assembly at Ratis-
bon, where they entered into a league, by which they obliged themselves to execute the decree of Worms; to alter nothing in religion; to punish all ecclesiastical apotopes; to b expel the Lutherans from their territories; to deprive them of all their benefices; and, finally, to affix to each other in case they should be attacked. This association, however, could not retard the rapid progress of the reformation, which was extended as far as the other side of the Baltic, by means of the revolution which happened in the North. Christiarn the second, surnamed the Tyrant, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, was deposed by his uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, who seized upon Denmark and Norway; while Gustavus Vasa raised himself to the throne of Sweden; and both these princes embraced and introduced the foreign religion into their dominions a. At the same time it spread itself into Lower Germany, Livonia, and Prufia, where it made a convert of Albert marquis of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic order (D). During this progress of Lutheranism, the contantible Charles of Bourbon revolted from the king of France, and joined the emperor, in hope of being revenged upon his own sovereign c; while Henry the eighth of England landed an army in France, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, which, in the beginning of winter, returned again, without having struck any stroke of importance. Although the enemies of France had thus carried the war into the very bowels of that kingdom, Francis the first sent a body of troops over the Alps, under the command of Boniviot; who, at first reconquered all the Milanese as far as Novara, in the very face of Prosper Colonna, who was general for the emperor, pope, and Venetians; and, in all probability, would have taken the city of Milan, had not he spent his time unnecessarily in the siege of Pavia; during which his army was greatly diminished by the cold weather and the plague, while that of the confederates every day increased; so that he was fain to quit his enterprise, and take poft at Biagras; from whence being driven by Charles of Bourbon, he was obliged to reti-
tire towards Turin, and return into France with the wreck of his army. Notwithstanding this disgrace, Boniviot found means to excuse himself to effectively to his king, that he still continued in favour, and even perfuaded Francis to levy a great army, and to march in per-
son against the confederates. He accordingly took the field, and crossing the Alps, found the city of Milan abandoned by the enemy. There he left La Tremouille, with fix thou-
sand men; while he himself marched to Pavia, the siege of which he undertook about the last end of October. In order to secure this place, Charles of Bourbon having joined the viceroy of Naples, and Pescara, general of the imperial army, marched forward to attack the besiegers, when that memorable battle ensued, in which Francis the first was taken by the viceroy, who afterwards conducted him prisoner into Spain d.

Whatever joy the emperor must have felt at this event, he received the news of it with great moderation, nor would he suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of his success, observing that all victories gained over fellow Christians, were rather ob-
jects of mourning than of mirth. When his council was called to deliberate in what manner he should treat the captive king, his confessor actually exhorted him to release his prisoner without any conditions, an act of generosity which would transmit the honour of his name to all posterity, and attach to him the heart of Francis by the ties of gratitude, which would be more binding than any treaty which they could possibly make. The ref of the council how-
ever, and in particular Frederic duke of Alba, were of different opinion, and proposed certain articles of peace, which were immediately sent into Italy, and presented to Francis, who still remained at the castle of Pisequent, and who rejected the conditions with disdaine a.

By

(D) In the course of this year, one Jean le Clerc, a native of Mens, and two Anguine monks, were pul-
mified for having embraced the protestant religion. The first was decorted and branded at Mens for having said that the pope was Anti-Crist, and afterwards burnt at Mens for demolishing images. The two monks under-
went the same death at Breslau (1).

(E) The council of Charles proposed that Francis should renounce the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan; that he should restore to the emperor the

a Sleid. Com. l. 3. p. 34. b Thuan. Hist. l. 1. p. 21. c Guiss. l. 15. d Ibid. l. 16.

(1) Mem. Abr. Chron. 1. 5. p 862.
The history of Germany.

a By this overthrow of Francis, his kingdom was left open to the inlets of his enemies, and in all probability would have fallen a prey to their superior power, had they continued to act with the same unanimity which they had hitherto preferred; but by this time Henry the eighth of England began to be detached from the interest of the emperor, by the infinuations of cardinal Wofsey, who thought himself neglected by Charles, after having courted his friendship and good offices in promoting the last treaty. The king of England, therefore, disbanded an army which he had raised, and a fleet which he had equipped for a descent upon France, and entered into a treaty with the queen-regent, in order to preferve that kingdom from being dismembered. On the other hand, the pope and the states of Italy became jealous of the emperor's power, which had been greatly aggrandized by this victory, and entered into a secret association, in order to expel the Spaniards, who at that time besieged Sforza in the castle of Milan.

b About this time, great part of the empire was harassed and desolated by the war of the peasants, which was the effect of oppression and enthusiasm: the murmurs of the labouring people, who groaned under severe burthens, were blown up into sedition by certain fanatics, who, by preaching, inflamed their minds against their magistrates, as well as the clergy; so that they broke out in open insurrection, and Germany was filled with tumult.Those of Swabia published twelve articles, containing their grievances spiritual and temporal, threatening to redress themselves, in case their proposals should be rejected; and this writing was spread and epoufcd in different parts of Germany. At length, the peasants took the field, appearing in arms, in numerous bodies in Swabia, upon the Danube, at the lake of Constance, in Lorraine, Thuringia, and other provinces, laying waste the country with fire and sword; and daily exhibiting spectacles of the most horrible barbarity, sparing nothing human or divine. Luther, having at first attempted to quiet them by gentle admonitions and treaties, and perceiving his endeavours ineffectual, now wrote against these seditions with great force and severity, exhorting the princes to take arms in defence of their country. Accordingly, measures were concerted for that purpose; and, in a few months, upwards of one hundred thousand of these peasants were slain in different encounters. In Thuringia, Thomas Munster, a fanatic preacher, who was the prime source and ringleader of this disturbance, was taken, together with his associate Pfitzterus, who had been a monk; and both were put to death at Mulhausen.

c While Francis the first was removed from Italy to the castle of Madrid, and, notwithstanding the eagerness with which the queen-mother and her subjects endeavoured to effect his deliverance, the negotiation was protracted almost a whole year; at the end of which a treaty was signed at Madrid, importing, among other things, that the king should be fet at liberty, on condition that this two sons, the dauphin of France and the duke of Orleans, should remain as hostages until the articles should be fulfilled; and that if the king, in six weeks after his release, should not have given full satisfaction in these particulars, he should return and surrender himself prisoner as before. The princes of the blood were accordingly brought into Spain, while the king, being fet at liberty, returned into his dominions, where he left no means untired for the deliverance of his children; but he was very much embarrassed in his endeavours, because the fundamental laws of the state would not allow him to alienate Burgundy and the other territories, which he had yielded by the treaty; and the emperor insulted upon his performing every article. In this perplexity, he, by the advice of his council and chief noblemen, resolved to protest against the treaty as a compact signed by compulsion, and actually gave the emperor to understand that he disclaimed all he had done, and was ready to renew the operations of war.

During these disputes, the doctrine of Luther gained ground in the most considerable cities of Germany, and was now openly epoused by Philip landgrave of Hesse, who introduced it into his dominions, at the solicitation of John elector of Saxony, who had succeeded his brother Frederic, who died without issue. The progress of these new opie

duchy of Burgundy, which had been the patrimony of his ancestors; that he should bellow Provence, Dauphiny, and the Languedoc upon the duke of Bourbon, who, by this condition, might possess an independent kingdom; and lastly, that he should satisfy the demands of the English. Tho' Francis affirmed, he would rather suffer perpetual imprisonment than consent to such conditions, which, he said, were repugnant to the fundamental laws of France; yet he offered, in consideration of obtaining his liberty, to epouse the emperor's sister Eleonora; to hold Burgundy, by way of dower, and as the inheritance of the children of that marriage; to restore the duke of Bourbon to the possession of all his territories, and below upon him in marriage his sister Margaret, widow of the duke of Alencon; to satisfy the English with a sum of money; to pay the same ransom that was exacted of king John; and to furnish an armament by sea and land for the use of the emperor, as often as he should repair to Italy, in order to receive the imperial crown (1).


A.D. 1526.

Francis fet at liberty on conditions which he rejeûtes to perform.
nions in religion, and the extremity to which the Turk had reduced Lewis king of Hun-
gary, prompted the archduke Ferdinand to convene a diet at Spire, in order to concert me-
tures to appease the troubles of the church, and to stop the career of the infidels (A).
With regard to the first point, the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, demanded
the free exercise of the new religion within their own territories, with such obstinacy and
zeal, that by an express clause they were indulged with liberty of conscience, until the
decision of a general council, which the emperor should be petitioned to convene with all
convenient dispatch; but the attention of the diet was so much engrossed, and the term
so long protracted by the debates which this article of religion produced, that no resolu-
tion was taken for the support of Lewis king of Hungary, who was left to perish by the
hands of his enemies (B).

Perhaps nothing was of greater service to the reformation than the misunderstanding
that happened between the pope and the emperor, on account of the alliance in which his
holiness had engaged with the king of France, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the
cantons of Switzerland, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy. Charles, with a view
of being revenged upon the pope, importuned him incessantly to convene a council, pro-
testing, that otherwise he should be obliged to make use of his imperial authority for that
purpose; at the same time, in order to oppose the league, he sent the duke of Bourbon into
Italy, after having bestowed upon him the investiture of the duchy of Milan, that he might
be the more cordially attached to his service. For the purposes of this expedition the
archduke sent thither a powerful reinforcement; and the emperor, by secret intrigues, en-
deavoured to detach the pope from the interest of his allies. The duke of Bourbon, finding
himself at the head of forty thousand men, in a very little time traversed all Italy, in
order to attack the confederates; a rapidity which alarmed the pope to such a degree, that
he began to listen to the proposals of the emperor’s ministers, and confessed to a truce of
eight months with the viceroy of Naples; in consequence of which he restored the places
which he had taken in that kingdom, and disbanded his troops in order to save expence.
However, he had soon reason to repent of his parsimony, when he understood that the duke
of Bourbon continued his march towards Rome, without having any regard to the truce, or the
approaching treaty. Finding himself thus deceived, he would hear no more of either, re-
united himself with his allies, and prepared for the defence of the city, which was attacked
by the confederates, who loft his life in the assault. His troops, however, without being
discouraged by his death, were enraged to such a degree of fury, that they scaled the
walls, and took the city by storm, while the pope was obliged to retire with his cardinals
into the castle of St. Angelo, where they were besieged, until the confederates were in full
march to their assistance, when the emperor sent order to his generals to enlarge his ho-
lines without delay. He was accordingly set at liberty on certain conditions, and the re-
 mains of the imperial army, which had been greatly reduced by the plague, were fain to
retreat towards Naples (C).

The sack of Rome alarmed almost all the princes of Christendom, those of Italy entered
an alliance with the kings of France and England, and all together, animated by their
common interest, resolved to humble the pride and bridle the power of the emperor.
Charles, on the other hand, who was still in Spain, endeavoured to break the association, by
reconciliation with the king of France and the pope, that he might be at liberty to
return into Italy, and from thence pass into his German dominions, where his presence
was very much wanted to settle the affairs of religion and the state, particularly to provide
some defence for the frontiers of Austria, the Turk having made such advantage of the
wars in Christendom, that he was now in possession of almost all the kingdom of Hungary.
Mean while the archduke Ferdinand, who had succeeded to the crown of Hungary by the
death of Lewis his brother-in-law, though not without a strong opposition from John de
Zapello, vaivode of Transylvania, who was his competitor; Ferdinand, I say, with a view to
engage the princes of the empire to support his pretensions, convened a diet, in presence
of regulating the affairs of religion, which had disunited the whole empire; and in this
assembly, which was held at Spire, it was decreed, that in those places where the de-
cree of Worms was published, no person should be allowed to profess the doctrine of
Luther; and that in those places, where Lutheranism had been already received, it should

(A) Lewis, king of Hungary, by the advice of Paul Tavard, who, from a soldier, became an archbishop,
gave battle to Selman in the plains of Mohats, where he lost his whole army, together with his own
life (1).

(B) While the pope was a prisoner in the castle of St.
Angelo, the emperor is said to have appointed public
proceedings in Spain, in order to petition heaven for the
deliverance of his holiness (2).

6

SLEIDAN, Commentar. l. 6. p. 59.
HEISS. l. 3. c. 5.

Jov. in Elog. Ludov. e Guicci. l. 18. THUVAN. l. 1.
p. 55.

(1) Sleid. l. 6. p. 59.
The history of Germany.

The emperor makes peace with the confederate.

The Lutheran princes pray against a decree, and hence acquire the name of Protestants.

Solyman be- dies Vienna.

The empire now was in such a deplorable situation, that the emperor resolved in earnest to make peace with all the princes of the league, that he might have leisure and means to provide for the quiet and securitv of his German dominions. He, therefore, entered into a treaty with the pope, which was concluded at Barcelona, towards the end of June; and then came to an accommodation with the king of France, which was settled at Cambrai in the month of August. The emperor, by means of this double peace, being enabled to execute his design of taking Italy in his way to the empire, he set sail for Barcelona, with a powerful fleet; and landing at Genoa, repaired to Bologna, where he conferred with the pope about the measures to be taken for reducing the Protestants; for he deeply regretted the contempt with which they had treated his decree of Worms, which was the first he had published after his advancement to the imperial throne; and he was incensed against the elector of Saxony, for having sheltered Luther, whom he had banished and proscribed. The pope taking advantage of this disposition, endeavoured to inflame the emperor to war against the Protestants, in order to prevent the convocation of a council, where he well knew the Lutherans would never allow him to preclude in matter and form director. But the emperor being apprehensive of the Turk, declined this proposal; and the result of the conferences, was a resolution to convene a diet, in which the emperor should exert himself to the utmost of his power for the reunification of the two religions; and if these means should fail, take care that no fresh innovation should be made upon the Catholic religion till the decision of a council, which the pope, in that case, determined to assemble.

These affairs being thus settled, the emperor was crowned by the pope at Bologna on the twenty-fourth of February, which was his birth-day: he re-established Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan, erected the marquisate of Mantua into a duchy, in favour of Federic de Gonzaga, and ascribed the pope in reducing the Florentines under the dominion of Alexander, baird of Lawrence de Medicis, who was created duke of Florence. Then he lifted orders for the convocation of the diet, to be held at Augsburg on the eighth of April, and set out from Italy on the twenty-second of March; but as he did not arrive at the place till the fifteenth of June, the Protestants had leisure to form that confession of faith, which he had already received the name of the Augsburg Confession. The diet was presided on the twentieth; and as religion was the chief object of their deliberation, cardinal Cam- pejia, the pope's legate, took an opportunity, in a Latin discourse, to exhort the Lutherans to return to the communion of the Roman church. His harangue being concluded, the elector of Saxony, George marquis of Brandenburg, the dukes of Lauenburg, Philip landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang prince of Anbalt, arose from their seats, and advancing to a place opposite to the emperor's throne, addressed themselves to him by the mouth of George Pen- tanius, chancellor of Saxony, beseeching his imperial majesty that their confession of faith might be publicly read, that the world might be undeceived with regard to false reports which had been circulated of them and their opinions. Charles compiled with their request; and next day the confession, with the authorities upon which every article depended, was read.
read in his palace in the Latin and German languages, and afterwards deposited in his majesty's own hands
Some time after, a refutation of this confession by the Catholics was produced in the diet, where it was publicly read before the emperor, who gave it the sanction of his own approbation, and prefixed the Lutheranus to subscribe to it: but they withheld all his remonstrances with such resolution, that it was not thought proper to come to an absolute decision upon the affair, lest the minds of both parties should be inflamed to an open rupture. The diet was, therefore, adjourned for six months; during which the Protestants were exhorted to reunite themselves with the church of Rome, against which they were expressly forbid to publish any writing, to convert any Catholic, or to disturb any person of that communion in the exercise of his religion: but this toleration did not extend to the Anabaptists or Sacramentarians. It was also resolved, that the pope should be interested to convocate a council in six months, to be opened in one year after the convocation. The Protestants, dissatisfied with this prorogation, withdrew themselves from the assembly, and, by their retreat, gave great offence to the emperor, who being apprehensive of their intentions, and willing to prevent matters from coming to extremity, put an end to the diet by another decree, in which he prohibited the exercise of any other religion than that of popery, and forbade all innovation in the doctrine or ceremonies of the church, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods; ordaining, at the same time, that all things should remain on their ancient footing, until otherwise disposed by the authority of a council. This decree was very afflicting to the Lutherans, and induced the landgrave of Hesse, who was the first that abdicated himself from the diet without the knowledge of the emperor, to enter into an association with the cantons of Zurich and Basle, and the city of Strasbourg, in case they should be attacked on the score of religion.

In the midst of these troubles, Charles would let slip no opportunity of strengthening his own interest, by procuring more authority in the empire to his brother Ferdinand; for this purpose he resolved to secure the imperial dignity to that prince, and persuaded the elector of Mainz to convene a college for electing him king of the Romans. The elector immediately sent intimation to his colleagues, and a particular amiable to the elector of Saxony, whom, in his own name and that of the emperor, he invited to the college at Cologne, in order to proceed to the election. The elector of Saxony, instead of obeying this summons, privately wrote to the landgrave of Hesse, and all the other Protestant princes, ducies, and states, soliciting them in the most pressing terms to form an assembly at Smalcald on the very day appointed for the election of the king of the Romans, in order to concert measures for their mutual safety. Meanwhile, he pretended in public to conform to the designs of the emperor, and ordered John Frederick his son to set out for Cologne with some of his most staunch adherents, not with a view to promote the election, but rather to protest against it, in case any step should be taken to the prejudice of the most essential clauses of the bull of Charles the Fourth, and the rights and liberties of the empire. While the electors, then, were deliberating upon this election at Cologne, the princes and deputies of the towns, which had embraced the Protestant religion, arrived at Smalcald, where they entered into a defensive alliance against all those who should attack them either in general or particular. This league was signed and sealed by all the Protestant princes, as well as by Anhalt and Halle, counts of Mansfeld; together with the deputies of Magdeburg, Bremen, Strasbourg, Ulm, Constance, Landau, Münster, Halberstadt, Reutlingen, Böhmisch, and Ifs. Letters were sent to obtain the assent of George marquis of Brandenburg, and the city of Nuremberg, because their deputies had power only to hear, without coming to any conclusion upon the subject. A resolution was made to solicit the king of Denmark, the duke of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the cities of Hamburg, Embden, Bremen, Frankfurt, Brunswick, Gottingen, Minden, Hanover, Hildesheim, Lubeck, Stralsund, and the other maritime towns, to engage in their association. They afterwards expedited letters to the emperor, in which they declared the reasons that obliged them to provide for their mutual defence and protection against that precipitate form of that pretended election of a king of the Romans, which, as they alleged, would not lawfully take place while the emperor himself continued in good health; and was, therefore contrary to the Caroline bull, and the rights and privileges of the empire.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, and that of the elector of Saxony, which John Frederick his son had presented to the diet of Cologne, both viva voce and by writing; the other electors, refusing to gratify the emperor, who was bent upon the election, and authorized to resort to the example of Frederic the third, whose son Maximilian was chosen king of the Romans, seven years before his father's death, they proceeded to the election of Ferdinand, and attended him to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned.

---

The history of Germany.

The vancement was immediately sent to the Catholic princes and states of the empire, to whom the emperor wrote with his own hand, as well as to the Protestants of Smalcald, who were commanded to acknowledge his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans. But the elector of Saxony and his confederates paid no regard either to the emperor's order, or to the intrigues of the other electors and princes, who endeavoured to reconcile them to his imperial majesty. On the contrary, they persevered in their plan; and, in order to provide against troublesome consequences, solicited the kings of France and England for succour and protection. Henry the eighth refused to epoufe their cause, that he might not disoblige the court of Rome, from which he still expected the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, the emperor's aunt; while the king of France, without mentioning the article of religion, promised to favour them with his assistance, on pretence of maintaining the rights and privileges of the empire (E).

In the beginning of January, the emperor set out for Ratibon, and taking Menzis in his way, the archbishop earnestly intreated him to keep peace with the Protestants, until a council should be convoked. Charles having allured him of his inclination to prevent a A.D. 1533. rupture, he and the elector palatine sent deputies to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, inviting them to repair in the month of April to Schmonef, where his majesty permitted them to assemble in order to effect an accommodation. At the same time, these mediators gave them to understand that the emperor expected and desired they would make no innovation, or publish any other writing about religion, except that they had presented at the last diet of Augsburg; that things should remain upon the same footing until the meeting of a council; that, in the mean time, they should abstain from all communication with Zwinglians and Anabaptists, and avoid all sorts of disputes in matters of religion; that they should neither harbour nor protect the subjects of any prince or state, or give the least disturbance to the clergy in their ceremonies or jurisdiction; but peaceably submit to those decrees, which should be made by the emperor or the king of the Romans, for the advantage of the empire and the public good; and lastly, that they should renounce the confederacy of Smalcald. The mediators added, that if the confederates would in these points conform to the intentions of the emperor, he would again believe he would forgive and forget all their past offences. Though these conditions could not be very agreeable to the elector of Saxony, who was at that time confined by sickness, he, nevertheless, sent his son John Frederic to Schmonef, whither the duke of Lunsburg and the prince of Anhalt also repaired, together with the deputies of other princes and cities; who, after much altercation, terminated the deliberations by a remonstrance, containing their demands; the principal of which were, that the emperor should command Ferdinand to lay aside the title and function of king of the Romans, and that rules should be established for regulating that election for the future. The mediating electors, though not a little surprized at this remonstrance, sent it immediately to the emperor at Ratibon; but, in the mean time, perceiving the necessity of terminating these affairs in some shape, considering the progress of the Turk, who had made an irruption into Austria, they formed a plan of accommodation, importing, that the emperor should order a general peace to be proclaimed through all Germany, and that, without any regard to the decrees of Worms or Augsburg, both parties should be forbid, under severe penalties, to disturb or molest each other on the score of religion, until the states of the empire should have found means to determine that difference; that, for this purpose, a council should be convoked in six months, and orders given to the imperial chamber to suspend all sentences pronounced in religious causes, and to admit no new action against the protestants, while they, on their part, should yield all due obedience to the emperor, and affix him in his enterprizes against the Turk.

This treaty was approved by seven protestant princes, and four and twenty cities; and the emperor afterwards ratified it in the diet of Ratibon by an authentic act, orders being given to the tribunals of justice to see it executed according to the tenour.


(E) According to Mezeray, Henry promised to supply them with fifty thousand crowns per month, in case they should be attacked, and Francis deploited one hundred thousand in the hands of the Bavarian princes, in order to levy troops, in case the emperor should attempt to oppose them (f).

(f) Mrs. Atr. Chr. t. 3. p. 891.

C H A P.
The history of Germany.

C H A P. XIII.

Containing the Particulars of the War between the Emperor and the Protestants, till the Abdication of Charles.

TWO reasons induced the emperor to consent to this accommodation, namely, that the Protestants should, by these condescensions, be gradually engaged to approve of the election of his brother Ferdinand; and that their estates should contribute towards the expence of the war against the Turk; for by this time he had received advice, that the Ottoman were in full march towards Styria in vast numbers; that fifteen thousand horse were already advanced as far as Lintz, ravaging and laying waste the country; and that Solyman, in person, had crossed the Danube at Belgrade. But this treaty of accommodation, which was concluded with the Protestants, had produced such unanimity and vigour in the empire, that both sides armed as if through emulation; and Charles soon found himself at the head of an army consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men. With these he advanced against the Turks; and the fate of two great empires would, in all probability, have been decided, had either he or Solyman dared to risk such an important stake on the issue of a battle. But at the approach of winter, the Turks retreated; and the emperor returned with such precipitation, that he did not even stay to expel John the pretended king of Hungary, who was far from being able to withstand his power. In a word, Charles seems to have had a diffused imagination, capable of conceiving vast designs, but he wanted fortitude to put them in execution (F).

After the retreat of the Turks, the emperor disbanded a great part of his army, and in the month of October set out for Italy, from whence he wrote to the states of the empire, informing them of the important reasons which had obliged him to undertake that journey, his chief aim being to concert with the pope the necessary dispositions for convoking the council according to the determination at Ratisbon. He likewise observed, that, as he had left the administration of public affairs in the hands of his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, they might assure themselves that no milchif or disorder would happen, provided they would live in peace, and yield that obedience which was due to his brother's rank and station. This letter was dated at Mantua, from whence he repaired to Bologna, where he had a conference with pope Clement the seventh, touching religion and the council. There he likewise renewed for eighteen months the league with his holiness and the other princes of Italy, on pretence of consulting the general good, but in reality with a view of hindering the French from returning into Italy. This treaty was concluded, notwithstanding the intreaties and remonstrances of the ambassadors of France, whom the pope appealed by giving them privately to understand, that his sole view in renewing the league was to deliver Italy from the Spanish troops, which the emperor had sent thither in great numbers; but if they would exert their patience a little longer, they should have no cause to complain of his conduct. The emperor, being secure from this quarter, repaired in the spring to Genoa, where he embarked for Spain, whither he was called by the pressing affairs of that kingdom.

Soon after his departure, the pope dispatched into Germany Hugh Rangon, bishop of Regis, in quality of nuncio, with orders to join Lambert Briart, the emperor's ambassadour, and accompany him to Weimar, on a visit to John Frederic, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded his father Frederic lately dead. Their errand was to signify to that young prince, the intention of their masters, and their eager desire to reconcile and re-unite, by gentle methods, two parties which were divided in point of religion. These ambassadours having represented to the elector, that the holding of a council would be the surest and the readiest method for effecting the re-union; the nuncio afterwards observed, that he was ordered by his holiness to deliberate with him about the manner, time, and place, in which it should be convoked; that he was directed to communicate to his highness some principal points of his instructions concerning the form and order of that council, and the means of rendering it free, independent, and such, in short, as the holy fathers, who were, doubtless, conducted by the spirit of God, had always judged it ought to be, in order to enforce the

(F) Hewius and Jsthuanusius, in his history of Hungary, assure us, that Solyman made this precipitate retreat by the persuasion of his general Ibrahim, bakhaw, who had for some time carried on a secret correspondence with the emperor of Germany; while Belkjarius, with more probability, ascribes it to the intrigues of the Fentian; who, being afraid of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror, found means by their emissaries at both courts, to inspire the two emperors with mutual fears of each other's power (1).

(1) Bckar. l. 20. sc. 40.

*(F)* {Last name?} Isthuanusius, in his history of Hungary, assure us, that Solyman made this precipitate retreat by the persuasion of his general Ibrahim, bakhaw, who had for some time carried on a secret correspondence with the emperor of Germany; while Belkjarius, with more probability, ascribes it to the intrigues of the Fentians; who, being afraid of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror, found means by their emissaries at both courts, to inspire the two emperors with mutual fears of each other's power (1).

*(1)* Bckar. l. 20. sc. 40.
The history of Germany.

a observation of its decisions, without which authority all their trouble would be to no purpose. He added, that his holiness, after having long deliberated upon a proper place for holding this assembly, had concluded that none could be more convenient than Placentia, Bologna, or Mantua; that choice might be made of one of these cities, and order taken, that, in case any prince or princes should refuse to go or send thither, his holiness should, nevertheless, continue the conferences; and if any scruple should be made in obeying the decrees of that council, or in acknowledging his holiness for the sovereign pontiff, the church and the holy see should be protected against them by the emperor, and the other kings and princes of Chrisiendom. He concluded with an assurance, that the pope would in six months convocate a council on these conditions; and the emperor's ambassador having confirmed all that the other said, intreated the elector to acquiesce in these proposals, in order to promote the peace and union of the empire. The elector, having taken time to consider these proposals, answered, that he was well pleased to hear the emperor and pope had agreed to convocate a council: and that the emperor having promised that it should be such an one as was required for a free discussion of affairs, he did not doubt that he should be able to prevail upon his subjects to submit to its decrees; but as a good many other princes professed the same religion which his father had embraced, he could make no positive answer without their participation. He would, however, take the benefit of their advice in an assembly which would soon be held at Smalcald, in order to deliberate maturely on this affair, and should think himself happy in contributing to the re-establishment of peace and union, not only in Germany but also through all Chrisiendom: meanwhile, he hoped his imperial majesty would not be offended at the delay which he demanded. The ambassador assured him that the emperor would willingly grant his request; and, upon this assurance, the elector repaired to Smalcald on the appointed day, where, having deliberated with his associates, the answer was conceived in these terms: they humbly thanked the emperor for his good-nites in causing a council to be assembled, and hoped God would favour and conduct his laudable design, that truth might be maintained, false doctrine, abuse, and vicious ceremonies abolished, and the true worship of God, together with the practice of other Christian virtues, happily restored. They said, their sole view in demanding a council was to for the controversies equitably and formally decided, that those unhappy divisions might cease, which had been introduced under the pontificate of pope Leo; for that purpose, and that only, they desired a free council, where the authority of the pope should not prevail over that of the emperor, where truth should be distinguished from falsehood by the test of the holy scripture, and not according to tradition, or the induction and disputes of the schools; and where the question should be decided by learned, pious, and unsuspected men, conformable to the decrees of the empire. For the rest, they referred themselves to the emperor, to whom alone they owed respect and obedience, as to the supreme power, whom God had set over them, and begged the ambassador to present this answer to his imperial majesty, a task which he readily undertook. (G).

While the affairs of religion remained in this situation, the landgrave of Hesse repaired to the court of France, to negotiate in behalf of Ulrich duke of Württemberg, his near relations, who ten years before had been expelled from his dominions by the allied states of Swabia, on pretence of his having passed over to the side of the emperor, and taken from them the praefecti of Ratisbon. The emperor, at their solicitation, hadstriped the duke of all his territories, the investiture of which he bestowed upon his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, without having any regard to the solicitations that were made by several princes at the diet of Augsburg, in favov of the duke of Württemberg, whose punishment they thought far exceed his crime. The landgrave, indeed, at that time, purposed to re-establish him by force; but, being disappoointed in the assistance he had expected, was obliged to defer the design till another opportunity. He looked upon this juncture as the happy occasion, because the emperor was absent from his German dominions, and the term fixed for the duration of the Swabian confedarry well nigh expired. For the accomplishment of his design, he, in the name of duke Ulrich, mortgaged the principality of Münbéliard to the king of France for a sum of money, on condition that it should be for ever united to the crown of France, provided the money should not be refunded in three years. On these terms, Francis agreed to advance the supply, and even flatteret him with the hope of an addition, the restitution of which he would never demand. In consequence of this agreement, the


(G) During this interval, the pope acquired such interest with the king of France, as to carry on a negociation, in consequence of which, his holiness had a conferences with him at Manfelli, where they concluded the marriage of Henry duke of Orleans, the king's son, with Katharine of Medici, the pope's niece (4).


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. P P king
The history of Germany.

king of France and the landgrave levied considerable bodies of troops, which were in condition to march in the spring, and having joined their forces on the other side of the Rhine, they advanced into the country of Wurttemberg; and, in the neighbourhood of Lautzen, attacked twelve hundred imperialists, the greatest part of whom they took prisoners, together with the palatine Philip their general; so that all the cities and fortresses of the country of Wurttemberg immediately returned to the dominion of their former lord. Duke Ulric being thus restored, the elector of Mentz, and George duke of Saxony, who was the landgrave’s father-in-law, renewed their endeavours to negotiate an accommodation between Ferdinand and the elector of Saxony; and a treaty was actually concluded, importing, that no violence should be committed, nor any proceedings at law carried on against any person whatever on account of religion; that the peace, which the emperor had published, should be carefully observed; that Ferdinand, in the emperor’s name, should supersede all the suits that were instituted against the Protestants, among whom, however, the Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, and other sects, should not be reckoned; that the elector of Saxony and his allies should acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans; that before all future elections, which should be made during the life of the emperor, the electors should assemble in order to examine the justice and expediency of the election; that if they found the motives fair and reasonable, they should proceed according to the law and forms prescribed in the golden bull; but if the motives should appear otherwise, all the steps taken towards the election should be declared null and void; that Ferdinand should prevail upon the emperor and other electors to agree to this treaty, which should be ratified in ten months by a decree or imperial constitution, otherwise the elector of Saxony and his allies should not be obliged to adhere to this accommodation; that, moreover, the emperor should confirm the elector of Saxony in all his ancient rights and patrimony, and approve of his contract of marriage with the daughter of the prince of Cleves. This pacification was followed by another, which determined the difference between Ferdinand on one side, and the landgrave of Hesse, with Ulric duke of Wurttemberg, on the other. In this affair, the elector of Saxony acted as mediator and plenipotentiary for his two friends; and after a long series of debates it was agreed, that Ulric should be confirmed in the possession of all his territories, on condition that he and his successor should hold the country of Wurttemberg in lieu of the princes of Austria, to whom, failing heirs male, it should return, and then be held of the empire; that the duke should acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans, against whom he should never enter into any compact or confederacy; that he and the landgrave should restore to the right owners all the effects they had seized during the war; that they should compel no person to change his religion, but leave the clergy to the free enjoyment of their possessions; that those, who had abandoned their habitations through fear or shame, should have leave to return or retire elsewhere, without let or molestation of their persons or effects; that Ferdinand should retain the cannon which belonged to the fortresses of Alberg, and pay the debts which he had contracted in his own name; that Philip prince palatine, and the other prisoners of war, should be released without ransom; that the landgrave and duke Ulric should either go in person or send their ambassadors to ask pardon of Ferdinand, who, as prince of Austria, should put the duke in full possession of his duchy, and interfere with the emperor for his and the landgrave’s pardon; that neither side should make any demand for the expenses of the war; but that Ulric should Supply Ferdinand with five hundred horse and three thousand foot soldiers, for the siege of Munster; that Ulric’s duchess should enjoy the estate allotted for her jointure; and that this treaty should be ratified by the states, nobility, and people of the country (h).

Peter Paul Verger, the pope’s nuncio, had orders to signify to Ferdinand, the displeasure of his holiness at the accommodation he had made with the Lutheran princes, which he looked upon as very disadvantageous to the church: but the king of the Romans replied, that the juncture was such as obliged him to make that agreement, in order to avoid more dangerous commotions. At the same time, the landgrave sent an express into Spain, with a letter to the emperor, in which he asked pardon in his own and duke Ulric’s name; and promised, that, for the future, they should always be obedient and faithful to him and the king of the Romans. To this message Charles replied, that he had already writ on that subject to his brother Ferdinand, and would again signify his sentiments, by the mouth of his ambassador, of whom they would learn his great clemency and passionate

---


(H) Ulric, duke of Wurttemberg, being thus restored to the possession of his dominions, discharged the debts which he had contracted on the principality of Montbéliard, which he recovered; and his most Christian

majesty was so generous as to grant him a discharge for a considerable sum, which he had also lent him upon personal security (2).
The History of Germany.

a. desire for peace. Mean while, he exhorted them to justify their professions, by their conduct, and abstain, for the future, from all violent councils.

Immediately after this reconciliation, pope Clement the eighth dying, was succeeded in A.D. 1534, the papacy by Paul the third, of the house of Farnese, who adopting the politics of his predecessor, resolved with all his power to elude the convocation of a council. Nevertheless, he affected to be very zealous in this affair, and, in order to evade appearances, sent Peter Paul Verger, his nuncio, to visit the princes, and flatter them with hopes of seeing their desire accomplished. He had likewise orders to prope to them the city of Mantua as a proper place for that assembly, and to found their sentiments on the subject, that by knowing their intention, he might afterwards prescribe such rules as he was sure they would not embrace. His nuncio was, moreover, directed to animate all the princes of Germany against the king of England, who had renounced the supremacy of the pope; and to try if there was any hope of converting Luther and Melancthon. The nuncio, in order to acquire himself in this expedition, made a tour round almost all the princes, and in the way had a personal conference with Luther, upon whom he employed all his art and influence in vain. Finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he advised his master to affix that heretic by writing; and the pope, in conformity with his advice, pitched upon certain cardinals and bishops, to the number of nine, to compose a formulary, or project for reforming the church.

The Protostants being, by this measure, made acquainted with the intentions of the pope, made use of that pretext for assembling at Smalcald, though in reality their view was to renew their association, the term of which was well nigh expired. Accordingly a new alliance was made for ten years, comprehending not only those of the former association, but also all those who espoused the confession of Augsburg, and were willing to engage in the league (K).

To this assembly the kings of France and England sent ambassadors. William de Langey, lord of Belley, the French envoy, went thither to acquit his master of the imputation thrown upon him by the Protestant, who charged him with having burnt some Lutherans at Paris. The ambassador, in his king's justification, represented that the sect of Sacramentarians, having spread itself even into France, his majesty had taken all imaginable precautions to check the progress of that heresy; which fix of his subjects having, in contempt of his prohibition, publicly professed, and in order to gain converts, publicly affixed placards that were equally injurious to religion and government, so as to endanger an insurrection in the kingdom, they had been convoked of heresy and sedition, and legally condemned to the flames, which they had publicly suffered at Paris, during his present proceed, and public prayers for the extirpation of such a damnable sect: but far from having afflicted that chastisement with a view to drive the Germans from his dominions, he assured them that his kingdom should always be an asylum, in which they would be as perfectly secure as the French themselves. He likewise gave them to understand, that the Grand Seignior had sent an ambassador to the king his master, in order to conclude a treaty of alliance, in which his most Christian majesty would not engage, until he should know the sentiments of the electors and other German princes on that subject; that the sultan had proposed very advantageous conditions, provided he would not intermeddle, in the war of Hungary; but he had hitherto declined them, that the other kings and princes might have time and opportunity to be comprehended in the same peace, for he did not at all doubt that the Turk would turn his arms against more remote nations, provided he had proper assurances of remaining unmolested on the side of Christendom. The assembly was far from being satisfied with this apology for having burnt the Lutherans, and paid very little regard to his proposal touching an alliance with the Turk.

The English ambassador spoke another language, which they better understood. A year had now elapsed since Henry the eighth had, at the same time, divorced himself from his wife and the church of Rome: he, therefore, proposed that the princes should firmly unite against the authority of the pope, and promised to correspond with them in all the measures they should take for that purpose. They embraced this proposal with joy; but, in order to preserve appearances, they agreed upon the form of an answcr to the pope's nuncio, touching the convocation of a council, though it contained nothing but what they had of-
The history of Germany.

ten repeated before. This union of the confederates, and the sanction which their successes gave to all innovations in religion, produced abundance of disorder in the principal towns of Germany. Among others, Munster suffered almost to defection, from the madness and fanaticism of the Anabaptists, who, under the conduct of one Bernard Rottman, excited a civil war among the citizens, expelled the magistrates and clergy, formed a new plan of government, in which polygamy was held lawful, and at length proceeded to such a degree of phrenzy and extravagance, as to choose for their king a Dutch tailor, whose name was John of Leyden; but this impostor, who pretended to have personal communication with God, did not long enjoy his dignity, which was supported by actions equally barbarous and absurd, for the city, after having been some time besieged by the bishop, who was authorized and reinforced by the forces of the empire, was betrayed by one of the companions of this pretender, who facilitated the entrance of the besiegers, so that the place was taken by assault, after a very obstinate defence, during which the Anabaptists had suffered infinite fatigue and famine. Their mock king, together with his principal ministers, were carried about the country for some time, as spectacles to the rest of the people, and after wards tortured to death at Munster, and hung in chains.

Some time before this event, Solyman had made some overtures of peace to pope Clement the eighth, the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand; but finding his advances treated with more coolness than he expected, he resolved to render himself more respectable by force of arms. With this view he deposed Humeral, who had commanded his fleet, and created Barbarossa his admiral in chief. This was a native of Itly, in the island of Lebos, and the most formidable pirate who had ever appeared in these seas. His first expeditions against the Morea were successful; he spread the terror of his name over all the coast of Italy, and sailing towards Africa, took upon him the office of mediator between Muley Haf- fein and his brother Araxid, who contended for the kingdom of Tunis. But under this pretext he made himself master of the city, and all its dependencies, which he subjected to the dominion of the grand Turk.

The emperor Charles, dreading the storm that seemed ready to burst upon him from France, England, and the Protestant princes of the empire, who were far from being satisfied with his concessions, saw the necessity of arming for his defence; and that he might have a specious pretence for making a powerful armament, he undertook an expedition into Barbary, with a view to restore Muley Haffein, who had implored his protection, as well as to chastise the inofence of Barbarossa, who continually infested the coasts of his Sicilian dominions. He accordingly set sail from Spain in the month of April, with a powerful fleet, and his design was so well conducted, that in a little time he gained possession of the city and port of Tunis, together with the fortresses of Goleta, set at liberty a great number of Christian slaves, defeated Barbarossa by sea and land, and restored Muley Haffein to his dominions, leaving, however, a strong garrison in the fortresses, in order to keep that prince his dependant and tributary. Pope Paul had affidited him with several galleys, well equipped for this expedition, and had granted him a tenth of the effects of the clergy, in order to defray the expense of the war.

From the prosecution of this war he was soon diverted by the conduct of the king of France, who, with an army of fifty thousand men, had entered Piedmont, to revenge himself upon the duke of Savoy, who had disoblige him, and afterwards to attempt the recovery of the duchy of Milan. Charles no sooner received this intimation, than he dispatched orders into Germany, and all his other dominions, for sending troops to oppose the French in Italy; while he himself repaired to Rome, where, in presence of the pope, the cardinals, and ambaassadors from foreign princes, he made a very passionate harangue against the king of France, complaining, that notwithstanding the treaty of alliance, he had, from envy and inveterate rancour, interrupted the progress of his successes against the common enemy, taking the advantage of his ability to invade his dominions; and concluded with saying, that, in order to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was content to decide the difference by single combat with the king of France, whom he accordingly defied, and who was wise enough to decline the proposal.

He likewise renewed his solicitations with his holiness for the convocation of a council; and the pope, who was perfectly well informed by his nuncio, that the Protestants would infilt on its being held in some city of the empire, pretended he was extremely well disposed to gratify his desire; but pitched upon Mantua as the most convenient place for all parties concerned, and fixed the month of June of the ensuing year for the time of its meeting. These resolutions were perfectly agreeable to the views of Charles, who had two aims to accomplish in this council: one was to detain the pope in Italy, in case he should be disposed.
The history of Germany.

149

a posed to favour France; and the other, to make himself absolute through all Germany. Having thus, as he imagined, put the affair of religion on a right footing, he employed his whole attention on the war against France, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, resolved to invade Provence in person. He accordingly traversed all Italy, and passed the Var with an army of fifty thousand men, commanded by Antonio de Loyola, his lieutenant-general; being followed by a fleet, commanded by Andrea Doria, which furnished him with provision and ammunition. These preparations, however, did not avail: for, instead of being received with open arms by the disaffected subjects of France, as he had expected, he found all the advantageous posts already occupied by the enemy, who did not think proper to risk a battle; so that the progress of his army being retarded, his design proved abortive, and his forces were daily diminished by death, and he was obliged to send the remains of them into quarters, while he himself retired to Genoa, after having pillaged Aix, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon the city of Marsilles (L).

While he sojourned at that place, he was visited by Joachim de Pappenheim, Louis de Bambach, and Claude Puebinger, who, in quality of ambassadors from the Protestant princes, contradicted the false reports which had been raised, touching their alliance with the kings of France and England; and entreated him to leave in quiet those princes and states who had entered into their league since the last pacification at Nuremberg; as also to forbid the imperial chamber to proceed in any caufe, or pass sentence against them. The ambassadors were favourably received by Charles; who assured them, that before his departure for Spain, whither he was called by pressing affairs, he would send his answer to their principals by Hilde, his vice-chancellor, who should follow them with all convenient dispatch. In effect, that minister, having taken in his way Vienna, where he joined the pope's nuncio, who was then with King Ferdinand, executed his orders with such diligence, that both arrived at Smalkalde, while the Protestant princes were assembled together with Luther and the rest of the principal preachers. There they presented the pope's bull concerning the convocation of a council; which, being canvassed by the Lutheran divines, produced abundance of dispute both in public and private. At length they declared, that they would attend to no other than a free Christian council, at which every perfon should enjoy liberty of sentiment and speech; for which reason the pope should neither convoke nor preside at it, these being the prerogatives of the emperor and kings: nor should it assemble at Mantua, while there were towns in Germany altogether as commodious for that purpose. The nuncio and the vice-chancellor exerted all their endeavours in persuading the Protestants to comply with the directions contained in the bull; but finding all their eloquence ineffectual, had recourse to another expedient, addressing themselves to the Catholic princes, who, as a counter-balance to the conferency of Smalkalde, entered into an association for eleven years, in order to defend themselves and their religion from all enemies, declaring the emperor and his brother Ferdinand chiefs of the league (M).

Mean while, the pope considering the opposition at Smalkalde, deferred the opening of the council for some months, on pretence that the duke of Mantua wanted time to levy troops, and fortify his town for the public security. While the eyes of all Christendom were turned upon this council, the jealousy that prevailed between the emperor and the king of France, induced this last to mortify the other in a very sensible manner. Francis could never forgive the emperor for having compelled him, in the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, to renounce the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois: he now, therefore, ordered his parliament to carry on a process against Charles as his vassal, who, for his conduct on that occasion, was accused of felony, and summarily tried, or take his trial. The emperor, who was at that time in Spain, no sooner heard of this insult, and the march of the French towards those provinces, than he sent orders to his generals to assemble troops with all imaginable expedition, and repel force by force. Both armies had already taken the field, and the Imperialists began to have some advantage over the enemy; when Eleonora queen of France, and Mary queen of Hungary, interposed in order to mediate an accommodation, and procured a suspension of arms for six months, for the Low Countries only, the war still continuing in Piedmont, where the Imperialists took by assault the town of Cherasco, and put the garrison and citizens to the sword. But some time after, the inhabitants of Turin, being well nigh reduced to famine,

(A. D. 1537.)

The king of France mortifies the emperor, and causes a suspension of arms, in order to mediate for the Low Countries.

The emperor is visited by the ambassadors of the Protestant princes.

(1) Mem. Abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 907. (2) Heift. i. 3. c. 4. and

(L) The same time the emperor invaded France on the side of Picardy, which count Naffau entered with thirty thousand men, and took the town and castle of Guifs; France was also invaded; but the place was gallantly defended by the maréchal de Florence, and the count de Dammartin; that the Imperialists were obliged to abandon the siege and retire (1).

(M) The chief of those who entered into this association were the archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg, William and Louis duke of Bavaria, George duke of Saxony, and Eorich and Henry duke of Brabant (2).

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
The history of Germany.

and all the avenues of the city blocked up by the troops of the emperor, the king of France. A truce also negotiated for Italy.

The hands of Charles being tied up by this suspension of arms, he resolved to disturb France by all sorts of secret intrigues. Charles Egmont had put himself under the protection of his most Christian majesty, that he might be maintained in the possession of the duchy of Guelders, which the emperor pretended was part of the succession of his father Philip. While the duke thought himself secure in the friendship of France, Charles, by his secret emissaries, spread such reports among his people, as made them believe their duke intended to subject them to the jurisdiction of France; and this notion produced a revolt, in consequence of which duke Charles was expelled from his dominions, and could scarce find a place of retreat, because the insurrection was powerfully patronized by the emperor.

In the mean time, the pope finding himself entangled in such affairs as did not at all favour the meeting of the council at the time prescribed in his bulls, he again deferred the convocation of that assembly; so that the Protestants had leisure to continue their negotiations, and to concert proper measures for preventing the ill effects of that council. With this view, the chiefs of their party assembled the following year at Brunswic, where they received into their alliance Christian king of Denmark, son of Frederic the second, and John marquis of Brandenbourg; and, in order to give more weight to that assembly, they new allies personally appeared at their meeting. The pope, being very sensible that it would be impossible to procure a solid peace to the church of Rome, while the two greatest powers of Christendom were at variance, employed all his art and influence in laying the foundation of an agreement between the emperor and the king of France. He solicited each of these princes with all his might to consent to a personal interview in his presence; and having obtained his request by dint of unwearyed importunity, Nice, which is a sea-port town on the Mediterranean, was the place fixed for the meeting of these two princes. Thither the pope repaired, being followed by the emperor, who came by sea with a powerful fleet, and the king of France, who came by land with a numerous army; but in spite of all the efforts of the pope, repeated in the course of a long negotiation, he could not effect a peace, tho' they contented to a truce for ten years

Among other subjects of deliberation that occurred at this meeting, the progress of the Turks in Hungary was not forgotten. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, had been very unsuccessful against the infidels, who had forced his lines at Belgrade, and defeated one army, while another, destined to oppose their efforts in Dalmatia, met with the same fate. How to stop their progress was now the question; and, after mature consideration, they saw nothing practicable until they should have first healed up the divisions in religion, so as that all the princes in Christendom might unite their forces against the common enemy. Charles promisd to write to the princes of the empire on this subject, and actually sent circular letters, exhorting them to enter into the same sentiments, and unanimously concur for the general good; adding, that in order to accomplish this grand aim with the greater ease, he had inveighed the archbishop of Lunden, and Matthias Hilde, with full power to negotiate and accommodate with them all matters in dispute, according to the advice of his brother and council. Though Germany was now divided into two parties of Catholics and Protestants, this difference had not mutually inspired them with hatred and aversion to each other: on the contrary, both sides expressed the utmost eagerness and zeal for a re-union. With this view a general assembly was held at Franckfort, where after long debates it decreed, that the emperor should grant a truce for fifteen months to all the Protestants with-

---


(N) Francis, dauphin of France, died in the nineteenth year of his age, not without suspicion of poison; which he is said to have received from the hands of a count Montecucchi, a native of Ferrara, who, being put to the torture, confessed the crime, which, he said, he had been engaged to commit by the ministers of the emperor. But the Germans pretend, that it was administered at the instigation of Katharine of Medisici, who could have no chance of seeing herself queen of France, while the elder brother of her husband was alive (3).

(O) These two princes never once saw one another while they tarried at Nice; a piece of policy or precaution which was owing to the management of the pope, who had private designs of his own to execute upon both, which might have miscarried, had they ever come to personal communication (4).

---

The history of Germany.

... exception, that they might have time to inform themselves, by means of conferences, touching the contested points of religion; that the pacification of Nuremberg, and the emperor's edict at Ratisbon should be ratified; that although the differences in religion were not settled during this truce, the peace should not be violated until the next diet; that, in the mean time, the emperor should suspend all processes and proscriptions issued against the Protestants on account of religion, by the imperial chamber, and all actions whatever on that score should be annulled; that justice should be impartially administered without respect of persons, or distinction of religion; that during the truce the Protestants should admit no other power into their confederacy, but allow the clergy to receive the rents of the lands which were abutted in their possession; that, under the permission and auspices of the emperor, a day should be fixed for a conference at Nuremberg, between Catholics and Protestants, and learned persons chosen, of a mild and pacific disposition, for managing the dispute; that the emperor and king Ferdinand should be at liberty to send ambassadors to these conferences; that every decision should be reported to the absent states, which, if they approved, the emperor's ambassador should be obliged to subscribe, and the emperor to ratify it at the ensuing diet; that both parties should abstain from preparations of war, or at least declare the subject of such preparations, as this truce was not supposed to interdict any person from defending himself, according to his privilege in the empire; that this treaty should not comprehend the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who professed a doctrine contrary to the confession of Augsburg; finally, that the Protestants should hold in readiness their succours against the Turk, and send their ambassadors and deputies to Worms, at a certain day appointed by the emperor, to concert with the electors, and other princes and states, proper measures for supporting the war against the common enemy.

About this time, the emperor, who, since the conference at Nice, had still refrained in Spain, was informed by the king of France, that the inhabitants of Ghent had revolted, on pretence of defending their liberties, and proposed to put themselves under his protection: an intimation of integrity never enough to be commended in Francis, who chose to forfeit the extraordinary advantages which he might have gained on this occasion, rather than fully his honour by a breach of the truce which he had concluded with Charles. The emperor, alarmed at this intimation, resolved to set out immediately for Flanders; and, that he might take the shortest and safest way, ventured to pass through France, relying on the assurance of Francis, who engaged his word for his security. He accordingly took the road, accompanied by a slender retinue, and was met on the frontiers by the constable Montmorency, Henry the dauphin, and Charles duke of Orleans, the king's sons, who offered to go and remain in Spain as hostages for his safety. This generous profusion he refused with due acknowledgement; and they attended him through all the fairest cities of the kingdom, where he was treated with equal cordiality and splendor. At Lachas in Berry, he was received by the king in person, who accompanied him through Orleans to Paris, which he entered on the first day of the new year, walking between the two sons of France, and preceded by the constable with the naked sword in his hand. Cardinal Parmeis, the pope's legate, and the archbishop of Paris waited for him in the great church; and nothing was omitted which could contribute to honour, divert, and entertain him, during the seven days which he spent in that capital. At his departure from Paris, he was again conveyed by the king to Chateauroux, but the two princes his sons preceded him as far as Valenciennes, the first town of the Low Countries. Charmed with the polite treatment he had received, and the honours which had been paid to him in France, Charles, by way of gratitude, promised to bestow upon the king or the dauphin, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, and Francis actually expected this mark of his friendship, though he would not execute his promise until his arrival in his own dominions, and at last eluded it in such a manner as did very little credit to his generosity. The people murmured loudly at this evasions of the emperor, and did not scruple to say, the king had been a dupe to his dissimulation, observing that Francis ought to have retorted the usage he had received from Charles at Madrid, and made his own terms while he had his rival in his power (P).

While the emperor arriving at Brugge, employed his whole attention in settling the affairs of Flanders, and in punishing the inhabitants of Ghent, which he entered with his army, as if it had been an hostile city taken by assault. Thirty of the principal burghers


(P) When Charles at first demanded a passage through France, the king was actually advised to take this advantage of him; but he was dissuaded by the constable Montmorency, whose disgrace (which followed soon after) seemed to declare that he was suspected of holding intelligence with the emperor (1).
The history of Germany.

bourgers were executed as chiefs of the fediton, a much greater number banished, all the public edifices confiscated, the town deprived of its artillery, arms, and privileges, and sentenced to pay a fine of one million two hundred thousand crowns; and, as a check upon the mutinous disposition of the people, he ordered a citadel to be built, and manned with a very strong garrison. While he tarried in Flanders, he was visited by the envoys of the Protestant princes, who, together with king Ferdinand his brother, went thither to solicit him on the subject of the assembly at Frankfurt, which the Protestants complained had been in sundry ways infringed or unperformed, to their detriment and disadvantage; they, therefore, besought him to shut his ears against the calumnies of their foes, who had misrepresented them as reflefs and disaffected; to interpose his authority for putting a stop to the processes which had been instituted against them, contrary to the articles of the truce; and to give directions for a conference, in which the difference in point of religion might be amicably discussed. The emperor was not a little embarrassed on this occasion; because the pope had not approved of the proceedings at Frankfurt, and now opposed the ratification which they demanded. Nevertheless, preferring his own interest and the public repose to every other consideration, he, after some delay, complied with their request, in confirming the refult; being resolved, as far as in him lay, to maintain union among the members of the empire, and to facilitate the means of bringing all religious disputes to some happy determination. For this purpose, he appointed an assembly at Hagenau; but finding it impracticable to determine the contest touching the restitution of the effects of the clergy which were possessed by Protestants, and reclaimed by the Catholics, it was referred to a diet, which was to be held at Worms in the month of October ensuing. Here, likewise, the affair was argued, without being brought to any conclusion; so that the emperor was fain to convolve another, which was opened at Ratisbon in the month of April, and in which were present the emperor, and cardinal Gaspard Contarini in behalf of the pope. Charles, after having made a proposal tending to a general pacification, and in particular to quiet that discord which had sprung from a religious source, agreed with the Protestants to refer the whole affair to a conference, which should be managed by three doctors on each side, under the authority of two presidents, namely, Frederic count palatine of the Rhine, and Nicholas Gradov, the emperor's prime minister.

Accordingly, this conference began towards the end of April; but in five or six articles only could they agree, the rest the emperor thought proper to remit to the decision of a general or national council, or rather to the judgment of another diet. The legate Contarini opposed this resolution; and demanded with great warmth, that the whole affair should be submitted to the pope or general council, alleging, that neither a national council, nor a diet, could judge decisively on articles of faith. No respect, however, was had to this remonstrance, though the people were prohibited, under severe penalties, to ruin or seize the effects of the church, to make any innovation, or seduce any perfon from the ancient religion; while, at the same time, the clergy were strictly enjoined to reform their manners, and live, for the future, with more regularity and discipline. But these decrees were no other than an outward pretext; for at bottom the emperor's design was to conciliate the affections of the Protestants, left they should throw themselves under the protection of France, which, he knew, they had already solicited. He therefore, in private, granted them letters patent, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience; the decree of the diet was softened in their favour; he permitted them to receive those who desired to be of their communion; he suspended the last edit of Augsburg, and all the preceding decrees which had been issued against them; and lastly, ordered the imperial chamber at Spire to administer justice to them, without making any difference on the score of religion; so that by these means the Protestants were entirely detached from the interest of France.

Charles took the same opportunity to put the duke of Cleves to the ban of the empire, because he had retired to the king of France, whose protection he craved, that he might be maintained in the possession of the duchy of Gueldern, devoted to him by the death of William of Cleves, to whom it had been ceded by Charles Egmont the last duke, without the concurrence of the emperor, and to the prejudice of his claim derived from his grand-mother Mary of Burgundy. He likewise gave orders for re-establishing the duke of Saxe in his dominions, prohibited all Germans from engaging in the service of France, and diffused the assembly, after having exhorted all the states to contribute to the necessary measures for opposing the Turk. Affairs were dispatched in this manner, because

---

(Q.) The Catholic doctors were John Eckius, John Melanthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pytorius, affiliated by Grasseris, and Julius Pflugius. The Protestant, Philip, several persons of quality.

---

Hefft l. 3. c. 4.
The history of Germany.

a he would not lose the season for paying into Italy, where he proposed to embark on board the fleet he had prepared, for the execution of his design against Algiers. He accordingly set sail for the coast of Barbary, where he landed and began the siege of that place; but he was obliged to abandon the enterprise, on account of the tempestuous weather, by which he lost one hundred ships and fifteen galleys, so that he was forced to raise the siege, and return to Spain with the wreck of his army, which from four and twenty was reduced to ten thousand men.

Nor was king Ferdinand more fortunate in his attempts upon Hungary. After the death of John, he had marched to besiege the city of Buda, hoping to profit by the minority of the young king Stephen, who was there shut up under the tuition of his mother. But Sultan Solymann, whose affiance was impressed by that princess and the other tutors of her son, ordered a considerable body of troops to march to their relief, and following in person at the head of another formidable army, a battle ensued, in which Ferdinand was totally defeated, and in consequence of which the city of Buda, together with the young king, and his mother the queen dowager, fell into the hands of Solymann, who had come thereto under pretence of protecting them.

From this misfortune, the emperor took occasion to convocate a diet at Spire, where king Ferdinand, who preferred, obtained the states a supply of men and money, proportioned to that which the hereditary provinces had granted, on condition that it should be employed against the common enemy, of Christendom. The pope's nuncio being present at the diet, offered a reinforcement of the same kind in the name of the holiness; and as all the princes who composed that assembly generously expressed an unanimous resolution to embark in the general cause, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French ambassador, who endeavoured to difluse them, the nuncio, in order to confirm the good intentions of the Protestants, gave them to understand that the pope, in consideration of that spirit which they expressed against the infidels, would comply with the request which they had so often made to have a council in some city of the empire; and that he had chosen Trent as the most commodious place for them and all the other nations concerned in the convocation. In conformity with this promise, he actually summoned a council to meet in the city of Trent, on the first of November, and sent an intimation of his design to the emperor and king of France, whom he invited to assist in person at the assembly, or at least to send thither their ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics.

During these transactions, Francis the first, who could not digest the affront which he pretended to have received from the emperor, whose Spanish subjects had affianced Anthony de Rison, and Cesar Pregola, his ambassadors to Venice and Confanentina, resolved to be revenged on Charles, who had refused satisfaction on that head; and, taking the advantage of his operations in concert with the pope and the princes of the empire against the Turk, attacked his dominions in five different parts, namely, Brabant, Luxemburg, Artois, Picquimont, and Roussillon; but the emperor had taken such precautions for the defence of these places, that the king of France acquired no advantage from the war, which, on the contrary, prejudiced him in the opinions of the German princes, who now firmly believed that his enterprise was solely undertaken with a view to make a diversion in favour of the infidels; and they were more exasperated against him, by the certain accounts they received, importing, that the Turks were employed in making extraordinary preparations for extending their conquests in Hungary and Moravia.

In consequence of this information, Ferdinand, in the beginning of the year, assembled the princes at Nuremberg, where he found no difficulty in prevailing upon them to comply with his measures; when among other things it was determined, that they should fortify themselves as well as they could on the side of the Turks, and that the emperor should be intreated to return to Germany, in order to oppose the French and the duke of Cleves, who had brought them thither. The emperor was no sooner apprised of this resolution, than he began to prepare for his departure from Spain; and foreseeing the length of his voyage, and his absence, he nominated his son Philip king of Spain, and put the admiral

R

nification

(1) Josc. l. 40.
(2) Hist. l. 5. c. 6.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.

A.D. 1544.
The king of France declares war against the emperor, and attacks his dominions in five different places.

A.D. 1545.

(R) Charles is said to have undertaken this expedition against a petty pirate in Barbary, through fear of being involved in the affairs of Hungary, which Solymann had invaded with a vast army; and the great fleet he equipped on this occasion, gave rise to a fearful remark, importing, that no prince in the world fled from his enemy with more apparatus (1).

(S) In answer to the manifestoes which Charles V. published against Francis for having entered into an aliance with the Turks, that prince observed, that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excusable to call the dogs to his assistance (2).

The history of Germany.

nistration of affairs into his hands, after he had seen him married to the infanta Mary, daughter of John king of Portugal. In a few days after these nuptials, he embarked on board a powerful fleet, in which he arrived at Gessa, from whence he wrote letters to the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other confederates, exhorting them to contribute their assistance towards the war against the Turk, and at the same time issued orders for assembling a diet at Spire. Then he had an interview with the pope, whom he prevailed to declare war against the king of France; but his holiness eluded these entreaties, and in his turn solicited him to restore Parma and Placentia to the holy see, and to invest his grandson Ottavio Farneis with the duchy of Milan, seeing the Italian powers would never consent that he should retain it for himself. To this proposal, however, Charles sent a deaf ear; and setting out for Germany arrived at Spire, from whence he repaired to Bonn, in order to oppose the progress of the duke of Cleves. There, having assembled his army, he marched directly to Duren, in the county of Juliers, and on the twenty-third day of August, summoned the town to surrender, threatening to declare war against them should they refuse to comply with his demand. The garrison having returned a contemptuous answer and defiance, he invested the town with the Spanish troops, and he carried on the attacks with such vigour, that the place was taken by assault, a great number of men being killed on both sides. This success spread such a terror in the neighbourhood, that the towns of Juliers, Ruremonde, and Veule surrendered without resistance. The duke of Cleves, finding himself so hotly pursued, repaired to this last place, accompanied by Henry duke of Brabant, and the ambassadors of the elector of Cologne, by whose intercession his affairs were so happily negotiated, that the emperor pardoned him on these conditions: that he should adhere to the Roman Catholic church; and in case any change should happen in his country, reduce every thing to its primitive state: that he should swear fealty to the emperor, king Ferdinand, and the empire; renounce the alliance of France and Denmark; engage in no league that should not comprehend the emperor, king Ferdinand, and their heirs; and that he should yield up Guelderland, and assist the emperor in reducing the towns of that duchy, which should refuse to submit. In consideration of these concessions, Charles restored to him the duchy of Juliers, except the cities of Heinsberg and Sittard, which he proposed to keep for some time as pledges of the duke's fidelity.

This treaty was concluded without the participation of Francis the first, who was actually on his march with a strong body of forces to support the duke; but hearing by the way of this accommodation, he discharged his resentment upon the city of Luxembourg, which, for the second time, he reduced to his obedience. Meanwhile, the Imperialists having received a reinforcement of troops from Henry king of England, with whom the emperor had concluded a new alliance, they attacked Landrecy in the Low Countries; and as soon as the emperor understood it was invested, he marched thither with the rest of his army, after having settled the affairs of Guelderland. At the same time, the king of France took the same rout with all his forces, and a general battle was expected; but Francis, having supplied the town with succours and all sorts of warlike ammunition, retired without fighting; and the emperor, being hindered by the winter from continuing the siege, or undertaking any other enterprise, returned to Germany, in order to preside at the diet which he had convoked. At this assembly, when Germany was held at Spire, the subjects of deliberation were the complaints of the Protestants, and the war against France and the infidels. The states having duly considered these points, unanimously agreed to accommodate the emperor with double subsidies; and, concluding that the war against the Turks would be carried on with greater advantage and security, provided they could compel France to sue for peace, they resolved to make a strong effort for that purpose, and contented to furnish six Roman months for defraying the expense of levying four thousand cavalry, and four and twenty thousand infantry; as well as to enable king Ferdinand to provide for the places on the frontiers of Turkey. With regard to future wars which should be carried on against the Othomans, it was decreed, that every person, without exception, should contribute according to his ability. Severe penalties were likewise ordained against those who should engage in the service of foreign princes, particularly of the king of France; and orders were given to the magistrate to proceed against such delinquents with all the rigour of the law. As for the affair of religion, a decree was made, suspending the execution of the edict of Augsburg, and securing all persons from being molested on account of their persuasion, every dispute on that subject being referred to the decision of the ensuing diet, until a free, general, or national council could be held in Germany. It was also agreed, that each party should enjoy their present possessions; and that on the re-election of the judges of the imperial chamber, a like number should be chosen of each religion. This decree

sand. carlos v. l. 35. p. 423. 7 sleid. comment. l. 15. p. 169. e sleid. com. l. 15. p. 170.

mez. abr. chron. t. iii. p. 294.

was
The history of Germany.

a was very agreeable to the Protestants, and had such an influence upon the elector of Saxony in particular, that he entered into a particular treaty with the emperor; by which, for the first time, he acknowledged Ferdinand as king of the Romans; and Charles, on his part, approved and ratified the mutual hereditary compact between the families of Saxony and Cleves, specifying, that if the duke of Cleves should die without heirs male, the elector of Saxony and his heirs male should succeed to his dominions. In order to strengthen this new tie between the houses of Agustria and Saxony, king Ferdinand, with the emperor’s consent, promised to bestow in marriage his daughter Eleonora upon the elector’s eldest son, provided the reconciliation in point of religion should take place, before the prince should have attained an age requisite for the consummation of the nuptials. This last article was communicated to very few; and kept a secret on both sides, as to escape the knowledge of the landgrave and all his allies.

This decree concerning religion was not more agreeable to the Protestants than mortifying to the Roman Catholics; who, with difficulty, were prevailed upon to give their assent, in consequence of the intrigues of Charles, who assured them, that what he had done was from an apprehension of being obliged to make a more disagreeable compliance, by the majority of suffrages on the Protestant side; and that as the affair was referred to the decision of another diet, future measures might be taken in favour of the Catholics.

These regulations being made, the emperor set out from Spire, in order to execute the design which they had formed against France, in concert with the king of England.

c These two princes had laid the scheme of attacking that kingdom at the same time, and of appearing before Paris at an appointed day, in order to join their forces, sack the city, and ravage the country as far as the river Loire. As all the necessary preparations had been made for an expedition of this sort, it would, in all probability, have succeeded, had not the English amnestied themselves in the siege of Boulogne, which they resolved to take before they proceeded farther. The emperor, taking this opportunity of recovering what he had lost in Luxemburg, and of revenging the affront he had received in the defeat of the marquis of Guise, at the battle of Cerfailles (T), advanced towards Metz, where, having assemblé his army, he undertook the siege of the city of Luxemburg, which surrendered to him about the end of May. He likewise made himself master of Ligny in the province of Barro, and St. Dizier, from whence he advanced, by the way of Châlons, as far as Château-Thierry. This rapidity produced such confusion in Paris, that all those who had means to retire, even the very students, deserted the place, and Francis, finding himself so suddenly saddled with two such powerful enemies, was advised to send proposals of peace to the emperor. He accordingly dispatched embassadors on that errand, who finding Charles disinclined at the English, who, instead of joining him according to their promise, had spent the time in taking places on the frontiers of Picardy; they managed his chagrin with such dexterity, that he at length condescended to treat with the king of France without any regard to his ally; and upon the seventeenth of September a peace was concluded at Crepy on the following conditions: All that has been taken on either side, since the truce, shall be restored; the duke of Lorain shall keep possession of the town of Senlis, under the protection of the province of Luxemburg; the emperor and the king shall employ their joint endeavours and strength in re-establishing the ancient religion and concord in the church; the king shall furnish six thousand cuirassiers, and ten thousand foot for the war against the Turk; he shall surrender all his pretensions to Arragon, Flanders, and the kingdom of Naples, Artois, and Guelphland; the emperor on his part shall quit his claim to the Bouillonais, Peronne, and the other towns situated upon the Somme, as well as to Lower Burgundy and the Maconnois; he shall give his eldest daughter Mary, or his niece, the daughter of his brother Ferdinand, in marriage to Charles duke of Orleans, the king’s son, and in four months declare which of the two he will bestow; if his daughter, he shall settle upon her, by way of dowry, the country of Brabant, Guelphland, Luxemburg and Limburg, Flanders, Holland, Friesland, Hainault, Artois, Namur, Utrecht, and all the other countries on that side, as well as Upper Burgundy, called Franche Comté, to be enjoyed by her after his death. In consideration of which settlement, the king shall, on his side, for himself and his children renounce all right to the Milanese; and if the emperor’s daughter shall die without children, the duke of Orleans shall restore all these countries, reserving his right upon the Milanese, in like manner as the emperor shall retain his claim to Burgundy: if the daughter of

c Belcar. I. 23.

(T) This battle was fought between Francis count Eguin, third son of Charles I. duke of Vendome, and the marquis of Guise, general of the imperial army, who was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, all his artillery and baggage. By this victory the French became masters of the town of Corbie, and all Montferrat (1).


Ferdinand
The history of Germany.

Ferdinand be pitched upon, the shall have in dower the principality of Milten; and the marriage with one or the other of these princesses shall be consummated within the year; the king shall re-introduce the duke of Savoy in all his dominions, and keep possession of Hefdin, until it shall be otherwise determined; and lastly, the emperor shall interpose his good offices for promoting a peace between France and England.

This treaty being signed and ratified on both sides, contrary to the opinion of almost all the world, Charles returned from Saftfort to Brabant, and sent his Spanish troops into winter-quarters in Lorraine and the neighbouring countries. But thinking the peace he had concluded not firmly cemented, while France was at war with the king of England, his ally, he prevailed upon the two kings to send their ambassadors to Bruges, where, with his own, and the deputies of the Protestant princes of Germany, conferences were begun in order to effect an accommodation between England and France; but, at that time, all their endeavours proved abortive.

The pope, who waited for nothing but the accommodation of the emperor, and the king of France, in order to promote the holding of the council, which hitherto had been hindered by the wars, now issued bulls for a convocation in the month of March in the following year, while the emperor issued orders for assembling a diet at Worms, on the fourth of the same month, though he could not reach that place till the month of May, so much was he incumbered by the gout. The design of this meeting was to concert measures for quieting the troubles of religion, to re-establish justice and peace through the empire, and provide for the support of the war against the infidels. But the Protestants, having declared that they could not refer themselves to the council of Trent, and inflicting upon that point's being discussed before they proceeded to any other, the emperor broke up the diet, and referred the affair to another meeting at Ratisbon, where he invited all the estates and princes to appear in the month of January.

While every circumstance seemed to promote discord, a war was actually begun by the ravages of Henry of Brunswick, a man of a turbulent disposition and infamous life, who had obtained a great sum of money from the king of France, on pretence of raising soldiers in Germany against the English; for whom Frederic Reiffenberg was actually employed in levy-troops in Saxony. But Henry having received the money, and privately assembled a good body of forces, instead of performing his promise to Francis, he turned his arms against the Protestants. Though he was commanded by the emperor to desist, and submit to the laws of his country, he made an assault upon the city of Rottenburg; from whence being repulsed he laid waste all the Lower Saxony, and threatened destruction to the maritime towns, unless they would renounce the confederacy of Smalcalde. From this circumstance the Protestants began to suspect that the emperor connived at his proceedings, that he might take the advantage of his successes against them; and in order to check his progress, they assembled an army, the command of which was given to Philipp landgrave of Hesse, who, after some successful skirmishes, and fruitless negotiations of peace, compelled him to surrender at discretion. The emperor, who was then at Bruges, being informed of this event, wrote a letter to the landgrave, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate the guilt of Henry, whom he desired him to release, according to the generous custom of their ancestors. He likewise ordered him to dismiss his troops, as the danger was now over; and if he had cause of complaint against any person for having assisted Henry in his excceses, he should have recourse to the determination of the law. This mildness in favour of a public disturber of their peace did not serve to extinguish the suspicion of the Protestants, which was soon after confirmed by his behaviour on another occasion; for instead of carrying on the war against the infidels, with the supplies that had been granted for that purpose, he sent Gerard Feldweis to Conflantinspule, who, in the name of Ferdinand, concluded a truce with the Turk.

The prorogation of the diet gave great umbrage to the Protestants, who expected that the emperor, in treating the article of religion, would have put a stop to the proceedings, which the imperial chamber had renewed against them, on account of the church-lands they possessed; and they began to credit the advices they had received from different quarters, informing them that the emperor and king Ferdinand wanted to amuse them with false hopes, until they should have preparations for attacking and oppressing them by open war. They resolved, therefore, to assemble at Frankfurt, in order to deliberate upon the means of defending themselves from the executions of the imperial chamber, and the other misfortunes with which they were threatened. After having weighed these matters with due attention, they determined to prolong their confederacy, and prepare for war; and understanding that Frederic the second, successor to his brother Lewis, elector palatine, had invited Protestant ministers to preach in his capital city of Heidelberg, they sent a mess

The history of Germany.

a fenger to him with congratulations upon his conversion; but the joy of this happy event was in a few days moderated, by an account they receiv'd of Luther's death. During the council of Trent, which was opened at the time appointed by the pope's last bull for that purpose, Luther had been invited by the counts of Mansfeld to determine a difference, which had happened among them, touching the limits of their territories. Though he had never been used to meddle in such affairs, his whole time having been dedicated to his studies, yet as he was born at Eisleben, a town depending upon the counts of Mansfeld, he could not refuse that service to his native country, and accordingly, with the consent of the elector of Saxony, went thither, and was met by Jübus Jonas and Melanthon, who were chosen as the other two arbiters of the dispute. But his endeavours were at that time unsuccessful in determining the difference, in which new difficulties daily occurred: however, at the earnest request of the counts, he returned a second time to the fame place, accompanied by Jübus Jonas, bishop of Hal, and met with a very splendid reception from the counts. His health had been for some time impaired by the vexation and chagrin, which he suffered from his difference with Zwingius (U), and the decisions of Melanthon on these disputes. Nevertheless, he used his endeavours for settling the affair in dispute, and sometimes preached in the church, where he likewise administr'd the sacrament. At length he was feiz'd with an oppression of the breast, of which he died without any marks of pain or anxiety, at the age of sixty-two. The counts of Mansfeld earnestly desired that he might be buried in their territories, where he had first seen the light, and where it was his fortune to give up the ghost; but, by order of the elector of Saxony, his body was conveyed to Wittenberg, and there interred with great funeral pomp.  

b Mean while the infirmities of the emperor, which daily increased, having hindered him from being present at the diet of Ratibon on the appointed day, it was not opened till six months after, when, perceiving that the greatest part of the Protestant princes had neglected to appear in person and even to send deputies, and that his hopes of terminating the differences in religion were baffled, as the confederates of Smolcalde had paid no regard to the council, which had for some time been opened at Trent, the emperor in full diet bitterly reproached them for their insolence and obstinacy, and did not scruple to declare, that for the future he would make use of his power and authority for bringing them to reason. Having foreseen that things would come to this extremity, he had sent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude a league with the pope, which was accordingly signed on the twenty-sixth of the same month. By this treaty it was agreed, that the pope should furnish the emperor with twelve thousand Italian foot soldiers, five hundred horse, and two hundred thousand golden crowns to be deposited at Venice: that Charles should for one year, levy in the pope's name one-half of the church revenues through all Spain, and even be at liberty to mortgage the income of monasteries in that kingdom, to the amount of five hundred thousand golden crowns, for the expence of the war, on condition that he should give security for repayment out of his own estates, because the expedient was without example; that the pope should, with all their forces, and with the emperor, oppose every person who should pretend to thwart their enterprise, and reciprocally assist each other during the continuance of the war, and even for six months after it should be at an end; and lastly, that every prince and state should be admitted into the league, upon condition of participating of the gain and expence of the undertaking. This confederacy between the emperor and the pope acted as a caution upon other princes to be upon their guard, and produced a peace between France and England, which was concluded at the same time.  

c Now that a rupture was inevitable, the emperor publish'd a manifesto, in which he declared, that he did not take up arms on the score of religion; but was obliged to proceed to that extremity by the rebellion of certain people, who contemn'd the decrees of the diet, asfammed without order, excited foreign powers against him, pillag'd the princes of the empire, and, by a constant exercice of violence and oppression, endeavoured to destroy the freedom and security of the public. This manifesto was answer'd by the Protestants, whose chiefs were John Frederic elecor of Saxony, and Philip landgrave of Hesse, who affirmed, that notwithstanding the emperor's declaration, he had undertaken the war with a view to tyrannize over the confidences of men; and to convince him, that they would not be tamely opprest, they, in a little time, assembl'd an army, confining of eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with an hundred and thirty pieces of cannon.

d (U) Zwingius differed from Luther by denying the real presence in the sacrament, and affirming that salvation did not depend entirely upon grace, but upon the exercice of free-will and the practice of morality (1).

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.  

SS THE
The history of Germany.

The emperor had used his endeavours to assemble his troops privately, in order to attack the allies of Smalsdale before they should be in a posture of defence; but he was disappointed by the vigilance of the landgrave, who had taken the field with his army, after having sent Prince William, his eldest son, who was then in the sixteenth year of his age, into the city of Strassburg, which was well fortified for his security. Mean while, Charles put John Frederic elector of Saxony, and Philip landgrave of Hesse, to the ban of the empire, declaring them perturbers of the public peace, violators of the faith, transgressors of the law, and usurpers of church-lands, and whole provinces, taxing them, at the same time, with having made use of the specious names of religion, peace, and liberty, in order to seduce their fellow-subjects from their duty to their country, and their allegiance to their emperor. He sent this declaration to Maurice duke of Saxony, and his brother Augustus, the elector's cousins, together with the reasons that obliged him to proscribe their kin. And, in order to engage these noblemen in his interest, and to persuade the world that it was not a religious war, he promised the electorate to Maurice, although he was a Lutheran. At the same time he ordered his troops to march into the territories of the elector, though they were not yet equal to those of the confederates either in number or munitions of war; and after having placed a strong garrison in Ratisbon, he took the field, and occupied an advantageous post, upon the river Ilzer, between Landshut and the camp of the landgrave. There he was joined by the troops of the pope, amounting to ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; and soon after, he received another reinforcement of six thousand veteran Spaniards from Naples and Milan; so that his army being augmented to five and forty thousand choice men, he was in a condition to quit his camp, and act against the confederates. While he kept this post, which was in the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, a difference arose between the landgrave of Hesse and the elector of Saxony; this last having proposed to attack the emperor, before he should be reinforced, and the former objecting to that expedient, as an insult and injury offered to the elector of Bavaria, whom they looked upon as a well-wisher to their cause. At length, however, they wrote a letter to that prince, explaining their grievances, and intreating him to compel Charles to evacuate Ingolstadt and Ratisbon. In answer to this request, he gave them to understand, that as he was not strong enough to oppose the Imperialists, he must be excused from attempting an enterprise that would be productive of his own ruin; and that he hoped, he should not on this account be considered as an enemy by the confederates.

In consequence of this ambiguous answer, they resolved to undertake the siege of Ratisbon, in which there was an imperial garrison, and to occupy an advantageous place, where they might fight the emperor in case he should come to the relief of the city. Charles, having by this time assembled all his forces, except those that were expected from Lower Germany, under the command of the count de Buren, put his army in motion; and the Protestants suspecting that his design was to invade Mihina and Saxony, immediately built bridges and crossed the Danube; but afterwards understanding that he took the route to Ingolstadt, they regained that river by another road, in order to prevent him from taking possession of Neuburg and Donauwörth, and opening a passage into the country of Wurtemberg.

Finding the emperor encamped at Ingolstadt, they drew up their army in order of battle, and had they attacked his camp, in all probability, that day would have put an end to the war; but after some inconsiderable skirmishes they withdrew their forces, and next day he was too well fortified to dread their attempts. After having trifled away some days, during which the emperor kept himself intrenched, they decamped with a view to hinder his junction with the count de Buren, who being, by a special messenger from Charles, informed of their design, eluded them by changing his route, and safely arrived in the imperial camp. Thus reinforced, the emperor marched to Neuburg, which was surrendered to him without opposition; then he moved to Marbach, from whence he set out for Donauwörth; but for the convenience of the situation, turned to the right, and encamped at Misbach. In this march the two armies skirmished with each other, and Albert, son of Philip duke of Brunsvic, was mortally wounded in one of these encounters. Here the confederates had resolved to attack Charles in his camp; but he having received notice of their intention, thought fit to remove to Donauwörth, which had a few days before been taken by a detachment of his army. Without specifying the particulars of this campaign, which produced no general action, it will be sufficient to observe, that the affairs of the Protestants were ruined by the dissensions between the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, who being involved with an equal comm ind often opposed each other with great animosity, to the detriment, and, indeed, the destruction of the common cause. Many fair opportunities were lost by this contention: want of vigour and unanimity appeared in all their operations, while the strength and vigilance of Charles every day encreased; so that, towards the


6 latter
The history of Germany.

a latter end of the year, the chiefs were fain to solicit an accommodation; but he proposed such hard conditions, that they resolved to continue the war rather than submit to a shameful peace: though by this time the elector of Saxony was stript of his dominions by count Maurice and his brother, who taking advantage of their uncle's absence, and being joined by the forces of Ferdinand king of the Romans, possessed themselves of almost all the electorates.

GER/IC duke of Wittemberg, seeing the declining situation of their affairs, withdrew himself from the confederacy, and submitted to the emperor, in which case he was imitated by the cities of Ulm, Frankfort, Memmingen, Bibrach, Ravensburg, Kempen, Augsburg, and Straubing.

b The Protestant party being very much weakened by this separation, the elector of Saxony endeavoured to repair their losses by converting to their advantage the correspondence which he had maintained in Bohemia, with those that professed the reformed religion. For this purpose he approached the confines of that kingdom, but was disappoointed by the foresight and care of Ferdinand, and constrained to make a shameful retreat towards his own dominions. This misfortune touched him the nearer, as he at the same time found the hopes extinguished which he had conceived from England and France, the kings of which two nations were now dead; at a juncture when he had reason to expect powerful assistance from both. The emperor would not let slip so fair an opportunity of terminating the war; and, therefore, having received advice that the elector of Saxony, since his return to his own country, had furnished Frankfort and Helffen, two places belonging to duke Maurice, he resolved to pursue him with all expedition, in order to stop the progress of his successes, and early in the spring set out from Egra with his whole army, accompanied with king Ferdinand, who commanded six hundred cuirassiers, a thousand hussars, and ten companies of foot; and Maurice and Augustus, dukes of Saxony, at the head of a like number of troops. Thus attended, Charles marched with such dispatch, that he had well nigh taken the elector by surprize; for he had detached his Hungarian and Spanish horse with orders to secure the roads, and apprehend every person they should meet, that his march might be kept secret. This precaution succeeded so well, that he had already entered Melina, and was very near the troops of the elector, before they had the least intimation of his approach. When he was within a day's march of them, the two armies being separated by the river Elbe, and understood from his scouts that the elector was encamped near Mulberg with nine thousand men, he advanced in order to attack him: and several officers, perceiving the Hungarians and Spaniards troops on the other side of the river, advised the elector to retire to Wittemberg. But that prince, who could not believe that the emperor was so near him, mistook those troops for the forces of duke Maurice, which he despised, and would not at any rate decamp till after service, because it happened to be the Lord's day. Before the emperor arrived on the banks of the river, duke Maurice sent some officers to inform the elector of his imperial majesty's approach, and to advise him to send deputies to Charles to sue for peace. He at the same time promised to use all his influence in his behalf, and gave him to understand that the emperor was very well disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. The elector answered, he was not yet reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, as he was possessed of three great advantages, which hindered him from dreading the attempts of his enemy; that he was secured by a deep river, a vall forest, and the town of Wittemberg, in the neighbourhood of which he would not fail to profit, according to the emergency of his affairs. He, therefore, rejected the advice of duke Maurice, and made proper dispositions of his forces and artillery on the banks of the river, in order to hinder the imperial troops from fording or throwing a bridge over it, as well as to defend a bridge of boats which he himself had made. But seeing the emperor arrive, and his guards attacked by about a thousand Spaniards, who had courage enough to wade the river, and even use their bows in the middle of the stream, he set fire to his bridge of boats, one part of which was consumed, while the other, being separated from the bank, was carried down by the Current of the river. Upon this occasion, some of the Spaniards swam across with their swords in their mouths, and notwithstanding a shower of arrows that was discharged upon them, seized the boats and carried them to the other side, where, together with those the emperor had brought thereto upon waggons, they were formed into a bridge sufficient for the passage of his army and baggage. The elector, who during this transaction was at church hearing sermon, being informed of their successes, ordered his army to decamp and march towards Wittemberg; but the emperor, who knew the fate of that day depended upon his expedition, commanded his hussars and light horse to pass the river without delay, and pursue the Saxons, while he himself followed with the rest of his army. Accordingly, he overtook the

The history of Germany.

The elector in the forest, about three miles on the other side of the Elbe; and, after having ex-
ahorst his people to do their duty, began the attack, his cavalry being divided into two bodies; in the first of which were the duke of Alba, Lanoy, Antonio de Toledo, Baptista Spinella, and duke Maurice, while the second was conducted by the emperor in person, accom-
panied by king Ferdinand, with his two sons, and the prince of Savoy. The elector would have been in a condition to stand his ground, had all his troops been assembled in one body; but he had left part of them at Wittgenstein, while William Thumbelin commanded another detachment in Bobemis, which the activity of the emperor did not give him time to call in; so that, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted till night, he was over-
whelmed by the number of his enemies, and compelled to surrender prisoner of war (X).

As soon as the elector of Brandenburg understood the event of this battle, he waited upon the emperor, who had gone to besiege Wittgenstein; and though John Frederick, elector of Saxony, was already condemned as a rebel to be beheaded, with a confiscation of his electoral dignity and dominions, which were conferred upon duke Maurice; the elector of Brandenburg solicited to prepossessing and so effectually in his behalf, that his life was saved upon conditions which he himself was glad to ratify. In consideration of this pardon, he renounced the electoral dignity for himself and his children, leaving to the emperor the power to dispose of it according to his good pleasure; he promised to restore to Charles the towns of Wittgenstein and Gotha, with their artillery and one-third of their provision, the other two-thirds, with all the moveables and utensils, being appropriated to the use of the duke. It was likewise stipulated, that the garrisons should march out without colours; that the elector should set at liberty Albert marquis of Brandenburg, and restore all he had taken from him, while the emperor should behave in the same manner to Ernlethus duke of Brunswick and his son; that the prisoner should yield up all he had taken during the war from the counts of Mansfeld and Solmes, as well as from the master of the order of St. John of Prussia: that he should renounce his right to Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Hal, obey the imperial chamber, contribute towards the maintenance of its officers, and procure the release of Henry duke of Brunswick and his son, who were kept prisoners by the landgrave of Hesse; that he should abandon every alliance he had engaged in against the emperor and Ferdinand, and enter into none for the future without comprehending them, their provinces, and allies; that he should have an allowance of fifty thousand crowns a year for the main-
tenance of himself and his family, to be deducted from the electorate and the other lands conferred upon duke Maurice; that, with the permission of the said duke, and under the good pleasure of the emperor, he should retain the town of Gotha, after having demolished the castle and fortifications; on these conditions, all other punishment should be remitted, except that of his remaining in custody under a guard of the emperor or the prince of Spain his son. By virtue of this treaty, the city of Wittgenstein was immediately put into the hands of the emperor, after the princess Sybilla of Cleves, the prisoner’s wife, her son, and brother-in-law, had retired from it with the garrison. This great affair being thus de-
termined, the elector of Brandenburg and Maurice duke of Saxony resolved, if possible, to effect an accommodation between the emperor and the landgrave of Hesse; for whom they inter-
ceded so powerfully, that Charles agreed to the project of a treaty, importing, that the landgrave should come in person and ask pardon on his knees of the emperor; that he should, for the future, behave himself with that respect and obedience which he owed to his imperial majesty; observe the decrees made for the good of the commonwealth; sub-
mit to the judgment of the chamber, and contribute to its support, as well as to that of the war against the Turks; renounce all sorts of confederacies, and in particular that of Smalcalade, and deliver all the writings of that league to the emperor; that he should make no alliance in which the emperor and king Ferdinand should not be included; that he should defend the frontiers of his country against all the emperor’s enemies; that he should not undertake the defence of any person whom the emperor wanted to chastise; but, on the contrary, punish all those of his subjects who should presume to carry arms against his im-
perial

(X) This battle was fought in a wood called der Schossenbirt, where the elector was wounded in the cheek; while he fought with great intrepidity. At length, being surrounded by the enemy, so that he could not possibly escape, he surrendered to one Tielm Gratze, a gentleman of Mijhina, who conducted him to the duke of Alba, by whom being asked, "Tell me, my lord, who are you?" he answered, "I am the elector of Saxony, who have surrendered myself (said he) to your Imperial majesty, and all the favour I ask is a prison suitable to my rank." Charles answered with an air of disdain, "You own me then at length your emperor—well, I will treat you as you deserve." So saying, he turned his back upon him, and went away, while king Ferdinand reproached him in much harsher terms. Ernlethus duke of Brunswick was also taken prisoner in this battle; the elector and prince, though wounded, found means to escape to Wittgenstein, with about four hundred men (I).
The history of Germany.

The emperor, seeing this affair in such forwardness, put Duke Maurice in possession of the city of Wurtemberg, and advanced towards Hesse, with a view to invade it, in case the landgrave should alter his resolution; but that prince repaired to Hall, in order to wait upon him, and signed a treaty, though he at first hesitated upon an additional clause, importing, that the emperor referred to himself a right of explaining all doubts that might arise upon any of the articles. The treaty being thus executed, he was conducted by the elector of Brandenburg and Duke Maurice of Saxony to the emperor, seated upon his throne, before which he kneeled, when his chancellor read a paper, signifying that the landgrave asked pardon for the offence he had committed against his imperial majesty, and humbly begged to be re-admitted into his favour, which he should endeavour to deserve by his future fidelity, respect, and obedience. The emperor answered by the mouth of George Hilde, that though the landgrave had deferred a very severe chastisement, as he himself owned, yet out of regard to the interference of some princes, who interested themselves in his behalf, he was neither condemned to death, proscription, nor the loss of his estate, the emperor consenting himself with the execution of the articles specified in the treaty, and being pleased to pardon his valets and subjecks, provided they would faithfully adhere to the letter of this accommodation, and acknowledge, as became them, the favour they had received.

The landgrave believing the emperor was sincere, returned thanks for his clemency; and, as he had remained a long time on his knees, rose up on his own accord. In the evening he was invited to supper, together with the elector of Brandenburg and duke Maurice, at the lodgings of the duke of Saxony, where he found himself arrested by order of the emperor. His two friends, the elector and duke Maurice, were extremely concerned at this unjustifiable act of oppression; and, in order to console the prisoner, stayed with him all the night, assuring him they would use their whole influence in procuring his release. Accordingly they, next day, waited upon the emperor, to whom they complained of this outrage, humbly beseeching him to set the landgrave at liberty, according to the convention which they guaranteed, in consequence of his majesty's promise. The emperor answered, that he had never promised the prisoner should not be detained, but that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonments; and to support this assertion, produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfunctorily foisted in one word for another (Y), which, instead of securing the landgrave's liberty, subjected him to imprisonment. The two intercessors protested against this alteration; and, after long debates, the emperor sent notice to the landgrave, that he might go about his business; but, at the same time, refused to favour him with a safe-conduct, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the princes in his behalf; and two days after he was ordered to

The elec tors of Saxony and Brandenburg protest against this breach of faith.

The emperor, seeing that no effectual steps were taken by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, thought proper to call upon them, publicly to protest against this breach of faith.

(Y) The original expression was einen einge gefangen, which, in the German language, signifies, without being confined in any prison; but in lieu of einge, signifies being any; the ministers of Charles had writ einge, that is perpetuum (1).

1 Id. ibid.  Md. Hist. Vol. XI. 161

2 Sander, Hist. del imperad. Carl. V. 1. 25.

(1) Sperand. Conv. 1. IX. p. 241.
follow the emperor, a command which he obeyed with the greater resignation, as the elector and duke Maurice had assured him they would not leave the emperor until he should be set at liberty. Accordingly they attended his Imperial majesty to Naumburg, renewing their importunities without ceasing, until they were forbidden to proceed farther, otherwise the landgrave should be sent into Spain. Thus restricted, they were fain to desist, after having communicated their reasons to the prisoner, whom they advised to pay the hundred and fifty thousand crowns without delay, and give security for the execution of the other articles of the treaty; circumstances which, in all probability, would induce the emperor to give him his freedom; and they assured him, they would not fail to be at the diet appointed to meet on the first of September next at Augsburg, where they would exert their whole power for his interest. According to their advice, the landgrave, who bore his captivity with extreme impatience, ordered the money to be raised, and the fortresses to be demolished, with a view to facilitate his enlargement; but after the sum was paid, the forts demolished, and the cannon delivered up, he found himself still a prisoner as much as ever. This perfidious behaviour of the emperor with regard to the landgrave incensed not only the princes who had negotiated the accommodation, but likewise almost all the states of Germany, before whom they resolved to lay their public complaints at the ensuing diet. In effect, sometime after the opening of that assembly, the ambassadors of Saxony and Brandenburg did not fail to join the princes of Hesse and her sons in soliciting the liberty of the landgrave, and in remonstrating that the prisoner had already fulfilled all the conditions of his treaty with the emperor. But Charles eluded their solicitations, by giving the diet to understand, that of the three points on which they were chiefly to deliberate, the discussion of that which concerned the interest of particulars ought to be delayed until they should have come to some resolution on the other two, which regarded the general good of the empire: for he declared his principal aim was to re-establish the peace of Germany, by a re-union of those who had been divided on the score of religion, and by a free and impartial administration of justice under the authority of the laws, which had been trampled upon, to the disgrace of the Germanic nation.

The first article created long and obstinate disputes; for the pope had transferred the council of Trent to Bologna, where he resolved to continue the sittings, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the emperor and the princes of the empire, who besought him to remit the council to Trent, and protect against all the proceedings at Bologna. This inflexibility of the pope obliged Charles to find out some medium, by which he might please both parties, and the least expedient he could pitch upon, was to employ learned men in composing a regulation upon all the controverted points of religion, until the council should have published a final decree, by which the orthodox faith would be established. As he thought it would still be his interest to keep measures with the pope, he sent this project of regulation to his holiness, who objected to two articles contained in it, namely, the marriage of priests, and the administration of the communion in both kinds to the laity. Notwithstanding this opposition of the pope, it was presented to the diet, where it was received as a kind of decree, for which the elector of Mentz thanked the emperor, in the name of the states, although they had vested him with no such commission. The Catholics murmured at this formula, which was called ad interim, as if they had thought the emperor intended to change the essence of religion; but he told them, that what he had done related only to the Lutherans, whose affections he wanted to conciliate by this indulgence; but that as for the Catholics, they were at liberty to adhere to their ancient customs; and, indeed, in his constitution they are expressly enjoined to stand firm in their faith, for the advantage and union of the church.

Having taken this measure, which was agreeable to neither party, and only received by compulsion, he proceeded to the deliberations of the administration of justice, and the authority of the laws, when he inquired to the states, that if they would leave these matters to his care, he would employ his whole attention in redressing that grievance; and, in the mean time, as the Imperial chamber was in a manner overwhelmed with businesses, he proposed to add ten to the number of assessors, that the causes might be decided with more dispatch. The states subscribed to his advice without hesitation, and referred the whole affair to his management, promising to contribute to any additional expence he should think necessary. As for the last point, concerning the particular interest of some princes and states of the empire, Charles declared that he himself would take cognizance of these complaints; and, in order to appease Maurice duke of Saxony, who still insisted upon the landgrave's being set at liberty, he in full diet confirmed to him the territories of John Frederick, duke of Saxony, and the electoral dignity, not only for himself and his heirs male, but these failing, for his brother duke Augustus and his sons; still, however, deducting those lands


P. 255.

which
The history of Germany.

which were referred for the maintenance of John Frederick and his successors. Charles, having disinterested himself of this troublesome bundle, had no other point to gain at this diet except that of persuading the states to grant him a considerable supply for the necessities of the empire; and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that they were prevailed upon not only to comply with his request, but also to grant a hundred thousand crowns a year to king Ferdinand, till the expiration of his truce with the Turk. They moreover agreed, that all the provinces which the emperor oppressed in High and Low Germany, should be put under the protection of the empire, on condition of their contributing their quota of subsidies in proportion with the other states, in all public emergencies, without, however, surrendering any innovation upon their own laws and jurisdictions; and lastly, that the general peace of the empire might be the better secured, it was resolved that the constitution of public peace, enacted for his grandfather the emperor Maximilian, should be renewed and augmented; and this was actually corroborated with another new constitution, having the full force of a law through the whole empire.

Before the diet was dismissed, he ordered letters patent to be expedited, inviting and requiring the states, particularly those of the confederation of Augsburg, to affix at the council as soon as it should be re-established at Trent, promising that all points should be examined and discussed, according to the scripture and doctrine of the holy fathers; and that the cretans and theologians of the Protestant faith, should be as favourably received as those of the other persuasion (Z).

The deputies were no sooner departed, than the emperor set out for the Low Countries, having ordered his son Philip to meet him at Bruges: that young prince being in Spain could not arrive in Flanders till the beginning of the following year, when he was acknowledged as the presumptive heir of Charles, in the Low Countries, the states of which did homage to him in that quality.

Some time after this transaction, the emperor, as a testimony of his zeal for the church, issued an edict against all who should profess any other than the Catholic orthodox religion, and even established diocesan tribunals of inquisition, to proceed against those who should transgress the edict, and condemn them to the penalties therein expressed. This decree was the torch that lighted up a flame which could never be extinguished; for the governors of these provinces, with a view to signalize their own conformity with the zeal of that matter, successively extended their power to such acts of tyranny and oppression; that the subjects, thinking themselves authorized by that necessity which could stoop to no law, shook off the yoke, had recourse to arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence. In a word, this revolt prospered to such a degree, that the oppressors, far from being able to reduce the rebels to obedience, were obliged in the sequel to receive them as friends, and own them for sovereigns; and had the mortification to see not only Lutheranism, but also all sorts of religions introduced and tolerated in the country; for true it is that violence and restraint in matters of religion are very dangerous and impolitic remedies.

This unlucky edict filled all the Low Countries with consternation and despair; but particularly affected the German merchants who traded at Antwerp, and it gave such umbrage to the Lutheran princes and states, who had refused their courage on seeing part of the emperor's troops disbanded, that they ventured to protest openly against the Formula ad interim, which was held at Augsburg. Charles loudly complained of this protest, with a view to prevent all troublesome consequences; and, in order to pacify the Protestants, abolished the inquisition in the Low Countries, so far as it regarded foreign merchants. He, moreover, in confirming the decree of Interim, assured the states, that the differences in religion would soon be determined by the council, which pope Julius the third had, by this time, re-established at Trent; where Christians of all denominations, even those who had changed their religion, should have liberty to propound their sentiments, under his protection and safe-conduct. Thinking by these expedients, which met with no opposition, that the Protestant princes were satisfied, he diinnified the assembly; and his son Philip, who had been there in prision, soon after set out for Italy, on his return to Spain, with his brother-in-law Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, who accompanied him thither, in order to undertake a work against the apostates of Germany; but in examining the arguments on both sides, he was struck with the force of truth, that he became a zealous defender of the doctrine he intended to impugn; and afterwards made a convert of his brother John Baptist, bishop of Pisa, in Istria (Z).

Spond. Cont. i. ix. p. 275.

(Z) About this time, Vergerius, whom we have had occasion to mention as the pope's ambassador to the princes of Germany, renounced the Roman Catholic religion, and embraced the doctrine of Luther. Hearing that he had been repented to the pope as a favourer of the Protestants, he, in order to refute the aperiorion, carry
The history of Germany.

carry back with him into Germany his wife Mary, who, by this time, was delivered of two children.

From Augsburg the emperor removed to Innsbruck, where he resolved to pass some months, that he might be near the council of Trent, and at hand to make the necessary provision for the war of Parma. Henry the second, king of France, who supported the interest of Otho van Parma, lord of Parma, which the pope wanted to possess in exchange for some other territory. Hither Charles was followed by the ambassadors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who respectfully solicited him to let the landgrave at liberty: he was likewise importuned, on the same subject, by the king of Denmark and several other princes, who endeavored to prevent the evil consequences which the long and furious captivity of that prince might entail upon Germany. The emperor continued to amuse these intercessors with vain promises, and declared that he would actually accommodate the affair with Maurice, elector of Saxony, whom he ordered to attend him for that purpose. Maurice, who from this answer, which had been so often repeated, forewore that nothing was to be expected from the justice or good-will of Charles, resolved to put an end to the negotiation, and take another method which would be more effectual. He likewise wanted an opportunity of effecting (if possible) the bad impression of his character, which his conduct had made among those of his own religion, who believed he had sacrificed to his ambition John Frederic, duke of Saxony, his own kinsman and benefactor, who they suspected was still detained in prison by means of his secret intelligence with the emperor. With a view, therefore, to regain their esteem and affection, which he knew he should never retrieve but by attacking Charles, whom they considered as the tyrant of their consciences and liberty, he endeavored by all possible means to put himself in a condition to support a war against the emperor; and, indeed, he conducted himself with such secrecy and address, that the world was surprised to find him had, by the intervention of Albert marquis of Brandenburg, entered into a league with the king of France, and retained in his service not only the German troops which had been employed in the siege of Magdeburg, but also those who had evacuated the city in consequence of the accommodation (A). He had likewise secured the assistance of Joachim elector of Brandenburg, Frederic count palatine, the dukes of Wurttemberg, Deux-Ponts, and Mecklenburg, and Ernest marquis of Baden; but he determined to declare himself at this time, because he looked upon it as the most favourable conjuncture that ever could occur; for the emperor was on one hand occupied in the war of Parma against the French; and on the other, Ferdinand was embroiled with the Turks, who had marched into Hungary, on pretence that he and the emperor had broke the truce; the last in besieging and taking the town of Afric in Barbary, and the other in seizing certain places in Hungary, which had been offered by the Turks: besides, Charles had scarce any other troops than those he had withdrawn from Saxony, to assist at the siege of Magdeburg, during which Maurice, who commanded in chief, had gained a great number of the officers over to his interest. Thus prepared, he took the field with his army, at the same time publishing a manifesto, that contained his reasons for having recourse to that extremity: he at once made himself master of the towns that were in his route; and advancing into Sisita, invested the city of Augsburg, which he reduced in a few days; from thence he marched towards the Alps, in order to secure the passages against the Spanish and Italian troops; and his approach immediately dissipated the council of Trent: the bishops who composed that assembly having fled to different places of greater safety, after they had prorogued the council for two years, or longer, provided an accommodation among the princes which could not be effected before that period. Mean while, the emperor himself was struck with such consternation at this unforeseen progress of Maurice, that he forthwith dispatched King Ferdinand to treat with him about conditions of peace.

These two princes had an interview at Lintz, where the elector, who designed to surprize the emperor at Innsbruck, endeavored to amuse Ferdinand with pacific proposals, and a mutual agreement, importing, that an assembly should be held at Pofian, on a certain day, to deliberate upon the means of concluding an accommodation, and that a truce for fifteen days should commence on the first day of meeting. This stratagem in some measure succeeded: for while Ferdinand returned to the emperor, to give an account of his negotiation, Maurice, resolving to make the best use of the intermediate time, advanced with great expedition, and forcing, with equal gallantry and success, the pass of the

(A) The city of Magdeburg had been proffered by the emperor, because the inhabitants would not obey the decrees of the diet, and turned the clergy out of their benefices. The town was besieged by Maurice duke of Saxony, at the desire of the states, and, after a very obstinate defence, surrendered upon capitulation (3).
The history of Germany.

Valleys that lead to Innsbruck, took the castle of Eremberg, and would certainly have feized the emperor's person had not Charles fled in the night, being conveyed in a litter on account of the gout, by which he was tormented, and having no other attendants than his brother Ferdinand and John Frederic of Saxony, to whom he granted his liberty on this occasion. These three, without any other equipage, which, indeed, the hurry of their flight would not permit them to prepare, retired with great fear and precipitation to Villach on the Drave; and Maurice advanced with such expedition, that next day he entered Innsbruck, where all that belonged to the emperor's court was abandoned to pillage, though the equipage of Ferdinand was spared, and the citizens carefully protected from violence and plunder, he being devious to convince them that he had not taken up arms to enrich himself; but solely to redress the grievances of those who were oppressed.

While the elector pursued Charles with such activity, the king of France, in consequence of the treaty which he had subscribed, marched to the frontiers with a powerful army, and posted himself of Verdun, Toul, and Metz, together with Nancy and the whole country of Lorraine, from whence he advanced to Haguenau, in order to make a diversion in favour of his allies.

The emperor, having posted himself in a place where he could no longer apprehend any insult from the elector of Saxony, his whole care was employed in assembling as great a number of troops as he could bring together at the foot of the Alps, that he might be in a condition not only to oppose the progress of the enemy, but also to support the Roman Catholic party during the continuance of the assembly at Paffau, where the princes actually met upon an appointed day, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. Before the deliberations began, the Protestants received a message from Charles, importing, that he would send the landgrave's head to Maurice, provided he should refuse to accept the terms of peace proposed. This menace had its weight with the elector and the chiefs of his party: and both sides exerted their endeavours towards an agreement so heartily, that in a few months they concluded the famous treaty known by the name of the Pacification of Paffau.

In consequence of this peace, the landgrave was set at liberty; but afterwards arrested at Mainz, by order of queen Mary, governor of the Low Countries, who said the could not enlarge him, until she should know the emperor's pleasure more particularly on that subject. Her pretence for apprehending him was, that Reiffenberg, who was in the service of the landgrave's son, had, with his troops, joined Albert marquis of Brandenburg, one of the princes engaged in the Protestant alliance with France. This conduct he considered as a violation of the peace. But he was soon discharged, by the command of the emperor, and in six days after arrived in his own territories.

Charles the fifth, whose chief aim in granting these indulgences to the Protestants was to procure their assistance against Henry the second of France, found means to engage their whole force in his interest; and seeing himself at the head of four thousand men, resolved to be revenged upon his rival without delay. For which purpose he immediately began his march to Strasburg, where he was very well received by the magistrates of the city; and, while his army passed the Rhine, he chose his head-quarters in a village near Haguenau. Six whole days were consumed in transporting his troops, cannon, and baggage, when advancing to Landau, he remained inactive fifteen days longer, and did not begin the siege of Metz until the twenty-second of October. By these delays the duke of Guise had time to take all the necessary precautions, and accordingly he supplied the cities of Metz and Nancy with all sorts of munitions of war; and a good number of gentlemen volunteers went into those places, in order to signalize themselves in their defence. Albert marquis of Brandenburg had hitherto continued firmly attached to his engagements with France, and at that time occupied a post near Pont a Mousson, with fifty companies of foot and a good number of cavalry: but having changed his sentiments at the approach of the emperor, he carried on a secret negotiation with that prince, and, on the fourth of November, actually joined him in his camp before Metz, after having routed and made prisoner the duke d'Aumale, who, being informed of his intention, had come to secure his person, and hinder his junction with Charles. To convey a just idea of the valour, resolution, and obstinacy of the besieged, let it suffice to observe, that the place was attacked by an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and battered by a hundred and fourteen pieces of cannon, under the eye of the emperor himself; yet his efforts were vain, and, towards the end of December, he was taken to raise the siege, after having lost one-third of his army by the coldness of the weather and contagious dillemers, as well as by the uncom-
mon valour of the enemy. One part of his troops he put into winter-quarters in the a country of Trier, and with the rest reit to the Low Countries, as much mortified as the king of France was rejoiced at this disappointment. He was not, however, discouraged by this disgrace; on the contrary, he took the field in the beginning of the spring, to revenge the injury he had received; and marching to Tournay, the place was taken by assault, and razed to the ground; but whether his bodily inimities, or the decline of his faculties, which no longer retained their former vigour, hindered him from acting with his usual spirit, or that he had other designs in his head, certain it is, he proceeded no farther on that side; but leaving his army under the command of Emmanuel Philibert, son of Charles duke of Savoy, he converted his attention to other objects, endeavouring to prevent the troublesome consequences of an intestine war, which was kindled in Germany by Albert b marquis of Brandenburgh (C), since his retreat from Metz, as well as to effect a match between his son Philip and Mary, daughter and heiress of Henry king of England, which was soon after actually consummated 1.

This interesting affair being settled to his wish, he resolved to put an end to the practices of Albert, who in a severe battle fought near the river Weser, had been defeated by Maurice elector of Saxony, though the victory cost this prince his life, he having received a wound, of which he died in two days. Albert escaped into Francovia, where he found means to re-assemble some troops; but being again routed by the forces of Ferdinand, and the neighbouring princes, he was compelled to seek refuge in France; and the emperor having determined to proceed against him as a perturbator of the public peace, as well as to remedy the disorders which had been produced by his rebellion, he convinced several diets successively, which proved abortive through the intrigues of Albert's friends, and the absence of the emperor, who was disabled by his infirmities from attending in person. At length the marquis, whom the king of France had favoured with his protection, was, on the part of that prince, comprehended in the treaty of truce, which was concluded in the abbey of Fauconet near Cambrey, by the ambassadors of the emperor, and his son Philip, king of England, on the one part, and those of Henry the second, king of France, on the other; a truce to be observed by sea and land, in the Low Countries, Italy, and elsewhere, for the term of five years, on condition that both parties should keep the towns and territories which they had at present in possession.

That very day on which the treaty was signed, Ferdinand opened the diet at Augsburg, in the name of the emperor, in order to execute the treaty of Passau; but the debates concerning the regulations on the subject of religion, were carried on with much heat and obduracy of altercation, that after a very long session they could hardly be brought to agree to an occasional resolution, by which it was decreed, that no Catholic or Protestant should be injured or inflected on account of his religion, but all differences be determined according to the laws and customs of the empire; that if any archbishop, bishop, prelate, or other ecclesiastic, should renounce the old religion, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, without any prejudice to his character, and his place be filled up by the chapter or college possessed of the power of election; that all ecclesiastical revenues had been feigned upon by certain statutes of the empire and their predecessors, and converted to other religious purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and minsters, these alienations should not be dispurred at law; that the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction should not extend to the religion, faith, ceremonies, and ministerial functions of those who adopted the confession of Augsburg, but remain suspended, and without effect, until the determination of all the differences of religion, though it should continue in force in all other matters; that the clergy should for the future enjoy their estates, rights, and privileges, without, however, encroaching upon the temporalities which the lacy possessed before this division in religion; that the necessary expense for the service of the church, the maintenance of schools, charities, and hospitals, should be equally levied on the professors of both religions, and,


(C) Albert marquis of Brandenburgh, after the pacification of Passau, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman Catholics, and, among other violences, exacted the promise of severe contributions from the bishops of Wurzburg and Bamberg, who complained to the emperor, and were absolved from those compulsive bargains, which, however, were confirmed again to Albert when he joined Charles at the siege of Metz. The bishops adhered to the first sentence; and when Albert had recourse to military execution, they appealed to the imperial chamber, who made a decree in their favour. At the same time, the emperor exorted him to desist, and submit to the determination of the law; but far from giving ear to this admonition, Albert laid waste the country with fire and sword, and committed terrible ravages, which gave rise to a civil war (1).

(1) Bunt. l. 7. p. 57. & 59.
The history of Germany.

While Ferdinand thus regulated the affairs of Germany, the emperor, feeling his health daily decline, and the vigour of his mind decay, resolved to depopulate the burden of government, and repose himself in the shade of private life. Perhaps, alarmed at the power and prosperity of Henry the second of France, whom he considered as his rival, he was afraid of seeing those laurels withered, which he had gathered in the course of a long reign; and, in order to prevent that disgrace, thought proper to oppose the youthful spirit of his son Philip to the enterprising genius of the French king. Be that as it will, he had for some time cherished the thoughts of abdicating the throne, and actually recalled his son, on whom at his marriage he had betowed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, together with the duchy of Milan. Having assembled the states of the Low-Countries at Brussels, he created Philip chief of the order of the Golden Fleece, and then resigned to him the sovereignty of all those provinces. In consequence of which renunciation, he received the oath and homage of the states, in quality of their new sovereign, as soon as his father quitted the assembly. Charles, soon after this transaction, divested himself of all his royalties and dignities in Europe, as well as in America, conferring them all upon Philip, and referring to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of Spain; and now nothing remained but to quit the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand: however, this abdication he postponed for a year, during which he hoped that prince would accept the imperial crown, on condition that Philip should be elected king of the Romans, and declared his successor; but here he was disappointed in his expectation by the address of Ferdinand, who found means to secure the empire to his own son, and to elude his brother's solicitations in behalf of Philip.

The emperor finding his brother inflexible on this subject, and resolving to set out for Spain without delay, signed a formal renunciation of the empire, which was put into the hands of William de Neufchâteau, prince of Orange, Gregory Sigismond Hilde, vice-chancellor of the empire, and Haller his secretary, whom he sent as his ambassadors to the next diet, to signify his abdication to the electoral princes, and to deliver the sceptre, crown, and other regalia, to Ferdinand king of the Romans. Charles having thus entirely dispossessed himself of all his dominions, and made the necessary preparations for his passage into Spain, where he had chosen his retreat, he departed from Brussels, accompanied by five crowned heads; namely, his son Philip king of Spain, England, and Naples; his son-in-law Maximilian king of Bohemia; the king of Tunis; his two sisters, Eleonora queen-dowager of France, and Mary queen-dowager of Hungary and Bohemia; together with the dukes and duchesses of Savoy, Lorraine, and Parma, and a great many other personages of distinction. At Ghent, he dismissed the ambassadores of foreign princes, after he had desired them to recommend his son to their respective matters; then, continuing his journey, embarked at Flessingen with his two filters, and in a few days arrived in Spain. When he landed at La redes, he is said to have prostrated himself upon the ground, and kissing the earth to have exclaimed, 'O my beloved country, may heaven shower down its blessings upon you; naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I return to thee, which I regard as a second parent. In return for all I owe thee, I now concurate to thee my flesh and bones, the sole offering which I have now to bestow.' Then calling his eyes upon a crucifix, which he had used by way of standard in all his battles, he gave thanks to Jesus Christ, by whose goodnes he was permitted to revisit, in his latter days, that province which he had always cherished with particular veneration and esteem. At his landing he was met by the nobility and clergy of the kingdom, whom he received very graciously, and then repaired in a litter to Valladolid, where he saw his grandchild Don Carlos, whom he enriched with many pious advices. From thence he removed into the province of Egremadura, and shut himself up in the cloister of St. Jefus, of the order of St. Jerome, where he lived two years as a simple friar, conforming to all the strictest rules of the convent; and here he died of a gouty fever, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, after having received the eucharist in both species; a circumstance which had induced some people to believe that he favoured the Protestant religion. His body was deposed at Granada, near those of his father of


(D) He married Isabella, daughter of Emanuel king of Portugal by Mary of Castile, though he had before been betrothed to five other princesses, viz. Isabella, daughter to Lewis XII. of France; Mary, daughter to Henry VII. king of England; René, another daughter of Lewis XII. Louise, daughter to Francis I.; while she was yet an infant; and Mary, daughter to Henry VII. king of England, and by whom he had Ferdinand, who died in his infancy; Philip II. king of Spain; Mary, matched with the emperor Maximilian.
The history of Germany.

his mother, grand-father, and grand-mother; but it was afterwards translated to the Escorial, by the order of Philip the fourth. He was survived but three weeks by his sister Mary, widow of Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia, who had been governess of the Low-Countries for the space of five and twenty years, his other sister Eleonora having died in the month of March in the same year. Such was the end of Charles the fifth, who was certainly the most powerful prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne. His person was agreeable, though inclining to corpulence: he was of a middling stature, with blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and pointed chin; and his hair, which was sandy, he always wore so short, that one half of his ears were uncovered. Though he had made no progress in learning, he was perfectly well acquainted with the Flemish, German, Spanish, French, and Italian languages, and understood a little of the Latin. He ordered the Courier of count Balbuzard de Chatillon, Machiavel’s prince, and Polybius, to be translated for his own private use. He delighted in reading the history of Philip de Comines, which he very much esteemed, and the commentaries of Sigismon, whom by way of raillery he used to call his Liar. He often amused himself with drawing, was passionately fond of the exercise of arms, and perfectly well skilled in horsemanship, plain in his apparel, and familiar with his domestics; at the same time, circumstantial in his actions and pleasing in his discourse; but often artful and ambiguous in his expressions: he was patient in giving audience, judicious in his answers, firm in supporting his ambassadors and officers, and grateful towards those who had served him with fidelity: yet he was rather narrow than liberal, for no prince ever expended less upon his pleasures, or took more pains in regulating his economy; he was naturally amorous, but carefully concealed this weakness; that irregularity might not be authorized by his example: he was so moderate in eating and drinking, that when attacked by the gout, he, without repining, allowed the physicians to regulate his diet by weight and measure; and drunkenness was an excess which he could never forgive. In the beginning of his reign, he manifested more discretion than courage; but in the sequel gave many extraordinary proofs of personal valour: yet he is accused of having erred against found policy, in letting Luther escape; in setting Francis the first at liberty; in restoring Tunis, and in neglecting the defence of the Goletta; in conferring the electorship of Saxony on duke Maurice; in elevating the house of Medicis; in creating Ferdinand king of the Romans; in making war upon the pope, in abdicating the empire; in marrying his son Philip to the queen of England, upon dishonourable conditions; and in being too much attached to strangers, particularly the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, whom he employed as his principal ministers, in preference to the Germans and Spaniards, who took umbrage at his partiality.

9 Hess. 1. 3. c. 4.

Margaret, married first to Alexander of Medicis duke d’Urbino, and afterwards to Gaspari Parme, duke of Parma, upon whose death he was created governess of the Low Countries, and died in 1566 (1).

(1) Heiss. 1. 3. c. 4.
CHARLES the fifth was succeeded in the empire by his brother Ferdinand, who was born at Alcalá de Henares in Spain, and by his grand-father provided with a preceptor and governor, who not only trained him up in the usual exercise of princes, but likewise imbued him with the love of the belles lettres to which he applied himself with extraordinary attachment. Francis Ximenes, cardinal of Toledo, who had the care of his brother’s education, prevailed on Charles that he ought to remove Ferdinand into Germany, because he perceived that the Spaniards expressed more affection for that young prince, who was born and bred among them, than for his elder brother, who was a native of the Low-Countries. He was accordingly sent into Flanders, where Erasmus was engaged to superintend the rest of his education. When Ferdinand married Anne of Hungary, Charles made over to him as his patrimony, High and Low Austria, with all the domains appertaining to that house, in Germany, Snabia, along the lake of Constance, in the Hercevian forests, the Briga, and on both sides of the river Ill. His brother-in-law, Lewis the Young, being slain in the battle of Mühlau, he, by virtue of his wife’s title, was crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; and after having defeated John de Zapoles, count of Septus, vaivode of Transylvania, who was his competitor for Hungary, he entered into quiet possession of that kingdom, and was crowned at Belgrad, in consequence of the ancient treaties subsisting between the kings of Hungary and the princes of the house of Austria. He was afterwards invested with the duchy of Wurtemberg by his brother Charles, at the diet of Augsburg; then being elected king of the Romans at Cologne, he received the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, as we have already observed, notwithstanding the protestations of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who, nevertheless, acknowledged his election a few years after in the city of Cadiz in Bohemia. In the mean time, as one part of the Hungarian nobles was still in the interest of the count de Septus, Ferdinand concluded a treaty with him, by which it was stipulated, that each should keep possession of what he had possessed; and that upon Zapoles’ death, the whole kingdom should devolve to Ferdinand. Accordingly, upon the death of that prince, the king of the Romans claimed the performance of this contract; but Sigismund, upon pretence of protecting the widow and son of Zapoles, made himself master of a great part of Hungary, from whence he could never be entirely expelled. Since the last diet at Augsburg, where the affairs of religion were regulated with the Protestants, he had been continually employed on the side of Hungary, in opposing the Turks, who had made repeated efforts to extend their conquests in that kingdom; and, after having fortified the principal places with good garrisons, and all the other munitions of war, he returned to Germany, whither he was called to assist at the diet of Frankfort, where the ambassadors of Charles the fifth arrived with the act of renunciation in favour of Ferdinand, which, after due deliberation, was unanimously approved by the electors. In consequence of this approbation, they proceeded to the election of Ferdinand, to whom they swore allegiance, after having transferred upon him the imperial dignity with all the accustomed ceremonies: but pope Paul the fourth would not admit of the validity of the renunciation of Charles, or the election of his brother, because in neither case the consent of the holy see had been obtained. He even refused audience to Don Martin de Guzman, whom Ferdinand had sent to take the temporal oath in his name; and that his refusal might appear to be founded upon subterfugial reasons, he appointed certain cardinals to examine into the merits of the affair. These commissaries were of opinion, that the pope could not admit the ambassador to any audience or public action, until he should have demonstrated in what manner the empire became vacant, and by what right Ferdinand pretended to succeed his brother, as all the proceedings at the diet of Frankfort were null and void, because carried on by heretic electors, without the consent of the pope. It would therefore be necessary to examine the motives which had induced Charles to resign the empire, and if they should be found to be just and reasonable, Ferdinand should renounce all that had been done at Frankfort, and submit to a new election. The emperor looked upon these reasons as vain and frivolous; and, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the pope, ordered his ambassador to make the necessary protests, and take his leave, if, in three days after this intimation, he should not be favoured with an audience; for he considered that ancient custom of pro-
The history of Germany.

A.D. 1559.

The confirmation of the pope, and going to receive the imperial crown at Rome, as a superfluous ceremony, after having obtained the consent of the electors; an opinion which hath been adopted by all his successors in the empire. The ambassador punctually executed the orders of his master; and though almost all the princes of Christendom condemned this conduct of the pope, yet he persisted in his refusal, even after the death of Charles; but he himself dying soon after, Pius the fourth, who succeeded him, confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand.

This prince, upon his promotion, being desirous of settling the affairs of the empire, infused orders for convoking a diet at Augsburg, where he invited the princes and states to appear in person, he himself revolving to be present among them. There he earnestly exhorted them to submit to an eumcumenical council, as the only means capable of re-establishing the union of Germany; and he promised to manage matters in such a manner, that they should be more favourably heard in that assembly than they had been in the council of Trent; but finding it impracticable to prevail upon them to consent to this proposal, he still indulged them with the free exercise of their religion within their own dominions, that the public peace of the empire might not be infringed, though, at the same time, he vehemently solicited the pope to call a new council, and endeavoured to engage the kings of France and Spain to second his solicitations. But all their joint endeavours would have been vain, had not Francis the second resolved to convocate a national council, in order to concert measures for stopping the progress of Calvinism. Pope Pius the fourth, being alarmed at this resolution, determined to oblige the princes of Christendom with a general council, which they had for a long time desired; and, after having hesitated some months in his opinion, sometimes inclining to a continuation of the council of Trent, which had been suspended by Julius the third, and at other times disposed to call a new one, he at length adhered to the former suggestion, and published a bull for renewing the council of Trent, whither all princes, prelates, and ambassadors, were invited to repair.

On the publication of this bull, the Protestants obtained permission of the emperor to assemble at Naumburg in Saxony, where they were visited by two nuncios, whom the pope had sent into Germany to invite them to the council. Their arrival and buffets was no sooner notified, than the assembly sent an effort to attend them. They were immediately introduced, and politely received by the princes, who heard their harangue with great attention; and having received the bulls and briefs of the pope, to which they promised an answer should be given, they ordered them to be reconducted to their lodgings with the same ceremony: but they were no sooner returned, than the pope’s briefs were sent back by the hands of three gentlemen, who told them, in the name of the assembly, that the princes observing that the pope had in the inscriptions distinguished them by the appellation of his sons, they could not receive his brief on these terms, as they could not acknowledge him for their father. The nuncios replied, that this was no more than a form which his highness observed in writing to all Christian princes; but the messengers, without taking notice of this reply, left the briefs upon a table, and retired. This was the prelude of the resolution, which a few days after, the princes sent to the nuncios by ten of the counsellors, specifying, that they would receive no invitation from the pope to repair to a council, which he had no power to convocate; this being the prerogative of the emperor, to whom alone, as their sovereign, they were bound to explain themselves on the subject. At the same time, the assembly expressed their esteem for the persons of the nuncios, who would have met with a better reception, had not they been invested with that odious title. After they had been dismissed with this declaration, the princes put an end to their meeting with a remonstrance, importing, that they would adhere to the constitution of Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the council of Trent.

A.D. 1562.

Maximilian, the emperor’s son, is elected king of the Romans.

Mean, while, the emperor resolving to establish the imperial crown in his own family, issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfurt, where he managed his interest with such address, that his son Maximilian was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of all the princes and states, that prince having been already promoted to the crown of Bohemia. Ferdinand likewise took this opportunity of once more attempting to persuade the Protestants to submit to the council; but they continued unshaken in their resolution, demanding a free council, in which the pope should not be both judge and party, where they might deliberate with freedom upon the morals and ecclesiastical conduct of Rome, the depravity of which was the subject of universal complaint. The emperor, finding them inflexible in this point, resolved to take another method, in order to re-unite them to the church; and for this effect, in concert with Charles the ninth, king of France, con-
certed a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to undertake a reformation of manners among the ecclesiastics, in order to remove that stumbling-block, of which the Protestants and Calvinists so justly complained. An ample memorial of these abuses, together with the means of reforming them, was actually drawn up by order of the emperor, and sent to the council, whither also the king of France dispatched the cardinal of Lorraine, with instructions upon the same subject: but the pope affirming, that such a reformation was the province of him alone, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the affair. The emperor had the mortification not only to find his purpose thus baffled, but likewise to see himself disappointed in a demand which he had made in favour of the Protestants of Germany, among whom he requested that the communion in both species, and the marriage of priests, should be allowed; but his holiness would consent to neither, although the greater part of the Catholic doctors judged such a concession necessary, in order to facilitate the union of the Protestants with the Roman church. This was the last public remonstrance in which Ferdinand was concerned; for in the month of February of that same year, he was attacked by a fever, which terminated in a dropy, that put an end to his life. He died at Vienna on the twenty-sixth of July, and the sixtieth and first year of his age. His obsequies were performed in the same city, on the month of August of the year following; after which ceremony his body was carried to Prague, where it was interred by that of queen Anne his wife, with whom he had lived in the utmost harmony of conjugal affection. His character.

FERDINAND governed the empire as well as his own kingdoms with uncommon equity, clemency, and moderation. He was remarkable for his prudence, justice, liberality, and unevented application to business; and though he was zealously attached to the Roman Catholic religion, he did not manifest his zeal by fire and sword, although often solicited to make use of these expedients; but endeavoured to reconcile the differences in religion by force of argument and truth, in pacific conferences and councils. Above all things, he was scrupulously obsequious of his word; inasmuch that having once promised a gratification to an old officer, who afterwards rendered himself unworthy of his favour, he performed his promise, saying, that he ought to have more regard to his own word and reputation, than to the demerits of the delinquents (E).

Maximilian, who was born at Vienna, and educated in Spain with his uncle Charles the fifth, in whose army he made the first campaign, during the war with France. He likewise signalized his courage in that which was carried on with some of the princes of the empire; and afterwards opened the diet at Augsburg by a discourse, which he pronounced in presence of the emperor, and the princes of the empire. When this assembly broke up, he repaired to Spain, where he espoused Mary, daughter to Charles the fifth, and governed that kingdom three years in the name of his father-in-law. At his return into Germany, he greatly contributed to the pacification at Passau, after which he continued in Austria, till the day of his father's death.

We have already observed, that he received the crown of Bohemia, and was afterwards unanimously elected king of the Romans at Frankfort; yet his election had well-nigh proved abortive by the death of John Jovibard, elector of Cologne, who happened to die at that very juncture. However, the chapter of Cologne being desirous to nominate a new archbishop, Fredoric count de Velde was chosen without delay, and immediately repaired to Frankfort, where he asisted at the election.

MAXIMILIAN had attained to the age of thirty-seven when he ascended the imperial throne, succeeding his father Ferdinand, not only in his dominions, but also in his good qualities, and particularly his humanity, prudence, and moderation. By his acquaintance with the Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Sclavonic languages, he acquired a furprizing facility in governing the different nations that were under his sway, and in fur-

(E) He married Elisabeth Anna, only daughter of Oldenbeck, king of Hungary and Bohemia, by whom he had four sons, namely, Maximilian II. Ferdinand II. formed the Prudent: Jefin, who died young, Charles II. Archduke: and Elisabeth, who married Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland; Anna, married to Albert duke of Bavaria; Magdalene, who died a nun at Vienna; Katharine, first matched with Frederic duke of Mantua, and afterwards with Sigismund II. king of Poland; Margaret, Magdalene, and Hilite, who died without issue; Barbara married to Alphonse II. duke of Parma: Anna, who married Francis of Medicis, duke of Florence: Eulalia, married first to William duke of Mantua, and afterwards to Sigismund Augustus king of Poland; and lastly, Mary, married to William duke of Jutler (t).
porting a correspondence, which he carefully maintained with all his friends and neighbours. In all disputes, especially those of religion, he preferred pacific expedients to violent measures, often observing, that spiritual things ought not to be decided by the temporal sword; and affording, that those who espoused the contrary opinion, were enemies to union and tranquility. In consequence of this humane disposition, the whole empire breathed nothing but peace, if we except the disturbance occasioned by John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, who, all of a sudden, interrupted the repose of Germany, by undertaking the siege of Refock, against which he was incensed, because, since it was restored to that house by John king of Denmark, the populace had been guilty of divers insurrections, and the city being now exhausted by the plague, and otherwise in a very defenceless condition, the duke would not lose such a favourable opportunity of reducing them to subjection: and, indeed, he made such advantage of the conjuncture, that they were fain to submit, in order to avoid their total destruction. It was accordingly agreed, that the duke should take possession of the city with his troops; that the inhabitants should be maintained in their privileges, and all other differences referred to the decision of the emperor. The duke, however, finding himself master of the town, disarmed the citizens, and condemned them to pay a fine of sixty thousand rixdollars, and beheld two of their number, who had been ringleaders of the last revolt. After he had taken all the necessary precautions to secure himself in the possession of the city, his brother duke Ulric set up a claim to one half of the acquisition, and the other refusing his demand, threatened to support his right by force of arms; but the affair was accommodated by the authority of the emperor, who prevailed upon them to agree that they should possess the town in common, and that the inhabitants should pay the same homage to both b.

Whatever inclination Maximilian had to cultivate peace on all sides, he was obliged to arm against John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who had assumed the title of king of Hungary, and against him he sent an army under the conduct of Lenzus Schwendi. This general acted with such vigour and success against Sigismund, that after having taken Tokat, and some other places, he would have driven him entirely out of his own country, had not the progres of his arms been stopped by an accommodation of the emperor, by the interference of Selman the second, who protected Sigismund as his vassal c.

This war being happily determined, Maximilian repaired to the diet he had convoked at Augsburg, which was opened by a speech of Albert duke of Bavaria, who, in the emperor's name, offered divers proposals to the states for strengthening the peace with the Protestants, and extirpating certain feuds not comprehended in that peace; for executing the preceding regulations of the empire, and abridging the tedious proceedings at law; and, above all things, he pressed them to resolve upon granting such succours as should be sufficient to withstand the invasions of the Turk. Much time was consumed in deliberations upon these subjects, in the course of which some of the states took occasion to accuse Frederic elector palatine, of professing a religion contrary to the statutes of the empire; a charge, in consequence of which, that prince in open diet declared, that he professed no other religion than that which was conformable to the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, as contained in the confession of Augsburg, and the apology for that confession, which had been approved of in the last assembly of the Protestants at Naumburg. Nay, so much was he affected by this accusation, that by the hands of duke John Casimir, his son, he presented the bible and confession of Augsburg to the Protestant states, desiring he might be convicted of his error from those two books; a proposal by which he shud the mouths of those envious perfons, who had thus impeached his character. This enmity against the elector was fomented by the praetices of cardinal Comenius, who was sent thither by pope Pius the fifth, with orders to protest publicly against the diffusion of any religious point; and in case the diet should proceed, notwithstanding that caveat, to threaten the whole assembly with excommunication, and in particular to declare that his holiness would depose the emperor, and divest him of all his dominions d.

In this diet it was proposed to execute the decree of a former diet, issued against a certain gentleman of Franconia, called Grombach, who had been put under the ban of the empire, for having affianced Melchior Hobt, bishop of Wurzburg. The decree, though issued about seven years, could not be hitherto executed, because John Frederic, duke of Saxony, son of the elector of that name, protected him in his forrets of Gotia. However, as the impunity of such a criminal might be attended with very bad consequences in the empire, it was now ordained, that the duke should be compelled by force to surrender Grombach and his accomplices. Nor was this the only resolution taken upon the subject; for as it was well known that John Frederic granted this protection to those crimin~
a minals, that he might have a pretext for arms, and that the troops he levied were not so much designed for the defence of such malefactors, as for recovering the electorate of which his father had been divested, and even seizing upon the imperial throne itself, according to the main prediction of a magician, who had acquired his confidence; for these reasons, I say, the diet resolved, that he should be pursued as a perturbator of the public peace, while the emperor promised to furnish a body of troops sufficient to force his town of Gotua, and make sure of himself and his fortresses; and as he thought the conduct of this expedition could not be entrusted with a more proper person than Augustus, whom he had already invested with the electorate of Saxony, that prince was accordingly employed to command the army, and execute the decree of the diet. * Maximilian, having regulated

b all the interior affairs of the empire, earnestly exhorted the states to provide for its exterior occasions; and, particularly, to find some means for opposing the Turks, who now again threatened Hungary; for Solyman was actually employed in making preparations for revenging upon that kingdom the affront which he had received before Malte, from whence he had, the preceding year, been obliged to make a most paltry retreat, after a siege of four months, during which he had left a great number of troops. The states for this service granted supplies sufficient to maintain forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and, as there was no time to lose, Maximilian dismissed the diet, and repaired to Vienna, in order to make the necessary preparations; for, by this time, the army of the Turks was said to amount to two hundred thousand men. The emperor exerted himself so industriously on this occasion, that he was soon in a condition to take the field with four-score thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; and having received intelligence that Solyman had already invested Zighetet, of which the brave count Zerini was governor, he marched directly to Jau-

rini, from whence he might observe the enemy. But he was advised to remain wholly on the defensive, without hazarding a battle; and while he looked tamely on, the Turks had leisure to ruin all the fortifications of the city, and reduce the governor to such extremity, that he resolved to fall out upon the besiegers with three hundred chosen men, who, with himself, were surrounded and cut in pieces; so that the town was taken in course. Maximilian was no sooner apprized of the fate of this place, than he made his retreat to Austria; for which he is justly accused of misconduct, because he might have taken advantage of that conjunction which prevailed among the Turks, generals on account of the death of Solyman, who was carried off by a fit of the apoplectic two days before the town was taken, and Selim, his son and successor, being absent, they were necessarily involved in perplexity and confusion, because they had no orders to act, and knew not what measures to take. Before the emperor left Hungary, he placed strong garrisons in the principal towns of that kingdom; so that Selim, foreseeing that it would be difficult to make much progress on that side, was the more disposed to listen to the propostals for a truce, which was actually concluded between the two emperors for twelve years, on the usual conditions, specifying that each should retain the conquests he had made; an article which redounded to the advantage of Maximilian, whose general Scibendi had taken a great many places from the enemy. The fears of being taken, Maximilian at his return sent a reinforcement of troops and other necessities to the elector of Saxony, who had not yet finished the siege of Gotua; and that prince, being thus reinforced,soon compelled the town and fortresses to surrender, on the conditions that he was pleased to impose. He was no sooner master of the place, than he punished Grombach and his accomplices with different kinds of death, according to the quality of their crimes. Duke John Frederic, whom he had made prisoner, was sent to the emperor, by whose orders he was imprisoned during life; and, that the place might never afterwards yield a retreat to the disturbers of their country, the forti
cifications of the town and castle were razed to the ground. This affair being ended, Maximilian convened a diet at Fulde, in order to take measures for preventing the troubles to which Germany might be exposed from the divisions and disorders which every day increased in the Low Countries. He had likewise observed, that some princes of the empire interest
ed themselves too much in the affairs of the Huguenots of France; to the affliction of whom, prince John Casimir, son of the elector palatine, had already marched with seven thousand horse and three thousand foot. He, therefore, took wise precautions, and persuaded the diet to issue out several decrees for the maintenance of peace in Germany; for that was the goal to which all his thoughts and all his endeavours were directed. From the same motive, he interposed in a difference, that happened the following year, between the city of Triers and the elector, who had never been able to reduce the inhabitants to obedience. He pretended, that the town was immediately subject to him, as superior and sovereign, to whom they owed the oath of allegiance; that it was his prerogative to lay the necessary


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.

A. D. 1567. France; to the affliction of whom, prince John Casimir, son of the elector palatine, had already marched with seven thousand horse and three thousand foot. He, therefore, took wise precautions, and persuaded the diet to issue out several decrees for the maintenance of peace in Germany; for that was the goal to which all his thoughts and all his endeavours were directed. From the same motive, he interposed in a difference, that happened the following year, between the city of Triers and the elector, who had never been able to reduce the inhabitants to obedience. He pretended, that the town was immediately subject to him, as superior and sovereign, to whom they owed the oath of allegiance; that it was his prerogative to lay the necessary
The history of Germany.

taxes, establish the magnificeny, keep the keys of the gates, judge all criminal proceffes, and order the laws to be put in execution. The citizens, on the contrary, allledged, that from time immemorial these rights belonged to them, without depending on the archbishop, except under certain conditions. The elector, therefore, seeing he had nothing to expect by fair means, invaded the town on the sixth of June, and the siege lasted to the month of August, when the emperor and the other electors interposed, in order to mediate an accommodation. Accordingly they effected a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the archbishop should raise the siege; that he should do no injury to the persons or effects of the inhabitants; that he should enter the city with some companies of horse and foot; that the general officers and guard of the elector should lodge in the place, and quarters be assigned to the rest elsewhere; and finally, that the difference should be referred to the determination of the emperor and electors.

MAXIMILIAN's inclination for peace being perfectly well known, the Protestants of the states of Austria, to whom he had formerly refused the free exercise of their religion, resolved to take the advantage of his present dispositions for obtaining that indulgence. They had the more reason to expect success, because at this time they had done him a very singular favour, in cancelling a considerable debt, which he had incurred by borrowing sums from them for the expense of the war against the Turk. In effect, the conjunction was so favourable for them, that, after pressling solicitations, the Protestant nobility were indulged with the free exercise of their religion in their castles, cities, and villages. To this consideration he was swayed, not only by motives of gratitude, but likewise by a natural sweetness of disposition, and a full persuasion that constraint and persecution serve only to widen the breach in all religious divides.

In consequence of this moderation, he could not, without great pain and anxiety, hear the reports that were made of the horrible cruelties which the duke of Alva and Requesens, great commander of Castile, practised in the Low Countries, with a view to force the consciences of the people: he, therefore, sent his brother Charles to Philip, king of Spain, to intreat that prince to moderate those proceedings, left an entire defection of the provinces should ensue, and the states of the empire be affected by the evil example of such violence and persecution. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect; on the contrary, the war in the Low Countries began to rage more than ever, and in a little time was attended with those important consequences which are so well known.

From the same principles, he refused to Charles the ninth of France, the permission to make levies in Germany, for acting against those of the reformed religion; but the Protestants of Germany did not fail to send succours to the Huguenots of France, being not only moved with sympathy and compassion for their brethren in distress, but also induced by motives of self preservation; for they understood that the pope had entered into a league with the kings of France and Spain, for exterminating all dissenters from the Catholic religion; and that the duke of Alva acted on the same principle in the Low Countries. Whatever alliance of this nature those princes might have formed, certain it is the scheme was never carried into execution. The king of France even excused himself from engaging in the league against the Turk, alluding that his finances were utterly exhausted, and his kingdom reduced to a deplorable condition, by the interminable war which he maintained against the Huguenots.

In the mean time, the king of Spain joined his maritime forces with those of the pope, Venetians, duke of Savoy, Genoese, and Maltese, in order to act in concert against the infidels, from whom they apprehended some new designs, as Selin, flushed with the conquest of Cyprus, which he had taken from the Venetians, still kept his naval army assembled about the gulf of Lepanto. The Christian, apprised of their situation, set sail in quest of them, under the conduct of John of Austria, natural son of Charles the fifth, who was invested with the supreme command, and a famous battle ensued, in which the Turks were totally defeated.

Though the emperor would not engage in this alliance of the Christian princes against the Turk, on account of the truce which he had some time before concluded, he, nevertheless, took all necessary precautions for the security of his Hungarian dominions. For this purpose he concluded a treaty with John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who thereby obliged himself to renounce the title of king of Hungary, which, in imitation of his father, he had usurped, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, although he was tributary to the Turk; but this prince dying in a few days after he had ratified the treaty, Maximilian renewed it with Stephen Bathori, whom the Turks of Transylvania had elected in his place.

The emperor not only secured the peace of Hungary in this manner, but also managed the states with such dexterity, that they were prevailed upon to elect his eldest son Roder-
The history of Germany.

a Thus as his successor to the crown of that kingdom. Then he returned to Vienna, in order to secure him in his succession to the throne of Bohemia, and afterwards to procure his being elected king of the Romans. For his second son, he fixed his eyes upon Poland, at that time vacant by the death of Sigismund, the last of the house of Jagelius; but in this project he was disappointed by Henry duke de Valois, brother of Charles the ninth of France, who obtained that crown in preference to all his competitors.

Yet Maximilian's hopes were revived by the abdication of Henry, who, in about a year after his elopement, abandoned this throne in order to ascend that of France, the crown of which was devoted to him by the death of his brother. This second vacancy, however, was not more favourable to the emperor than the first, for whether he was not indolent enough in canvassing among the principal patelines of Poland, or their noblemens were afraid augmented by the power of the House of Agers, they rejected his proposal, and chose Stephen Bathory (F) prince of Transylvania, who, by his merit and valour, had acquired their love and veneration. Maximilian, far from dropping his pretensions, resolved to support them by force of arms; because he forebode that should he once make himself master of that kingdom, he would be in a condition to check the progress of the Turks, by whom he was incessantly molested. He, therefore, began to make preparations for affording his claim with the sword: but, at the same time, continued, with great application, to negotiate with the states of Bohemia and the electors of the empire in favour of his son Rodolphus, who was actually crowned at Prague, and afterwards created king of the Romans.

b The emperor, having thus regulated the affairs of his own family, employed his whole attention, for several months, on those of the empire. He like wise explained to the diet his design upon Poland, for this, and all his other projects, were interrupted by a difficulty which induced him to relinquish all worldly affairs, and turn his thoughts entirely upon the concerns of his soul. He had, for a long time, in his familiar parties, been accustomed to discourse upon the immortality of the soul; and even seemed to take pleasure in meditating upon death, which he now encountered with great constancy and resignation in the fiftieth year of his age.

This prince was extremely affable, and accesible to those who wanted to speak with him on any particular business; infomuch, that he never mortified one person with a refusal, or harsh word: he was of a forgiving temper, averse to flattery, an enemy to slander, and a passionate lover of truth: he despised luxury, avoided all excess, and was never known to purchase one jewel for his peronal attire; he was well versed in war, which he conducted with equal skill and activity, notwithstanding his want of success in Hungary. So regular was his economy, that a fct hour was assigned to every different action of his life, and every day, after dinner, he allowed even the meanest of his subjects to approach him, when they had any complaint to make, or any thing of consequence to propose: in a word, he was a tender parent and affectionate husband, having lived, for the space of twenty-nine years, in the utmost harmony with Mary his empress, by whom he had fifteen children (G).

c RODOLPHUS II.

Rodolphus II. king of the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia, who ascended the imperial throne in the twenty-fourth year of his age, inherited the dispositions, and imitated the conduct of his father Maximilian; for, during his whole reign, he preferred Germany from those wars, which, after his death, embroiled all Christendom: his sole aim in maintaining the repose of the empire by the union of its members being to provide a powerful resistance against the infidels.

d His brother, the archduke Matthias, had already acquired such reputation for valour and prudence, that the prince of Orange and the confederated states of the Low Countries, which had thrown off the Spanish yoke, solicited him to accept of the government of their


(F) The competitors were Maximilian the emperor; John king of Soreda; Alphonso duke of Ferrara; and John Jagiellona great duke of Muscovy. The emperor was actually elected by the majority of the senators, and proclaimed by the archbishop of Constanza; but as this proclamation was not in the usual form, and the greatest part of the nobility was of opinion, that they ought to choose some prince of their own country, they afterwards elected Don, eldest of the late Sigismund Agers, for their queen, with the proviso that she should marry

Stephen Bathory, who was expressly recommended to them by Sultan Amurath (1).

(G) The children of Maximilian, by Mary, daughter of Charles V. were Rodolph, Ernyst, Matthias, Maximilian, Albert cardinal, Wenceslaus, and Ferdinand, who survived him; those who died before him were Albert, Frederic, and Charles. Of five daughters, Anne and Elizabeth were married: Mary, Margaret, and Elisa were died young (2).

The history of Germany.

A.D. 1577.

He loses the Protestant claims to the Spanish succession.

The emperor was warred with all his father's zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, without that charity and moderation which had induced Maximilian to indulge the Protestants with liberty of conscience. He pretended, that those of Austria had extended their privileges beyond the concession which had been made in their favour; and therefore abridged them in the exercise of their religion, which he confined to the country-houses of certain gentlemen; though he resolved scrupulously to observe the pacification of Passau, by which, among other things, it was stipulated, that every prelate, in renouncing the Catholic religion, should be deprived of his benefice.

At the desire of Philip king of Spain, and John of Austria, at that time governor of the Low Countries, Rodolphus had sent ambassadors to the confederate estates, exhorting them to listen to terms of accommodation, return to the ancient religion they had relinquished, and the allegiance which they owed to their natural prince. To this admonition they replied by a representation of their grievances, and the oppression under which they groaned from the tyranny of their governors, who, in the exercise of their power, had expressly infringed the articles of the treaty of Ghent. They, therefore, implored the good offices of the emperor, and sent an ambassador to the diet, which Rodolphus had convoked at Worms, in order to take cognizance of their affairs. Here Philip de Marnix, sieur de St. Allegonde, who was their deputy, expatiated in a noble harangue upon the miseries of the Low Countries, and pathetically supplicated the affiance of the empire, which, however, he could not obtain, on account of the weight and influence of their oppressors, who represented them as a fet of contumacious fanatics, in an actual state of rebellion; so that, disappointed in this quarter, they put themselves under the protection of Elizabeth queen of England.

A.D. 1581.

Provisions of the diet at Augsburg.

During the next diet, which the emperor called at Augsburg, in order to regulate the affairs of the empire, and particularly those of religion, which he had very much at heart, Gebbert Truchses, archbishop and elector of Cologne, who had espoused the Lutheran doctrine, sent deputies to the assembly, where he knew there was a good number of Protestant princes, with a view to obtain liberty of conscience in his diocese; and he would have, doubtless, accomplished his aim, had he not met with an obstinate opposition from the senate of Cologne, and the chapter of the cathedral, by which he was so much irritated, that, on pretence of defending the confines of his archbishopric against the enterprizes of the Flemings, he assembled a body of troops, and being afforded by some Protestant princes, surprised the city of Bonn, pillaged the treasures of the church, which was kept in the castle of Brulle, granted liberty of conscience to his subjects, and publicly married Agnes, canoness of Guribim, and daughter of John George count of Mansfeld, of whose exquisite beauty he was very much enamoured. The pope and the emperor employed their whole endeavours and exhortations, in order to reclaim this apostate from the church of Rome; but finding him unshaken in his new principles, he was excommunicated, formally deposed, and his place supplied with Ermelus, son of Albert the fifth, duke of Bavaria. This new-elected archbishop, being obliged to support his new dignity by force against his deposed predecessor, he took the field with a body of his father's troops, reinforced by those of the emperor; and after several engagements, in which victory sometimes declared for one side, and sometimes for the other, Truchses was at last expelled from his dominions, and obliged to retire with his fair Agnes into Holland, where he spent the rest of his days in very narrow circumstances; while Ermelus, having got possession of the archbishopric, would suffer no religion to be exercised but the Roman Catholic, which had been ever since maintained in that place; and the emperor, by an investiture, confirmed his new dignity.

Rudolphus, that he might have the more leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the empire, had taken the precaution to prolong the truce for eight years with Amurath the third; nevertheless the Turks, without paying any regard to this prolongation of the truce, began to make incursions into Hungary and Croatia; and a body often thousand men actually carried their ravages as far as the frontiers of Carniola, from whence they carried off a great number of Christians and cattle, together with a vast quantity of effects; but the archduke Ermelus, the emperor's brother, pursued them into Croatia, where they were utterly defeated, and their general slain.

The same success did not attend his brother Maximilian, who three years afterwards was elected king of Poland, by part of the states of that kingdom, vacant by the death of

Heiss. l. 3. c. 7.  
Jd. ibid.  
Thuan. t. 5. l. 66.  
Thuan. Hist. t. iv. l. 80.

Stephen.
The history of Germany.

a. Stephan. He was obliged to support his claim by force against Sigismund, the son of John king of Poland, who was likewise elected by a greater number, and that of the strongest party. The two competitors taking the field soon came to battle, in which Maximilian was routed and taken prisoner by his antagonist, who detained him in captivity till next year, when he was released in consequence of having renounced his claim to the crown of Poland.

AMURATH the third, notwithstanding the truce which he had renewed with Rodolphus, without any provocation marshed an army into the field, made himself master of Repitch, Wibitzk, and some other towns of Croatia; and even arrested at Welsenburg, Frederic Kreutzer, the emperor's ambassador, whom he ordered to be shut up in a tower, where he soon after died. The emperor, provoked at these hostilities, and this outrageous violation of the law of nations, sent into the field with great expedition, an army consisting of five and forty thousand men, which, having found the Turks between two rivers near Siseg, an abbey and strong castle in Croatia, attacked them with such vigour, that they were entirely defeated; their battle, together with several other officers and soldiers, being either killed or drowned; while the Imperialists lost not above an hundred men. Amurath no sooner received the news of this defeat, than he sent thither another army, which took Siseg; then he marched another stronger still into Hungary, where it committed great devastations, and took Welsins, together with some other places: but the emperor having reinforced his troops, they advanced towards Belgrade, where a battle ensued, in which the

c. Turks lost upwards of twelve thousand men. A few days after this success, Tiffenbach, the emperor's lieutenant in High Hungary, having collected a body of twenty thousand men, surprised and took by assault Zabatic, a fortress at that time deemed impregnable, and put all the Turks of that place into the water; after he had defeated the succours which the barbarians of Buda and Transilvania had endeavoured to throw into the place. In less than a month he retook Tullick, and eleven other strong castles, which had been for thirty years in the possession of the Turks. He likewise delivered from slavery, an infinite number of Christians, and freed many towns and countries from the tribute of those infidels. The emperor, resoloving to profit by his good fortune, sent into Hungary his brother Matthias, who made himself master of Novigrad by composition, while the counts de Serin and Nadolfi drove the Turks from the fortresses of Breifens, Sezin, and Segef, in Lower Hungary. These conquests were followed by the battle of Hatvan, fought on the first day of May, in which the Imperialists were again victorious.

The extraordinary expence in which the emperor was engaged by this war, obliged him to convoue a diet at Raisbon, where having explained the indolency of the Turks, in attacking his dominions without any regard to the truce which he had renewed, the necessity of repelling force by force, and the extraordinary expence of the war, he told them he was obliged to have recourse to their assistance; and the states, having taken the cale into consideration, granted a supply of some Roman months, with which he was very well satisfied. They made divers regulations touching the levies, quarters, march, and pay of the troops: they likewise laid the chamber of justice under certain restrictions, and took cognizance of some other affairs*. But with regard to the Low Countries, notwithstanding the complaints that were brought to the diet from that quarter, they took no other resolution but that of deputing some princes of the empire to the confederate states, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. At the same time, they intimated this resolution to the archduke Ernphi, the emperor's brother, who was at that time governor-general of the Low Countries; but that prince died the following year, before any thing of consequence could be transacted. The diet ended with the ceremony of investiture, which the emperor conferred upon the elector of Cologne, the palatine, the dukes of Pomerania and Wirttenberg, and some other states, that they might peaceably enjoy their principalities and rights. Then Rodolphus returned to Prague, in order to make the necessary preparations for the defence of Hungary, which was now become the object of his whole attention, as the grand vizir Sinan, general of the Turks, being reinforced with a powerful army of Tartars, had constrained the archduke Matthias to raise the siege of Grauwen. This vizir likewise had made himself master of the fortresses of Thada and St. Martin, and invested Raab or Favorin, of which he soon obtained the possession, by the cowardice and villany of the governor, who, in consideration of a sum of money, delivered up that important place.

This progress of Sinan, however, was stopped by those troops which the emperor ordered to advance and reinforce the army of his brother Matthias; but that which chiefly contributed to the repulse of the infidels, was the behaviour of Sigismund Bathori, prince of Transylvania, who quitted the side of Amurath, and engaged in a particular alliance with the emperor, by which was ripuluted, that they should join their forces, and act in concert

---

* [Isthm. l. 26.]
* [Hein. l. 5. c. 7.]
* [Thuan. Hist. t. v. l. 109.]

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. Z z against
against the Turks. In the beginning of the following year, Batburi engaged the vaivodes of Moldavia and Walachia in the same league; and these three princes so vigorously attacked the Turks and Tartars, who had entered their dominions, that few or none of either nation lived to return to their own countries. On the other hand, the archduke Matthias had invested Graan, and given the direction of the siege to his lieutenant-general, Charles count de Manfeld, a brave and experienced officer; and the Turks approaching to succour the place, a battle was fought, in which they were entirely routed with the loss of five thousand men, and almost all their leaders. The consequence of this engagement was the surrender of Graan, the strongest place of that country; and this conquest was followed by that of several other fortresses and castles, which he took with extraordinary diligence and success.

The following year was not so fortunate to the Imperialists. Mahomet the third, who some months ago had succeeded to his father Amurath in the Ottoman empire, resolved to signalize the beginning of his reign by some great exploit; and for that purpose marched with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men to the siege of Agria, one of the most important places of High Hungary. At first the garrison made a refole defence, in expectation of a powerful succour, which the emperor had sent to them under the conduct of his brother the archduke Maximilian: but that prince being betrayed by the rains and bad roads, the soldiers of the town, who had been always licentious, grew impatient at the delay, and even compelled the governor to capitulate, and surrender the place upon dishonourable conditions. This balefuls was revenged by the Turks themselves, who enraged at the great loss they had sustained before the town, disregarded the capitulation, and put the whole garrison, man, woman, and child to the sword.

The archduke Maximilian, being mortified with this misfortune, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, approached the enemy's camp, and harried them with all his power. At length a battle ensued, in which the Turks were routed, with the loss of twelve thousand men, their artillery taken, and without doubt the action would have been decisive, if an Italian renegade, who perceiving that the Imperialists, instead of pursuing their victory, amused themselves with plunder, had not returned to the charge with fresh troops, by which the fortune of the day was reversed, and the German put to flight in their turn. He would not, however, venture to pursue them farther than the field of battle; so that the archduke, prince of Transylvania, Tissembach, and other officers, had time to rally their forces, and recollect themselves from the confusion produced by this check, which cost them five or six thousand men. After this battle, Mahomet seeing his army greatly diminished by the siege of Agria, and this last encounter, resolved to return to Constantinople, where he abandoned himself to his pleasures.

He left ten thousand men in Agria, and shared the command of the rest of his army among his generals, who were so much divided by jealousy, that they could not act in concert, and when the sultan retired, gave themselves no farther concern about the progress of his arms. This neglect having railed the spirits of the Imperialists and Hungarians, they, under the conduct of count Nadaifi, and the barons of Bernfein and Paffi, formed a scheme for surprizing the fortresses of Tata in Hungary, and actually carried it into execution; while the archduke Maximilian, reinforced by the emperor with a new supply of troops, made preparations for attacking the town of Pappa, near Raab, which was accordingly taken.

The following campaign commenced with a very extraordinary exploit of Adolphus baron of Schuartzemberg, who, understanding that the Turks in garrison at Raab were very remiss in their duty, resolved, if possible, to surprize that fortresses. Having concerted the measures with a French gentlemen, whose name was Vaubecour, they applied a petard to one of the gates, which being burst open, the troops entered the place, and made themselves master of it, after an action which lasted four hours, during which sixteen hundred Turks were killed upon the spot, and seven hundred taken prisoner. The archduke Matthias, who commanded in Lower Hungary, prattled the fame expedient, with the same success, at Buda, where he found a great booty, with upwards of eighty pieces of cannon, and delivered seven thousand Christians from slavery: but he was obliged to retire without having reduced the castle; and that miscarriage provoked him to set the town on fire. In order to revenge these insults, the Turks and Tartars, to the number of an hundred and fifty thousand, entered Upper Hungary, with a resolution to force the town of Waradin, which was defended by Melchior de Reuden baron de Friedland, grand marshall of the archduke Maximilian, with a garrison of two thousand soldiers, assisted by the inhabitants. During six weeks, he sustained the siege with such vigour, that the Turks were constrained to make a shameful retreat, after having lost a great many men in different sallies from the place, in which no more than seven hundred fighting men remained when the siege was raised.
The history of Germany.

A. D. 1599.

About that time, the archduke Maximilian was established governor of Transylvania, in consequence of the cession which Sigismund Bathori had made of that province to the emperor, in exchange for some duchies in Silesia, with an annual pension of forty thousand crowns: but after Bathori had stayed two months in his new territory, perceiving that the bargain he had made was far from being advantageous, he privately returned to Colofar, or Câșmârău, in Transylvania, where he had left his wife, who was daughter of the archduke Charles of Austria; and notwithstanding the levy which appeared in his disposition, he was joyfully received by the states of the country, who dreaded the dominion of the princes of the house of Austria, whose sway, they said, extended to the souls as well as the bodies and effects of their subjects. Besides, they were afraid that the young prince might be provoked by a refusal to reclaim the protection of the sultan, who would not fail to establish him in his dominions at his expence.

The Turks, in the mean time, to the number of sixty thousand men, under the conduct of Ibrahim Bajza, had so successfully advanced their affairs on the other side of the Danube, upon the confines of Lower Hungary, that, after having repulsed the duke de Mercœur, who attempted to throw succours into Comis, they made themselves masters of that and several other places; but the duke having received from the emperor a reinforcement of troops, which, together with his own, composed an army of five and twenty thousand men, he resolved to take his revenge; and advancing into Transylvania, retook by assault the town of Czarniešenburg, and gained several other advantages over the infidels. Nevertheless, after he retired, they renewed their attempts on this place, and next year reduced it again to their dominion.

As all these expeditions could not be carried on without a very great effusion of human blood, both sides began to be tired of the war in Hungary, and serious thoughts of peace were entertained. A negotiation was first begun with Stephen Bošký, an Hungarian nobleman, of the Calvinist persuasion, who, since the defeat of Bathori, and his retreat into Poland, had with the affiance of the Turk, feit the principality of Transylvania and that portion of Hungary which Bathori possessed (H).

A treaty was accordingly concluded between the emperor, the states of Hungary, and this prince Bošký, importing among other things, that the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Hungary; that Bošký should remain prince of Transylvania during life; that a peace should be negotiated with the Turk; that the states of Hungary might, in the absence of the emperor, choose the archduke Matthias for their palatine or governor; that all the other poets should be conferred upon the natives of the country; and that the jefius should possess nothing of their own, except the presents made them by the emperor (C).

There was more difficulty in treating with sultan Ahmed, who had succeeded Mahomet the third, for the negotiation lasted near two years, when at length an accommodation was concluded on these conditions: that the sultan should treat the emperor as father, and the emperor treat the sultan as son, in all their letters and negotiations; that the king of Spain should be comprehended in the treaty, as well as the Turk; upon the Turks assurance, that they would forbear from making incursions on the Christian states; that this truce or cession of arms should continue twenty years; that both parties should mutually send presents to each other every three years, and the emperor begin without delay, by sending one to the amount of two hundred thousand florins, which should afterwards be required by another of the like value from the sultan; that each should possess what he occupied, without pretending to impose any other taxes on their new acquisitions, than those which they paid before the war; that they should not, on any pretence whatever, attack each other in any particular place; that they should be at liberty to repair their respective frontiers; and that the agreement made with Bošký, prince of Transylvania, should subsist in its full force (F).

These treaties being ratified by the two emperors, the states of Hungary assembled at Pressburg, were informed that Rudolph, on account of his infirmities, was neither able nor willing to visit them, in consequence of their prevailing solicitations, that the affairs of the kingdom might be settled on the ancient footing. They likewise underfoot, that in pre-

Ithun. I. 50.  Thun. t. 6. l. 133.  Id. l. 136.

(H) Sigismund Bathori, being a man of an unsteady mind, devoid of resolution, and afraid of the emperor’s resentment, refused his right to Transylvania in favour of his cousin cardinal Andrew Bathori, who was defeated and slain by the troops of the emperor; while Sigismund fled into Poland (1).

The history of Germany.

The archduke Matthias, elected king of Hungary. A.D. 1607.

...judice of his brothers, he expressed a strong inclination to favours and raised the archdukes Ferdinand and Leopold, his first cousins, who were entirely under the direction of the Jesuits, whom the Protestants considered as their declared enemies. These reasons induced the Hungarians to invite and receive the archduke Matthias as their governor, according to the liberty granted to them in the treaty concluded with the prince of Transylvania. Nay, in order to deprive Ferdinand and Leopold of any hope they might entertain of ascending the throne of Hungary, they, in consideration of the emperor's infirmities and want of issue, elected his next heir Matthias for their king, on condition that he should confirm all their privileges, and indulge them with the liberty of professing in public, the new religion, which the greatest part of them had embraced.

The report of this election, and the conditions under which it was made and accepted, being spread through all Germany, the Protestants of Bohemia began to feel themselves, and actually sent some of the most considerable among them to persuade Matthias to come into Bohemia, where they did not doubt of prevailing upon the states to follow the example of the Hungarians, provided he would secure them in the same privileges. Matthias, in consequence of this invitation, assembled his troops without loss of time, and marched towards that kingdom, taking his route through Austria, of which also he endeavoured to make himself master.

The emperor, irritated at this conduct, had taken measures for opposing the designs of c his brother; but the electors and princes of the empire, apprehending troublesome consequences from such a dispute, sent deputies to meet Matthias, to represent the danger that would attend his enterprise, and to persuade him, if possible, to refrain from the same. On this assurance he complied with their advice; and matters were managed so much in his favour, by the interposition of the princes, that a treaty was concluded and signed at Prague, by which the emperor, for the sake of peace, yielded to him Hungary and Austria, and even promised to secure him in the succession to Bohemia, provided he himself should die without male issue. In consequence of this accommodation, Matthias received the royal ornaments of Hungary, by the hands of cardinal Dietrichstein, who presented them in presence of the archduke Maximilian, and a great number of princes and noblemen; then he retired with his army towards Vienna, which he entered in triumph. There he took possession of the archduchy, and ratified the truce with the Grand Seignior's ambassador, who afterwards repaired to Prague, to obtain the same ratification from his Imperial majesty.

Matthias, having been inaugurated by the states of Austria, returned to Hungary, on the frontiers of which he was received by the principal noblemen of the kingdom, at the head of ten thousand men, who conducted him to Presburg, where he granted authentic letters, confirming them in their privileges and liberty of conscience, and was afterwards consecrated with the usual solemnities.

The emperor in the mean time, instead of disbanding his troops, according to the agreement at Prague, allowed them to live at discretion in the bithorp of Paffau, from whence they made incursions into Bohemia, ravaging the country, as they had formerly acted under the command of the archduke Leopold, his cousin-german. To these disorders gave rise to the states of the empire, as well as to the threats of Bohemia; and the Protestants, who were the greatest sufferers, took occasion with threats of Austria, to avail themselves of their number and force, and obliged Rodolphus by force to indulge them in that which they could not obtain by dint of intrigue and solicitation. The conjunction was the more favourable, as new quarrells, about this time, happened between the emperor and Matthias, this last having perceived that the other intended to make one of the archdukes of Grazt king of the Romans, to his prejudice; he, therefore, made preparations for opposing this design; and Rodolphus, fearing that he would be joined by the Protestants, whom he was known to favour in private, was soon to redress their grievances. They were, accordingly, by letters patent, indulged in liberty of conscience, and allowed to build churches and schools upon their own funds, in any place whatever, and even without the permission of the lord of the fief or high-justice.

Encouraged by this conciliation, the other Protestants of the empire solicited the same indulgence, which being refused, they resolved to consult their own safety by other means; and a new alliance or association was proposed. In a little time, this was actually concluded between the prince palatine elector, the duke of Wirttemberg, Maurice landgrave of Hesse, Ernest marquis of Ojnstadt, Frederic marquis of Badendorfflach, Christian prince of Anhalt, and several other princes, together with the greatest part of the Imperial towns. The alliance was distinguished by the name of the union, and the princes engaged in it assumed the appellation of correspondents, of which the elector-palatine was declared the chief.
The history of Germany.

The chief motive that induced each party to take these precautions was the succession to the duchies of Juliers and Cleves, in which both, either directly or indirectly, interested themselves. John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Burgau, count de la Mare, and Raubernburg, had died without children; but he had several collateral heirs by his four sisters, Maria Eleonora, Anna, Magdalena, and Sybil, who were married in the families of Brandenburg, Neuburg, Due pongs, and Austria-Burgau. The principal competitors were John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, son of Anna, eldest daughter of Albert-Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and duke of Prussia, and of Mary Eleonora, who was the eldest of those four sisters; and Wolfgang William, son of Philip Lewis, duke of Neuburg, and of Anna of Cleves, the second. These two princes, though both of the Protestant religion, openly disputed the succession. As for John the second, duke of Due pongs, son of John the first, and of Magdalena of Cleves, third sister of the same duke John-William; and Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, who had married the fourth called Sybil, they took no other than the ordinary course for supporting their pretensions. Besides these, there were other pretenders, namely, the dukes of Saxony, as descendants of John-Frederic, elector, and of Sybil, of Cleves, sister of William duke of Saxony, father of John-William, and of his four sisters; the duke of Nevers, of the same family, and the count of la Mare, marquis of Manilovier; but the different claims of these were of no importance.

As these contests were published manifestly, and the most powerful of them prepared to maintain their rights by dint of arms, a step which gave great offence to the emperor, who complained of it in a mandate addressed to the council of Juliers, in which he observed, that the constitutions of the empire prohibit those who have a claim upon any fief of Germany, from feigning it by their own private authority, but expressly enjoin them to obtain possession in the ordinary courts of justice; he, therefore, in support of his own dignity, as well as to prevent the evil consequences which may arise from the conduct of those who defiend it, forbids any of the pretenders to the succession of Juliers, to take possession of their own accord, and cites all the claimants to appear within four months in his court, either personally or by proxy, in order to explain the nature of their several pretensions.

Rodolphus affirmed, that by the law of the empire, all such fiefs ought to be sequestrated until the dispute should be determined, and this plea was not altogether without foundation; but there is great reason to suspect his design was to protract the content, and in the mean time convert the fiefs to his own use. This suspicion alarmed the marquis of Brandenburg, and the prince of Neuburg, who in effect had the best title to the succession; and Maurice Landgrave of Hesse having offered his mediation, they embraced his proposal of referring the difference to arbitration: in the mean time, they agreed to repair together to Dusseldorf, in order to assume conjunctly the administration of the estates belonging to the late duke of Cleves, and to join their forces against all those who should attempt to seize upon the succession. This transaction was agreeable to the regency of the country, and ratified by the king of France, whose protection they had implored.

An assembly being at that time held in Dusseldorf, the duke and the marquis were received in that city by the magistrates, who resigned to them the government of the provinces of Juliers, Cleves, &c. of which they declared them legal possessors; but it was not so easy to gain possession of the countries situated on this side the Rhine, for while the states were sitting at Dusseldorf, the party attached to the house of Austria, had privately made themselves masters of Juliers, and the court of Vienna immediately sent Leopold of Austria thither in quality of governor, with orders to rule all the dependencies of the duchy in the emperor's name.

Leopold, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to take the oath to the princes, on pain of confiscation of goods, and threatening all others who should favour their party with the pains of death. At first, this new governor behaved with good order and moderation, but at the same time tempered with the garrisons; and making himself master of those places which were weakly guarded, furnished them with soldiers, arms, and provisions: yet he did not succeed everywhere with the same facility, for which reason the emperor issued a new decree stronger than the

---


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. A a a

1st,
first, declaring all princes guilty of lese-majesty, and ordering the magistrates, military officers, and soldiers, to abandon them, on pain of being put to the ban of the empire.

The court of Vienna having taken this measure, both sides prepared openly for war. The emperor and princes of his house were anxious to know in what manner France would interfere itself in this affair, as they well knew the event would be unfavorable to the cause which that crown should espouse: the archduke of Flanders, therefore, sent John Rich-ardor to the king, and he was soon followed by the count of Hohen Zollern, in quality of his Imperial majesty's ambassador. These two ministers represented to Henry the fourth, that the emperor had no design to invade the rights of the claimants; but had sent Leopold to Jungers, in order to govern the dominions of the late duke according to the laws of the empire, until the dispute about the succession should be fairly determined.

Henry had too much penetration to be duped by these pretences; he knew the ambition of the house of Austria, and was resolved to be a check upon its growing greatness. The matter was debated before the president Jeunin by the two ambassadors of Redolphus, and the envoys of the princes sent thither to defend their cause; and the king declared in favour of those last, who had assisted him in his wars. He promised to succour them in his turn, and actually ordered some troops to relieve towards the frontiers of Champagne, in order to support the marquis of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg. The house of Austria was not idle upon this occasion; it circulated a report that the sole aim of the French was to enrich themselves with the pilgrimage of the provinces in question, on pretence of supporting an alliance, to which in effect they had no real attachment: and this artifice in a great measure succeeded, by arousing the jealousy of the Germans.

While these things were in agitation, the city of Donauert kindled a sort of a war in Suabia. The Protestants, who were the most powerful party, had expelled the Catholics, made themselves masters of the town, and rejected all the proposals of accommodation which were made by the emperor and his commissaries.

In consequence of this obstinacy the town was proscribed, besieged, and compelled to sue for peace, by the duke of Bavaria, who, though he could have taken it by assault, would not expose it to the pillage of the troops; but preferred gentler methods to force, hoping, by this example of clemency, to prevent the cities of Ulm, Nuremburg, Nordlingen, and the other Protestant states of Suabia, from having recourse to such extremities; but he was disappointed in his aim, for they joined their brethren of Bohemia, who, being daily threatened with the loss of their religious liberty and other privileges, were already in commotion; and all together complained of their grievances to the assembly, which at that time was held at Hall in Suabia, by the princes of the evangelical union, who accordingly promised to protect them.

These princes had assembled to deliberate upon the affair of Jungers, and almost all of their persuasion were present. In short, there was such a concourse of princes, deputees, and ambassadors, among whom was the sieur Boisfle, from Henry the fourth of France, that the number of votes amounted to forty. They agreed to undertake in good earnest the defence of the two princes of Jesse and Cleves, to expel the exarch, and to appoint in his place the one whom he had been appointed by the emperor, and for that purpose besiege the city of Jungers, which he was established. They regulated the several proportions to be contributed for this service, in order to facilitate which, the ambassador of France promised eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, in the name of his master.

The emperor, being apprised of this resolution, called a diet at Wurzburg, where all the electors, princes, and cities of his party, were invited to appear; and there measures were concerted for supporting the archduke Leopold, by means of a powerful army to be set on foot. After these consultations, nothing was to be seen through all Europe, but levies of troops and preparations of war, from which no state was exempted: a circumstance which plainly demonstrated, that besides the affairs of Jungers, there was some other great design upon the anvil.

This consideration in a little time obliged Redolphus to convene another diet at Prague, whither several princes of both parties repaired: there, among other things, they proposed a reconciliation between the emperor and his brother Matthias; the election of a king of the Romans; the restitution of Donauert; and an accommodation in the affair of Cleves and Jungers. Touching the two first articles, nothing positive was determined: as for Donauert, it was ordained, that without any exception, the elector of Bavaria should leave the place in possession of its former liberty, after having indemnified himself for the expenses of the siege. With regard to the affair of Jungers, the emperor proposed that the estates of the late duke John-William should be settled upon the elector of Saxony, and the princes of his house, on condition that he should prove his title to be better than that of

The history of Germany.

any other competitor; that nothing should be changed in point of religion; but that he should satisfy the demands of the duke of Nevers, and the marquis of Burgundy, and pay the charges of the war, which had been incurred by the emperor and Leopold. Though this proposal was disagreeable to the greatest part of the assembly, it was carried in the affirmative; and the prince of Saxony, having agreed to fulfill the conditions, was invested with all the estates of the suzerainty.

Notwithstanding the proceedings of the diet upon this last article, Maurice prince of Orange, and the prince of Anhalt, resolved to procure their design upon Juliers: and having assembled their troops, invested it without delay. This army was joined by twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, sent thither by the king of France, under the command of the maréchal de Châtillon, and the place was vigorously precipitated, that it was faint to surrender upon capitulation, and again delivered into the hands of the princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg, together with the other places belonging to the duchy of Juliers, which durst not make resistance.

Notwithstanding these transactions, both parties expressed a desire of seeing this grand affair accommodated, and the city of Colomn was named as a proper place for the conferences: thither repaired several princes, who were friends to both sides, together with the ambassadors of the emperors, the kings of France and England, the elector-palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Saxony, and the United Provinces. A sequestration was proposed, though of a very different nature from that which had been effected by the emperor; but it was rejected by some, and among the rest by the duke of Neuburg; so that the assembly broke up without being able to bring matters to accommodation.

Some months after this fruitless meeting, another was held in a castle near Leipzig, where the common friends of Saxony and Brandenburg endeavoured to compromise the affair between the two electors; and their efforts were crowned with much success, that they were prevailed upon to sign a treaty, importing among other articles, that the estates of Cleves and Juliers should be possessed and governed by the elector and princes of Saxony, conjunctly with the elector of Brandenburg and the princes of Neuburg; that the emperor should be enabled to ratify this transaction, and that the family of Saxony should retain the investiture of these estates, which he had received from his Imperial majesty, without prejudice to that which Brandenburg and Neuburg had a right to demand. Nevertheless, this agreement was for that time ineffectual, because the duke of Neuburg would not give his assent; so that he and the duke of Brandenburg still remained masters of the succession.

But this affair was not the only source of discord between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants: these last loudly complained of other particular grievances in Bavaria, in the bishoprics of Strasbourg and Paffau, as well as at Aix-la-Chapelle. Those of Bohemia were likewise incensed, on account of the inquisition which the emperor wanted to establish in that kingdom, and of the mortifications which they daily suffered, in contempt of the privileges and liberty which they had formerly obtained. These outrages they suffered patiently for a long time; but, at length, they could no longer restrain their resentment, when they saw the archduke Leopold march into Bohemia, and usurp the little town of Prague, where he cantoned those troops which he had obliged himself to discharge, and evacuate the bishoprics of Strasbourg and Paffau.

Upon this emergency, they had recourse to king Matthias, who promised to assist them; and, in consequence of this promise, actually marched into Bohemia at the head of his army, resolv ing to oblige the emperor to withdraw his troops, and adhere to all the articles of his agreement with the Protestants. Accordingly Rodolphus, alarmed at the expeditions march of his brother, and the number of his forces, immediately embraced the terms of accommodation that were propounded: and it was, among other things, agreed, that the troops of the archduke Leopold should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and that the Protestants should be maintained in the liberty of conscience and other privileges which had been granted to them heretofore. But as the principal aim of Matthias in this expedition was to profit by the conjunction in securing to himself the crown of Bohemia, he managed the pullulation of Rodolphus with such dexterity, that this weak prince consented to resign that kingdom in favor of his brother, and actually ceded it by an authentic deed, in which he commanded the states to acknowledge his brother Matthias as his successor in that kingdom. This resignation being very agreeable to the Bohemians, who were heartily tired of the emperor's sway, they next day proclaimed Matthias king of Bohemia; and he was crowned at Prague, in the chapel of St. Wenceslaus, with nearly the same ceremonies which were observed at Presburg when he was crowned king of Hungary.

The history of Germany.

The emperor, having thus divested himself of the kingdom of Bohemia, resolved likewise to transfer the small trouble he took concerning the affairs of the empire upon a king of the Romans, who should well acquit himself of the charge. For this purpose he conveyed a diet at Mulhausen, from whence it was translated to Nuremberg, for the convenience of his going thither in person, with a view to concert measures with the princes electors, and finally determine upon the choice of a proper person to succeed him on the Imperial throne; but he being taken ill, the business of the present miscarried.  

The diet, however, sent ambassadors to Prague, where they found Rodolph without any other company than the duke of Brunswick; and there they made remonstrances touching the situation of the empire. They, in the name of the electors, demanded that new regulations should be made for the administration of justice; that his Imperial majesty would change his ministers and counsellors, and summon a diet to be held in the beginning of the spring. They expressed their disapprobation of the step which Matthias had taken with regard to the emperor, whom, nevertheless, they, in some measure, blamed for the mal-administration of affairs; observing, that the cause of a great many disorders had been his omitting to imitate his predecessors, in communicating the most important affairs to the princes electors, who now bestowed his Imperial majesty to let them know where he intended to fix his abode, in case he should be disposed to leave Bohemia. With regard to a king of the Romans, they said they would do nothing except in concert with him; and that as they were inclined to pitch upon some prince of the house of Austria, they begged to know the person whom he wished to succeed him on the throne.

To these remonstrances Rodolph replied, that he should be glad to see another diet convoked in some place where he could be personally present, before they should proceed to the election of his successor. Mean while, however, the electors agreed among themselves in private upon the person to be elected king of the Romans, having chosen him from the number of the competitors, who were king Matthias, the archduke Ferdinand of Graz, the archduke Leopold of Infruck, and Maximilian duke of Bavaria; but the decision of this, and other affairs, was referred to another diet, summoned to meet at Frankfort in the spring of the following year. During this interval, Matthias married the archduchess Anna Katharine of Infruck, his own cousin-german; and the nuptials were solemnized at Vienna with great magnificence, though the emperor could not be present on the occasion.

That prince, who, by the infinuations of Tycho Brak, was rendered jealous of his nearest relations, became every day more and more melancholy and distrustful, insomuch as to shut himself up in his palace, from which he never stirred, not even to church, till at length he was feasted with a swelling and inflammation in his legs, of which, in a few weeks, he died unmarried in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of his reign, leaving to his successor abundance of gold and silver, together with a great quantity of jewels.

This prince was of a middling figure and pleasing aspect; remarkable for a sweetness of temper, a vivacity of parts, a delicacy of judgment, and an uncommon extent of capacity and understanding, by which he had acquired the reputation of an accomplished prince before he ascended the Imperial throne; while, by his zeal for religion, he had captivated the affections of his people. With these advantages he began his reign, the happy prelages of which were, however, soon nullified by his future conduct; for, as he advanced in age, he proved himself altogether unfit for governing his dominions either in peace or war. His chief attention was engrossed by the sciences, particularly the study of mechanics; to which he was so much addicted, that he spent whole days in the shops of clock-makers and turners. His palace was filled with chymists; and one of his principal amusements confin’d in the practice of that art. He passed many leisure hours in the stables among his horses, which he took great delight in contemplating; and often went thither in the dress of a groom, in order to avoid the eyes of the public. These occupations, so unbecoming an emperor, joined with a natural timidity, inspired his enemies with a contempt of his character, and encouraged them to undertake a great many schemes to the prejudice of the Imperial authority (K).

Matthias, being advertised of the emperor’s death, set out immediately from Vienna, with his queen and some noblemen; and arriving at Prague on the thirtieth of January,

(K) Notwithstanding these shades in his character, some authors represent him as one of the best princes that ever wore the Imperial crown, not only for his industry and address in pacifying the troubles of Germany, but also for his probity and spirit in mainaining wars against the Turks (1). The body of Rodolph was deposited in the cathedral church of Prague on the sixth day of February; and about the beginning of October, his funeral rites were performed with great solemnity (2).

The history of Germany.

caused one Ruffus to be apprehended for having favoured the faction of the archduke Leopold in Bohemia, and abused the authority of the emperor by levying large contributions in that kingdom. He was accordingly prosecuted with such rigour, as looked more like the rancour of personal enmity than the regular enquiry of justice; and the poor man, believing his adversaries implacable, made away with himself privately, in order to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. This effect of his despair confirmed the accusations that were brought against him. His body was delivered to the executioner, by whom it was dismembered, and his quarters exposed upon gibbets. An example of revenge rather than of justice; and a cruel affront to the memory of an emperor, who had always governed Bohemia with moderation.

A. D. 1512.

CHAP. XV.

Comprehending the Transactions of the Empire from the Death of Rodolphus, to the Election of the Elector-palatine to the Crown of Bohemia.

Immediately after the death of Rodolphus, the elector of Saxony published a diploma in the provinces which follow the Saxan law, announcing the emperor's decease, exhorting the nobility and people to keep the peace, and have recourse to his tribunal for the decision of their affairs. As Frederic the fifth, elector-palatine, was not yet of age to exercise the vicariate, and take upon him the government of his own dominions, John count-palatine, duke of Deux-ponts, acted as his tutor, by the appointment of his deceased father; but Philip-Louis, count palatine, duke of Neuburg, disputed with him this prerogative, as being nearer in blood to the elector; and these two separately published their patents as vicars and administrators of the empire.

In the mean time, the archbishop of Mentz summoned the electors to repair to Frankfort upon the Maine, by the fourteenth of May, in order to elect a king of the Romans, and he himself was the first who arrived at that place with a grand retinue. He was soon followed by all the other electors, except the marquis of Brandenburg, who commissioned Adam Putitz, marshal of his court, to represent his person. After much deliberation, in the course of which Albert of Austria, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the duke of Saxony, were severally proposed, Matthias was at length elected emperor, and crowned with universal applause.

Having obtained the Imperial dignity, he recommended union and peace to the electors, princes, and states, protesting that his chief care should be to re-establish and maintain the tranquillity of the empire. He then set out for Prague, where he employed some months in regulating the affairs of that kingdom; and thence being settled, repaired to Vienna, where he fixed his residence.

During his stay at Prague, he had dispatched Negroni to the Ottoman Porte, to complain of the enterprises of Babor, and of the protection which was granted him by the sultan. This minister being introduced to the divan, the prince vizir ordered the secretary to read the articles of peace concluded between the Grand Seignior and the emperor Rodolphus, as Negroni affirmed, that, according to the treaty, Bokhai dying without heirs male Transylvania ought to revert to the house of Austria. No such article being found, the emperor's minister did not scruple to say that the copy was altered, and produced the two original treaties, signed by both parties, in which the article in question was inferred. The vizir declared that Bokhaid had no authority from the Porte to inflict such a clause: Negroni replied, that the bahaw Amurath had actually signed the copy in which it was contained; the dispute lasted a full hour, and at length the determination of the affair was postponed, until Negroni should receive new instructions from the emperor.

About this time, an ambassador arrived from Peris and another from Muscovy, and both had audience of the emperor at Prague. The first complained that, contrary to the promise of Rodolphus, peace had been concluded with the Turks; he advanced divers reasons for breaking that treaty, and concluded with demanding a categorical answer without delay.

MATTHIAS answered, that he had the strongest inclination to maintain the friendship which his brother had contracted with the sophi; that the rebellions in Hungary had obliged his predecessor to make peace with the Turk; but in all probability it would not be of long continuance, as the empire would be under the necessity of undertaking the defence of Moldavia and Transylvania, which the Turks had already begun to harass; that at


MOD. Hist. Vol. XI. B b b the
the next diet he would concert measures with the princes, for restoring the tranquility of those two provinces, and make the fophs acquainted with the revolutions that should be taken on that subject. The ambassador returned to his own country with this answer, and was accompanied by Adam Dorm, in quality of the emperor's resident at the court of Perlia.

As for the Muscovite minister, he besought his Imperial majesty to interpose his mediation, so as to terminate the war between Muscovy and Poland, and to bellow upon Russia a prince who should re-establish the quiet of that country, which had been so many years desolated by the tyranny of their dukes. He then expatiated upon the cruelties of Boris, Demetrius, Zaiski, and other arbitrary princes, "While he exceedeth (said the envoy) authorize our senate to claim your protection, and intreat that we may live according to our own laws, under a prince of your appointing, who shall rule his subjects in equity and peace."

A.D. 1615. Matthias, having heard this address with secret pleasure, promised to satisfy the Muscovites, and even to employ his whole power in retrieving their peace; but, in order to be more certainly informed of the situation of their affairs, sent Peter Hermann into Muscovy along with the ambassador.

In the midst of these transactions, Elizabeth princess of England was married to the elector-palatine, and the nuptials were solemnized at Heidelberg with great magnificence.

While the palatine house was filled with rejoicings on account of this event, that of Austria was extremely concerned and perplexed about the demands of the Oubeman Porte. The Turks sent a chieftain to Matthias, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and at the same time, to demand the cession of some cities and towns depending upon Strigonia, with an entire renunciation of his pretensions to Transylvania. Gabriel Batthyany, the present viceroy, saw himself threatened with the loss of his principality; and as he did not know which side to espouse, employed all his address in acquiring the good-will of the emperor and sultan. He sent deputies to each, and loaded them with presents to dazzle the eyes of these two princes, or at least to fulminate their differences; and his envoy at Vienna agreed with the emperor's commissaries, that Batthyany should receive Imperial garrisons in his towns, provided Transylvania should be attacked by the Turks, from whom the emperor expected nothing but war; for they had assembled an army at Adrianople, and there was great reason to believe they intended to use it either against Hungary or Transylvania.

Matthias was provided with troops to oppose the threatened irruption; but as he could not introduce German soldiers into Hungary, without the consent of the states, he convened an assembly at Presburg, and desired them to repeal the law by which it was enabled that no foreign troops should enter the kingdom; for he observed that Hungary, was not powerful enough of itself to support a war against the Turks; and promised that his German troops should commit no irregularities in the kingdom.

This proposal met with strong opposition from the palatine and Protestants, who were afraid that the emperor, under pretence of defending Hungary against the Turks, would employ his troops in establishing an arbitrary authority, and in destroying the privileges of the kingdom (M). However, after long and obstinate debates, the assembly thought of a medium to qualify this article of the troops; and it was agreed, that upon a rupture with the Turk, the emperor as their king, might introduce German soldiers in Hungary, on condition that if the captain was a German, the lieutenant should be an Hungarian, and the pay of both be equal. Then they reduced the subsidy which the emperor demanded; but in order to make him amend, granted to the emperors one hundred and twenty thousand florins, for the coronation of that prince as queen of Hungary. Accordingly that ceremony was performed by cardinal Fortegaffi, in presence of the states, and then their Imperial majesties set out from Presburg, on their return to Vienna.

Matthias, in imitation of the preceding emperors of his house, employed all his industry and address in re-uniting the Protestants with the Catholic church; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, and served only to cool the regard which the Lutherans had entertained for his person, and even to detach them from his interests. This alteration he had occasion to see too plain, in their behaviour at the enuing diet, which was held at Ratisbon. In the letters of convocation, the emperor allured the members, that his sole aim was to appease the troubles of Germany, and restore it to the fruition of its ancient splendor; and

A diet is sum-moned to meet at Ratisbon.


[M] The emperor having quitted the assembly, that the wolf of Germany was as formidable as the bear of Turkey (1).

(1) Barbe Hot. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 422.
The history of Germany.

a to re-establish the visits of the Imperial chamber; augment the number of aecellors; abridge the proceedings at law, which chicanery had multiplied to excess; to reform the coin, which was very much debased; and to promote a spirit of unanimity, that all the forces of the empire might join together against the common enemy.

The diet was opened by the landgrave of Hesse, who in a short speech touched upon the different subjects which were to fall under deliberation, and referred the assembly for further particulars to the emperor's secretary Ducker, who harangued upon the care his imperial majesty had always taken both before and after he ascended to the throne, to maintain peace in Germany: he expatrated upon the abuscs which had crept into the courts of justice, and the necessity of opposing the enterprizes of the Turks; he proposed a subsidy of five years to be levied in the dominions of the empire, for defraying the expense of a war against these insidus; and gave them to understand, that his imperial majesty would command the troops in person, and cheerfully expose his life and fortune for the safety of his subjects.

He then made a transition to the coin, explained the malversation of the directors; ex- horted the princes to recoin their money, and reduce it to the just value, so as that trade might no longer suffer from that defect; he afterwards enlarged upon the maintenance of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand infantry, a proportion which had been long ago settled in the matricular book, though always very much neglected; and he concluded by admonishing the states to agree among themselves, about the ceremonial of their sitting in the diet, which had often produced disputes that retarded the business for which they had met.

Before these points were discussed, the Protestants presented to the emperor a memorial, containing divers complaints against his privy council, which, they said, arrogated to itself the cognizance of religious affairs, contrary to the ancient constitutions of the imperial chamber, which regulated the power of every jurisdiction, referring to the emperor and his council, no more than the articles of inveffiture of the siefs, and the power of executing treaties of peace. They complained that the privy council usually nominated commissaries to decide the differences on the score of religion, in the Protestant states, and from them there was no appeal except to the council; that the commissaries were always Roman Catholics; or if one was chosen of another communion, it was only with a view to favor any commo- nences, the appeals being always reserved for the privy council. They demanded that the president of the imperial chamber should be chosen indifferently from the body of Protestants and Catholics, as well as the aecellors of that tribunal, and the officers of the chancery; and that there should be an equal number of judges, professing each religion. They in- treated the emperor to enquire into the reasons that induced the imperial chamber to refuse to register the decrees signed by the elector-palatine, as vicar of the empire, while the throne was vacant; to lay injunctions upon that chamber to be more observant of the old and new constitutions; and forbid it to receive religious appeals, that should be brought by persons who are neither the states nor members of the Germanic body. They complained, that those of their communion, who were in possession of ecclesiastic principalities, were refused the rank which the Catholics formerly maintained in the diets, obliterating, that it was an unheard of piece of injustice to deprive a prince of his rank, because he happened to be of another communion. They deplored the condition of their Protestants who lived in Catholic states, as being grievously restricted in the exercise of their religion, and exposed to tyranny and fraud in the execution of their wills. Finally, they denied that those of their communion, who held siefs depending on Catholic churches, should no longer be obliged to take the oaths in the name of the saints; that in the diets and councils of the princes, where the Catholics were most numerous, the decisions should not depend upon a plurality of voices; and that his imperial majesty would maintain an equal balance thro' all the provinces of the empire.*

This memorial was received by the emperor, who promised to confer upon it with the princes; but, in the mean time, gave them to understand that particular griefs ought not to hinder them from contributing towards the public weal; and that after they should have deliberated upon the points which his secretary had proposed, he would examine the nature of their complaints.

The Protestants, far from being satisfied with this answer, presented a second petition, declaring, that they could not allish at the diet, until their demands should be taken into consideration; and the emperor, having considered the articles of this second address, and advised with the three ecclesiastic electors, and the ambassadors of the duke of Saxeony, sent an answer to the deputies, importing that he saw no reason which ought to engage the diet in deliberating upon their complaints, before he should proceed to the articles proposed in his declaration; that as their difficulties did not interfere the whole empire, they could not

expect that the consideration of them should take place of those measures which were abso-
luately necessary for the general preservation of the empire; he, therefore, exhorted them
to join the Catholics, in deliberating upon the enterprises of the Turks, and promised to do
them justice before the end of the diet.

The Protestants still insisted upon the redress of their grievances, as a subject which
ought to take place of all others, because a neglect in that particular might involve all
Germany in a civil war; and observed, that the acts of former diets plainly proved it was
the first care of those assemblies to compose internal divisions, without which precaution no
salutary measures could be taken for the commonweal.

MATTHIAS, who was in great want of troops and money, could not without chagrin
behold the time consumed in such remonstrances, which served only to augment the trou-
bles of the empire. He had already received and replied to three memorials, and at
length the deputies presented a fourth, giving him to understand that they had orders from
their principals to insist upon knowing his final resolution touching their affairs. This
preemptory demand he communicated to the Catholic princes and electors, who advised
him to give no other answer than they had already received; for as winter approached,
and Ratisbon began to be sickly, he could not employ sufficient time for discussing such
delays, without running the risk of leaving undecided the principal affair for which
they were assembled.

Meanwhile, the Catholics undertook to answer the memorials of the deputies, and re-
criminated upon the Protestants, whom they accused of having infringed the decrees of
former diets, by introducing divers fechts, which had occasioned numberless disorders in the
empire; of having demolished churches, perverted the clergy, abolished the jurisdiction,
custums, and festivals of the church, and of having circulated defamatory libels against
the pope and the Catholic states, whom it was the emperor’s duty to avenge.

During this contest between the Catholics and Protestants, the arms of the Turks made
great progress in Transylvania, where they supported Bethleem Gabor against Gabriel Bathori,
who had rendered himself odious by his cruelty and misconduit. Matthias no sooner re-
ceived the disagreeable account of these transactions, than he communicated it to the diet,
in order to accelerate their resolutions in this conjuncture; he reminded them of the imme-
diate necessity they were under to protect Hungary, which was the frontier of the empire,
deposed that a powerful army should be raised without delay for that service, exhorted the
states to live in peace with one another, and as the plague began to rage at Ratisbon, re-
ferred the discussion of other affairs to the next assembly.

The Protestants, who were not sorry to see the house of Austria embarrassed, declared
that they were ready to contribute towards the expense of the war, provided they could
obtain satisfaction with regard to their demands; and the emperor, finding all other meth-
ods ineffectual, commissioned his brother the archduke Maximilian, to confer with them
upon the articles of their complaints: but that prince, with all his inclination, could not
make the least impression upon the deputies, who would by no means swerve from their
purpose; but, on the contrary, lodged a protest with the chancery of Mentz, against
a new subsidy with the Catholic states about this time granted to the emperor, for enabling
him to oppose the invasion of the Turks.

The dispute about the succession of Juliers and Cleves now raged with greater violence
than ever: the elector of Brandenburg, tired of sharing the possession of these two states,
made some attempts upon the rights of the duke of Neuburg, who having complained of
these encroachments to no purpose, had recourse to reprisals; and matters were insensibly
inflamed to such a degree, that each employed his own arms, and those of his allies, to
fortify himself in the places which he occupied, and even to surprize those of his anta-
gonist. While the elector of Saxony in consequence of the inveterate which he had re-
ceived from the emperor Rodolphus, obtained from the archduke Albert, governor of the
Low Countries, possession of the house of Cleves, in the city of Bruffels, together with all
the fiefs depending upon the county of Ravenna, the duke of Neuburg, finding him-
self unequal in power to the elector of Brandenburg, resolved to strengthen his interest by
an alliance with the ducal house of Bavaria, and accordingly married the princes Magda-
len, sister of duke Maximilian, and the elector of Cologne: then his cause was espoused by
the emperor, the archduke-governor of the Low-Countries, and the king of Spain; and his
rival being alarmed at this formidable conjunction, courted the alliance of the states-
general.

Before this politic republic would conclude a treaty with the elector, they proposed
their mediation to the duke of Neuburg, that the affair might be amicably compromised;
but this prince having thanked them for their friendly intention, declined the proposal, unless the elector of Brandenburg would revoke every thing he had acted contrary to their agreement at Dortmunt, and restore the domain of Montfeyx, together with the revenues of the alodial funds, which he had unjustly seized.

The friendship of the united provinces was not the only alliance courted by the elector of Brandenburg; he likewise endowed himself by the assistance of Saxony and Hesse; and an assembly being held for this purpose, at Naumburg in Thuringia, the ancient cession between these three houles was renewed.

The states of Clever, though solicited to declare for one or other of the confederates, resolved to remain neutral; but by letters earnestly intreated the archduke Albert, the elector of Clever, and the united provinces, to accommodate the difference; and the elector answered, that if the duke of Neuburg should sustain the least injury, he would undertake his defence.

While the duke promised to submit his pretensions to this succession, to the decision of the imperial council; whereas, the elector of Brandenburg, far from giving such an influence of his veneration and compliance for that tribunal, openly declared that he would never own for judges those persons whom he knew to be prejudiced against him and his cause, and published certain proposals for accommodation, which were rejected by his antagonist; so that the breach between these princes seemed to widen every day.

The elector's interest was embossed by the states-general and the Protestants of Germany, while the duke of Neuburg abjured Lutheranism, in order to make sure of the Catholic league, the protection of the emperor, and the assistance of the court of Spain. The Protestants of Juliers and Clever were alarmed at the duke's apostacy, apprehending that if ever he should become their sovereign, he would treat them as Philip the second had treated his subjects in the Low-Countries. He, therefore, in order to calm their disquiets, published a declaration, allowing liberty of conscience to those of both religions, and professing that he should always obviate the articles of agreement he had made when he took possession of the country.

The electoral prince of Brandenburg was not so prudent in his political conduct. With a view to attach the united provinces the more strictly to his cause, he resolved to introduce Calvinism into the states of Clever and Juliers, a novelty which would have produced an insurrection of the nobility and people, had not he published a declaration, in which he promised that no person should be disturbed on account of religion.

The united provinces, in consequence of the treaty they had concluded with the elector, took possession of Juliers, on pretence of holding it in sequestration; and protested, that far from having any design to trouble the repose of Germany, their sole aim in this transaction was to accelerate an accommodation between the princes competitors. The duke of Neuburg, little satisfied with this declaration, put the other places in a posture of defence, and took the city of Dusseldorf by stratagem; while the archduke governor of the Low-Countries, openly expressed his indignation at this step of the states-general; and the marquis de Spinola, who commanded the army in Flanders, threatened to break the truce, and invade the united provinces with fire and sword.

The archduke, however, would not proceed to extremities, until he had demanded the restitution of Juliers, which being refused, his army commanded by Spinola, passed the Meuse at Maestricht, and took the route to Juliers, for which the enemy were not in a posture to resist it, because he was well provided for making a vigorous resistance, and count Maurice had joined the electoral prince of Brandenburg, who had a sufficient number of good troops to thwart the enterprises of the Flemings. But they were deceived by the sallies of Spinola, who, changing his route all of a sudden, marched to Aix-la-Chapelle, which was under the protection of Brandenburg, and the citizens, terrified at his appearance, surrendered their keys without opposition.

From hence he set out for Mulheim, assuming the name of the emperor's commissary, and bearing the imperial eagle in his standard; and having put garrisons in the towns of Dure, Baibien, Caffor, Greembruch, and other places that submitted to him in his march, he passed the Rhine two leagues below Clever, where he was joined by the duke of Neuburg with eight hundred horse and five thousand infantry. Then they advanced to Mulheim, which they dismantled; and afterwards undertook the siege of Wesel, which they took after a gallant resistance, notwithstanding the efforts of count Maurice, who, in order to indemnify himself for this misfortune, made several conquests on this side the Rhine. He surprised Emerich, one of the best places in the country of Clever, and took Rest before the Spaniards general was in a condition to raise the siege; while Goebe, Gennep, Kalkat, and other strongholds in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, were obliged to receive his garrisons.

* Puffendorf, Ret. Sec. 1. 20. c. 107. * Mercure, Gallo-Belg. t. x. l. 3. * Schadeus, part. 4. l. 1. g

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. C c c
In the mean time, Spinola made himself master of Duisbourg, and sent a detachment of his army to surprize Staden; but his scheme miscarried; and that town, having all along maintained its neutrality, was the place chosen for the assembly, in which peace was concluded between the princes poiffors. Here the conferences were opened by the deputies of Brandenburg, Neuburg, the states-general, the king of Spain, the archduke governor, the crown of France and England, the electors of Cologne, Palatine, the duke of Wurttemberg, and several other princes of the empire; and after their respective demands of the princes poifferors were examined and maturely considered, an accommodation was effected on this conditions: that no place belonging to the succession should be garrisoned, without the consent of the princes poifferors; that the guard of each should consist of no more than fifty horsemen, and one hundred foot soldiers; that all the effects, benefits, and offices which had been seized and alienated, should be restored to those who enjoyed them before the misfortune happened between the princes; that commissaries should be nominated by both parties, in order to re-establish and regulate the police of the state, conformable to the transactions of Dormund and Hall; and that these commissaries should be chosen from the nobility of Juliers, Cleves, and Bergue, and be nominated in one month from the date of this agreement; that, notwithstanding the transactions of Dormund and Hall, the two princes should have separate courts of judicature; that the court of Cleves should take place in the duchy of the same name, and in the counties of La Mare and Ravenstein, and the dukedoms of Juliers and Bergue, with their dependencies, have recourse to the court of Duffeldorp; that the towns, and castles of Juliers and Duffeldorp should be governed by four officers, natives of these provinces, two of whom should be Catholics and two Protestants; that each of the four should have a company of one hundred soldiers, and that they should take the oath of allegiance to the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg; that the presidents of the chancelleries, and other tribunals, should determine no difficult cause without having first consulted one of the princes poifferors; that the elector and the use should alternately confer the benefices and posts belonging to the succession, and that if he whose turn it was to nominate should leave any place vacant for three months, the other might fill up the vacancy; that the pensions and appointments of all officers, either civil or military, should be paid from the revenues of the provinces, and the remainder be equally divided between the princes, without whose consent no tax should be imposed; that the accounts of the treasures should be inspected, an exact inventory taken of the papers and titles concerning the succession, by the commissaries chosen by the princes; that the alienations, mortgages, and presents, made by one or other of the poifferors before such a day, should remain in suspense until the definitive sentence of the succession; that an estate should be made of what had been alienated by one prince in the other’s territory, and a proper compensation be made from the revenue of the whole; and finally, that the two princes should bind themselves by oath to ratify the present transaction in six weeks.

The execution of these articles was opposed by Spinola, who demanded, that the united provinces should promise not to intermeddle in the succession, provided another rupture should happen between the princes poifferors: he moreover pretended, that he could not withdraw his garrison from Wofel without an express order from the emperor and the king of Spain; and every body perceiving that these were no other than subterfuges for eluding the articles of agreement, the assembly broke up.

The Turks still continued their hostilities in Hungary and Transylvania. The bashaw Sandar having passed the Danube with four thousand horse and twelve thousand janissaries, joined Bethleem Gabor, who waited for him on the frontiers; while the bashaw Ogli advanced on the side of Walachia, at the head of another army. Bethori, fearing he should be surprised, encamped at Milbach, the river Maruez being between him and the infidels, who, nevertheless, advanced to attack him; upon which he retired under the cannon of Warradin, until he should receive the succours which he expected from the emperor. However, as this reinforcement was neither suitable to his expectation or necessity, he endeavoured to make new levies towards Trinac; but he was so universally hated, that not one man would enlist; so that seeing himself reduced to necessity, pursued by the Turks, destitute of his own subjects, deficient of his troops, without money and ammunition, he would not survive his misfortune, and was at his own request, slain by one of his soldiers.

The principality of Transylvania was no longer vacant by the death of Bethori, than the bashaw Sandar declared Bethleem Gabor vaivode of that province: a change which seemed to threaten it with a bloody war; but, contrary to the general expectation, peace was concluded with the Turks in forty days; and almost all the governors of places, who were supposed to be unalterably attached to the emperor, acknowledged Bethleem Gabor for their sovereign. Nevertheless, there still remained a party devoted to the house of Austria, who
The history of Germany.

were sufficient to disturb this new viaduct, and even to seize upon some places in behalf of the emperor.

In consequence of Gabor's complaints, the Grand Seignior sent a chieftain to Matthias, demanding, that these places should be restored to the person whom he had appointed as successor to Babur, otherwise he would support him by dint of arms. The emperor answered, it was an affair of such importance that he could not decide upon it, until he should have consulted the states of the empire; so that hostilities recommenced between the Hungarians and the infidels.

MATTHIAS, alarmed at these commotions, convened at Linz an assembly composed of the deputies of all his hereditary countries, in order to lay before them the state of his affairs, and to solicit their assistance in this emergency; but some of them being very indifferent to his interest, and the Hungarians flatly refusing a passage to his troops, in their march to Transylvania, the assembly broke up without having come to any determination in his favour.

In the mean time, Bethleem Gabor, with the assistance of the bashaw Sandar, invested the city of Lippe, and, in a few days, made himself master of the place, in consequence of a capitulation, importing, that it should not be garrisoned with Turks, or be dismembered from the province of Transylvania. This clause Gabor could not observe without giving offence to the Turks, to whom he had promised this town, together with two others; and he was not a little embarrassed at this consideration, when a very unexpected event delivered him at once from his apprehensions. The Grand Seignior having occasion for all his forces to terminate the intestine broils and foreign wars, under which his empire at that time groaned, resolved to make peace with Germany, and for that purpose sent an ambassador to Vienna with magnificent presents. A negotiation was immediately begun, and, after divers conferences, the treaty formerly concluded between Redolphus the second and the sultan, was renewed and confirmed. All the places occupied by the Turks in Hungary were delivered up to the house of Austria; and the lands, which, during the war, had been alienated, were now restored to the right owners. This was the substance of the treaty by which peace was re-established in Hungary for the term of twenty years; though not the least mention was made of Bethleem Gabor's usurpation, which was, for the present, overlooked, left it should have introduced a dispute that might have retarded, if not prevented, the accommodation.

In the course of this year, a rupture happened between the duke of Brunswick and the city of that name, upon the same subject which had produced a quarrel in the reign of Redolphus the second with the late duke Henry Julius and the inhabitants of that town. This was no other than a contest for their liberty, which they resolved to defend against the impositions of the duke, who wanted to exert a sovereignty authority over them. Frederic Ulric, the present duke, had made some advances towards an accommodation; but the same proving ineffectual, he had recourse to arms, and forbid his subjects, on pain of death, to maintain the leaff commerce with the inhabitants of Brunswick. These republicans, depending upon their alliance with the hanse towns, treated this prohibition with contempt, and incensed him to such a degree, that he levied troops, invested the city, and carried on the siege with great fury, while the place was obstinately defended by the count de Solines, strengthened by some auxiliaries from the hanse towns; till at length a treaty was concluded by the mediation of the prince of Hesse and the king of Denmark, who was uncle to the duke, and ailed at the siege in person. (N).

About the end of January the Protestant states assembled at Nuremberg, in order to deliberate upon the affairs of Julius, and every prince of that communion was present, except the elector of Saxony, who would not enter into their views, or join in the remonstrances they intended to make to the emperor, touching the possession of the states of Juliers, and the liberty of the empire, which they conceived to be in danger from the conduct of the house of Austria. Finding the elector averse to their measures, they solicited the assistance of France; but that kingdom was too much engrossed by its own intestine divisions, to grant protection to strangers, so that they separated without having brought matters.

[N] The chief articles of this treaty, which was concluded in the town of Stralsund, and afterwards ratified by the emperor, were these: that the duke should confirm the privileges, immunities, and customs of the city of Brunswick; and promise to obey the decrees of the imperial chamber, provided the Senate and citizens would do him homage, take the same oaths to him which they had taken to his predecessors before the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, and acknowledge him as their lawful duke; and that the disputes which had arisen about his jurisdiction, should be determined by arbitrators, or by the imperial chamber.

(N) Schadeus part 4. l. 4. p. 272.
The history of Germany.

...ters to any conclusion; and the war among the princes, who disputed the succession of Julius, began to rage again with great fury.

MATTHIAS, after having a long time kept measures with the Proteants, now pulled off the mask, and resolved to make them feel that he was their master. Bohemia was divided by two religions, namely, that of the Catholics, and that of the Calvinists, or descendents of the Huffsies, who were formerly so powerful that the emperor Sigismund, before they would own him as king of Bohemia, had been fain to indulge them with a privilege, importing, that there should be no citizen or magistrate in Prague, but such as were of their persuasion. Maximilian, second encroached upon this grant by allowing Catholics to enjoy the freedom of the city, and their number considerably increased by the favour of the king's officers, all of whom were of the same religion. In the reign of Redolphus the second, the Proteants of Bohemia obtained the emperor's edict for putting them and the Catholics upon an equality in all respects; but the officers refused to publish the decree, which they deemed prejudicial to the Catholic religion; and the court of Vienna was at no pains to enforce the execution of it: while the Catholics under a prince of their own communion, occupied the first polls of the kingdom, enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and their clergy were restored to the possession of all the estates of which they had been deprived by the Huffsies.

This was the situation of affairs in Bohemia, when the emperor resolved to secure the crown of that kingdom to his cousin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, son of Charles of Austria, brother of Maximilian the second, who was the present emperor's father. This prince was accordingly presented to the states of the kingdom, assembled at Prague for that purpose, and recommended to their choice by the emperor in person, after he had given them to understand that his brothers Maximilian and Albert, who like himself were without issue, had resigned their pretensions in favour of Ferdinand, and that his sole view in this recommendation was to prevent the evils that might accrue to the kingdom, in case it should at his death be left without an head.

The proposal was embraced, and Ferdinand elected king, on condition, nevertheless, that during the life of Matthias, he should not intermeddle in affairs of state, except by the emperor's express permission; and having promised to observe this stipulation, he was solemnly crowned in presence of Matthias and his empress. (O)

Notwithstanding the promise he had made to maintain the privileges of the kingdom, the Proteants did not fare the better for their new prince, but began to complain that the articles of their agreement, touching the exercise of religion, were not at all observed. In this very juncture, when they might have been easily satisfied, the archbishop of Prague ordered a church which they had built at Clostergarab, to be demolished, and with more rigour than discretion caused another at Brunswe to be shut up. These proceedings induced some noblemen of the Protestant faith to complain of the outrage to the council which the emperor had left at Prague; but they received a supercilious answer, implying, that nothing had been done contrary to the privileges of the subjects, the edicts of the emperor, or the revolutions taken by the states of the empire.

The complainants, seeing themselves treated with such scorn and disrespect, resolved to convoke the states of the kingdom, in order to deliberate upon their grievances; and the emperor, being apprized of their intention, forbade them to proceed on pain of his displeasure; but their resolution being already taken, his orders came too late. Two days after the assembly was opened, several noblemen were sent as deputies to the council, where they repeated their remonstrances, and demanded justice in a peremptory manner. Among others who sat as judges were William Schlabata, president of the chamber, Jeronim Barita, count de Martinitz, and Philip Fabricius, secretary of the council. These members treated them with great insolence, and rejected their demands with contempt, which irritated the deputies to such a degree, that they rushed upon them and threw them headlong from the windows of a second story into a ditch, the water of which faved them from being hurt: they had even the good fortune to escape some shot that were sent after them, and to reach Vienna without farther damage. The burgrave of Bohemia, and Popel grand prior of St. Mary, suffered no insult, because they had behaved with moderation to the remonstrants, who therefore conducted them in safety to their own houses. The count de la Tour, who was the principal actor in this bold scene, finding he had proceeded too far to retreat, rode through the streets attended by his associates, and harangued the populace. "I do not...

---

* Mercure, Gallo-Belg. t. x. l. 3. p. 78.  
* Schadeus, part. 4. l. 6.

(O) If we may believe Struwinus, he was, on his return to his apartment, absolved by the pope's nuncio of the oath he had just taken (1).

(1) Stru. ger. 10. p. 27. 8.  
" propose
The history of Germany.

"propose myself (said he) as your chief, but as a companion to accompany you in that career, which will lead us to happy freedom, or glorious death. The die is already thrown: it is now too late to recast what is past, and milly will be your portion if you falter yourselves to be oppressed. Your safety altogether depends upon your unanimity and courage: you must break asunder your chains, or perish by the hands of an executioner.

"If you take arms, and triumph over your oppressors, you will be renowned for valour, and reap the delicious fruits of your resolution: whereas, if you tamely submit to arbitrary power, you will be treated with indignity, and punished as rebels."

This sort of declamation met with universal applause; and many Protestants, who did not approve of the violence offered to the emperor's officers, foreseeing that his retentment would make no distinctions, joined the party of the count, and ferociously prepared for war. These were reinforced by the greatest part of the Catholics, who perceived that their new king Ferdinand paid as little regard to the liberties of the realm, as to the complaints of the Protestants. The whole united body assembled at the Carolin college, where they resolved to exact an oath of the garrison and inhabitants of the three towns of Prague, to secure the castle and furnish the other fortresses with troops. Then they elected thirty directors, whom they invested with the sovereignty authority, concerted measures for the safety of other places, which they ordered to be fortified with all possible dispatch, gave directions for levying forces, and expelled the Jesuists, together with all the Catholics, who did not favour their conduct, and whom they branded with the apppellation of enemies to the edicts of his imperial majesty. Finally, they published a manifesto, that the emperor and all the world might be informed of the justice of their cause and conduct, in chastising those who were enemies of the state and perturbators of the public peace.

MATTHIAS was extremely incensed at the outrage which had been committed against persons of quality, invested with his authority, as well as at the subsequel proceedings of the perpetrators; but, as he no longer poffessed that activity of disposition for which he had been formerly remarkable, he was loath to proceed to extremities, until he should have tried gentler methods; and endeavoured to reclaim the Bohemians by letters, edicts, and declarations: to which they paid very little regard; for tho' in their answers the emperor's person was mentioned with respect, they boldly accused cardinal Kofl, bishop of Vla- enna, who was his prime minister and favourite, of being author of all the errors of the administration.

KLESIL, though a person of obscure birth, was enuced with a good understanding, and an infinuating manner; but he was imperious and unquiet, an implacable enemy to those who thwarted his designs, and much more apt to ruin a kingdom already in disorder, than to re-establish its peace by a wise reformation of abuses. He was not always hated by the Protestants of Bohemia; on the contrary, they had once paid great honours to him, as the person who had prevailed upon the emperor to indulge them with that edict, by which they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion: but now, being persuaded that he counselled Matthias to disregard that very edict, and to invade the liberties and privileges of their country, they bitterly inveighed against him as the sole source of all their grievances.

As the same time Silsfa abounded with malecontents, who complained of the same oppression which had excited the troubles in Bohemia. Some noblemen were disappointed in the expectation of certain dignities to which they pretended a right; and several benefices were bestowed upon Catholics, after they had been taken from those of the other communion. These impolitic steps of the emperor had produced a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction among the nobility, which gradually diffused itself throughout the whole province, and at length broke out in open rebellion, soon after the revolt of the Bohemians, with whom the states of Silsfa actually entered into alliance and confederacy. This was the beginning of a bloody war, that raged thirty years in the empire, which intertied almost all Europe, and was not determined till the peace of Weipbuda. Ferdinand was of opinion, that the rebels of Bohemia and Silsfa ought to be immediately reduced by force of arms; but his influence did not as yet predominate in the councils of the emperor, who had resigned Bohemia in his favour, on condition that he himself should retain the sovereignty authority during his life: the same clause was inferred in the treaty of cellion when he settled him on the throne of Hungary, which he had lately ascended.

Ferdinand was dissuaded at these conditions, which he knew to have been suggested by cardinal Kofl, who, having always sat at the helm, could not bear to see the sovereignty authority wrested from his hands, and therefore persuaded the emperor to retain his arms, or perish by the hands of an executioner. The new king, incensed at his conduct on this occasion, represented him as an ambitious and turbulent minister, who had embroiled the kingdom of Bohemia, on purpose to render himself the more necessary to the emperor; and his remonstrances being reinforced by the archduke Maximilian, Matthias was obliged to remove him from court. He was apprehended without his master's knowledge, stripped of his
his cardinal's robes, and conducted to the confines of Stiria, where he remained five years a close prisoner (f).

The count de la Tour could not have found a more favourable conjunction for the accomplishment of his designs, and accordingly took the advantage of it in assembling troops, and forming his army. He put garrisons in all the defensible places, from which he drove the officers and soldiers whom he suspected of disaffection to the cause, occupied all the palaces, established magazines, collected money, and made all the dispositions for a vigorous resistance.

La Tour prepares for a vigorous defence.

The emperor, who was still unprepared for using force, proposed a general amnesty to the Bohemians, and promised to re-establish them in their prerogatives, and the free exercise of their religion; but these advances produced no effect. La Tour was persuaded that a sooner or later Matthias and Ferdinand would revenge the insult they had suffered in the persons of their officers, and that there was no safety but in the success of his arms; he therefore demanded succours of the Protestant princes, and opened the campaign in such a manner as flattered his party that he would soon free Bohemia from the Austrian yoke.

CRUMLAW and Budweisitz are two strong places upon the Moldé, and form an important pass from High Austria into Bohemia; this the count de la Tour undertook to shunt against the Imperialists, by making himself master of these towns, which declared for Matthias. He accordingly took Crumlaw by assault, and summoned Budweisitz to surrender; but this place withstood all his threats and solicitations; and as he was not yet strong enough to besiege it in form, he encamped in the neighbourhood, while Mansfeld, with another army, reduced the other places of Bohemia.

This last general, so famous for his exploits in Flanders, where he served the king of Spain, was natural son of the count of Mansfeld, and renounced the religion of his ancestors, in order to embrace the Protestant faith. He was brave, enterprising, and ambitious; and though without money, arms, or estate, by his sole courage defied the whole power of the house of Austria. Wonderfully fruitful in expedients, and incredibly bold in execution, he derived from his defeats more honour than victory could bestow upon his conquerors. He was sober, vigilant, indefatigable, eloquent, and judicious, prodigal of his fortune, and covetous of wealth to expend in the enjoyment of his pleasures. He lived replete with the most fainthearted hopes and magnificent designs, and died in a village on the frontiers of the Venetians and Turks, destitute of money and resources, in a strange country, where his body could scarce have the benefit of Christian burial (Q).

The archduke, governor of the Lower Countries, sent a body of forces to the emperor's assistance, under the command of the count de Buquoy, already famous for his valour and discretion; but before his arrival, the count de Dampierre had, by the emperor's orders, entered Bohemia with the Austrian troops, and in his route made himself master of Bibrizte, Pilgram, and Polna. His design was to possess the places situated upon the river Sajava, that he might make incursions to the very gates of Prague; but this project was disconcerted by the activity of La Tour, who, after some skirmishes, in which the loss was pretty equal on both sides, hampered him in such a manner, that he was obliged to retire for want of provisions.

The states of Bohemia demanded succours of the Protestant princes of Germany. The Silesians furnished them with six thousand men, under the command of the count de Stuenbeeki; while the count de Hohenlohe levied some excellent troops for their service, in the duchy of Brunswick, and the Dutch promised to supply them as soon as possible with men and money. In a word, their army soon amounted to thirty thousand soldiers, for the most part veterans, and commanded by experienced officers.

The count de Buquoy likewise invaded Bohemia, by the frontier of Moravia, and made himself master of Tenzschbrod and some other places, which having fortified with troops and


(P) Ferdinand is said to have laid a scheme for killing the cardinal with a musket-ball during the festivities at the ceremony of his coronation; but as the shot did not take place, he caused him to be arrested in the palace, stripped of his robes, in lieu of which he was clothed in black apparel, and sent to the place of his exile, with an escort of two hundred horse, commanded by the baron de Breuner and the counts Calulo and Tempere. After he had been thus carried off, Ferdinand and the archduke Maximilian went and imparted the whole transaction to the emperor, who was very much affrighted at the news; and pope Paul V. being extremely irritated at their presumption, employed all his influence to fet the cardinal at liberty; but it was his successor Gregory V. who found interest to have him brought to Rome, where he was tried in a congregation of cardinals, and declared innocent: upon which he was set at liberty, and returned to his diocese with the consent of Ferdinand II. (z).

(Q) He died, not without suspicion of poison, at the age of forty-five. Finding his end approaching, he ordered himself to be dressed in his richest habit, with his sword by his side, and gave up the ghost standing, being supported by two of his domestics. As he insisted on being well paid for the services he rendered to the Dutch, they used to say of him, Muni in amiciss, curus in precent (z).

(1) Heiff. i. 3. c. 8. (2) Dictionaire de Morisi, p. 11. t. 6.

pro-
provisions, he went to join the count de Dampierre, resolving to engage the Bohemians, whom accordingly he found drawn up in excellent order upon the two banks of the Molda. Atonished at the number and countenance of the Protestant forces, he durst not hazard a battle, nor even advance farther into the country; but was fain to retreat himself under the cannon of Budweisitz, in order to wait for a reinforcement from Vienna, which, however, was not sufficient to put him on a footing with the malcontents.

The emperor, finding himself too weak to cope with them in the field, thought proper to offer them an accommodation, which had been propounded by the princes of the empire assembled at Reichenburg; and the duke of Bavaria, together with the electors of Meurs, Saxony, and the palatinate, were chosen arbitrators of the difference. Matthias pitched upon Pilzen for the congress; but as that city was remarkable for its attachment to the house of Austria, the Bohemians demanded that some other place should be appointed; and before this dispute was decided, ordered Mansfeld to undertake the siege of that town. Pilzen was one of the most considerable places in Bohemia, and tolerably well fortified for those times; but its chief strength consisted in the courage of its habitants, who valuated themselves upon having formerly sustained a siege of ten months, against Ziskai the famous chief-tain of the Hussites. The importance of this town, and the wealth which the Catholics in the neighbourhood had carried thither, as to a place of safety, animated one side to attack, and the other to defend with the utmost resolution. The besieged, of their own accord, reduced to ashes the magnificent suburbs, which constituted the chief ornament of their city, thereby giving the assailants to understand that they were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Accordingly, the trenches were opened, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour, while the habitants behaved with such obstinacy of valour, that they would have suffered themselves to be buried in the ruins of their city, rather than yield at discretion, had not the melancholy defoliation of the place excited the compassion of their enemies, and induced Mansfeld to offer them their lives, effects, and liberty, provided they would take the oath of allegiance to the states of Bohemia. The condition was accepted, and the government of the town bestowed upon John-George de Solms, with whom Mansfeld left seven companies of soldiers, after having repaired the works, and filled the magazines with provisins and munitions of war.

After the loss of Pilzen, the Imperialists retained but a very few inconsiderable places in Bohemia, which the approach of winter would not permit the count de la Tour to invest; so that he cantioned his infantry at Neubau, and in the neighbourhood of Budweisitz and Cruinlaw; while the count de Sweenbext, at the head of the cavalry, made incursions to within nine miles of Vienna, took and garrisoned the abbey of Szentil, pillaged Hofurt, Peitre, and several monasteries, and carried off a rich booty into Bohemia.

The Protestant cavalry, being chiefly composed of Silefians, the emperor wrote to the states of that province, complaining of the disorders they had committed in Austria; and received an anwser, importing, that they only made reprisals upon the Austrians, who had exercised unheard of violence in Bohemia and Silefia; and that their aim in making Austria the seat of war was to oblige their enemies to listen to terms of peace, and to facilitate the union of the Protestants of that country with their brethren of Bohemia. In effect, the Austrian Lutherans, both above and below the river Enz, held a private correspondence with the states of Bohemia, and only waited for a specious pretext to declare themselves. This they thought they should obtain, by building a fort upon the Danube, in order to cut off the communication between Bohemia and Austria; but the duke of Bavaria, and the magistrats of Pilzen, complained of this transgression to the emperor, who ordered the Protestant to demolish the fort, and furnish the count de Buugoy with provisins and necessaries for his army. Though this order was ill received, it was, nevertheless, partly executed, because the malcontents of Austria durst not yet pull off the mask; and such was the situation of affairs, when the emperor died at Vienna.

After his elevation to the empire, this prince had forfeited a great part of the reputation which he had formerly acquired, and could not perceive the decline of his character without infinite mortification, which was grievously encreased by the embarrased state of his affairs, and the mischance of his effort towards an accommodation with his revoluted subjects: these causes of chagrin had been lately augmented by the death of the archduke Maximilian, and the loss of his empire; and altogether overwhelmed him in such a manner, that he sunk into a languishing distemper, which put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighth of his reign (R).

---

a Bellus, l, 2, p. 135.  
b Relatio oblations Pilzen edita 1618.  
c Kheven, l, 9, p. 334.  
d Heins, l, 3, c. 8.

(R) He married Anna Knaburz, daughter of the archduke Ferdinand, by whom he had no issue; but he left a natural son, who was known by the name of Don Matthias of Austria.

When
When he found himself near his end, he called heaven to witness that his chief desire was to re-establish peace in Bohemia; and addressed himself to his successor Ferdinand in these words: "If you wish to see your subjects happy under your government, let them not feel the exertion of your power."

Immediately after the decease of Matthias, Ferdinand, his successor in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as in the dominions of Austria, resolved, if possible, to succeed him likewise on the Imperial throne; and, that he might the more easily accomplish that aim, made advances towards an accommodation with the Bohemians, whose privileges he, of his own accord, promised to confirm; for this purpose, he wrote to the states of that kingdom, who, far from agreeing to the fulfilment of arms which he proposed, took offence at the title of heir of Bohemia, which he assumed in his letter, and affirmed, that as their crown was elective, they had a right to choose their own sovereign. He met with no better success in summoning the states of Austria to come and take the ordinary oath of allegiance; for they replied, the affairs of Germany were in such confusion, that they must have time to deliberate upon the submission which he required; and it was not long before he understood the true motive of this evasio, which was no other than the negotiation of a treaty of union between them and the states of Bohemia.

Whatever inclination Ferdinand had to take revenge on these his revolted subjects, the conjunction was so unfavourable, that he resolved to proceed by more pacific measures; and actually sent to the states of Bohemia the confirmation of the privileges which had been granted by their former kings: he moreover promised to observe all the edicts and agreements touching religion; never to bellow the government of Carlslein, where the crown and other enigmas of royalty were kept, without the consent of the nobility of the kingdom, and of the magistrates of Prague; to confer posts and benefices upon none but natives; to alienate no demesnes of the crown; but, on the contrary, repurchase those that were alienated; to preserve the true value of the coin, without diminution or augmentation; to ratify all the donations which had been made by the kings his predecessors, except those that might be contrary to the ordinances of Ladislaus; and, finally, to maintain the subjects of the kingdom in all their rights, customs, privileges, and immunities.

The Bohemians taking it for granted that Ferdinand was more politic than sincere in these concessions, that he would not have granted so much, without an intention to revoke the whole; that his aim was to amuse them with negotiations, while he prepared for war; and that his design was to raise with the sword what he had written with the pen: fraught with these sentiments, they sent back the letter and declaration to Vienna, because in the address to the directors he had omitted the words of both communions, the confirmation of privileges equally regarding the Catholics and Evangelicals. Notwithstanding this mortifying repulse, Ferdinand would have willingly suppressed his resentiment, and offered safe-conduct for such deputies as they should think proper to send to Vienna, in order to treat of an accommodation, but he received no answer to this proposal, and the war continued on both sides with great animosity.

The count de Buquoy, at the head of his cavalry, daily alarmed the towns in the neighbourhood of Budweis and Cramlau; and Kinfek, general of the Evangelic army, taking the field with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred arquebusiers, defeated a body of hussars with great slaughter.

About this period, the Protestants of Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, and Upper Austria, demanded the free exercise of their religion; and that, as well as the Catholics, they should be admitted to the posts and honours of their several provinces; but their demands being rejected at the court of Vienna, a spirit of discontent diffused itself though all that communion; and the directors of Bohemia, taking advantage of this disposition, engaged them to shake off the Austrian yoke. The Evangelics of Upper Austria were the first who assumed the title of states, and entered into a league with the Bohemians; and then the Protestants of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, taking the reins of government in their own hands, expelled all the Catholics who seemed to favour the house of Austria. This resolution was facilitated by Henry count de la Tout, who, at the head of fifteen thousand men, advanced towards Moravia, reduced Lgnau, Troeditzc, and Znaim, in which last place he left a good garrison. Cardinal de Ditrichstein, who commanded for Ferdinand in that country, finding himself too weak to oppose the irritation, endeavoured to amuse the Bohemians until he should receive a reinforcement; and with this view, sent one of his secretaries to La Tout to know his reasons for invading Moravia. The count replied, that he had obeyed the orders of those who had a right to command him; and that the principal noblemen of Bohemia, who were in his army, had come on purpose to conclude with the Moravians a league offensive and defensive against those who should presume to attack their liberty, and change the form of their government. To this declaration, the cardinal made answer, that he had discovered.  

Barre Hifi. d'Allemagne, t. ix, p. 446.  
Mercur. Gallo-Belg. l. 12, p. 39.  
Piecel, p. 417.
The History of Germany.

a no intention to thwart the states of Moravia; that he had sent them the order of king Ferdinand to assemble at Brin, and would sign the general union with Bohemia and the other provinces, provided there was nothing in it contrary to the fidelity which he owed to that prince. The assembly, however, was not held in that place, but at Znaim, under the protection of the count de la Tour.

Dittrichstein, who maintained a private correspondence with the senate of Brin, took the necessary precautions to preserve that place for Ferdinand: he threw one hundred and twenty men into the castle of Spilberg, and ordered the barons of Nachot and Palfrin to assemble their troops in one body, and join the count de Dampierre with the Hungarians, that they might march together against the Evangelic army. This junction, which might have laid the count de la Tour under great difficulties, was prevented by the address of that general, who gained over to his interest Stubenlof, lieutenant of the cavalry which Nachot commanded, and which by his example declared for the Protestants; so that Nachot, being abandoned by his troops, retired towards Austria. Every thing at Brin confined to favour the same cause. Cardinal Dittrichstein, the prince of Liechtenstein, the senate, and the deputies of the Catholic states, were destitute of forces to maintain their authority. The citizens inclined towards the Protestants, and conferred a whole hour with the deputies of the assembly at Znaim, who, under an escort of eight hundred horses, commanded, by Svenbecci, alighted at the hotel of Andelitz for that purpose. During this conference, the burgheurs of Brin crowded together in the market-place, and Eudenbourg, one of the Evangelic deputies going down to the fleet, exhorted them to live in amity with the states of Bohemia. Inflamed by his harangue, they immediately ran to arms, and introduced Svenbecci with seven troops of German horse, who took possession of the city, which was no sooner secured, than the deputies, repairing to the market-place, persuaded the burgheurs to take an oath in public, to maintain the liberty of conscience, together with the authority and privileges of the states: then they went to the cardinal, and forbade him from thenceforward to use the title of grand-maister and captain-general of Moravia: the keys of the city and castle were taken from the senate and given to Stubenlof, together with the government of the place, for which he took the oath to the states.

Ferdinand, alarmed at these insurrections, began to be afraid of losing Silisia, where he sent Otto Melander, in order to maintain peace and prevent disturbances; and that minister promised to the inhabitants, the friendship of the king his master, and the confirmation of their privileges, provided they would continue quiet; but to these assurances the Evangelics replied, "Let his highness Ferdinand of Austria begin by appeasing the troubles of Bohemia and the incorporated provinces, and then in due time and place we shall act according to the dictates of our duty.

The directors of Bohemia, being assured of Hungary, Moravia, and Silisia, ordered La Tour to march towards Austria; and in consequence of that order he passed the river Téva, and surrounded the city of Brin. The Evangelics, however, of both communions sent deputies, defining him to raise the siege of a place which ought not to be considered as an enemy's town; and he answering, that his sole aim in besieging Laba was to expel the foreign garrison, the count de Buschein, chief of the Catholic deputies, undertook to give him satisfaction on that score; and having promised his promise, the Bohemian general quitted the place, and with his army took the route to Vienna, in the suburbs of which he quartered his troops without resistance, while Ferdinand remained in the city, in order to prevent an insurrection of the Evangelics.

La Tour would not begin the siege until he should have made all the necessary provisions for such an important enterprise; and content with having blocked up the place, confidently waited for a revolution within, which would spare abundance of bloodshed. He was so sure of taking Vienna, that he had already regulated the plan of government to be established in Austria, from whence he was resolved to drive the princes of that house, as well as to prevent Ferdinand's being elected king of the Romans. But while he continued inactive, waiting for the effect of his intelligence, matters took a very different and unexpected turn. The count de Buquet, profiting by his absence, privately quitted his quarters, and the castle of Rudolstadt, and fell upon the troops of Mansfeld with such fury, that they were entirely defeated, and their general obliged to fly to Prague, which filled with consternation and alarm, while the victor took fourteen hundred prisoners, and afterwards made himself master of divers important places. La Tour no sooner received the news of this misfortune, than he gave up his project upon Vienna: and reassembling all the forces of Bohemia, resolved to repair the disgrace of Mansfeld, but the count de Buquet had retired to his intrenchments, which were too strong to be forced; so that the other, having retaken

\[\text{Barbe Hitt. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 471.} \quad \text{Mercur. François a l'An. 1619.} \quad \text{Heiss. I. 3. c. 9.}
\]

\text{Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.}
The history of Germany.

A confederacy is signed by the deputies of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, some fortresses, returned to Prague, where an act of confederacy was signed by the deputies of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, for their common defence.

By this treaty Ferdinand was stripped of a fine kingdom, and the richest provinces belonging to the house of Austria; he was likewise deprived of the dignity of elector, consequentially the easiest means for ascendency the Imperial throne, from which the confederates were resolved to exclude him. As their intention was no secret from the beginning, he had endeavoured to defeat it by disputing Matthias to hasten his election: but that scheme miscarried in consequence of the emperor's death. Before, the Germans, who were tenacious of their liberty, and jealous of the power of the Austrian house, and particularly the Protestants, who interested themselves in the commotions of Bohemia, did not seem disposed to elect Ferdinand king of the Romans, or to take any step which might aggrieve a family, which numbered Hungary, Bohemia, and even the empire among its inheritances. Indeed, the Bohemians, who pretended that their crown was elective, offered the sovereignty to the duke of Savoy, who by his mother was grandson of the emperor Maximilian the second; and it was not till after he had declined the proposal, that they made a tender of it to the elector-palatine.

With regard to the election of a king of the Romans, four electors, three of whom were Protestants, promised their suffrages to Maximilian duke of Bavaria, that in chusing a Catholic prince, the world might see they had no intention to exclude Ferdinand from the Imperial throne, on account of his religion, but solely to re-establish the Germanic liberty. In all likelihood this scheme would have succeeded, had not the ministers of the pope and the king of Spain exerted all their address in diffusing Maximilian from accepting an offer which might be attended with dangerous conseqiuences, and in deferring the election, which was accordingly postponed till the twenty-eighth day of August New-style (S). Towards the latter end of July, the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Trier, together with the ambassadors of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg, arrived in great pomp at Frankfurt, whither also restored Ferdinand as king of Bohemia, after having left the regency of his Austrian dominions to his brother Leopold.

The states of Bohemia resolving (if possible) to hinder Ferdinand's admission to the electoral diet, sent thither deputies, who being refused entrance at Frankfurt, retired to Hannan, from whence they wrote a letter to the elector of Mentz, complaining that he had sent the act of convocation to Ferdinand, though he had not as yet taken possession of the kingdom of Bohemia, confoundly could not enjoy the privileges of an elector, which were attached to that crown: for that the electorate was not a personal but a local dignity, which no king of Bohemia could exercise except in the name of the states. To these allegations Ferdinand replied in a manifesto, that the Bohemians, in a general assembly, had acknowledged him as successor and grandson of the emperor Ferdinand, and as heir of Anne queen of Bohemia, in which quality he had been proclaimed sovereign of that kingdom.

This dispute was canvassed in several assemblies held by the electors and deputies; and the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, would have proceeded to the election of a king of the Romans without further delay; but the ambassadors objected to such precipitate measures, until they should know the pleasure of their masters on this subject. The elector-palatine endeavoured with all his might to delay the election, without, however, openly contending the right of Ferdinand; and in order to demonstrate his attachment to the Bohemians, attacked and defeated the count de Solms in his march through the Palatinate, with five hundred horse, to join the count de Buquey in Bohemia. This action, which he performed on pretence that they had entered his territories without permission, was followed by the defeat of Dampierre, who commanded a flying camp on the frontiers of Moravia and Austria: he had attempted to surprize the castle of Juliansitz, but his scheme miscarried through the vigilance and valour of the Moravian horse, which amounted to four thousand; and afterwards endeavoured to make a lodgment in Nielstburg, from whence being repulsed with loss, they pursued, overtook, and totally defeated him after an obstinate engagement, in which six hundred of his men were slain, so that he was fain to retreat in disorder to Vienna. Meanwhile, the count de Buquey made himself master of several places in Bohemia; and taking Piseck by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and ordered the governor to be hanged. The fate of this place overwhelmed the neighbouring towns with conformation, and many people retired with their effects to Prague; their terrors were augmented by a rumour, importating, that the count de Buquey intended to besiege Plizen; but this report was altogether without foundation.

During these transactions, the ambassadors of Saxony and Brandenburg received orders from their masters to proceed in the election of a king of the Romans without farther hesita-

1 Barke Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 474.  2 Spanheim. Memoir. l. i. p. 137.  3 Barke ubi supra.

(S) We shall adhere to the new fig. in the sequel of this history.
The history of Germany.

The majority of the princes murmured against the election of Ferdinand, wishing that the crown had been bestowed upon Maximilian of Bavaria, who might have been easily raised to that dignity, as two of the electors were of his own family, and two more attached to his interest; but none except the Augsburg princes were proponent in the electoral college; and the choice would have fallen upon the archduke Albert, had not his ill state of health rendered him unfit for the toils of government. Among the articles of capitulation signed by Ferdinand, were two additional clauses, importing, that he would never disturb the vicars of the empire in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or permit any person whatsoever to dispute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born and bred in Germany, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This last article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

C H A P. XVI.

Deducing the History to the Alliance concluded between Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the Protestant Princes.

F E R D I N A N D.

This election seemed to inflame the animosity of the Bohemians against Ferdinand. The states assembling at Prague on the twenty-ninth of August, resolved that they would never acknowledge him as their sovereign, but proceed to the election of a new king, and accordingly chose Frederic the fifth, elector-palatine, in that quality. This prince being apprised in form of their determination, demanded time to deliberate and consult his allies, the principal of whom were his father-in-law the king of England, and his two uncles prince Maurice and the duke of Bouillon. These last advised him to accept the crown, flattered, perhaps, with the prospect of seeing their nephew on a throne; and he hearkened to their advice, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James king of England, who used all his influence in diffusing him from receiving such a pernicious present, and even protested that he would give him no manner of assistance in such a rash undertaking. The count-palatine likewise desired to know the sentiments of the elector of Saxony, touching his promotion; and the answer being unsuitable to his own inclination, he addressed himself to the other princes and corresponding states assembled at Rotenburg, who counselled him to accept the crown, as well for the interest of his own house, as for that of the Protestant religion. Thus confirmed in his own opinion, he signified to the states of Bohemia, that having consulted his allies, he found them for the most part unanimous in favour of his election; and that he would, therefore, accept of the crown with the most grateful sentiments of acknowledgment to the states, who had bestowed upon him such an honourable mark of their esteem. He then made preparations for his journey to that kingdom, appointed the duke de Beaupois governor of the electorate in his absence, left a good body of troops under the command of John-Louis, count of Nassau, and having regulated all his other concerns in that country, set out with the electors, and upon the frontier of the Palatinate they were met by the deputies of Bohemia, who with twelve hundred horse conducted them to Prague.

The archbishop having retired to Budaewitz, from whence he refused to come and consecrate the new king, that ceremony was performed, on the fourth of November, by the administrator of the Hafites, and on the seventh of the same month the electors were also crowned. The name of king made no alteration in the behaviour of Frederic, who, in order to avert the form which he forewore must necessarily burst upon him, employed his whole attention in making preparations for war, and in strengthening himself with new alliances. Venice was the first power that acknowledged him king of Bohemia, and solder: • K he v enhuhl es . t . IX. p . 416. • Z eic h en Capitulation, p. 79. • L o n d o n. t. i. l. 4. c. 91.
The history of Germany.

item-Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, soon followed the example of that republic. He wait-
ed a favourable opportunity to conquer northern Hungary; was assured of the Grand Seign-
ior's protection; and, depending upon the diversion which the states of Bohemia, his allies,
would make in Austria, he in all haste passed the river Tisza with his army, at the head of
which he marched towards Caraffia. Gabor's sudden invasion of Hungary filled the whole
kingdom with terror: the places were unprovided with arms, the garrisons had been with-
drawn for the war in Bohemia, and Homonai, who commanded in Hungary, finding himself
unable to cope with the vaivode, retired to the frontiers of Poland, leaving Gabor master of
the country. He, accordingly, penetrated farther into the kingdom, in order to give the
people an opportunity of declaring in his favour, and in eight days reduced Caraffia and
Pilsen, to fo that the states of High Hungary, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, sent
deputies to offer their submission, provided they should be allowed to enjoy their privileges;
and he gladly acquiesced in that condition. Their example was soon followed by the towns
of Low Hungary, which sent their keys to the vaivode, who then took the route to Vienna,
bearing a standard of red damask, in which were represented two armed knights joining
hands, with a device importing Concord and Association (T). The archduke Leopold, who
commanded in Vienna, being apprised of Gabor's march, sent orders to the count de Buquoy
to repair with his army to the neighbourhood of that city. This general had taken Pilsen,
and intended to besiege Tabor; but that design miscarried, and he was obliged to retreat to
Moravia. The count de la Tour advanced towards the Imperial camp, and the prox-
imity of the two armies produced frequent skirmishes, till at length both were fain to de-
camp for want of provisions; when La Tour, knowing that Buquoy was recalled into Austria,
left very few troops in Bohemia, and took the route to Silesia, in order to join the Mor-
avians and wait for succours from prince Gabor. This junction being effected, he followed
the Austrians, whom he found intrenched at the distance of two miles from Vienna, and at-
tacked their intrenchments with great fury, they defended themselves for a long time with
equal obstinacy, until some casks of powder being blown up by accident, they imagined
themselves surrounded by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and universal disorder en-
fused. In this emergency Buquoy performed the part of a great general: he explained the
accident which had disconcerted them, confirmed those that wandered by his exhortations,
and rallying the fugitives in person, renewed the battle, which continued till night, when
either was retired with abundance of loss. Next day the attack was carried on, though
with less ardour; and La Tour, seeing no prospect of being able to force their entrench-
ments, ordered a retreat to be begun, leaving two thousand men upon the spot, whereas
the loss of the Austrians did not exceed six hundred.

While Buquoy was thus detained in Austria, Mansfeld retook several places in Bohemia,
Vinterburg, Prat & Pilsen, submitted to him, almost without resistance; and Bude-
vitz and Crumlaw were now the only towns in that kingdom which adhered to the house of
Austria; but the siege of these was an enterprise which Mansfeld was not strong enough to
undertake; he, therefore, contented himself with pillaging the adjacent country, and then
returned to Pilsen, of which he was governor.

At that time Gabor, having multiplied his conquests in Hungary, advanced at a great
time towards Presburg; and Forgati having informed the archduke of the danger that
threatened this important place, the baron de Tiffenbach was sent thither with a reinforce-
ment of a thousand men and three pieces of cannon. This officer took up his quarters in
the suburbs, where, by means of a thick fog, he was surprized by Gabor, who totally routed
his detachment, and summoned Forgati to surrender. The grandees of the kingdom, who
were then in the city, left the palatine at liberty to act according to his own judgment; in
consequence of which Presburg was surrendered, and a treaty concluded on these terms:
Gabor shall be acknowledged prince of Hungary; Forgati continue in his office of palatine;
the town and castle of Presburg be surrendered to Gabor; and liberty of confidence allowed
through all Hungary.

In the mean time, the Protestant electors, princes, and states of the empire assembled
at Nuremberg, whither the new king of Bohemia repaired in person with all his adherents.
The states of High and Low Austria, and almost all the Imperial towns, sent deputies to this
diet; and the emperor, knowing he had every thing to fear from such an assembly, sent
thither the count de Hoben-Zeitern, to manage his interests, and ward off the blows that
should be aimed at his authority. Accordingly, this commissioner explained to the states,
the pacific measures which his Imperial majesty had employed to quiet the troubles of Bo-
hemia; and the Protestants answered his memorial by a recapitulation of all the grievances
they had suffered from the courts of Vienna and Rome, and the Catholic league: they in-


The history of Germany:

a. The emperor restored peace to Bohemia without delay, to pay some regard to their complaints of mal-administration, and no longer give ear to some ministers of his council, whose sole aim was to foment discord between the Germanic body and its chief. The count perceived from this answer, that the assembly of Nuremberg was disposed to favour the elector-palatine; and as he could not prevail upon the princes who composed it, to observe a neutrality in the present war, he returned to Vienna to give an account of his mission. All Germany was divided between the emperor and the elector-palatine; even those princes who were united within the empire, and at peace in their own dominions, prepared for making war upon one another in Bohemia. The Catholic league assembled at Wurzburg.

b. The ambassadors of the emperor, the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Fries, the dukes of Bavaria, Lorrain, and Neuburg, together with the deputies of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, prelates, and the Catholic Imperial towns, were present at this assembly, where they deliberated upon means for preserving the peace of Germany, and for raising a certain number of troops, to enable the emperor to reduce the Bohemians.

Although Ferdinand’s party was in itself more powerful than that of his antagonist, he resolved to infuse succour with having recourse to the neighbouring powers. He obtained the pope’s successor to be levied on the clergy, and was affixed with troops by some Italian princes. The king of Spain promised to supply him with eleven thousand men, and undertook to make a powerful diversion in the Palatinate. The queen regent of France, who seemed to have forgot the maxim of that country, which had always favoured the enemies of the house of Austria, instead of troops, which she could not afford, sent ambassadors into Germany, in order to promote an accommodation. The king of Denmark and duke of Brunswick remained neutral; but Sigismund king of Poland, and the elector of Saxony, declared in favour of Ferdinand; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bohemian states and the new king, made great preparations for war. The emperor’s officers levied forces in Naples and Sicily, in Lorrain, the Catholic electorates, and his own hereditary dominions: the marquis de Spinola entered the Lower Palatinate with a body of twelve thousand troops; and the duke of Bavaria, at the head of five and twenty thousand, spread fear and conformation among the malcontents of Upper Austria. Next to the emperor, this duke was the most avowed enemy of the count palatine. The ancient jealousy subsisting between their families, Maximilian’s zeal for the Catholic religion, and his pretensions to the succession of the Austrian dominions, which he was afraid would be diffused into Austria, were so many motives to engage his whole power in fixing the crown of Bohemia upon the head of Ferdinand, whom he himself might possibly succeed in that dignity.

To counterbalance this powerful association, the palatine had secured the friendship of several princes, who promised to send him succours. The marquis of Brandenburg, Anspach, put himself at the head of thirteen thousand soldiers, with whom he traversed the High Palatinate; and marching along the Danube, entrenched himself in Lower Austria, within sight of the duke of Bavaria. Bethlen Gabor undertook to send ten thousand Hungarian into Bohemia, upon the frontiers of which were the prince D’Anhalt and the duke of Saxo-Weimar, with two bodies of troops, who joined the army of Louis and Mansfeld; so that all these confederations supported the hopes and courage of the elector.

We have already observed, that James the first, king of Great-Britain, had resolved to observe a neutrality in this dispute. Over and above his timorous disposition, which hindered him from engaging in quarrels of any sort, and his notions of indefeasible hereditary right, which he thought the Bohemians had infringed in favour of his son-in-law, he was swayed by other motives on this occasion; for he imagined that the two competitors for the crown of Bohemia would choose him as the arbitrator of their difference; and he was, besides, afraid of disobligeing the house of Austria, so as to break off his darling match between his son the prince of Wales, and Mary infanta of Spain. Nevertheless, by dint of solicitation, he was prevailed upon to allow some noblemen, at their own expense, to raise two thousand four hundred men for the service of his son in law. The command of these was given to Horace Vere, under whom the earls of Essex and Oxford served as captains.

By this time all Germany was in commotion, and the princes and cities were obliged to hold frequent consultations about providing for their own safety. Among others, the elector of Saxony raised troops for the defence of his own dominions; and being questioned by the Bohemians concerning the intent of these levies, he answered they were defined to defend the circle of Upper Saxony, and would act against none but such as should attack the states of that province. Soon after this declaration, he affixed at an assembly of the princes held at Weissenfelsen, at which were present the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, together with deputies from the elector of Fries, the duke of Bohemia, and the landgrave of Hesse.
They wrote a letter to the elector-palatine, exhorting him to resign the crown of Bohemia, otherwise they would oppose him with their whole force, and at the same time sent dispatches of the same import to all the states which had embraced his party (U). But receiving unsatisfactory answers, the assembly deliberated whether or not the palatine should be proscribed; though this measure was effectually opposed by the electors of Mentz and Saxony.

Mean while, the war continued to rage in Bohemia. Teiffenbach (X), commander of the Moravians, made himself master of Nielasburg; and Baguet, having attacked a body of Bohemians posted near Silfendorf, under the command of the baron de Pells, was repulsed with loss, although the baron loft his life in the action.

The operations on both sides were suspended by the arrival of the duke d'Angouleme, ambassadour from the king of France, who in an assembly of the princes and free towns at Ulm, delivered a long discourse, in which he offered the good offices of his master for the re-establishment of peace in Germany*. The deputies having acknowledged their obligation to his most Christian majesty, proceeded to deliberate upon means for restoring the tranquility of the empire; but as they could not agree upon the measures to be taken for deciding the dispute between the emperor and count palatine, it was resolved, that the Catholic league and Protestant union should mutually abstain from hostilities; and that in case any one state of either communion (excepting Bohemia and the incorporated provinces) should be attacked, the rest without distinction should fend succours to its assistance.

The emperor, seeing all his negotiations miscarried, sent a summons to the elector-palatine, commanding him, on pain of incurring his high displeasure, to desist from all acts of hostility, and relinquish his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia. At the same time, he addressed a monitory letters to the princes of the empire, in alliance with Frederic, to the officers who served in his army, and to the imperial towns which espoused his cause, observing, that as they were in effect rebels to the imperial authority, he had a right to execute against them the constitutions of the empire; but preferring clemency to the rigour of justice, he would pardon them for what was passed, provided they would abandon Frederic and the Bohemians; but should they continue to favour their enemies, he would proceed against them with all the vengeance of offended majesty.

It was not long before his mandate to the elector was answered by that prince, who affirmed that the crown of Bohemia being elective, the states of the kingdom have the sole right to judge whether or not his election was lawful; that they had an independent tribunal of their own, together with laws, privileges, and customs, different from the Germanic body, upon which they in no manner depended; therefore, the prince whom they had elected as their sovereign, could not be subject to the ban of the empire; that Ferdinand had acted contrary to the articles of his capitulation, in beginning to make war upon a prince of Germany, before he had been tried in the diet, and judged according to the imperial laws and capitulations, which he had sworn to observe before his coronation.

In the midst of this altercation, the duke of Bavaria, at the head of five and twenty thousand men, passed the Donau at Donaustadt, and advanced towards Brunsburg, while the marquis d'Anspach, lieutenant of the Protestant union, posted himself with thirteen thousand men between Lagenau and Tropeim; but no hostilities were committed on either side. From this camp the duke of Bavaria, by the emperor's order, marched into Upper Austria, to reduce the Protestants of that province, who, after having made some refusals, assembled at Lintz, and seeing no prospect of succour, resolved to submit to the emperor. Accordingly they were pardoned on their promising to renounce their alliance with the Bohemians, and take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their lawful sovereign.

The reduction of the Hungarians malcontents was not such an easy task. True it is, the emperor and Gabor had agreed to a truce for six months, during which it was hoped an accommodation might have been effected; but Ferdinand, seeing his forces augmenting every day, began to entertain hopes of reducing the Hungarians by force of arms. His army commanded by the duke of Bavaria, already amounted to fifty thousand men, ready

* KHEVENHULLER, l. 9. p. 856.  
* Mem. de M. de Villeroi, t. iii. p. 452.  

(U) These were the directors of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusign, the Protestant princes, the states of Austria, the counties of Wurtzburg, the nobility of the Rhine, France, and Swabia, the cities of Nuremberg, Strasburg, Ulm, Spire, and Worms, and the malcontents of Hungary and Transylvania, which last had, by their deputies, concluded at Prague an offensive alliance with the palatine (1).

(X) This Teiffenbach must not be confounded with another officer of the same name, who was attached to the emperor.

(1) Barre Hifi. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 489.
The History of Germany.

a to enter Bohemia by the northern side of that kingdom. Spinola, at the head of four and twenty thousand Spaniards or Wallons, had begun his march to conquer the Palatinate; and the emperor knew there was a good number of Hungarian noblemen attached to the house of Austria, besides those who, being disobliged by the contrary interest, waited for nothing but an opportunity to declare in his favour.

GABOR, apprized of their dispositions, assembled the stakes of the kingdom at Neubau’s, where they resolved to send ten thousand men into Bohemia, at the expiration of the truce; and in the mean time declared Belgrad Gabor king of Hungary, and appointed a day for his coronation at Presburg. The Roman Catholic noblemen opposed his elevation with all their power; and as they knew all of their communion were well withers to the house of Austria, prepared for making a stand at Hainburg against the partisans of this new usurper.

Bohemia was in universal agitation. Frederic’s army did not exceed thirty thousand men; a number sufficient to carry on a defensive war against the emperor: but the elector of Saxony, who had lately set an army on foot, harrassed the states of Bohemia and their sovereign with continual alarms; they, therefore, sent deputies to Dreifalt, intreating that prince to observe a perfect neutrality; and he replying, whether, it proceeded on pretence that it was his duty to affright the head of the empire against his rebellious subjects, they differed letters through Mfinia and Saxony, in which they exhorted the towns and states of those two provinces to oppose the enterprizes of their sovereign. The elector was so much incensed at this conduct of the Bohemians, and so eager to augment his dominions of Mfinia, that he entered this country at the head of twenty thousand men, made himself master of Gorlitz and several other towns, and inveighed against the elector, which having taken by assault after a siege of three weeks, he ordered forty of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. He met with the same success in subduing the whole province, and compelled the marquis of Jagenor, who commanded in it, to fly for refuge to Liiffa.

Frederic was not so much alarmed at the conquists of the elector of Saxony, as at the murmurs of the Bohemians, who, finding themselves disappoointed in their expectations from England, would neither heartily obey their king, nor resolve to own the emperor as their sovereign; for the duke of Bavaria, who was already in their country with an army of fifty thousand men, offered in the name of Ferdinand, a general amnesty, provided they would submit to the emperor, and revoke all they had done in favour of Frederic. To this proposal they replied, that they were resolved to defend their liberties at the hazard of their lives, and that having taken all the measures which human prudence could suggest, they depended upon Providence for the issue; which answer being reported to the duke, he, with marks of extreme indignation, said to the messenger, “Since the Bohemians are determined to perish, they shall perish.” Mean while, the elector-palatine saw himself reduced to a very disagreeable situation; for he was hemmed in by the Saxon army on the north, and the Imperialists on the south, so as to be in danger of seeing his troops perish for want of subsistence. In this emergency he had recourse to the advice of the count de la Tour, a man extremely fruitful in expedients, who counsellel him to send a body of Hungarian veterans Josef, the Elector of Saxony was against the count palatine.

c entered the country at the head of twenty thousand men, made himself master of Gorlitz and several other towns, and inveighed against the elector, which having taken by assault after a siege of three weeks, he ordered forty of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. He met with the same success in subduing the whole province, and compelled the marquis of Jagenor, who commanded in it, to fly for refuge to Liiffa.

d approved of the scheme, in consequence of which he sent five thousand Hungarians to the frontiers of Mfinia, beyond which, however, they could not penetrate, the elector having left a sufficient body of troops to defend that province; and he ordered the count de la Tour and the prince of Anhalt to cover the towns which were in the route of the army, and to throw garrisons into them when they should be obliged to retire, that by these means the progress of the enemy might be retarded.

e in the mean time, Spinola with five and twenty thousand men made an irruption into the Palatinate, surprized Crutzbach, took Oppenheim by assault, and seized all the provisions of the count-palatine, who with his allies loudly exclaimed against this infraction of the agreement at Ulm. In the midst of these transactions, Henry Frederic de Nassau joined the marquis d’Anspach with eight thousand infantry, and one thousand horse; and a council was held, in which some officers proposed to give battle to the Spaniards; but this proposal was rejected by the majority, and a misunderstanding arose between the marquis and the English, of which Spinola taking the advantage, plundered the Palatinate with impunity.

But, without pretending to give a minute detail of all the actions performed by detached bodies, let us observe the operations of the principal armies. That of the emperor, composed of fifty thousand men, commanded by the count de Buquoy and the duke of Bavaria, having in one month reduced almost all the places in Bohemia, encamped near Pil-

f Barré Hist. d’Allemagne, t. ix. p. 496. * Bell. l. 4 p. 441. * Londorp. t. i. i. 4. c. 144.

getz,
The history of Germany.

for, which was garrisoned by Mansfeld, as if they had intended to besiege that city; but the feaçon being too far advanced for such an enterprise, the generals resolved to continue their route to Prague, towards which place they accordingly marched in order of battle, and their rear was attacked by Mansfeld, who, after a very warm action, was repulsed with loss.

FREDERIC, who with thirty thousand men was intrenched at Rockensien, no sooner understood the intention of the Imperialists, than he passed the little river of Pilfen, and followed the enemy, with whom he incessantly skirmished, until both armies arrived in the neighbourhood of Prague; and the count-palatine, foreseeing that he should be obliged to hazard a general action, sent his son Charles-Lewis to the elector of Brandenburg, who received and entertained him with the most generous hospitality.

FREDERIC, resolving to stand upon the defensive, took possession of a rising ground, upon which he drew up his forces in order of battle; and then rode through the ranks exhorting the soldiers to do their duty, and ordered the gates of Prague to be shut, that they might see they had no resource but in their own valour. The duke of Bavaria, perceiving their excellent order and determined countenance, called a council of war, to determine whether or not it would be proper to attack them; and this question being unanimously decided in the affirmative, the army was drawn up in three unequal lines; and the baron de Tilly, who was at the head of the Bavarian horse, on the left of the first line, ordered to begin the action. He accordingly passed a rivulet and morass that covered the right of the Bohemians, and charged them with great fury, but met with such a reception as made him retire with great dilator. Buquoy then advanced with a large reinforcement to support him, and was encountered by Frederic himself, who enthusiast his efforts, and in his turn attacked him with uncommon valour, so that his troops gave way and fled in great confusion. From that moment victory would have declared for the count-palatine, had he restrained his men from pursuing the fugitives; but so inconsiderate was their ardour upon this occasion, that Buquoy observing the victors as much disordered as the vanquished, rallied some squadrons of horse, and seconded by colonel Verdugo, returned to the charge with incredible impetuosity. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the elector, who exerted extraordinary courage and activity in reducing his troops to order, and opposing this torrent, they bore down all before them; and Frederic being abandoned by his soldiers, was forced to retire. At the same, his left wing was broken by the duke of Bavaria; and the rest of his army being overwhelmed by the number of the foe, betook themselves to flight, leaving to the Imperialists their baggage, cannon, and five thousand dead upon the field of battle, besides a great number who were drowned in the Moldau. The elector finding it impracticable to rally the wreck of his army retired into Prague, from whence he departed that same night for Silisia, with his wife, children, and most valuable effects. The Imperialists, whose loss did not exceed five hundred men, encamped under the walls of that place, which submitted to the clemency of the duke of Bavaria, who entering the city in triumph, ordered the gates to be kept shut for six hours, that the authors of the revolt might not escape; and La Tour's wife and son were sent to prison, together with a great number of nobleman and citizens (Y).

FREDERIC's defeat was no sooner known in England, than the people of that kingdom, and even the parliament, began to murmur at the king's indifference towards his fon-in-law; but James was so effectually amuèd by the address of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, who assured him that he would ruin the match between the prince of Wales and the infants, if he did not keep aloof in the affair of the Palatinate, that he still refused to take any material steps in favour of the elector: indeed he sent lord Digby to Vienna, in order to negotiate an accommodation. That ambassador being admitted to an audience, demanded that the elector-palatine should be re-established in the dominions which he possessed before he was elected king of Bohemia; and that the emperor should postpone the intended ban against him for some time, during which his father-in-law would do his utmost endeavours to oblige him to make fruitful satisfaction to the head of the empire. Ferdinand, whose chief aim was to gain time, answered, that he was very well disposed to pay the most profound regard to the recommendation of his Britannic majesty, and would willingly pardon the count-palatine, provided he would make proper satisfaction for his past misconduct, but as the war had been undertaken by the advice, and with the assistance of several princes of Germany, he could not conclude any treaty without their con-

---

(Y) When an officer, who accompanied Frederic in his flight, endeavoured to console him on his defeat, "I have not (said he) forgot who I am: there are virtues which can only be acquired from misfortune; and then no prince can know without having experienced disaster." (1)

The history of Germany.

a sent, though he would convoke a diet at Ratisbon, and communicate the resolutions of it to the king of England. A few days after he delivered this answer, he received a letter from the infant Isabella, announcing the death of the archduke her husband, which happened at Bruges on the thirty-first of July, and beseeching him to regard the intercession which had been made in favour of Frederic. On the back of this intreaty Digby presented a memorial, in which he demanded a truce for the Lower Palatinate, in consideration of which Frederic should order Mansfeld to desist from his operations, revoke the commission which he had given to John-George marquis of Jagendorf, and put the emperor in possession of Tobor and Wittig, the only places which still held out against him in Bohemia.

FERDINAND, by letters to the king of England and Isabella, allured them, that in consequence of their mediation, he would treat of a truce upon these terms, before the expiration of which a general peace might be negotiated; but at the same time, he told Digby that he could not grant the suspension he had demanded, without the consent of the duke of Bavaria, who was then in the High Palatinate, whither he advised the ambassador to repair with his proposal. Digby forthwith set off for that country; and when he explained, his errand he was told by the duke, that there was no occasion to negotiate a truce for a province which was almost totally subdued, and that he would take such measures as would in a little time extinguish the war. In effect, he had by this time no body to cope with but Mansfeld, who being obliged to quit Bohemia, had retired to the Upper Palatinate. The elector of Saxony had over-run Lusatia, the count de Busquey had subdued Moravia; but Sitega was still kept firmly attached to Frederic, by the influence of the duke of Jagendorf, one of the most powerful noblemen of that province.

In this conjunction, the emperor giving way to his resentment against the princes in alliance with the palatine, put him and all his confederates to the ban of the empire, by an edict declaring Frederic deposed of all his dominions, of the dignity of elector, and the honours of the empire, which he had hitherto enjoyed; and prohibiting John-George duke of Jagendorf, Christian prince d’Anhalt, George-Frederick count de Holstein, together with the other princes and noblemen, who had affixed the palatine either with their persons or their arms. This effect made an impression upon the states of Sitega, which, at the intercession of the elector of Saxony, were pardoned by Ferdinand, after they had renewed the oath of allegiance, disbanded their troops, and obliged themselves to pay within the year three hundred thousand florins, for the occasions of his imperial majesty.

The elector-palatine had quitted this country, leaving the princes his wife at Culmruin, where she was delivered of a son called Maurus, and repaired to the king of Denmark, who received him with open arms, and undertook to mediate an accommodation at the court of Vienna; but the more Frederic yielded in the course of this negotiation, the more was exacted by the ministers of the emperor, who not only insisted upon his renouncing the crown of Bohemia, but likewise upon his ceding the Upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria: they, moreover, demanded, that he would reimburse that prince, and the house of Asburg for the expenses of the war, and repair to Vienna, in order to make what personal satisfaction the emperor should think proper to require. These proposals were too hard: to be accepted, and some time was consumed in manifestoes and other futile attempts towards a peace, while the duke of Bavaria, who was charged with the execution of the imperial ban, entered the Upper Palatinate, and at Straubung joined the baron de Tilly, who had all along observed the motions of Mansfeld. This last officer, at the head of eight thousand men, had, for some months kept the war alive, not without extraordinary success; but understanding that the duke of Bavaria had passed the Danube at Straubung, and that several places in the Upper Palatinate had submitted to his orders, he traversed the Naab, and encamped upon the river Preguitz, in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg; where, having intrenched himself with a view to wait for an opportunity of penetrating into the Lower Palatinate by

Franconia, he was suddenly inveted by the duke; and being destitute of provisions and ammunition, saw it would be impossible to retreat before such a considerable army, without expooting himself to a certain overthrow. In this disagreeable situation he had recourse to Fratagem, and signified to the duke of Bavaria, that he was willing to abandon the service of Frederic, and join the emperor with his army: he even drew up the articles of the treaty, demanded provisions and money, part of which he actually received, and admitted the Imperialists into Feldhausen, in token of his sincerity, and so artfully lulled the succession of the duke, that he found means to decamp without his knowledge and reach the Lower Palatinate, where his presence soon changed the face of affairs.

A truce for five weeks had been concluded between Spinola, general of the Spanish army in that province, and Horace Vere, who commanded the troops of the elector. The

---

1 Rushworth, t. i. p. 37. 2 Id. ibid. 3 Puffendorf, sec. 32. 4 London, t. ii. l. 6. c. 1. & 2. 5 Barke Hall, d’Allemagne, t. ix. p. 538. 6 Heiss. l. 3. c. 9.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. G g g governs
The history of Germany.

governors of the Low Countries made the king of England believe that this truce was granted to his solicitation; but the emperor's real reason for consenting to it, was that he might have time to send forces into the Lower Palatinate, in the room of those which Spina was obliged to withdraw into Brabant to overawe the Dutch. Accordingly, Gonsales de Cordova, who succeeded to the command, was soon reinforced to the amount of eighteen thousand men; and Vere, being obliged to retire to Worms, he had no other enemy to fear, so that he took Stein, Bademburg, and Keiserlautern, and had already reduced Frankental to extremity; when Mansfeld, haftening to its succour, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat.

FREDERIC was at that time in Holland, where he had been received rather like a conqueror than a fugitive, and accommodated with a monthly allowance of ten thousand florins for his subsistence. He had retired to this country that he might be near England, from whence he still expected assistance and protection; but finding James as much as ever averse to any effectual engagement in his favour, he addressed himself to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who had a personal interview at Segher, where the palatine was present, together with the ambassadors of Brandenburg, the Protestant princes, and the states of Holland. Whatever were the deliberations of this assembly, certain it is, the king of Denmark undertook to send a magnificent embassy to Vienna, to solicit the emperor in favour of Frederic; and to his remonstrances the ministers of Ferdinand replied, that a diet was already summoned to meet at Ratibon, where such measures would be taken on that subject as should be agreeable to the German princes. The king of England likewise complained of the invasion of the Palatinate, as a breach of the promise which Ferdinand had given, and explained his sentiments touching the satisfaction which the emperor had a right to expect from his son-in-law, observing at the same time, that in case his mediation should be rejected, he would at length have recourse to arms in favour of the elector. The emperor, who knew his disposition too well to be alarmed at these menaces, continued still to amuse him with the hopes of peace, and sent the count de Schwartzzenburg to England, in order to negotiate the conditions of a truce.

In the mean time, he dispatched the count de Buquoy into Hungary, to renew the truce with Bethleem Gabor, whom he would have honoured with the title of prince of Hungary, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins; but the vayvoe demanding other advantages which were refused, both sides prepared for war, which was renewed with great animosity. Buquoy invested and took Presburg upon capitulation, and many other places surrendered to him on the same terms; while the marquis de Colalde reduced a number of towns and castles in Low Hungary, to the dominion of the house of Austria. At length, Buquoy undertook the siege of Neubauf, which was defended with great gallantry. The count de la Tour, being detached with six thousand men from the army of Gabor, fell upon a convoy guarded by two thousand Auffrians, who being put in disorder, Buquoy mounted his horse in order to rally and support them; but in spite of all his endeavours, they were totally routed, and he himself lost his life in the engagement; so that the Imperialists were obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation to Gotta upon the Danube, after having abandoned their train of artillery. Gabor, taking the advantage of their discomfiture and absence, made some new conquests, and being joined by Jagerndorf with his Moravian and Siebenians, resolved to retake Presburg, which was accordingly invested; but Colalde defended the place with such vigour, that they were fain to relinquish the enterprise, after the trenched had been opened a whole month.

About this time the elector Palatine, who had returned to Holland, was informed that the emperor had ordered the principal authors of the revolt in Bohemia to be put to death; nine of the directors of that kingdom having been beheaded, and two and thirty hanged. The execution of so many zealous adherents could not but be very grievous to Frederic, who, seeing he had nothing to expect from his father-in-law, resolved to take other measures for retrieving his dominions. He was still master of Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankenthal; and count Mansfeld, though retired into Alsace, was ready to enter the Lower Palatinate: he therefore engaged prince Chriftern of Brunfick to levy an army in Wüfphalia, and endeavoured to raise the count; and made a contract of the same nature with the prince of Baden-Durlac. Accordingly Chriftern took the field, and made himself master of some places in the county of La Mark; from thence he marched to the electorate of Mentz, and afterwards committed horrible devastations in the dominions of the landgrave of Hesse-Darmfadt. On the other hand, the landgrave of Hesse-Coffel ravaged the country belonging to the counts of Waldeck, on pretence that they had received an investiture from the emperor of some siefs which he held of his landgravate: besides, a dispute subsisted between him and the landgrave of

---

* Khevenhuller, t. ix. p. 1395. 7 Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 515. 8 Hain. 9 l. 3. 9. Darmfadt,
The history of Germany.

Darmstadt, about the sovereignty of Marburg; and, as the emperor favoured his rival, he embraced the party of the count palatine. The counts of Waldeck and the landgrave of Darmstadt complained of these hostilities to Ferdinand, who ordered the duke of Brunswick-Halberstadt and the landgrave of Hesse to lay down their arms, on pain of being proceeded against with all the rigour of the law: but the count d'Anhalt, who commanded the troops of Celone, took a more effectual method, by joining the forces of Menz and Darmstadt, and marching across Wetterau to the valley of Buseck, in quest of Chrisliam, whom he found entrenched in a wood. He immediately commanded his carabiniers to alight and attack the Halberadians, who, being broke and defeated, retired in disorder to the territories of Paderborn and Mansfeld, burning and pillaging the whole country. As for the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, when he saw Anhalt near to his dominions, he, by a letter, desired to know his intentions; when the other replied, that he had no orders to enter Hesse, and exhorted him to lay down his arms, and live in peace with the landgrave of Darmstadt. Mean while, Chrisliam committed great excesses in Wettphalia: he ruined Pakefest and Bereure, and ordered the inhabitants to be hanged: he destroyed the country with fire and sword; and, retiring to Lippe, treated all the villages as a conquered province, laying taxes and levying contributions at pleasure. The licence and impunity of his soldiers, encouraged a number of profligate ruffians to infest in his service; so that his army, being thus augmented, soon became superior to that of Anhalt, and, over-running the bithoprics of Mansfeld and Paderborn, filled every place with carnage and deflation (Z). If the emperor, whose whole arm was to humble the elector palatine, and all his partizans, resolved to employ his whole forces on the Rhine; and for that purpose granted advantageous conditions to Bethlem Gabor, who, in consequence of a treaty concluded at Nielsburg, renounced the title and dignity of king of Hungary, promised to restore the crown and royal ornaments within eighteen days, and retire to Caffoia; and bound himself, by oath, to give no further disturbance to the house of Austria. Ferdinand, on his part, promised to create Gabor a prince of the empire; to let him enjoy, during life, a vicountship in Hungary; to cede, in his favour, the dutchies of Oppeln and Raithen in Silisia; to mortgage some castles in Hungary for the payment of a certain sum; and to pay yearly fifty thousand florins, to maintain the garrisons of these places, the folders of which should take the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand and Gabor. During these negotiations the marriage of the emperor with Eleonora de Gonzaga, sister of the duke of Mantua, was celebrated at Oedemborn; and, after the rejoicings, the affairs of Hungary were regulated in a diet, where Ferdinand granted a general amnesty, and liberty of conscience to the Protestants.

In the mean time, Mansfeld, who had been obliged to retire from the Lower Palatinate by the superior force of count Tilly, marched into the bithopric of Strasbourg, took the rich abbey of Mour-Mansfeld, made himself master of Hagenau, and opened the trenches before Sarrewe; but the besieged having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise; and, dividing his army into small bodies, laid waste the whole province of Alsace. It was not, however, upon the valour and activity of Mansfeld alone that the elector palatine depended: he entered great hopes from the power and influence of George-Frederic, marquis of Baden-Douarlach, who espoused his interest out of renittment against the emperor, who had adjudged the half of the marquise of Baden to William, son of Edward, signified the Fortunate. This decision he considered as a grievances, because Edward having married a simple gentlewoman, her children were disqualified from inheriting the marquise: having therefore resigned his dominions to his eldest son, he levied an army of thirteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and prepared a considerable train of artillery, with all forts of warlike munition. The elector palatine, elevated with the news of this armament, departed from Holland, traversed France in disguise, and arrived at Landau, where he was received by the governor count de Lovenstein, and immediately joined by Mansfeld, with whom he forthwith passed the Rhine, and obliged Tilly to raise the siege of Dilsberg. This general afterwards encamped in the front of a forest, near Wijtelbach, in order to prevent their junction with the marquis of Baden-Douarlach; and Mansfeld, in order to drive them from this advantageous post, contrived an ambuscade, which succeeded to his wish. He posted his vanguard at Mingelheim; and,

\[ \text{Carafa. p. 117.} \]
\[ \text{Ludolph. l. 21. c. 3.} \]
\[ \text{Carafa. p. 127.} \]

\( (Z) \) Chrisliam, or Chrisliam, duke of Brunswick, signified the Fortunate, called himself the friend of God, and called a Diet of princes. Bearing that the Catholic party prevailed, he would lose the bithopric of Halberstadt, of which he was in possession; he declared for the elector palatine, and fixing a glove of the elector in his hat, he swore he would either die or re-establish Frederic in his dominions. He used to threaten the peasants with mutilation, in order to prevent their revolt, and tell them by way of rallying, that a countryman who was born for the plough, ought to be contented with one natural hand and foot, and supply the other with wood (1).

\[ \text{Heiff. l. 3. c. 9. Burgdorff. part 1. ditt. 1. p. 80.} \]

\( \text{having} \)
having disposed his artillery, detached some squadrons to skirmish with the enemy, before whom they pretended to fly. Tilly fell into the snare; for, having pursued them as far as Müngelheim, Mansfeld appeared upon their flank, plied them with his artillery, and attacked them withsuch fury, that they were utterly defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, and all their baggage.

The marquis of Baden Dourlach no sooner received the news of this victory, than, believing this was a proper opportunity to signalize himself, he, instead of joining Mansfeld, according to the advice and desire of Frederic, marched directly to Tilly; who had by this time posted himself between Vimpfen and Heilbronn, and was reinforced by some Spanish regiments under the command of Gonzales de Cordova: for Mansfeld had given him time to rally his troops, by undertaking the siege of Ladenburg. The Bavarian general did not define the engagement, which began with equal fury on both sides, and at first the marquis had some advantage; but at length Tilly, after having fulfilled several repulses, broke his main body, and gained a complete victory over the marquis, who lost all his cannon and baggage, together with two thousand men, and with great difficulty escaped to Mansfeld with a small party of horse.

The count was still employed in the siege of Ladenburg, which he at last took by assault, and put all the garrison to the sword: then, leaving the elector to repair the works, he repassed the Rhine in order to relieve Hagenau, which was invested by the archduke Leopold. Having advanced as far as Frankenthal, he surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of a thousand men; and this success filled the archduke’s army with such terror and confusion that all his efforts were insufficient to detain one soldier; so that he was obliged to abandon his artillery, provisions, and ammunition: two thousand of his men were slaughtered in their retreat towards Dresenheim; the rest of his army fled to Dachheim, Molsheim, and Saverne; and the considerable magazines which Leopold had prepared at Bijfelwardt, fell into the hands of the elector. Mansfeld, having performed this exploit, crossed the Rhine again; and, being joined by Frederic and the marquis of Baden, marched with an army of twenty thousand men into the country of Darmstadt, which was abandoned to plunder, the landgrave himself being defeated and taken prisoner. But their progress was soon checked by Tilly, who, being reinforced, advanced with his light cavalry, and, attacking their rear, obliged them to retreat with great loss into the forest of Lorbé, from whence they repaired to the Palatinate in great disorder, being altogether defi her of money and provisions.

FREDERIC, having now no other resource, wrote to the duke of Brunswick to come and join him with his troops. That prince had ravaged the whole country situated upon the river Lippe: being supported by the Dutch, he had taken several towns in the territory of Paderborn, and fortified himself in Lipphadt, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Here, however, he was in danger of being cooped up by Anhalt, reinforced with ten thousand men from the Low Countries, had not the states of Holland made a diversion in his favour, by assembling all their troops at Nimacuen; in consequence of which, the archduchess was soon able to recall the Spaniards: so that Chriftern was ready to take the field again, when he received the elector’s orders.

He accordingly began his march, levying contributions and plundering the country through which he passed. Having traversed the territory of Cauffel, and the circle of the Upper Rhine, he advanced towards Frankfort upon the Maine, while Tilly and Gonzales waited for him at Hanau: but the duke, changing his route, marched to Urfel, where he employed his men in building a bridge over the river; and Tilly, passing it at Aichaffenburg, approached him in order of battle. Chriftern was not backward to engage, and the fight was for a long time maintained with equal courage on both sides; but the issue was fatal to the duke, who was entirely defeated, and found great difficulty in escaping with five thousand troops of horse to Benfild, whither the count of Mansfeld had advanced to join his forces.

This defeat gave the finishing stroke to the party of Frederic, who, at the solicitation of the elector of Saxony and Maurice prince of Hesse, set at liberty the landgrave of Darmstadt. The marquis of Dourlach, disheartened at so many disasters, disbanded his troops and retired to Hochelberg; while the elector, Mansfeld, and Chriftern, retreating into Lower Alfaace, were hospitably received, and supplied with all necessities, by the city of Strassburg, which had been always attached to the Protestant cause.

All these successes could not disperse the diquity of Ferdinand, who still dreaded a reverse of fortune while Mansfeld and Brunswick were in the service of the count palatine. As he suspected that several princes of Germany waited only for a favourable opportunity to espouse the cause of his antagonist, and that the kings of England and Denmark might at length engage heartily in the elector’s interest, he durst not put in execution the design he had formed.
ed of transferring the palatine electorate to the ducal house of Bavaria. In answer to the
follicitations that were daily made in behalf of Frederic, he continually declared, that the pa-
latine could expect no favour while he retained in his service proscribed partizans, who laid
waste whole provinces, in contempt of the laws and constitutions of the empire; but that,
if he would dismiss Erichfried and Mansfeld, the emperor would pay proper regard to the me-
diation of England and Denmark. Trusting to this declaration, the unhappy elector com-
plied with the advice of his father-in-law; and, in an evil hour, depriving himself of these
two enterprising and indefatigable officers, retired to Sedan, the residence of his uncle the
marchal de Bouillon. This was the most imprudent step he had ever taken, and diametri-
cally opposite to the policy of all princes, who, in order to facilitate a peace, never fail to
increase their preparations for war.

While Frederic in this manner contributed to the ruin of his own affairs, count Tilly
finnished the conquest of the Palatinate by the reduction of Heidelberg and Mannheim, from
whence the famous library of the elector was sent to the duke of Bavaria, who kept part of
the books for his own use, and made a present of the rest to the vatican at Rome. At the
same time the archduke Leopold, having taken Brīse, passed the Rhine, made himself master
of Haguenau, Landau, and Weißenburg, re-established the bishop of Spire, took Germersheim,
which he abandoned to plunder; then repassing the river, executed the sentence of the Au-
lie council in favour of William marquis of Bade-Baden, who was no sooner settled in his
dominions, the possession of which had been disputed by George-Frederic, than he restored
the Catholic religion in the marquise of Baden, from whence it had been long exiled.
Worms, Landau, and the other cities which had favoured the elector-palatine, now receiv-
ed Imperial garrisons; the revolution became general, Frankenthal alone being fared out of
compliance for the governors of the Low Countries, who thought such an insult of lenity
might forward the peace.

During these transactions, Mansfeld and the duke of Brunswick marched towards Lorrain,
where the head of an army consisting of ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse, with four-
teen pieces of ordnance, and seven hundred baggage men, encamped above Messis, in order to deliberate
upon their next expedition. While they continued in this situation, Mansfeld was mandated to
denter into the service of the king of France; but his terms were so high, that Lewis XIII. did
not think proper to comply with them, and the negotiation being broke off, the count con-
tinued his route to the neighbourhood of Sedan, where the duke de Bouillon, chief of the
French Calvinists, employed all his address in persuading him to take the command of that
party, which was then upon the decline: the emperor dreading his return into Germany,
attempted to buy his friendship with a pension and considerable presents; the archduke's
fearing he would fall upon Luxembourg, sent very advantageous proposals to him, on the
part of the king of Spain; the king of England made the most pressing inferences to dissuade
him from abandoning the elector-palatine; the states of Holland courted his affiance in
raising the siege of Berg; and finally, the Friesians entreated him to engage him in their interests,
proposing to inveigle him with the command of their army: so that this fickle man, without
either arms or money, or allies, was, at one time, equally freeze and seduced by all the chief powers of Europe.
He resiled, however, all these tempting offers, and resolved to penetrate into France, in order to support the reformed of that kingdom; but Gonzales having passed the Rhine to protect Luxembourg, joined the duke de Nevers, who had raised some troops in order to oppose the count and the duke of Brunswick, and following them into Thierache, a battle ensued, in which Mansfeld was entirely defeated, after having
left five thousand killed and wounded upon the field. The Spaniards pursued the fugitives,
from whom they flew a great number, and took abundance of prisoners, with the whole bag-
gage and artillery: yet notwithstanding this discomfiture, in which the duke of Brunswick
loft an arm, Mansfeld, with the troops which he could rally, marched with great expedi-
tion to the affiance of the Dutch, and actually compelled Spinola to raise the siege of Ber-
gen-op-Zoom.

MANSFIELD being thus disabled from giving Ferdinand any farther disturbance, the
Imperialists made themselves masters of Graz, which was the last place in Bohemia that held
out for the elector-palatine; and that kingdom being wholly reduced, the emperor pub-
lished a secon edit for apprehending those who were proscribed, and for prosecuting such
rebels as had not yet been tried: some of these having consulted their safety in flight, were
found guilty of treason, outlawed, and their effects were confiscated for the use of the em-
peror. Others, who stood their trial, were condemned to death; but the emperor changed
their punishment into perpetual imprisonment. These measures being taken, Ferdinand
declared, that for the future there should be none but Catholic magistrates through all his
hereditary dominions; and this resolution was signified to the governor of Prague by the

---

The history of Germany.

prince de Liechtenstein, viceroy of Bohemia, who likewise, by the emperor's order, gave notice that all the ministers of the Augsburg confession should leave the city in four hours, and be for ever exiled from the hereditary countries. In consequence of this mandate the Protestant churches were shut up, and the administration of the university vested in the Jesuits, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the elector of Saxony, protector of the Augsburg confession, who, in letters to the prince of Liechtenstein, and the elector of Mentz, complained of these alterations. Besides these, the emperor had resolved to make other regulations, about which he was desirous of consulting the electors and princes of the empire; for which purpose he summoned a diet to meet at Ratisbon, where, however, he took care that a majority of his own friends should be present; for his chief design was to transfer the palatine electorate to the person of Maximilian duke of Bavaria. Accordingly the diet was no sooner opened, than the emperor made a long detail of Frederic's crimes and misfortunes, for which he had been proscribed and deprived of the electoral dignity, which, by the law called Commisorial, having devolved to his Imperial majesty, he now, from the plenitude of his power, transferred it to the person of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, in consideration of that prince's great services during the late war.

This proposal met with great opposition from the Spaniards, who were by no means inclined to aggrandize the house of Bavaria, the ancient rival of the Austrian family, or to disoblige the king of England, with whom they were at that time heartily disposed to enter into alliance, by concluding the marriage of the infanta with the prince of Wales. As for the electors and other princes, they were differently swayed by their different motives and views of interest. The archbishop of Mentz, who had been long an inveterate enemy of the palatine, eagerly wished for the Bergsfaul; the elector of Cologne favoured his brother the duke of Bavaria; the archbishop of Trier being Frederic's professed enemy, desired nothing so much as to see him entirely deprived of his dominions, and to obtain some portion of the spoil; the archbishop of Salzburg, whose country lay between the emperor and the duke of Bavaria, durst not disoblige such powerful neighbours; the landgrave of Darmstadt wanted an opportunity to secure the favour of Ferdinand, who was to judge in his dispute about Marburg; and the elector of Saxony being incensed against the emperor, for having expelled the Protestants from Bohemia, would not be present at the diet; but he and the elector of Brandenburg sent thither deputies to declare, that they would never consent to the intended investiture of the duke of Bavaria. Wolfgang William, duke of Neuburg, loudly complained, that, contrary to the disposition of the golden bull, a distant relation should succeed to the inheritance of a criminal, to the prejudice of the nearest kinmen, who were innocent; and, in his anwser to the emperor's proposal, observed, that although the elector-palatine might have deserved such punishment as Ferdinand meant to inflict, the manner of proceeding against him, appeared unlawful, as he had neither been legally summoned, tried, nor condemned; and, as in cases of the least importance, according to the capitulation which his Imperial majesty had sworn to observe, and which was deemed a fundamental law of the empire, the accused is always judged by his peers, it was highly reasonable, that in cases of great consequence, the same rule should be obeyed. Besides, to transfer the electorate to the Duke of Bavaria, in prejudice of the palatine's children, brother, and nearest kinmen, who had given no cause of offence to the emperor, would be an unjust violation of the laws of the empire, and the custom always observed on such occasions, and introduce an innovation destructive to the fundamentals of electoral succession (A).

As these arguments had no weight with the emperor, the duke composed a second remonstrance, in which he solemnly appealed to his Imperial majesty's paternal clemency and patriotism, and represented, that the intended translation would infallibly prove a source of jealousy and distrust between the chief and the members of the empire, and sow the seeds of another cruel war, as the kings and princes, allies and relations of the palatine house, would certainly use their utmost efforts in the maintenance of its rights and pretensions (B).

The emperor, notwithstanding such exertions, continued inflexibly attached to his purpose and promise, and foreseeing that his proposal would be sanctioned by a majority of the suffrages, he solemnly conferred the electoral dignity on Maximilian duke of Bavaria; but at the same time promised to convocate another diet, in which the rights and pretensions of the palatine's children and relations should be examined and regulated, either by accom-

(A) While Ferdinand was employed in anfowing this remonstrance, the ambassadors of the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Helfenstein, and Mecklenburg, with the deputies of the hanse-towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Lauenburg, held an assembly in Lower Saxony, and engaged in an association for the defense of that province; and Christian, duke of Brunswick-Hallsteat, was created captain-general of the army of the confederates.

Cesena, p. 158. modation
The history of Germany.

a modatation or form of law. Then the duke of Bavaria was brought into the assembly, and kneeling by the emperor, from whose hands having received the electoral cap and mantle, he took the usual oath upon the evangelist's; but the deputies of Saxony and Brandenburg, the duke of Neuburg, and the Spanish ambassador, refused to affix at this investiture. The new elector was put in possession of all the Upper Palatinate, except the bailiwicks of Barensheim and Weiden, which were reserved for the duke of Neuburg; and at that time these benefits were limited to the person of Maximilian, after whose death the natural succession should take place; but the prosperity of Ferdinand, upon whom fortune smiled from every quarter, soon inspired him with other ideas. Perceiving Frederick and his party utterly abashed, he divided his spoils at pleasure. He gave to Maximilian that part of the Lower Palatinate, which is on the farther side of the Rhine, in exchange for Upper Austria, which had been mortgaged to him for one hundred and fifty thousand rix-dollars: to the king of Spain he abandoned the rest of the Lower Palatinate, except the bailiwick of Germerbeim, with its dependencies, which he bestowed upon his son the archduke Leopold William, bishop of Strauburg: the landgrave of Darmstadt was presented with the bailiwicks of Ursberg and Umstadt. The archbishop of Mainz regained possession of what the palatine held in the Bergstrasse by mortgage from his bishops; and the bishops of Worms and Speyer, together with the grand master of the Teutonic order, as neighbours, were not forgotten in this general distribution.

b The king of England, seeing his son-in-law stripped of his electorate, began to wake from his intoxication, and refused to accommodate which had been interrupted. The city of Frankenthal had been long vexed by count Tilly, who was obliged to raise the siege on account of the rigorous season; but Genoese intended to open the trenches before it in the beginning of the next campaign. James, therefore, concluded a truce for eighteen months with the king of Spain, and the archduches governing of Flanders, in whose hands Frankenthal should be sequestered during that period, on condition, that if a reconciliation between the emperor and the palatine could not be effected before the expiration of the truce, the town should be restored in the same condition in which the Spaniards had received it.

c About this time the Imperial court determined the dispute between Maurice landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and Lewis landgrave of Darmstadt, touching the succession of Lewis the Old, landgrave of Marburg: by the decree Maurice was commanded to return to Lewis the whole inheritance in one and twenty days: and the vassals of the county of Marburg were abdolved of the oaths they had taken to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Immediately after this decision, Ferdinand being informed that the zeal with which the elector of Saxony had declared for the Protestants, was no other than a pretext to cover a grudge he had conceived against the emperor, who had not reimbursed him for the money he had expended during the war in Lusatia: Ferdinand, I say, being apprised of this motive, promised to indemnify him according to his own desire, provided he would abandon the party of the Evangelics, and unite himself to the house of Austria; and they concluded an agreement, in which it was stipulated that the elector should enjoy the revenues of Lusatia, until he should be indemnified for the expenses of the war; for it was not till thirteen years after this agreement, that it was settled upon him in toto male, by a treaty concluded at Gorlitz.

d In the mean time the states of Lower Saxony being assembled at Lueneburg, the Imperial commissioners repaired, and demanded that the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, should either be obliged to accept of the annuity which the emperor had offered, or quit the frontiers of that province. In compliance with this demand, the states, who dreaded that their circle should become the seat of war, ordered the duke to retire without delay, on pain of being treated as an enemy; and he accordingly decamped, in order to join Mansfeld, who was still in Frieland. Count Tilly being informed of his departure, and joined by the troops of Anhalt, began his march, in order to pursue Christian, whom he overtook between Abans and Stolico, and defeated, after an obstinate engagement, in which four thousand of the Halberjadianers were slain. The duke himself, and the young count de la Tour, though wounded in the battle, escaped to Belfort with the wreck of their army, which amounted to ten thousand effective men, six thousand of which were taken into the service of the states, and the rest disbanded. Mansfeld having received the news of this overthrow, abandoned Meppen, in Westphalia, which was garrisoned by count Tilly, who having joined the Spanish army, advanced into the country of Embden, and the states general being alarmed at this march, ordered prince Henry of Nassau, and count Caffmier to take the field. Mansfeld intrenched himself between the towns of Embden and Meppen, where he resolved to wait for the Austrian army; but Tilly seeing him posted to great advantage, would not venture to attack his lines, and returned to Westphalia, leaving orders with the count de Riedberg to besiege Lippslads, which was obliged to surrender on capitulation, after Mansfeld had made several fruitless attempts to succour the besieged.

e Barke Hitt, d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 547. 2 Khevenhuller, t. x. p. 188. 3 Bellus. l. 7. P. 777.
The history of Germany.

While the partizans of each side exerted themselves in this manner, the emperor's commiffaries invefted with the power of treating of an accommodation, imparted to the king of England, the conditions on which Ferdinand was content to make peace with the palefine. Provided the count would comply with the submiffion which was proposed, the emperor promised a full and intire restitution of his dominions in the perfon of his eldest fon, for whom Frederic shou'd act as administrator during life: that after the death of the duke of Bavaria, the dignity of elector should be reforted to the palefine house, and the young prince married to one of Ferdinand's daughters. James exerted his fon-in-law to accept of these offers; but Frederic, considering them as vague propofals, absolutely refused to submit, unless the emperor would give proper security for the performance.

All Europe was at that time attentive to the designs of the house of Austria. Spinola marched into Brabant, at the head of thirty thoufand men, and the count de Berg commanded another body of ten thoufand in the country of Cleves; while the fates-general, being inferior in point of force, were obliged to act upon the defensive. Maurice prince of Orange obferved Spinola's motions with an army of fixteen thoufand men, and his brother prince Frederic-Henry covered the dutchy of Cleves with half that number. This province, together with the country of Juliers and Berge being defolated by the war, fent deputies to the governor of Emerie, giving him to understand that they could no longer furnish provifions for the troops of the fates-general; and, on the other hand, the elector of Brandenburg, and the prince of Neuburg, being moved with compaffion for the miferies which thefe dominions suffered from foreign troops, refolved to take meafures for redrefsing their grievances, and actually concluded a treaty on the subject of the succession; by which they agreed, that the dutchy of Cleves, with the counties of La Marek, Revensburg, and Ravengtein, fhould fall to the share of the elector; and that the duke fhould enjoy the dutchies of Juliers and Berge: but this tranfation could not take effect without the approbation of the archduchefs government of the Low Countries, and the confirmation of the fates-general, who fcarted to many difficulties as entirely frustrated the purpofe of the whole. By this time Hungary underwent ftreth disturbances from the incursions of Bethlen Gabor, who having broke the treaty of peace which had been Signed at Clausenburg, surprifed feveral places in that kingdom, and began to commit devastations, when his progrefs was ftopped by the Imperial general, who defeated him in an engagement, which was renewed three days succeffively, and compelled him to take refuge in Capovia, where, schooled by his mifcarriage, he propofed a truce, during which another treaty of peace was concluded at Vienna, importing, that Gabor fhould renounce all pretentions to the title of king of Hungary, deliver the feals into the hands of the emperor, and never afford the leaft affiftance to the enemies of the Austrian house: in confideration of which confeffions, Ferdinand fhould put him in poffeffion of the lordshifs of Zathmar, Zabolar, Ugochi, Berechi, the dutchies of Ratibor and Oppeln in Silfia, with their jurifdictions, revenues, and domains, on condition that the judges and officers of thefe cities fhould take an oath to do nothing to the prejudice of his Imperial majefly and his successors. The partizans of the elector-palatine loudly complained of this accommodation, by which Ferdinand beftowed upon the prince of Translyvania a tract of country fifty leagues in length, and five and twenty in breadth, while he friped an elector of the empire of his dignity and dominions: but thefe complaints, though joined with menaces, could neither hinder the execution of the treaty, nor even retard the meafures that were taken in favour of the elector of Bavaria; for the emperor, in an afSEMBly of the fates which he had convened at Stenfingen, in the county of Hennéberg, admiffed the duke into the electorial college, with the confent of the members, notwithstanding the remonfances that were made by the ambaffadors of thofe princes who elpouted the interefts of Frederic, and the folicitations of his children, who protefted againft the deftitution of their father.

The king of England finding himself at length a dupe to the Spaniards, listened to the propofals of Mansfield, who promifed to make a diversion in the Spanifh dominions, while the allies of Frederic might enter the Palatinate with a powerful army. He fupplied the count with fonie money to levy troops, and solicited Christian the fourth, king of Denmark, to take arms againft the emperor, in order to favour the project he had formed of re-eftablifhing by force, the elector-palatine in his dignities and dominions. He likewise engaged in the fame undertaking all the princes and fates of Lower Saxony, except the duke of Lu-neburg; and they elected hisDanish majefly captain-general of their circle, in the room of the duke of Brunswick, who had refigned. While this new general was employed in raising forces, on pretence of defending the country from the ravages committed by the foldiers and garrifons of count Tilby, the circle of Lower Saxony assembled at Brunswic, fent letters to the princes and fates of Upper Saxony, in which, after having drawn a pathetic pic-
The history of Germany.

The affairs served as a manifesto to the ensuing war. The Weser, which separates Lower Saxony from Westphalia, was the rendezvous of four great armies that marched thicker from different parts. The king of Denmark fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of Bremen, where he was joined by Mansfeld and the duke of Brunswick-Halberstadt, who had come to him through Westphalia; while count Tilly hastened to the same place through Hesse, and the baron of Wallstein, lately created duke of Frieland, took his route thro' Saubia, in order to reinforce that general, who, advancing to the banks of the Weser, took several places depending upon the duty of Brunswick, which having garrisoned, he undertook the siege of Niemburg: but the king of Denmark found means to introduce colonel Limbac into the place, and that officer took such measures as disconcerted those of Tilly. The count employed all his address in bringing Christian to a battle; but that prince knowing how far he could depend upon his army, which was composed of new levies, resolved to be upon the defensive, and fortify his camp, until he should accustom his troops to service, by sending our detachments to intercept the convoys of the enemy. Mean while, he animated his soldiers by his own example; he worked in person at the intrenchments, and visited the lines twice a day, until he chanced to be thrown from his horse, and dangerously wounded in the head. Tilly, being informed of this accident, spread a report of his death, which encouraged his men to make new efforts at the siege of Niemburg; but they were soon undeceived in this particular by the recovery of his Danjib majesty, who, in a little time, reappeared in the midst of his troops, and resumed his operations in order to retard their progress. The king, finding his army in great want of provision, and foreseeing that he should not be able to continue long in his present situation, resolved to hazard one dangerous step by giving a general assault. Accordingly every circumstance was regulated for that purpose, and the attacks were carried on with great fury and perseverance; notwithstanding which, the Imperialists being repulsed with great loss, abandoned their enterprise, and retired into the county of Schauenburg, after having lost part of their rear, which was cut to pieces by the Danjib horse. Here, however, Tilly made himself master of Calemberg upon the river Gleis; by which conquest he was enabled to extend himself into the bishopric of Hildesheim, and the duchy of Brunswick, which he laid under contribution.

These two armies were not more eager in their operations of war, than the elector of Saxony in his negotiations for peace. In consequence of his interposition, conferences were held at Brunswick and at Ulm; but nothing was concluded at either of these assemblies, because they could not agree about the indemnification which the Imperialists demanded for the ravages committed by Frederic's allies; and neither side was able to break down their arms. While they disputed upon these points at Brunswick, the king of Denmark repaired to an assembly which he had summoned to meet at Wessel, in Halslein, where he obtained a considerable subsidy for the maintenance of his troops; and by an ordinance prohibited all Spanish vessels, or such as belonged to the provinces subject to that crown, from entering the Sound. James the first, king of England, being dead, and his son Charles too much involved in disputes with his own parliament to interdict himself in the cause of his brother-in-law, all the hopes of this unfortunate prince now centered in the friendship of his Danjib majesty, and the alliance of the states of Lower Saxony. The zeal of these last prompted them to recommence hostilities in his favour, even before the end of winter; for in the month of February, the administrator of Magdeburg, putting himself at the head of his troops, attacked Wallstein, from whom he met with such a warm reception, that in less than a quarter of an hour his forces were entirely routed, and fled with such precipitation, that the victors found upon the field of battle five thousand and three hundred loaded musquets, which had never been discharged. This disgrace, however, was in some measure repaired by the duke of Brunswick-Halberstadt, who cut in pieces five hundred Imperial创士, whom he surprized in their quarters.

The Austrian generals wished for nothing so much as for a general engagement, which was carefully avoided by the king of Denmark, who would not risk his small garrison upon such a precarious issue; but divided his army into three bodies, in order to carry on the war in so many different places at the same time, and to oblige the Austrians in like manner to separate their forces. So far he succeeded; but the event did not answer his expectation. Having marched with the bulk of his army through Brunswick, he entered the bishopric of Hildesheim, where he took and garrisoned several places: then he detached the duke of Weimar to make an attempt upon Osnabrueck, which he carried by scalade, and expelled by the

---


MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.  |  J J
acted a considerable sum of the clergy: he afterwards reduced all the towns of that diocese, and might have opened to the king a road to the Palatinate through the bishopric of Mannheim, had not his progress been stopped by a large pretent from the inhabitants; in consequnce of which he contented himself with the conquest he had already made, and his eldest son being elected coadjutor of Oppenburg, he returned as he came, and rejoined his Danishe majesty. That monarch had just come from the banks of the Elbe, towards Wolfembutle, in order to check the progress of Tilly; but he amused himself by the way, in besieging Halbersteien, and some other places; so that Tilly had leisure to carry on his works before Göttingen, which accordingly surrendered upon capitulation.

After this success he marched towards Nortenheim, which he intended to invest; but the place was supplied with a strong reinforcement of troops, provison, and ammunition, by the king of Denmark, who was now employed in the siege of Duderstadt; so that seeing it would be impracticable to reduce the place, he resolved to baffle the prezent purpose of his Danishe majesty, whom he obliged to hazard a general action, in which that monarch was defeated (B), and compelled to fly into Holstein, with part of his cavalry. Perhaps this overthrow was not more fatal to the interests of Frederic, than the loss of two great officers, who died in the course of this year. On the sixt day of May, Christian duke of Brunswick-Halberstadt expired at Wolfembutle (C), leaving behind him the character of a very brave and enterprising commander, though the impetuosity of his temper very often deprived him of that reflection and forecast, which are requisite in forming plans of importance: in this particular, however, he might have been improved by age and experience. He was c Lavilh of his fortune; but as he squandered his own without restraint, so he used that of other people without scruple.

MANSFELD, with part of the army, had been defeated by Wolfembutle at Defian; but far from being disheartened by his misfortune, he, in his retreat towards Silesia, reassembled such a number of soldiers, that in a little time he took the field again with five and twenty thousand men; and after having surmounted a number of obstacles in his march, arrived in Hungary, with a view to join Beiblim Gabor, who had again broke with the emperor. Wolfembutle duke of Frieland, had purused and harraffed him all the way; and now that they were divided by the Wag, resolved to croes that river, and attack him before he should be reinforced; but this design was frustrated by the expedition of the Protestant army, and Gabor, who joined Mansfeld, with a good number of forces, while the pacha of Buda advanced with another body to favour their operations. While the two armies watched the motions of each other, they were daily diminished by the difficulties produced from the autumn rains, which occasioned such a mortality, that both camps looked like burying places for the dead, and hospitals for the living. Mansfeld was extremely afflicated when he saw his army melt away in such a manner; and his chagrin was not a little augmented, when he understood that the Hungarian malcontents had accepted an amnesty from the emperor; that Gabor negociated another treaty with the house of Austria, and that the pacha of Buda was on the eve of concluding an accommodation with the same power. Mortified by these articles of intelligence, and despairing of being able to retrieve the affairs of Frederic, he left the remains of his army with Gabor, and, accompanied by twelve officers, set out from Gran, though he was then afflicted with a low fever. When he had crossed Servia and Bosnia, his malady increasend to such a degree, that he was obliged to halt in a village near Zara in Dalmatia, where, perceiving his end approaching, he recollected his spirits, and having exhorted his followers in a pathetic harangue to spend their best blood in defending the liberty of their country, he died with the courage and sentiments of an antient hero (D).

HUNGARY being thus again reduced to obedience, the Imperialists under Tilly, returned to the siege of Nienburg; and the king of Denmark, dreading the loss of such an important

---

(1) Barre Hift. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 559. (2) Id. ibid.
The history of Germany.

A portant place, exerted all his vigilance and address in suppling it with fresh succour, which intuited new courage in the besieged, who defended themselves with the most obstinate valour. He not only provided for the safety of this town, but having received auxiliaries from France and Holland, formed an army of four and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. These he divided into three bodies, one of which he sent into the bishopric of Bremen, another he detached into the island of Stilehorn, and the third was employed in fortifying the town of Arbeim*. On the side of the Imperialists, George duke of Lünenberg took Flögel, which was abandoned to plunder, while Tilly made preparations for protecting his victories, as soon as he should be joined by the troops of Roldophas Maximilian, duke of Saxony. In order to defeat the designs of this general, the administrator of Magdalen marched at the head of sixteen thousand men, and was followed by the bulk of the Danish army towards the bridge of Dover, to hinder the count from passing the Elbe; but notwithstanding all his endeavours, the Austrians built a new bridge, and crossing that river took Brandenburg and several other places, while the king of Denmark intrenched himself near Wolfen. Thus situated, both armies harassed each other with frequent skirmishes, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage, until George duke of Lünenberg, after having seized several posts in the electorate of Brandenburg, on pretence of hampering the Danes, at length entered the duchy of Holstein, in order to make a diversion in favour of count Tilly. Nor was this expedition ineffectual. The king of Denmark sent thither twelve thousand men, draughted from his army, to oppose the duke; so that Tilly was enabled to send out half of his troops to Holstein, while the other continued the siege of Nordenheim, under the command of the count de Furtenberg, who, at first refused to grant a capitulation; but after having lost abundance of men in three unsuccessful assaults on the, of his own accord, proposed favourable conditions, which were accepted by the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war.

At the same time the town of Havelsberg, and the fort near Ardenburg, were taken by count Tilly, whose conquests were so rapid, that the king of Denmark lost some place of importance every day; in much, that the duke of Holstein fearing his country would become the seat of war, proposed an accommodation to Tilly, who dictated the following articles:

1. The king of Denmark shall lay down his arms, resign his office of general of the circle of Lower Saxony, quit all pretensions to the duchy of Holstein, and the other fields of the empire,
2. which he has forfeited, by rebelling against the emperor, into whose hands he shall deliver the fortresses of Glucksburg, by way of security: he shall reimburse the emperor for the expense of the war, renounce all his claims to the principalities of Brunswick and Lüneburg and all other pretensions he may have upon other states and cities of the empire; he shall indemnify the duchies of Brunswick and Lüneburg and other duchies of Germany, for the damage they had sustained from his troops: he shall disengage himself from every confederacy against the house of Austria, open the navigation of the Sound in conformity with ancient treaties, and give sufficient security for the performance of all these articles?.

The king of Denmark having rejected these imperious proposals, Tilly pursued his conquests with such expedition, that the Danes, intimidated at his success, fortified themselves along the Elbe, in the neighbourhood of Wolfenbüttel: even there they were attacked by Tilly, and obliged to abandon their intrenchments in the night. Of these having taken possession, he threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, and crossing into Holstein, pursued the Danish army, which was feigned with such confirmation, that it abandoned all its forts, and took refuge in the sea-ports of Holstein and Jütland, leaving Tilly at liberty to attack several places, of which he soon made himself master. The king of Denmark, who was pursued from place to place, and had retired for safety to Jütland, did not find himself secure even in that retreat. Thither he was followed by the Imperialists, who not only destroyed a considerable body of his troops, but even compelled them to enter into the service of the emperor. Nor were the affairs of Lower Saxony in a more favourable situation. Nienburg had at last surrendered the death of Limbach; upon which the states of the duchy of Brunswick renounced their confederacy, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor. The elector of Brandenburg published an edict, enjoining all his subjects who were in the service of the king of Denmark, to return to their own country, on pain of confiscation and exemplary punishment; and the marquis of Baden-Durlach had made his peace with the emperor, who nominated commissaries to terminate the difference that still subsisted between him and the marquis of Baden.

* Carafa. p. 274. 7 Barke Hist. d'Allemagne. t. ix. p. 569. 8 Lotichius, l. 18. c. 3. Ludolph. l. 27. c. 2. n. 30.

other time he said to an apothecary who had undertaken "of taking my life away; if it was necessary that I to poison him, "Friend, I can scarce believe that a person fon when I have never injured, should he deny "money to enable you to live like an honest man." (1) "While

(1) Mercure. Franc. t. xii. l. 12. 1626.
While the king of Denmark seemed thus overwhelmed by misfortune, Frederick, elector palatine, tired of his exile, intreated the dukes of Lorraine and Wirttenberg to intercede in his behalf with the emperor; who, being accordingly solicited upon the subject, gave them to understand, that he would receive the count Palatine into favour, on these conditions only: that Frederick should ask his pardon, and renounce all pretensions to the crown of Bohemia; the duke of Bavaria should retain the electoral dignity; that the Catholic religion should be re-established through the whole Palatinate; and the count should indemnify the house of Austria for the expenses of the war. On this occasion, conferences were held at Colmar by the ministers of the mediators and the envoys of the elector-palatine; who, being informed of the emperor’s proposals, answered, that their matter would ask pardon for what was past, and renounce the crown of Bohemia; that he and the duke of Bavaria should alternately enjoy the electoral dignity, on condition, that after the duke’s decease, it should be entirely vested in him and his heirs; that he could neither in honour or conscience make any change in the established religion of his country; but would permit the monks to remain in two or three monasteries, over which, however, he himself would reserve a jurisdiction; and as to the expense of the war, it would be impossible to defray it, the Palatinate being entirely ruined.

These representations were so unsatisfactory to the emperor, that he renounced the negotiation, and resolved to continue the war, in which he was successful, even beyond his own expectation. His victorious arms kept all the princes of Germany in awe; and the court of Vienna no longer diffused its design to suppress the Protestant religion, extinguish the liberties of the empire, and render the Imperial crown hereditary in the house of Austria. Wolfenstein openly declared, that the electors would soon be reduced to the condition of Spanish grandees: he and Tilly quartered the troops indifferently upon Catholics and Protestants, allowing them to live at discretion, and levying immense contributions. Leopold of Austria, archduke of Innsbruck, having resigned the bishoprics of Strassburg and Passau, together with several other benefits, in order to marry Claudia de Medici, widow of duke Urban, the emperor conferred them upon William, one of his own sons, who was afterwards elected bishop of Halberstadt, and obtained from the pope bulls for the abbey of Hersfeld, which was possessed by the landgrave of Hesse; and, finally, Ferdinand, took measures for putting him in possession of the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen. These were ecclesiastical appendages, which Ferdinand intended to establish in different parts of Germany, as provision for the younger sons of the Austrian house.

All the princes equally trembled at the projects and power of this emperor, which, in order to circumcise within proper bounds, the Protestants implored the assistance of France, and begged that the young electoral prince palatine might be received into one of the towns of that kingdom. The duke of Bavaria, though loaded with the favours of Ferdinand, dreaded the consequence of his growing greatness; and privately solicited cardinal Richelieu to engage Louis the thirteenth, in defending the princes of the empire from oppression; and, lastly, the elector of Trèves had well nigh put himself under the protection of France, in order to preserve the liberty of his states against the increasement of the power of Austria. The cardinal was not a little embarrassed, by these subsidies; for the interior condition of that kingdom, and the war with which it was threatened by England, would not permit him to grant powerful assistance to the German princes, especially as he had promised to furnish money for the king of Denmark, who was not yet disheartened by the misfortunes of his two last campaigns. He therefore contented himself with sending Marcheville into Germany, in order to dissuade the electors from chusing a king of the Romans; and to offer the mediation of France for concluding a peace, or at least a suspension of arms. As for the electoral prince palatine, he durst not receive him, lest he should give umbrage to the house of Austria, the pope, and the duke of Bavaria; though the reason he alleged for his refusal was, that the king could not admit the electoral prince into his dominions, without declaring himself his protector, and consequently traversing the proposals of peace, until he should be re-established in all his rights. All that Marcheville could obtain from the states of the empire was to delay the election of a king of the Romans; and as the emperor could not prevail upon them to raise his son Ernest (already king of Hungary) to that dignified station, he confessed himself for the disappointment by placing the crown of Bohemia upon his head. Not that there was any previous election by the states of that kingdom, which the house of Austria now considered as an indefeasible inheritance: the emperor, by his own authority, commanded them to proceed to the coronation of his son, by which means he strengthened his interest with another voice to be used at the election of a king of the Romans.

Mean while, the king of Denmark took the duke of Mecklenburg under his protection; and demanded succours from the inhabitants of Bremen, and other hans-towns, whom excused themselves from granting his request; and, being intimidated by the emperor’s generals, expelled the consuls and agents of England and Holland, and furnished the Imperial troops with
The history of Germany.

with provisions, ships, and ammunition: so that, while they proceeded in subduing Germany, the diet was opened at Mulhausen, whither the electors of Mentz and Saxony repaired in person, and the other princes sent their ministers.

In this assembly Trebeschell, the French envoy, exhorted the members to restore peace and tranquility to the empire, and the baron de Stratenhorf made some specious proposals in the name of the emperor, who nevertheles strongly shewed his intention was to give law to all Germany, and to that the mouths of those who still talked of the liberty of their ancestors. By this suggestion the clergy demanded the restitution of the bishoprics and benefices which the Protestants had seized since the treaty of Passau. Ferdinand’s aim in this requisition was to obtain a decree of the diet, in consequence of which he should be enabled to put the archduke William, his second son, in possession of other rich and powerful benefices: but this demand was warmly opposed by the two Protestant electors; so that the execution of his project was deferred till a more favourable opportunity. Then the affair of the elector-palatine being brought upon the carpet, all the Catholic princes were of opinion, that Frederic, as author of the war, should humble himself before the emperor, and renounce the crown of Bohemia, together with the electoral dignity; in consequence of which concessions, his imperial majesty would pardon and re-establish him in all or part of his dominions, according to his good pleasure: but, should the Palatine refuse to submit to these conditions, they unanimously declared they would join their forces with those of the emperor against him and all his adherents.

During these deliberations, the Danzig senators assembled at Copenhagen, wrote a letter to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war; though, considering the situation of affairs, they could not expect great success from this remonstrance: and Christian, per- suaded that no regard would be paid to it by the imperial court, employed himself in making all the necessary preparations for continuing the war. Having received a considerable supply from his allies, he equipped a strong fleet; and, setting sail in the beginning of the spring, made a descent upon the isle of Fehmarn, where he took the fort which had been built by the Imperialists. His next conquest was Eckelendorf, which he abandoned to plunder, after having made the garrison prisoners of war, and exchanged them for a like number of Danes: this place, however, was in a little time retaken by the Imperialists, who cut in pieces, or put to flight, all who pretended to oppose them. Christian, with a fleet of forty-seven ships of war appeared before Kiel, the siege of which he undertook by sea and land; but meeting with a very obstinate resistance, and being unsuccessful in all his assaults, he quitted that enterprise, in order to relieve Staden, which was hard pressed by count Tilly, who had taken such precautions, that he could not throw succours into the place, so that he retired to Glückstadt: while colonel Morgan, who commanded the English garrison at Staden, being reduced to extremity, resolved to capitulate: and accordingly marched out, with his arms and baggage, at the head of fifty four companies, with whom he retired towards Bremen. After the reduction of Staden, the imperial army invested Glückstadt and Kremmen, which were defended with extraordinary valour by the Danzig garrisons, who made frequent sorties, and obliged the enemy to abandon their posts. Three of their ships surprised the town of Grupenhof, and set fire to the Austrian houses. The regiments of their cavalry entered Barmen, from whence they returned loaded with booty, after having killed and taken prisoners the imperial garrison: and they afterwards took Farnemars, where they found a body of Croats, whom they cut in pieces.

About this time a general assembly of the hans-towns was held at Lubeck, in order to deliberate upon the proposals of the emperor and the king of Spain, touching a new company to be formed for carrying on the trade of the North; and the result of their deliberations was, that, although they were always disposed to obey his imperial majesty, they could not grant what he demanded, concerning the navigation, without exposing themselves to the enmity of Sweden and Denmark, which would never allow the ships of that new company to pass the Sound. They therefore begged he would permit them to obviate a neutrality; but, foreseeing he would be incensed at their refusal, they resolved to levy troops, and prepare for their own defence. The Imperialists and Danes, finding themselves exhausted by a long war, began at length to entertain serious thoughts of peace; and the four Catholic electors having offered their mediation, the emperor contented to open a congrès at Lubeck, whither the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg sent their deputies, after having prevailed upon the king of Denmark to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation. The articles proposed by these last were, that the principalities of the towns and other fiefs of his Danzig majesty, occupied by the Imperialists, should be restored, together with all that had

Puffendorf, Hist. Sec. i. 4 Carafa, p. 323. 5 Ruseau, Conf. p. 181. 6 Places. p. 410.
7 Barke, t. ix. p. 576.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. K k k been
The history of Germany.

been forcibly taken from his subjects, and the prisoners on both sides discharged without ransom: that all the princes and states of Lower Saxony should peaceably enjoy the liberty of religion, and a general amnesty comprehend all those who had any share in the war: and lastly, that the sons of his Danish majesty should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their postulations and elections, which had been made in their favour, within the empire.

These proposals were communicated to the emperor by the conveyance of Walthein, who was at Gloucester, and, in the mean time, the imperial commissaries made the following propositions to the assembly: "The king of Denmark shall not, for the future, intermeddle in the affairs of the empire: he shall renounce the duchies of Holstein, Sleswig, and Dytmarke: together with all the pretensions which he and his sons might have upon the archbishoprics, bishoprics, duchies, and principalities in the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia: he shall make a cession of Friesland to the elector of Saxony, until such time as that prince shall be reimbursed for the expenses due to him from his imperial majesty, or until he shall receive some other form of indemnification from the king of Denmark: he shall likewise defray all the charges of the war, to which the emperor and his allies have been exposed; repair all the damage he has done to the territories of the dukes of Lueneburg, Pomerania, and Holstein; and exclude all the enemies of the empire and house of Austria from the passages of the Sound, which shall be free to the friends and allies of these powers, on payment of a fixed toll, which shall not be in his power to augment: finally, the crowns of Spain and Poland, the archdukes-governors of the Low Countries, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire, shall be included in this treaty."

These conditions appeared so unreasonable to the Danish ministers, that they threatened to retire without coming to any conclusion, unless they should be moderated; and the emperor's commissaries being confounded at this menace, repaired to Gloucester in order to confer with Walthein. That general, upon whom the emperor had bestowed the revenues of Mecklenburg, the duke of which he had put to the ban of the empire, being desirous of acquiring the friendship of his Danish majesty, by which he thought he could the better secure himself in his new position, facilitated the conclusion of the peace, by procuring more favourable conditions to the king, which, after a series of conferences, were accepted, and the treaty was at length concluded on these terms: "The king of Denmark shall not intermeddle in the affairs of the empire, except in those that relate to the duchy of Holstein; and the princes his sons shall absolutely renounce the possession of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire: neither the emperor nor king shall make any demand on account of the expenses of the war: the provinces and towns taken from the king of Denmark shall be restored to him, together with the artillery: the prisoners on both sides shall be released without ransom; and his Danish majesty shall cede to the houses of Sleswig and Holstein-Cottbous, the isle of Fæm, and part of the isle of Wardt, and Sild, devolved to them by hereditary right, reserving still the right of superintendency, which the crown of Denmark enjoyed over these provinces." This treaty was published on the seventh of June, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who had been so long and so severely harassed by the war, but to the infinite mortification of the dukes of Mecklenburg, who now saw Wallenstein in quiet possession of their dominions. The duke of Bavaria was acknowledged elector of the holy empire, by the congress of Lubeck, as well as in this pacification; but no mention was made of the elector-palatine, who was supposed to be lawfully proscribed, and divested of his dignity and dominions. Although the emperor, by dint of repeated victories and conquests, compelled the king of Denmark, and other princes his allies, to accept of this peace, he committed a fatal oversight in refusing to admit the ambassadors of Sweden to the congress of Lubeck, at which the differences that began to arise between Ferdinand and Gustavus might have been extinguished in their infancy: but at that time the strength of the king of Sweden seemed too incomparable to alarm the court of Pisa, which little thought it would one day be sufficient to shake the throne of Ferdinand, and humble the pride of the house of Austria. The conclusion of the treaty did not terminate the mutual resentment that gloved in the breasts of the emperor and king of Denmark. This fact could not forgive the other for refusing to revoke the ban which was published against the dukes of Mecklenburg; and Ferdinand was offended at the conduct of Christian, in perfidiously disturbing the duke of Holstein, who had incurred the indignation of that king, by embracing the party of the emperor in the last war: for, instead of withdrawing his troops from Holstein at the peace, Christian sent a greater number in order to continue the ravages in that province. In consequence of these hollows, the emperor sent memorial letters to the king of Denmark, commanding him to evacuate that part of Holstein and Sleswig which belonged to duke Fredii.

1 Barne, t. ix. p. 573.
The history of Germany.

a deric; and Christian relying upon the hope of a strong reinforcement from the king of Sweden, who had promised to assist him with troops and money, at first refused to obey this injunction, affirming, that Silesia was not a fief of the empire, but entirely depended upon Denmark: but to this aversion the court of Vienna replied, that Denmark itself was a fief of the empire, and that Silesia, as part of Denmark, must necessarily be in the same predicament (D). Nevertheless, finding Christian deaf to these remonstrances, Ferdinand issued other letters, conceived in such strong terms as roused his apprehensions, and induced him to withdraw his troops from that duchy, and leave the duke in quiet; so that Germany, in general, began to enjoy a little respite from war and disorder.

Now but the news of a dispute still occupied by the comunions of Italy, occasioned by the pretenders to the succession of Vincent the second, duke of Mantua and Montferrat, who was lately dead without lawful issue 1. He had foreseen the troubles that might arise after his death; and in order to prevent them as much as lay in his power, given his niece, the princess Mary, in marriage to the duke de Rebellois, son of Charles de Gonzaga, duke de Nevers, whom he declared sole heir of all his fortune: but Cesare de Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, had already received from the emperor the eventual investiture of Mantua and Montferrat. On the other hand, the duke of Savoy looking upon this as a proper occasion for availing himself of some pretexts he had to a part of Montferrat joined the duke of Guastalla against his competitor, and prevailed upon Ferdinand to refuse the investiture to the duke de Nevers 2. Nevertheless he would not declare openly against him, because he was respected by the pope and the Venetians, who were unwilling to give umbrage to France, which patronized him; but, like an able politician, he ordered the revenues of the duchies to be put in feuilletration, until the rights of the competitors should be examined and discussed; and John count of Nassau was charged with the execution of this decree. But before he arrived at Mantua, the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy had taken the field, in order to share the Montferrat between them; and the duke of Mantua, with the few troops he could assemble, exerted himself like a brave officer in opposing their progress 3. At length the count de Nassau arrived in Italy as imperial commissary, and the duke, seeing himself threatened from so many quarters, demanded affiance from the Venetians, who amused him with distant hopes until he was reduced to extremity: the Nassau prevailed him to admit Austrian garrisons into his capital and other towns, and he was fain to appeal from the proceedings of this commissary to the emperor better informed, or in case he should refuse to hear his remonstrances, to the electors of the empire. Meanwhile he sent the prince his son to Vienna, to demand the investiture of the emperor, and offered to put Cazal and all the Montferrat into the hands of a neutral prince, until the differences about that principality should be terminated: but Ferdinand openly declared his intention was, that the German troops in the Spanish service should be garrison Cazal in the name of the emperor; that the towns already taken by the governor of Milan should remain as a pledge for the pretenions of the prince of Guastalla; and that the duke of Savoy should keep what he had seized, until his demands should be regulated by a treaty or decisive determination. It was not doubted, that the courts of Vienna and Spain were resolved to share Cazal and the Montferrat between them; and accordingly Ferdinand sent troops into the Milanese, who extended their quarters along the rivers Adda and Oglio, so as to alarm the republic of Venice, which immediately reinforced its troops by new levies, sent four thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, and supplied him with money to make preparations for a vigorous defence. The imperial generals seeing their soldiers deficient in great numbers, and being apprehensive that before the end of the approaching winter, their army would be too much diminished to undertake any thing of importance, resolved to besiege Mantua without delay, and, in the mean time, obtained an edict of the emperor, in which all those noblemen, who held fiefs of the empire, were for- bidden to assist the duke of Mantua, on pain of being declared rebels. This edict was followed by an invasion of the duchy of Mantua, in which several important places were carried by assault, and many ravages committed: at length the Germans marched towards the city of Mantua, into which Charles had retired with his best troops, in order to defend it to the last extremity; and there the progress of the Imperialists had well nigh been effectually stopped: for they were fatigue with continual rains, and reduced to such extremity by want of provisions and diffece, that they were obliged to quit the siege, and must have returned to their own country, had not the court of Rome permitted them to draw


(D) In the year 1526, the imperial chamber, by consent of Charles the fifth, acknowledged that Silesick was not a fief of the empire; and, at the desire of the king of Denmark, permitted that article to be erased from the matricular book (1).
supplies from the ecclesiastical state. For that year the city of Mantua was saved by the vigilance and activity of the Venetians, who loudly complained of pope Urban the eighth, reproaching him with having done his endeavour to sell the liberty of Italy, for the paltry consideration of the money he got from the Imperialists for his corn. Next year, however, the Venetians were defeated near Villalona by the Germans, who, at length, made themselves masters of Mantua, which was abandoned to the avarice and influence of their soldiers. The pillage lasted three days, during which the Austrians committed all manner of violence and brutality, while the duke retired into the ecclesiastical state, deprived of every other hope but that of seeing his affairs established by some favourable treaty.

In the midst of these transactions died the duke of Savoy; and his death was followed by that of the marquis de Spinola, to whom Mazarini had been sent from the pope to effect an accommodation between the Spaniards, who besieged Cazal, and the French, by whom it had been for a long time defended. Accordingly these last consented to surrender the town and castle to the besiegers; who, on their side, obliged themselves to furnish the French with provisions, and even to evacuate the town again, in case the citadel should be relieved at a certain time.

During the progress of this war in Italy, the emperor published an edict at Vienna, commanding the Protestants to retire, without loss of time, the ecclesiastical benefices in their possession; particularly the archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelacies, hospitals, and all the other effects of the church, occupied by them since the treaty of Passau. The execution of this new edict was opposed by the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augsburg confession, who affirmed, that the emperor had no power to ordain such a revocation, which ought to be the object of determination in a general diet. But Ferdinand, without paying any regard to their remonstrances, nominated commissaries for the execution of his edict; and ordered his own troops, together with those of the Catholic league, to take the field, and to subdue all those who should fail in their obedience. Although this ordinance occasioned great commotion and clamour among the Protestants, several cities submitted quietly; the duke of Wurttemberg, and some other princes, restored their former acquisitions; the bishops retook possession of their old dioceses, and the monks returned to the monasteries from which they had been formerly expelled. The sentence or decisions of the imperial commissaries were executed by Wallenstein, at the head of an army, who acted with such rigour, and allowed his troops to behave with such licence, that the Protestants were inflamed to a degree of rancour and virulence; and even the Catholics so incensed against him, as to join in demanding justice of the emperor.

C H A P. XVII.

Containing a Detail of the Exploits and Death of Gustavus Adolphus.

Those of the confession of Augsburg, with the elector of Saxony at their head, assembled at Heidelberg, from whence they sent a deputation, soliciting the emperor to revoke his edict of restitution, and complaining of the outrages which had been committed by his troops that were under the command of Wallenstein; and at the same time they engaged in an association for their mutual defence. The elector of Saxony, who had amassed great sums of money, and possessed a number of strong places, with garrisons sufficient for their defence, propounded to the Protestant states an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the professed enemy of the Austrian house; and accordingly this league was solicited and concluded with such industry, secrecy, and caution, that Ferdinand had not the least suspicion of their design until the war was ready to break out.

It was during these secret negotiations that the emperor convoked a diet at Ratisbon, where he was met by the three ecclesiastical electors and the duke of Bavaria; but the duke of Saxony and the marquis of Brandenburg excused themselves, on pretence of being too much impoverished by the imperial troops quartered in their towns, that they could not defray the expence of their journey. This, however, was no more than a pretext for avoiding a refusal to the emperor in perfon, provided he should propose his eldest son to be elected king of the Romans (E).

* Niogr. Difquis. de Mant. Ducatu, in 4to.
* Puffendorf, p. 347.
* Carafa, p. 56.
* Puffendorf, p. 410.
* Place, p. 410.

(E) The emperor was accompanied to Ratisbon by the emperors, the king of Hungary, and the archduchess; and attended by the prince of Anhalt, count Tilly, and Walther duke of Friedland, who surpassed Ferdinand himself in magnificence, for his train consisted of six hundred horsemens richly clothed; a circumstance which, together with his immense riches and the influence of his manners, attracted the jealousy and hatred of almost all the other princes (1).

(1) Barre, t. ix. p. 590.
The history of Germany.

The propositions made at the opening of the diet were, that the electors should deliberate upon some means for establishing the peace of the empire upon a solid foundation; or, if this could not be effected, for continuing the war to advantage: that they should consider whether or not Frederick, count-palatine, who still obstinately refused to implore his imperial majesty's clemency, and renounce his pretensions to the electorate, should be excluded from all hope of favour; and what measures were to be taken, in case the states-general of the United Provinces, or other powers, should perfide in their endeavours to re-establish him in the Palatinate: that the king of Denmark having offered to terminate, in a friendly manner, the difference between the emperor and the king of Sweden, touching the affair of Stralsund, plenipotentiaries had been sent to Danzig for that purpose; but, in case the treaty should not succeed, proper measures ought to be taken for defeating the designs of Guevarus Adolphus: that the emperor's sole intention, in his conduct concerning the succession of Mantua, was to maintain the authority of the empire in Italy; but, as the king of France persisted in his resolution to support the duke de Nevers in his disobedience, they would find it necessary to impower his imperial majesty to preserve the rights of the empire, which the French king seemed bent upon invading; and, lastly, that the emperor being touched with the misfortunes of several provinces, they, the electors, should establish proper regulations for the quarters and passage of soldiers, in case the war should be continued; and endeavour to re-establish a good correspondence among the members of the empire, which was so necessary to the preservation and prosperity of the Germanic body.

FERDINAND found more opposition in this diet than he had expected to encounter. The Protestants and Catholics seemed to have concert ed for the diminution of his power. The ministers of Saxony prefixed him to repeal the edict, restore the city of Augsburg to the fruition of its ancient liberty, and compel his officers to refund the contributions they had levied in almost all the provinces of the empire. The elector of Bavaria, in consequence of his secret connexions with France, and with the confederacy of the ecclesiastic electors, declared, that their deliberations could not be free, while the emperor had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men at his devotion in Germany: and the greatest part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to divert the Protestants from an union with the king of Sweden, by granting to them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical benefices which they had professed since the treaty of Passau. This advice, however, was vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastic electors, who urged such arguments as were more agreeable to the ideas of Ferdinand; tho' he endeavoured to soften his refusal by promising to the deputies of Saxony and Brandenburg, that nothing should be determined touching the restitution in this diet; but that affair be entirely referred to another meeting at Frankfort, which he would convene for the ensuing year. He temporized in this manner with a view to engage the votes of those two electors in favour of his eldeft son; and founded the dispositions of others on the same subject; when he was ready to understand, that, as a previous step towards the accomplishment of his design, it would be necessary to disband the greatest part of his troops, and take the command of his army from Walstein, who was universally hated in the empire. Ferdinand yielded, though unwillingly, to these remonstrances, dismission the duke of Friedland from his service, and of all his army retained but forty thousand veteran troops.

MAXIMILIAN, duke of Bavaria, by whose means chiefly Walstein was removed from the councils of the emperor, now solicited the command of the army; and his behaviour on this occasion rendered him suspected to Ferdinand, or rather served to confirm his suspicions; for he had already discovered that the duke was engaged in private intrigues against the interest of the house of Austria, and actually aspired at the title of king of the Romans, in order to succeed to the imperial throne: he, therefore, saw the danger of putting him at the head of the troops; but as he found it convenient to keep measures with Maximilian, whose pretensions were supported by the electors of Saxony, M.ontz, and Cologne, he would not refuse his demand, but stipulated certain conditions with which he would not comply; and afterwards bestowed the command of his army upon the count de Tilly, with the consent of the duke, to whose house that officer had been a faithful servant. Nevertheless, Maximilian retained the refusal in such a manner, as to disconcert all the measures that were taken for securing the succession to the son of Ferdinand, who reaped no other benefit from the diet of Reutlingen but the coronation of his empress, Eleonora de Gonzaga.

CHARLES I. king of Great Britain, had sent thither an ambassadour, to treat of the re-establishment of the elector-palatine in his dominions; and to hint, that, in case his remonstrances should be fruitless, he would afflict his brother-in-law in a more effectual man-

---

2 Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. I. 11
The history of Germany.

But all he could obtain was abundance of personal respect, and an evasive promise, importing, that the palatine should be restored, and reconciled to the emperor, on certain conditions, to which he knew the elector would never submit.

LEON BRULART, ambassador from France, had likewise a public audience at Ratisbon. He was ordered to explain to the electoral college, the reasons which had induced France to protect the duke of Mantua; and to propose a negotiation for terminating that affair. Ministers were accordingly appointed by the emperor for this purpose; and after much altercation and delay, a treaty was concluded on these terms: "The emperor and king of France shall give no assistance to the enemies of each other: the duke of Savoy shall possess the town of Trino, and other lands, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns of yearly rent: the duke of Gnafulia shall have six thousand crowns of landed rent, with all the rights of jurisdiction and superiority: the duke of Mantua shall be obliged to make a submission to his imperial majesty, according to a certain concord, in consideration of which Ferdinand shall bestow upon him the investiture of Mantua and Monferrat. These conditions being fulfilled, the French shall abandon Savoy, and the Imperialists and Spaniards shall evacuate the Mantuan, Monferrat, the country of the Grisons, the Valteline, and restore to the Venetians what they had taken from that republic."

Not one of the powers concerned approved of these articles: the French generals, who commanded in Italy, were forbidden to execute the treaty; and Leon Brulart was ordered to declare, in plain terms, to his imperial majesty, that the king of France would not ratify it, unless he should be at liberty to alter some of the articles, especially that which restrained him from assisting his allies, among whom the king of Sweden was the principal.

During the diet at Ratisbon, the emperor had received from Guelfus Adolphus a manifesto, explaining his reasons for declaring war against the house of Austria. He complained, that while he was at war with the Poles, Ferdinand had interrupted his letters to Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, and treated his courier as a criminal: that he had aspired the kingdom of Poland, fomented the war against Sweden, flirpped the dukes of Mecklenburg, the kindred of Guelfus, of their principality; seized upon several places of Lower Saxony and Pomerania, and fitted out ships to make himself master of the Baltic, which had always belonged to the crown of Sweden; that he had taken and confiscated several Swedish vessels, belighted Stralund, one of the hanseatic towns, and affronted the Swedish ambassadors at Lubeck, when he was upon terms of peace with the king of Denmark; that he had declared Guelfus an enemy of the empire, and approved of injurious writings, tending to depreciate the Swedish government; and that when complaints were made of this outrage to the electors, no satisfaction was given, and the Catholic princes, in their answer, had even neglected to bestow upon him the title of king, and lastly, that when his Danubian majesty employed his good offices to accommodate these differences, the emperor's deputies would not listen to any of the propositions that were made, but talked in the style of sovereigns, being blinded by their master's prosperity.

Such were the motives that induced the king of Sweden to undertake a war against the house of Austria, which, by this time, had rendered itself formidable to all the Christian princes of Europe; nevertheless, he would not engage in such an important enterprise, until he had secured the alliance of England and France, which left power promised to deprive one-third of the expanse of the war: made peace with Poland, and obtained a declaration of neutrality from the king of Denmark, who could not, however, conceal his jealousy of the Swede, or see, without mortification, a garrison belonging to that prince, in possession of Stralund. Indeed, his chagrin was not altogether without reason; for the king of Sweden having embarked in June, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in a few days arrived in the isle of Rügen, which colonel Lejary had already subjected to his power: then taking the island of Usedom he returned to the continent, and made himself master of Camin, situated on the other side of the mouth of the Oder. These important posts facilitated the communication between Germany and Sweden; but as he still wanted a proper place, where he could form magazines of provision and ammunition, he fixed his eyes upon Stettin, a considerable town upon the Oder, and appeared unexpectedly before the place, notwithstanding the meagre which were taken for preventing this enterprise, by count Torquate, who commanded the Imperial troops in Pomerania.

Bогислаус, duke of Pomerania, alarmed at this progress, waited upon the king of Sweden, and excused himself from admitting that prince into his capital, on pretence of remaining neutral in the war; but Guelfus endeavoured to convince him that such neutrality was unfeehorable, and finding him obstinate, declared in plain terms, that he would enter
In the history of Germany.

a. Settin at the head of his army, if he should pretend to oppose the much of his troops. This declaration, together with a reinforcement of five thousand men, which Gjasavar received at that time, operated so powerfully upon the duke, that he allowed his German garrison in Settin to take the oath of fidelity to the king of Sweden, with whom he afterwards engaged in a treaty of alliance; in which it was stipulated, that the sovereignty of Pomerania should be preferred to the duke, to whom also should be restored all the places of this province, which the king already possessed, or might occupy in the sequel (F). To this agreement the states of Pomerania assented the more willingly, as they hoped to be delivered from the oppression of the Imperialists, and maintained in the free exercise of their religion.

The emperor being deceived by the flattery of his courtiers, and the estimations of others who were his secret enemies, took no effectual steps to hinder Gjasavar from effectually fortifying himself in Pomerania. Sturgart, Ameislande, Uckermauds, and Pleigsk, received Swedish garrisons, and the army of that prince was reinforced by British regiments, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton. Ferdinand's eyes, however, being at length opened, he sent an expostulatory letter to the king of Sweden, complaining of his irritation into the territories of the empire, and his intermeddling in the affairs of the Germanic body, with which he had no concern; and threatening to send his whole forces against him, if he would not immediately return to his own dominions. Gjasavar, in answer to this letter, told the gentleman who brought it, that he would seriously consider the contents: then affuming an air of railery, "I shall not fail to send a proper answer, (said he) as soon as I am cured of a wound which I received in the arm from an eagle;" alluding to the injury which Ferdinand had done him, in affixing Sigismund, king of Poland, with a considerable body of troops to drive the Swedes from Prussia (G). * He receives an expostulatory letter from the emperor.

Notwithstanding the repeated assurances of alliance which Gjasavar had received from France, the conclusion of his treaty with Lewis the thirteenth had been retarded by some demands of Charnace, the French minister, with which the king of Sweden did not think proper to comply: at length, however, it was agreed, that this last should receive from France a yearly pension of twelve hundred thousand livres, during the continuation of the league; and Gjasavar, on his part, obliged himself to grant a neutrality to the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Catholic league, on condition they should not join the emperor against the Swedes, and to leave the Roman religion as he should find it, without infringing the exercise of it in any town or province of Germany. To these proposals he gladly assented, because the interest of the Catholic princes being thus secured, they would have the fairer pretence for refusing to engage with the emperor in an alliance against Sweden. He likewise obliged himself to maintain, at his own expense, an army of thirty thousand infantry and fix thousand horse and the league, to be continued for the space of five years, was signed on the twentieth and third day of January, at Berwald in Brandenburg.

This important affair being settled, Gjasavar endeavoured to renew some negotiations with the Protestant princes of the empire, which had been suspended; but finding it a difficult task to succeed with individuals, he sent secret agents to Leipzick, where they were assembled in a body with the deputies of the towns, in order to engage them in his interests. Here too he was disappointed: the assembly did not think proper as yet to take any public resolution in consequence of his proposals; for each prince was afraid of being oppressed by the emperor, before he could have any chance of being supported by the Swedes, or the troops of the Protestant union (H).

The Protestant chiefs were assembled at Leipzick, by the invitation of John-George elector of Saxony, on pretence of concerting measures for an accommodation with the emperor.


(F) George-William elector of Brandenburg, was presumptuous heir to Bogiafas, who had no male issue: but if the duke should die before the elector had entered into this new alliance with the king of Sweden, Pomerania was to remain in feoffment in the hands of Gjasavar, until he should be reimbursed in the expenses of the war, which he undertook for the deliverance of that province: by, he referred to himself the right of keeping it in truth, in case the property it should be contested with the elector after the death of Bogiafas (1).

(G) About this time Ferdinand, king of Hungary, the emperor's son, was compelled to the infants Mary-Anne of Austria, sister of Philip the fourth, king of Spain. She embarked at Barcelona, and, the plague being at Genoa, landed at Naples, from whence the Spaniards sent to demand from the Venetians a passage for her through the Adriatic gulf: but this request was refused by the republic, which, however, offered to conduct the infants to Trieste on board of their own galleys. This proposal was accepted, he arrived in Italy at Vienna, and married prince Ferdinand on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1611 (2).

(H) This assembly was composed of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, with the princes of these two electoral houses, one palatine, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the marquis of Baden, the ministers of the dukes of Braunschweig, Luneburg, and Wittemberg, the most considerable among the Protestant counts and barons of the empire, and deputies from the towns of Frankfurt, Bremen, Strasburg, Lubeck, and many others (3).

1) Barr, t. ix. p. 621.  2) Barr, t. ix. p. 622.  3) Hielis. l. 19. p. 120.
or, touching his edict of restitution, though their real design was to contrive means for moderating the authority of Ferdinand, in the general diet which he had summoned to meet at Frankfort. Accordingly their deliberations turned upon the maintenance of the laws and constitutions of the empire, the liberty of the Germanic body, the preservation of harmony between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, the relief of the people, who were overwhemed with taxes, and finally, the assurance of a solid and lasting peace to the empire. After having duly considered the grievances under which they laboured, it was unanimously resolved to levy an army of forty thousand men, to form a kind of flable and permanent council; and a declaration was sent to the emperor, and Catholic league, importing, that notwithstanding their resolution to raise troops, they should be always perfectly well disposed to preserve the peace. Ferdinand, filled with indignation at these presumptuous steps, published a long manifesto, complaining of the Protestants, whom he accused of holding private intelligence with the king of Sweden. Nor was this conjecture void of foundation; insomuch as they had not, in their remonstrance, mentioned the irrigation of Gustavus into Lower Saxony, or promised the least affiance to the emperor in defeating the purposes of that invasion; and, indeed, he had little reason to expect such a voluntary offer, from those whom he had been so long accustomed to mortify and oppress. Alarmed, however, at their proceedings, he condemned them as being contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and forbade the Catholic states to aid them in any shape, on pain of seeing their felt confined.

Meanwhile, Gustavus, being well assured of the favourable dispositions of the Protestant princes, and strengthened by the succours he had received from England, France, and Holland, continued the war with surprising success. The severity of winter could not put a stop to his conquests: he made himself master of Calberg, Frankfort upon the Oder, and Damascus, which was too ill defended, and so shamefully given up by Svecelli, that the conqueror could not help paying to him, in the most bitter strain of raillery, "Sir, I would advise you to serve the emperor henceforth in the cabinet rather than in the field." Count Tilly advanced from the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, in order to oppose this formidable invader, and even retook Frankfort, and some other places; but finding himself unequal to the strength and vigour of Gustavus, he was fain to return to Magdeburg, which he besieged in form, while the king of Sweden, being refused a passage for his troops by John-Georg, elector of Saxony, could not march to the relief of that place, and therefore returned to besiege Frankfort, which he took by assault, and abandoned to pillage.

The affair of Mantua being still undetermined, and the Imperialists and French in possession of that dutchy and its dependencies, the pope sent the nuncio Pancirole and Massarini to those two powers, in order to negotiate an accommodation, which should restore peace to Italy. These ministers acquitted themselves with such address, that the emperor and French king agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Gueraud in Piedmont: Ferdinand, having occasion to withdraw his troops from Italy, for the service of the war against the king of Sweden, far from being difficult in his conditions, offered to confer the investiture upon the duke of Mantua, to restore his capital, and put the Griffon again in possession of the passage of the Valatine. France, on the other hand, contended to deliver to the duke of Savoy, Chambray, Pigereal, and all the other places she had wrested from him: and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spaniards, who opposed this accommodation, the treaty was signed by Galas, the emperor's plenipotentiary, and Thoiras, allied by Servien, secretary of state and minister of France.

In consequence of this treaty, the Austrian troops in Italy were ordered to return to the empire, under the command of Egen de Fürstenberg, who compelled the Protestants of Suabia and Franconia to renounce the confederation of Leipsic, to disband their troops, and pay large contributions to the emperor. But, before these transactions, Gustavus seeing he could not march to the relief of Magdeburg, without giving umbrage to the elector of Saxony, whom he did not chuse to disoblige, he undertook the siege of Potsdam, which he carried, together with some other places which the Imperialists occupied upon the Elbe.

Meanwhile, Count Tilly proscribed the siege of Magdeburg with equal vigour and perseverance, and at length took it by assault; upon which occasion unheard of cruelties were perpetrated by the Imperialists, who reduced the whole city to ashes, except the cathedral, and about one hundred and fifty burning-huts upon the bank of the Elbe. Here was Christian of Brandenburg taken prisoner; and when the dukes of Saxo-Lauenburg and Holstein reproached him with his want of, in having defended the city against the emperor, he affirmed, that his enterprise was just, and that heaven would punish the Austrians for the innocent blood they had shed. Indeed, the carnage was almost unexampled; for above thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished by water, fire, and sword.
The history of Germany.

a The fate of this unfortunate city having rendered the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg more timid and circumspect, Gauhavus was tired of their irrelulote conduct, and summonsed the laft to declare himself openly in three days; the elector’s answer being ambiguous, he marched directly to Berlin, and by a trumpet demanded that the gates should be opened, otherwise he would enter the city by force. This menace had the desired effect upon George-William, who conformed to the king’s retaining Spandau while the war should continue, and allowed his army to pass through Gauhavin. The agreement had not been long concluded when the landgrave of Hesse, whose country had been threatened with destruction by count Till, upon his refusing to declare against the Swedes, taking the advantage of the absence of that general, who was gone to oppose Gauhavus; profiting, I say, by that opportunity, the landgrave put himself under the protection of his Swedes majesty, who promised to defend him, and procure restitution of the tents belonging to him, which the emperor had seized during the troubles of Babenica. The landgrave, on his side, promised to enter heartily into the interests of Gauhavus, and to engage in no treaty without his consent: but to admit the king’s troops into his cities, without prejudice however to his right of sovereignty, and on condition that the places should be restored when the motives for retaining them should cease. It was likewise agreed, that the landgrave’s troops should join the army of Sweden; that the king should have the chief command, which, in his absence, should be equally shared between William and one of his officers, to be named for that purpose; and, finally, that the Hessian should furnish a certain quantity of provisions to the Swedes troops; and that the king and the landgrave should have no after-demands upon each other for the succours which they should mutually give or take. This was the ordinary form of the treaties in which the king of Sweden engaged with the princes of the empire. Gauhavus had by this time suffered the Elbe; and Till, having in vain urged all his efforts to oblige him to repass that river, resolved to detach the elector of Saxony from the league of Leipsick by dint of threats; and John-George, disturbed as well as incensed at his menaces, dispatched Armhein his general to the king of Sweden, with an offer to admit Swedes garrisons into his electorat, and to come and fight at the head of his own troops under the auspices of his majesty. Nothing could be more agreeable to Gauhavus than this proposal, in consequence of which a treaty was soon concluded, importing, that the king of Sweden should defend the elector, on condition of his having the command in chief, his being indulged with a free passage through all the places upon the Elbe, and his being furnished with provisions for his army, while it should be employed in the defence of the electorat. It was also stipulated, that neither party should treat with the emperor without the other’s consent.

This treaty being signed, the elector assembled his troops at Torxus, to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand, with eight and twenty pieces of cannon, and marched to Wittenberg; where being met by the king of Sweden and the marquis of Brandenburg, they began to concert measures for acting in concert against the emperor’s general, who had taken Hal and Leipsick, where he was at that time encamped. Gauhavus, unwilling to put the issue of the war upon the uncertain event of one battle, to be fought against an able and experienced enemy, was of opinion that no risque ought to be run; but the duke of Saxony, who longed to be rid of the Swedes as well as Afghians, represented, that his dominions were incapable of maintaining two great armies for any length of time, without being totally ruined; and protested, with great warmth, that he would march alone against the enemy, if the king of Sweden should refuse to second him in the enterprise. Gauhavus was very well pleased with his spirit and disposition; and, in conformity with his remonstrance, agreed to prepare for their march towards Leipsick.

The king of Sweden commanded the right wing, consisting of four thousand horse; and in his rear was general Banier with nine thousand men, divided into fix equal battalions, in one line; at the head of each were eight pieces of cannon, made of boiled leather, of a new invention; and at each flank were five and thirty troops of horse. The main body, conducted by colonel Tufeld, was of fix battalions, with fix field-pieces in the front of each, sustained in the rear by several troops of horse and some infantry. The left wing, commanded by marischal Horn, was composed of four battalions, supported on the right and left by several companies of foot and troops of horse, and the elector of Saxony was upon the left with his new levies, which had never stood fire.

TILL” no sooner perceived their intention than he called a council of war, and represented the necessity he was under to keep within his intrenchments until he should receive a reinforcement, which he expected from Silesia; but the count of Pappenhein espousing the contrary opinion, which was likewise adopted by the majority of the officers, the imperial army decamped from Leipsick, and advanced about a mile into the plain of Breitentfeld, where it was drawn up in order of battle. Pappenhein had the command of the left wing.

*Barke, t. ix. p. 616. *Id. ibid. =Streu, per. 10. fede. p. 3011. =Puffendorf, l. 3. fede. 38.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. M. M. M. that
that of the right was given to the count of Furstenberg, and Tilly commanded in the center. The whole disposition consisted in one long front, without any body of reserve; the cavalry being upon the right and left, and the infantry with the cannon between the two wings. This order of battle was disagreeable to some officers, who complained of it to count Tilly; and that general no sooner recollected himself from the perplexity and concern with which he had been overwhelmed ever since his opinion in council was contradicted, than he changed the disposition (1), in order to have the advantage of the sun, wind, and dust; supported his right by the village of Poldewitz, his left by a wood, and placed his center upon a rising-ground between them. Each army is computed to have amounted to forty thousand men.

The action began by the discharge of artillery on both sides; and the cannon of the Imperialists produced some disorder in the left wing of the Swedes, because at that time count Horn made a motion to gain the wind of the Austrians. Count Tilly perceiving his design, extended his front to the right, so that his left wing was no longer supported, but entirely detached from the main body. Gustavus taking the advantage of this circumstance, advanced at the head of his battalions, and poured in such a brisk fire upon the Imperialists, that they were immediately broke; nevertheless they rallied twice, and being as often repulsed, betook themselves to flight. Mean while count Tilly descended into the plain; and leaving the Swedes under Tysfeld upon the left, attacked the troops of the elector of Saxony, who were routed in a moment before the Swedes could come to their affluence. Gustavus understanding that the disorder was equal among the pursuers and the conquered, joined his own victorious troops to the body of Tysfeld, which had not yet engaged, and fell with such impetuosity upon the Austrian cavalry, that they were soon put to flight, while the foot retired in good order into the wood on the left, abandoning their cannon to the enemy. There they were surrounded by the Swedes, and defended themselves to the last extremity, being animated by the example of Tilly, who fought at their head with equal prudence and intrepidity; till at last the Swedes having turned their own cannon upon them, they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day: their general having received three muskets in his body, would have been taken prisoner, had not the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg come to his rescue, and conveyed him to Hall more dead than alive.

In this battle, which was fought on the seventeenth day of September, seven thousand five hundred and fourteen Austrians were left dead upon the spot, exclusive of those who fell in the route, and five thousand were made prisoners: their baggage and artillery, together with one hundred pair of colours and many standards, fell into the hands of the Swedes, who lost about seven hundred men, and remained all night upon the field. The immediate consequence of this victory was the taking of Leipsic, and other places, which the Imperialists had wrenched from the elector of Saxony; while count Tilly, who had retired from Hall to Halberstadt, where he was joined by count Pappenheim, marched towards the Wejer, and took the route to Franconia, with a view to join the troops commanded by Albringben and Fagger, so as to form an army sufficient to check the progress of the king of Sweden, who, in person, entered Franconia, from whence he marched into the Palatinate, while the elector of Saxony, by his order, penetrated into Silesia and Bohemia. Count Tilly having passed the Wejer, marched into Wepphalia, and from hence into Helf, where he was joined by Albringben and Fagger, and afterwards by the forces which the duke of Lorraine led to the assistance of the emperor, so that his army amounted to about forty thousand men; and although Gustavus had not much more than half that number, he would not venture to give him battle: on the contrary, he fat down quietly, and beheld that prince conquer cities and whole provinces, to the attonishment of the partizans of the house of Austria, a number of whom could not help thinking the emperor was betrayed. Indeed Gustavus, almost without opposition, made himself master of the whole country in his passage from the Elbe to the Rhine, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. Erfurt in Thuringia, Wurtzburg, and all the strong places of Franconia, opened their gates to his victorious troops: the Imperial diet convened at Frankfort, in order to terminate the difference occasioned by the decree of Reposition, was dissolved: Mentz was surrendered to him in a few days: he extended his conquests into the Palatinate, then, in flight of a body of Spanis troops, crossed the Rhine, upon the banks of which he erected a pyramid, that posterity might know how far he had conducted his victorious army. The elector-palatine believing, that now the time approached that would see him restored to his dominions, followed Gustavus into the Palatinate, and solicited the affiance of his arms, which had already re-established the dukedom of Mecklenburg, and several other noblemen; but whether


(1) Tilly seeing the Swede approach in good order, grew pale, and supported his head upon his hands in a musing posture for the space of a quarter of an hour, during which he did not seem to comprehend what was said to him.
The history of Germany.

a the king was doubtful of the elector’s gratitude, or did not, as yet, think himself strong enough to engage in such an enterprise, he evaded his request with fair promises, on the strength of which Frederick resolved to follow in his train.

GUSTAVUS had no sooner passed the Rhine, than Worms was abandoned by Offenbach, a colonel of Lorraine, who commanded in the place: Heilbronn was surrendered to general Horn: Spire declared for the king of Sweden; and Gifyenfheim followed the example of that city: Landau and Weißenburg, in submitting to his power, laid Alajce open to the Swedes army; and he sent Beingen to Strasbourg to manage his interest with the regency of that city, which he found zealously disposed in favour of a prince whom they regarded as the author of their freedom. His army being considerably reinforced by the troops of the princes with whom he was in alliance, he detached a strong body to affit the dukes of Mecklenburg in the conquest of Lower Saxony, and in expelling the Austrian soldiers who were still in possession of Roßbach and Wismar: these two cities were subdued about the beginning of November; and in four months the king of Sweden saw himself possessed of all the country extending from the Baltic to the frontiers of Southland and Lorraine. While the banks of the Rhine refounded with the succours of Gustavus, the elector of Saxony conquered Lusatia; and, penetrating into the heart of Bohemia, took Prága from the emperor. He might have extended his conquests a great deal farther, had not his troops, intoxicated with victory and enriched with booty, abandoned themselves to the most shameful excesses. These debauches were in some measure owing to the connivance of the elector, who began c to be jealous and afraid of the growing power of the Swedes, and, instead of prosecuting the war according to the repeated infallences of Gustavus, allowed his soldiers to repose and divert themselves in Prague; a remissness of conduct that gave Galis, the Austrian general, time to assemble some troops, and throw himself into the strong town of Plzen, which would have stopped the progress of the elector, even if he had been disposed to proceed in his military operations. However, the fate of Prague, and the conquests of Gustavus, produced a general revolution in the empire. The archbishop of Bremen, the states of Lower Saxony, the Protestant towns, the counts of Württemberg and Westerwald, together with the whole Leîách confederation, now openly espoused the interest of the Swedes. d FERDINAND, humbled by so many disasters, to which he had been so little accustomed, now saw himself in danger of being besieged in his capital, or chased from his hereditary dominions: and in this unfortunate dilemma his ministers represented, that the most efficacious expedient for re-establishing his affairs would be to deprive Tily of the command of the army, and bestow it upon a general of more experience, and less devoted to the duke of Bavaria, who was not very farry to see the house of Austria in difficulties. In a word, they proposed that he should recall Walther; and he complied with this advice, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish ministers, who were the inveterate enemies of that general. Walther had retired to Znaim in Moravia, where he confined himself for his disgrace by breaching the misfortunes of Germany; and there he was found by the emperor’s deputies, who conjured him to sacrifice his private resentment to the safety of his country, and resume the command of the army, which he should enjoy upon his own terms. He was accordingly declared generalissimo, and invested with an absolute power, independent of the councils of Vienna, while count Tilly was sent with a body of troops to act in Franconia and the neighbouring provinces. e At the same time the emperor sent Walther’s brother-in-law, the cardinal d’Harbach, to implore the affiance of the pope; and the baron Rabata to solicit succours from the Italian princes, either in money or troops; but both negotiations miscarried. In vain did the cardinal press the pope to affit his master with a sum of money, to employ his influence in detaching the king of France from his alliance with Gustavus; and to publish a crusade against the Swedes, who (he alleged) had threatened to march into Italy and lay the city of Roma: f his holiness excused himself with regard to the money, on account of the poverty of the apostolic chamber; and, instead of a crusade, promised to publish a general jubilee. While the emperor thus endeavoured to strengthen himself with new allies, the friends of Sweden tampered with some princes of the empire, who had hitherto supported his cause. CHARNAY the French ambassador at Munich, represented to the duke of Bavaria, that his interest was incompatible with the house of Austria, and exerted all his efforts to bring him over to the party of Gustavus; but all his art was ineffectual: the duke as well as his brother Ferdinand, elector of Coburg, were apprehensive that the Catholics would be oppressed, in consequence of the emperor’s disaster; and they took umbrage at the reception which Frederick count-palatine had met with from the king of Sweden, who, doubtless, intended g to re-establish him in his dominions, provided he could compel Ferdinand to sue for peace. The same reasons weighed with the elector of Mentz, who, though he wished for nothing more than a neutrality, resolved to run all the risques of war rather than abandon the house.

---

1 Barst, t. ix. p. 616. 2 Hess, t. iii. l. iii. p. 152.
of Austria. As for Philip Christopher, elector of Trier and bishop of Spire, he found himself in a very uncomfortable situation: the Spaniards were in possession of Coblenz, and the most considerable part of his dominions; and he had incurred the displeasure of Gustavus by the assassination of the count de Selms, who was said to have been murdered by the direction of this prelate (K). Finding himself therefore threatened by the Swedes, who was already at his gates, he fled for the protection of France, which he obtained on condition of detaching himself entirely from the emperor, and putting Hermenfin in the hands of the French, as a pledge of his fidelity. Gustavus Adolphus, having employed ministers everywhere to form new alliances, demand succours, remove the jealousies occasioned by his successes, and traverse the necessities of the emperor, he in person advanced to Franconia at the head of his army, which every day increased. Nuremberg received him with open arms; and after he had, by means of his secret emissaries, engaged in his interest the majority of the Franconian gentlemen and nobles, he marched towards Neumarch, in order to reduce Ingolstadt, with design to pass the Danube, enter the Upper Palatinate, and from thence penetrate into Bavaria. Count Tilly, informed of his motions, hastened towards that city, to oppose the approach of the Swedes; but Gustavus, turning suddenly to the right, appeared before Donauwörth, which was immediately abandoned by the Bavarian garrison; and by the favour of the conqueror retrieved its ancient liberty, of which it had been deprived by the dukes of Bavaria. The Swedes now made excursions on both sides of the Danube without molestation; and their parties, extending themselves into Swabia, raised contributions on the towns and castles that depended upon the houses of Austria and Bavaria.

All that Tilly could do, in order to hinder the enemy from entering Bavaria, was to dispute the passage of the Lach, upon the bank of which he posted himself to advantageously, that, in a council of war assembled by his Swedish majesty, general Horn was of opinion, that they ought not to attack an army covered by a river, provided with every thing necessary for a vigorous defence, and commanded by a general of consummate experience and ability. But the king, being determined at all risks to open a passage into Bavaria, concerted in person the enemy's camp, and formed a scheme of passing the river upon a bridge of rafts, to be constructed and used under the fire of cannon that he resolved to plant on the bank, which being high, favoured his design.

This project was actually executed on the fifth day of April with incredible diligence. Seventy two pieces of cannon soon destroyed six imperial regiments that were posted in an opposite wood; and Gustavus fortified the head of his bridge with a work, which the Bavarians attacked three times without success. During these efforts the Swedish cavalry forced the river; and count Tilly, afraid of being surrounded, took advantage of the night to retire in good order, with his baggage and artillery, to Newburg and Ingolstadt; but in this retreat he was wounded in the thigh by a cannon-shot, and in a few days died at Ingolstadt, extremely regretted by the duke of Bavaria and the whole army (L). After the passage of the Lach and the defeat of the Bavarian troops, there was nothing to rejoin the hopes of Gustavus, who soon convinced his enemies of their error in likening him to a king of snow, that would melt in the spring. This last victory was followed by the submission of Augsburg, in which the king re-established the exercise of the Protestant religion, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the magistrates; a step which cooled the zeal of his allies, who now began to suspect that he extended his views farther than he at first pretended.

In the mean time, the duke of Bavaria complained to the Catholic states of their having broke their promises with him, inasmuch as he had demanded succours, and nobody came to his relief. He likewise represented at Vienna the danger to which he was exposed; and Wolfstein, pleased to see his enemy's country on the verge of destruction, never wanted plausible excuses for withholding his assistance, when the emperor prefaced him to save Bavaria; so that the duke, despairing of succour, felt his most valuable effects to Salzburg.

At that time the king of Sweden was employed in the siege of Ingolstadt, which was so gallantly defended by the son of count Tilly, that after having suffered several repulses, he resolved to quit the enterprise; and entering Bavaria, where he found the gates of Landshut, Merzburg, and Friesingen, laid open at his approach, he, on the seventh day of

---

(K) The elector sent an inoffensive letter to Gustavus, who said to the gentleman who brought it, "Your master talks big; but tell him to keep his purse well replenished, for he will have occasion for all his dollars to regulate the gaits that I shall send to him. If the elector will quit the party of my enemies, he shall not be molested; but if he continues to misbehave, I shall soon bring him to reason."

(L) Count Tilly, killed in the seventeenth year of his age, was a gentleman of Liege, who had raised himself to the rank of lieutenant-general of the Catholic league, under the duke of Bavaria, and after Wolfstein's flight, he succeeded to the chief command of the imperial troops. He was always victorious until the battle of Leipzick, and might be compared to the most illustrious captains of antiquity, had not his glory been stained by the horrid cruelties which he permitted his troops to commit when he took the city of Magdeburg.

Barke, t. ix. p. 622.  
† Id. ibid.
The history of Germany.

May, appeared before Munich, and was met by St. Etienne, the French envoy at the Bavarian court, who intreated him to spare the city and the magnificent palace. Some Swedes, on the contrary, exhorted him to revenge upon Munich the cruelties which count Tilly’s army had perpetrated at Magdeburg; but to this advice he replied, in a truly heroic strain: “Let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who have rendered their merits effaceable by destroying all the beauties of art.” Draught with such noble sentiments he entered the city, which was ransomed by the citizens for three hundred thousand rixdollars, and found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon belonging to the duke, which he ordered to be transported to Augsburg.*

During the transactions, Wallenstein duke of Friedland put himself at the head of the imperial army, and undertook the siege of Prague, which he took by assault. Egira, and other places of that kingdom, returned to their allegiance; and the emperor, in a very little time, retrieved the whole country of Bohemia, while the duke of Saxony was obliged to weaken his army, by sending several detachments to cover the frontiers of his dominions.

The success of Wallenstein, together with some vigorous actions performed by Papenheim, in Saxony and Thuringia, railed the drooping spirits of the Imperialists; and Ferdinand flattened himself with the hope of seeing his authority in a little time re-established through the whole empire. This, however, was a pleasure which the duke of Friedland had no intention to indulge with; for the design of that general was to enter Saxony, and to force the duke to an accommodation with himself in particular, but the duke of Bavaria, and the Spaniards, made such pressing inferences at the court of Vienna, that Wallenstein could not, with any decent appearance, refuse to join Maximilian, and march against the king of Sweden. Nevertheless, he indubitably thwarted him in all the operations of the campaign; permitted his troops to ravage the Upper Palatinate, as if it had been an enemy’s country, and, instead of attacking the duke’s proposal of attacking Gustavus, who was at that time greatly inferior to them in numbers, he formed the resolution of starving the Swedes, and for that purpose took possession of the neighboring villages, and ordered his cavalry to scour the country, with a view to cut off their convoys, and interrupt their foraging parties. The king of Sweden having received a reinforcement under the chancellor Oxenstierna, the prince palatine of Berkenes, the dukes of Saxo-Wymar, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and general Bannier, saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men, and resolved to give battle to the enemy: but Wallenstein declining the engagement, and trenched himself in the front of a wood, Gustavus advanced from Nuremberg to Fort, and drew up his forces in order of battle, to attack the Imperialists, who, on their side, made all the necessary dispositions for giving them a warm reception.

The attack was begun by the German troops, who being soon repulsed, Gustavus ordered the rear of his army to fire upon those who had turned their backs; and after having, fiercely reproached the Germans for their daftardly behaviour, he commanded some Swedish regiments to renew the assault. Whilst there were very roughly handled by the Imperialists in front, the Swedish cavalry fell out from their intrenchments to the right and left, and taking the enemy in flank made great slaughter; notwithstanding which they were obliged to retreat, and the action continued with great obduracy for the space of ten hours: every regiment in the Swedish army, not even excepting the body of reserve, having marched up to the attack in turn. At length the king of Sweden despairing of being able to force the Imperial intrenchments, resolved to effectuate a retreat; and seeing no general officer near him, he addressed himself to an old Swedish colonel of the name of Hiepburn, who had quitted his service upon some dispute, and protested he would never draw a sword again in his cause. Gustavus was not ignorant of his sentiments; but relying upon his known courage and generosity, he desired him to wave his resentment for once, and exert himself for the safety of the troops. The veteran, seeing such a favourable opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels, told the king, that this was the only occasion on which he would ever serve such an ungrateful prince, and rushing into the hottest part of the battle, delivered the orders of Gustavus to his army, and conducted the retreat with such order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not venture to give them the least disturbance. Having performed this glorious exploit the king retired to his own country, in contempt of all the promises and efforts which the king of Sweden made, in order to retain him in his service. This engagement cost the Augrians about eleven hundred men, who were killed upon the spot, including the counts Fugger, Aldobranden, and Caraffa; but the Swedes, who were more exposed, lost a much greater number, with several officers of distinction; and Gustavus himself narrowly escaped with his life, part of his boot being carried off by a cannon-ball. This prince did not think proper to make any other attempt upon the Augrians; but leaving Oxenstierna with a body of troops in Nuremberg, he advanced into Franconia.

* Hess, t. iii. l. iii. p. 154. + Barre, t. ix. p. 625. * Puffendorf, div. succ. i. iv. and
and marched towards Bavaria, in order to encourage and support the peasants who had revolted in Upper Austria; while the elector of Saxony leaving his own country defenceless, sent his troops into Silicia, to make a powerful diversion in favour of his Swedish majesty.

WALSTEIN, taking advantage of this conjuncture, separated from the duke of Bavaria, and marched towards Misnia to join count Papenheim, general of the Catholic league, intending to make himself master of this province, where he meant to establish his winter-quarters; and this motion not a little concerned the duke of Saxony, who professed Gustavus to haften to his relief. Accordingly the Swede quitted Bavaria, where he left twelve thousand men, and traversing Thuringia, arrived at Naumburg, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. Here he was informed that Papenheim was detached from the imperial army to conduct six regiments into the country of Cologny; and that Walstein, after having quitted Weissenfels, had retired to Lutzen, at the distance of two leagues from Leipzick. He no sooner received this intelligence, than he resolved to march thither and engage the enemy, who had thus imprudently weakened himself. He accordingly set out on this expedition, contrary to the opinion of Bernard duke of Weymar, who advised him to grant some repose to his troops; and on the fifteenth of November he came in fight of the imperial army about two o'clock in the afternoon. The day being so far spent, he paffed some night in order of battle, and next morning was prevented from engaging by a thick fog, which did not vanish till eleven in the forenoon; then Gustavus advancing at the head of his guards, repulsed the enemy from the place where their cannon was mounted, and turned their artillery against themselves: but this post was retaken in half an hour by the Imperialists, who obliged the Swedes to give way in their turn. The king, perceiving the disorder of his troops alighted, and putting himself at the head of his regiments. If (said he) after having passed so many rivers, scaled so many walls, and reduced so many strongholds, you have not courage to defend me, at least make one effort to stand and see me fall. Penetrated by this reproach they exclaimed, that they had no fear but for his person, and returned to the charge with such resolution, as to gain the artillery, and force the intrenchments of Walstein’s camp. Gustavus having so far carried his point, went to reconnoitre another post, attended only by two aids du camp, and falling among a party of cuirassiers, was unhappily slain. His death, however, did not depress the courage of the Swedes, or in any shape alter his plan of the attack; in consequence of which the duke of Saxo-Weymar pressed the Imperialists on all hands, with such vigour and intrepidity, that they were involved in universal disorder, which was encreased by the accidental explosion of gunpowder. In this emergency they were relieved by the arrival of count Papenheim, with part of his cavalry, who renewed the fight with great fury, and bore down all before him, until he received a mortal wound, of which he died next day at Leipzick. This misfortune disheartened the Austrians to such a degree, that taking the advantage of the night, they retreated with great precipitation, leaving their cannon and the field of battle to the Swedes, who lost about three thousand men in this engagement; but it cost the Imperialists double that number. Next day, after a diligent search, the king’s body was found stripped, mangled, and covered with gore, one of his attendants lying dead at his side, and the other just expiring, though he had strength enough left to relate the manner of his prince’s death. The body was carried to Naumburg, then to Wolfsau, from whence it was conveyed to Stockholm, where it was interred with great funeral pomp (M).

Thus fell Gustavus Adolphus, surnamed the Great, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, than whom no prince was ever more esteemed, beloved, and regretted. All the world considered him as an hero; the Protestants of Germany revered him as their deliverer; and the elector palatine, whose sole hope of recovering his dominions depended upon the intention and power of his Swedish majesty, being indignant at Mentz, no sooner heard of this monarch’s death, than he relapsed into a fever, which, in a few days, deprived him of life. Nor was this prince devoid of good qualities, though they were tarnished by a spirit of vanity and ambition, to which all his misfortunes were owing. Charles-Lewis, his eldest son, being under age at his death, the administration of his affairs were undertaken by Philip-Lewis his uncle, until he should be of age according to the constitutions of the empire. Both armies were so weakened by the battle of Lutzen, that the war languished all the rest of the campaign, especially on the side of the emperor; for Walstein being in no condition to undertake any other enterprise, retired into Bohemia, whither he was followed by the Swedes.

* Du May Eut de L’Empire, 10th dialogue.  
** Heiss, t. ii. l. iii. p. 156.  
**** Hilfort, de Gualdo Piaceto, part. I. v.

(M) Francis Albert, duke of Saxo-Lauenburg, is suspected of having assassinated the king of Sweden in the battle, and what seems to confirm this suspicion, he immediately after the engagement, abandoned the Swedes and declared for the emperor, whose army he had left for this vile purpose.

Iowed
The history of Germany.

a lowed by the Sweden, with the body of their dead monarch. In a word, Ferdinand, whose troops were defeated, looked upon himself as a gainer by the death of his most formidable enemy, and the Sweden, though victorious, confounded themselves as undone by the loss of their king. This misfortune fell till the heavier, as he left no son capable to assume the reins of government, his only daughter Chri[ntina being at that time in the sixt year of her age: nevertheless, under the command of duke Bernard, they drove the Imperialists out of Saxony, before the end of the year, contrary to the expectation of Ferdinand, who hoped that the Sweden troops would separate of their own accord, and their allies be so much divided among themselves, that he should find no difficulty in subduing them one after another.

b C H A P. XVIII.

Containing the Progress of the War to the Treaty of Prague.

W A L S T E I N, indeed, advised him to publish a general amity, which he believed would have a great tendency towards an accommodation; but his imperial majesty, who had other designs, and wanted to render himself absolute in the empire, made new preparations for continuing the war. The same steps were taken by the duke of Bavaria; and the Spaniards sent considerable sums into Italy to levy troops for the emperor's service. On the other hand a general conformation prevailed among the Protestants, who had flattered themselves with the hope of seeing their religion and liberty secured by the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. Besides, disquiet and misunderstanding began to arise among themselves, as well as between them and the Sweden nation, to which they were unwilling to yield the chief direction of such a capital confederacy, although, without their assistance, they foresaw the scheme must be ruined without resource.

Cardinal Richelieu, tho' he privately rejoiced at the death of the king, resolved to maintain the alliance with Sweden, lest that kingdom should make a separate accommodation with the emperor, who might, in such a case, pour in his whole force upon France: he was likewise apprehensive that the Sweden, if detached from their alliance with Lewis, would fall upon the Catholics in Germany, from whom they could have extorted much greater sum than the subsidy they received from the French king: and lastly, his design was to profit by the troubles of the empire, in seizing the whole country on the other side of the Rhine, from Baf[ti to the Moselle. Swayed by these motives, the king of France wrote to Oxenfem, the Sweden chancellor, and all the generals of that army, exhorting them to prosecute the work they had so happily begun, and promising to assist them with all his power. They received the same assurances from the English and Dutch; and as for the king of Denmark, the jealousy which he had conceived of Gustavus, being now considerably diminished, he would no longer listen to the promises of the emperor, who would have engaged him to break with Sweden. He was far from wishing to contribute to the ruin of the German Protestants: he saw Sweden had no affairs upon her hands, that he might one way or other take the advantage of her being involved; and he flattered himself with the expectation of a match, between his son prince Urban and the young queen Chri[ntina. The education of this young prince was, by the states of the kingdom, committed to the chiefs of the five colleges (N), namely the grand baile, the marshal, the admiral, the chancellor and the treasurer of the crown; but the principal direction of the affairs of Germany was conferred upon Oxenfem, the chancellor of the kingdom, whom Gustavus before his death had sent to solicit the circles of High Germany to make preparations for maintaining the war. In the execution of this office, betowed upon him by the states of Sweden, he found great obstacles to surmount, in the pride and dignity of the electors, and other Protestant princes, who were very little disposed to obey the regulations of a stranger; and in the jealousy of the generals, who, for the most part, were originally Germans: and he forewore the danger and disgrace that would attend the Sweden, should they abandon their conquests, without first having concluded a treaty with the emperor. He perceived, that, whatever might be the issue, it would be more creditable to stay until he should be expelled by force of arms, than to retreat without resistance; that the more vigorously he acted, he might expect the more honourable peace; that, should he entirely abandon the work which was begun, the affairs of the Protestants must in a little time be ruined beyond redemption, and Sweden itself, by necessary confluence, be exposed to the utmost hazard; and that,

\[ A. D. 1633. \]

Oxenfem is estranged with the principal direction of the Swedish affair.

\[ Puffendorf Introductum a L'Histoire d'1 Univers. liv. \]

Puffendorf L'Histoire de la Monarchie Suedoise, i. vi.

(N) The tutorage of Chri[ntina, and administration of her dominions, was claimed by John Cofm, prince palatine of the Rhine, third son of John the first, duke of Douv[ons. He was married in Sweden to Catharine, daughter to Charles the ninth, by whom he had several children, and among the rest Charles Gustavus, who succeeded Chri[ntina upon the throne of Sweden.

although
The history of Germany.

although he should not be able to perform his undertakings with that glory which would have attended their enterprizes had the king been alive, he might nevertheless hinder the enemy from approaching the frontiers of Sweden, until a favourable peace could be obtained. Such were the reflections Oxenstiern suggested to the circles of Sweden, France, the Upper and Lower Rhine. In order to deliberate upon the affairs of the common cause, he convoked an assembly, which was transferred from Ulm to Hailbronn; and understanding that the elector of Saxony endeavoured to thwart his purpose, and obtain for himself the principal direction of affairs, he repaired to Dresden, with a view to engage that prince in a firm concurrence with the common interest. But being amused with general answers, and perceiving that several of the elector’s councillors inclined towards the cause of the emperor, he left this court, very little satisfied with the issue of his negotiation, and visited the elector of Brandenburg; who not only expressed the most hearty inclination to contribute towards the success of the common cause, but even went to Dresden, in order to reinforce the representations of the chancellor.

All his remonstrances, however, made no impression upon the elector of Saxony, who complained that Oxenstiern arrogated to himself too much authority in the empire; and in particular inveighed against him, because he had hindered Frederic-Ulric, duke of Brunswick, from assembling the circle of Lower Saxony, on pretence that the right of convoking belonged to the archbishop of Magdeburg, of which the crown of Sweden was then in possession. The ambassador of France, who arrived at Dresden in the midst of these transactions, employed his whole address to corroborate the arguments used by the elector of Brandenburg; but the Saxons remained inflexible, and, what aggravated the misfortune, George Landgrave of Hesse communicated all that passed on this occasion to the emperor.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, Oxenstiern neglected nothing to preserve the Swedish conquests: from the main army, which was then in Silesia, he detached fourteen thousand men, under the command of George duke of Luneburg, to drive the Imperialists from Lower Saxony and Westphalia: duke Bernard marched with the rest of the troops into France, from whence he had orders to go and act in Overland in concert with Gustavus Horn, who likewise had a considerable command; while the count de Thurn was sent to retrieve the Swedish affairs in Silesia, and to succour Pomerania, in case the Imperialists should make an irruption into that province. In consequence of this disposition, Gustavus Horn entered Silesia, where he defeated the Bavarian cavalry near Kimpfen, and hindered them from taking up quarters in the country of Wurtemberg. In Westphalia, George duke of Luneburg made himself master of several places; and after having beaten count de Mansfeld, near Rhenliem, laid siege to Hamel; and the landgrave William subdued great part of the country of Munster: but no progress was made in Silesia, because the Swedish and Saxon generals disagreed.

In the mean time the four circles assembled at Hailbronn (O), notwithstanding the endeavours of the Saxons, who attempted to frustrate the convention by letters importing, that, in consequence of the treaty of Leipzick, he was invited with the direction of the Protestant affairs: and here the chancellor exerted himself with such success, that a league was formed with the crown of Sweden; and he, as plenipotentiary of that crown, entrusted with the conduct of affairs relating to the common cause, though he was restricted by a council chosen by the consent of all the allies, under the appellation of consilium formatum. It was not without infinite pains that he gained his point, on this occasion, against the intrigues of the emperor and the court of Saxony, and in the midst of so many jarring interests, which he was obliged to unite: after all, he was limited by several troublesome clausules, gilded in private by Fauquieres, the French ambassador; who, while he openly exhorted the members to join with Sweden, was afraid of losing the power of that crown and the Protestant interest too much strengthened in the empire.

The king of Denmark, at length dazzled by the magnificent promises of the emperor, employed all his address in drawing the Swedes from Germany; and with this view offered his mediation for a peace to the elector of Saxony. Oxenstiern, on the other hand, who would not openly refuse the proposal, desired that the mediation of France and Holland might be joined to the good offices of his Danis majesty, well knowing that the em-

---

(O) This assembly was composed of deputies from the circles of the Upper Rhine, Sweden, and France, the minister of the elector of Brandenburg, two dukes of the house of Wurtemberg, Frederic marquis of Baden and his two sons, the hightgrave, Otho and Philip the counts Nassau, Selin, Hanau, and several other princes; the marquises of Ansbach, Coldenburgh, and Brandenburg; the towns of Nuremberg, Frankfort, Ulm, and Strasbourg, sent deputies to this convention; the chancellor of Sweden was there with two councillors, a secretary of state and several officers of the army; and finally, Fauquieres, Anstruther, and Palou, ambassadors from France, England, and Holland, attended at this assembly.
a peror would never consent to such a conjunction, and that therefore the scheme must prove abortive. He had already observed, that a separate peace was on the carpet at Dresden, and opposed it with all his power; but, in order to provide for the worst, he, at the assembly of Hailbron, reëstablished the children of Frederic count-palatine, in their territories and electoral dignity; hoping by this measure to engage England, Brandenburg, and Holland, with the whole palatine house, to concur more seriously in the execution of his designs. At the same time he renewed the alliance between France and Sweden *; and took every step which he thought could induce the Dutch to act with vigour for the common cause. The duke of Bavaria, and other princes of the Catholic league, were left at liberty to remain neuter, on the conditions formerly proposed to them by Gustavus; and the confederates engaged to b guarantee one another in the articles which should be stipulated in any general peace.

FEUZIQUERS, immediately after this assembly broke up, went to the courts of Dresden and Berlin, in order to persuade the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to ratify the resolutions of Hailbron, and accept the mediation of the French king, as proposed by Oxenforsen; but the first rejected both these propositions, though he assured him he would never abandon his allies, or conclude a separate peace; and the other approved of the mediation, but declined ratifying the treaty of Hailbron, until he should confer with the elector of Saxony, whose advice he would endeavour to procure. *

ERFORD, whose aim was to detach these electors from their alliance with Sweden, had, after the death of Gustavus, in a letter directed the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt to reelect pair to Leutermisz, where he would find the bishop of Vienna and Steinenberg, who would communicate to him proposals for accommodation. He accordingly went to the place appointed, after having received directions from the electors, to whom he imparted the letter; but their demands seemed so extravagant to the emperor's ministers, that they refused to proceed in the negotiation.

Meanwhile the war was carried on for some time with pretty equal success on both sides. Towns were taken and lost, the people ruined by large contributions, few provinces of the empire being exempted from pillage and destruction. George duke of Lunenburg undertook the siege of Hamelin in Lower Saxony, which was defended by an Augustian garrison, The emperor in hope of being relieved by Groenfeldt and Merode, who actually advanced with design to d attack the enemy; but George, hearing of their approach, changed the siege into a blockade, and marched to meet them in the plain of Oldendorp, where they were utterly defeated, leaving three thousand dead on the field of battle, together with their cannon and baggage; whereas the Swedes did not lose above three hundred men. The count de Merode, to whom the vanquished attributed the loss of the day, died of the wounds he received in this battle, which was fought on the eighth of July; and in ten days after the engagement, the duke made himself master of Hamelin, where he found plenty of ammunition, with a George duke of Lunenburg defeats the Imperialists at Oldendorp, and takes Hamelin. numerous train of artillery *.

The Augustians were not so unfortunate in Silesia, where Walstein surprized and defeated walstein de Duval, who commanded a body of Swedif troops in that province: then he drove the Pro- fessors Duval, and took e footists from several pofts, marched down along the Oder as far as Frankfort, which he took, and Landberg surrendered without having made the least resistance. The Swedes were already under apprehensions of being totally expelled from Poland, when Frankfort ap- e on the Oder. Walstein returned as he came, and gave duke Bernard an opportunity of joining his troops with those of marcellum Horn, so as to render the Swedes stronger than the Imperialists. Indeed this general had no intention to retrieve the affairs of his master. Being entirely engrossed by the project of usurping the crown of Bohemia, he abandoned the dominions of the duke of Bavaria to the Swedes, and employed all his address to terrorize the design of the duke de Feria, the Spanish general, who was in his passage from Italy into the empire, with a body of thirty thousand men, and in a fair way of eclipsing, or at least of rivaling, the power and reputation of Walstein. Accordingly this officer being pressed by Ferdinand, to favour the march of the duke of Feria, sent a detachment under Styringen, who was entirely devoted to h his interêt, with private instructions to thwart the Spanish general, and take such measures for harrying and starving his troops, as should compel them to desert and disperse: nor were his expectations frustrated in this particular, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the midst of these intrigues of Walstein, a difference happened in Switzerland between the Protestant and Roman Catholic cantons. Oxenforsen had ordered the thing of Obre, Swedif governor of the two circles of the Rhine, to make himself master of the forest towns belonging to the house of Anjou ('); and the Protestants, far from opposing, formed rather to assist in the execution of this enterprise. The Catholics, on the contrary, in a g diet which at that time they held at Baden, declared against the Swedes, and threatened to

1 BArte, t. ix. p. 639. 2 Heiss, l. iii. 3 BArte, t. ix. p. 641. 4 Adzeuerter, part iii. l. viii.
5 Pusendorf, de monoch. l. viii.

(P) Thee are Reifelfe, Lauenburg, Seelingen, and Walhagen, situated in the neighbourhood of Switzerland.
The history of Germany.

To repel them by force of arms. In these sentiments they were supported by the count de Furstenberg, the emperor's commissary, who represented, that by virtue of the alliance subsisting between the thirteen cantons and the house of Austria, the Swifs ought to compel the Swedes to relinquish their design upon the forest towns. In consequence of this remonstrance, the diet of Baden required the ringgrave to remove from Suhre; but that general gave them to understand, that he could not dispense with the execution of the order he had received from Oxenstern, who was director-general in the affairs of the Protestant union. This Swidder, chancellor, and his amiable hearing, the great noise that was made by the Austrian ministers on this subject among the cantons, sent the count de Stillingen to the diet at Baden, to represent, that the hereditary alliance so loudly trumpeted by the Imperial commissary, far from obliging the cantons to defend the forest towns, did not even hinder them from engaging in the confederation of Hallibur, against the enemies of the empire. The speech that Stillingen made on this occasion perplexed the diet, and the Swifs afterwards assembling at Lucerne, came to a resolution of observing a perfect neutrality.

But the taking of Stein, and siege of Constance, by marchal Horn, were matters much more interesting to the Swifs than the conquest of the forest towns. That general, with a body of twelve thousand men, directed his march, all of a sudden, towards Constance, which being pretty well fortified on the side of Germany, he resolved to attack it from the Swiffland quarter, where it was very weak and defenceless; but in order to achieve this enterprise, it was necessary to pass the Rhine over the bridge of Stein, a town under the dominion of the Swifs, which he therefore took by surprize. Nevertheless, he was baffled in his attempt upon Constance, which was gallantly defended by Wolfz, who continually received fresh supplies of soldiers and provision, and bravely repulsed the besiegers in a general assault. Not even a reinforcement sent by prince Christian of Birkenfeld, and the junction of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weymar, could enable the marchal to accomplish his aim. The garrison of the place increased every day, and he found himself obliged to retire, though he pretended that this retreat was the effect of his compliance for his most Christian majesty, who interposed in behalf of his allies of Swiffland.

Some time after this fruitless attempt, Bernard, in obedience to the chancellor's order, separated from Horn, and marching into Bavaria, appeared before Ratibson, where he besieged with such industry and vigour, notwithstanding the brave opposition of Tebrizz, who commanded in the place, that the inhabitants dreading an assault, obliged the governor to capitulate. From hence he marched towards Paffam, with design to surprize that place, and afterwards to enter Austria on the side of the Enz, and favour the revolt of the peasants, who had promised to declare in favour of the Swifs. In his route he actually took Strombingen, and some other places; but the season being too far advanced for the execution of his scheme, he returned to Ratibson, and put his troops in winter quarters.

During this progress of the duke of Saxe-Weymar, marchal Horn being joined by the duke of Wurttemberg, harrassed without ceasing the Spaniards commanded by the duke of Feria, who, after having paused the Rhine near Bafih, marched with great diligence to the relief of Briface, which was besieged by the ringgrave John-Philip, and this prince, finding himself unable to cope with such an antagonist, abandoned the siege, and retreated to Colmar, after having let his camp on fire. The duke of Feria having thus raised the siege of Briface, resolved likewise to deliver Philippsburg, which was blockaded by Schmitzberg; and the ringgrave and the Swifs encamped near Colmar, were too weak to traverse the design of the Spanish general; when they were joined by marchal Horn and the prince of Birkenfeld, and enabled to meet the duke de Feria, to whose camp they forthwith marched in order of battle. The Spaniards, mortified to see himself defied in this manner, pressed Aldringen to give battle to the Swifs; but this officer, adhering to the private directions he had received from Wolfz, would not consent to a general action, but repassed the Rhine at Briface, on pretence of going to raise the blockade of Philippsburg; so that the duke of Feria seeing his troops greatly reduced by distempers, and this retreat, marched towards Thann, in order to meet a reinforcement from Franche-comtes, which however was very inconsiderable. In the mean time, Horn and the prince of Birkenfeld pursued Aldringen, and several times defeated his rear with great slaughter; so that he was forced to retire as far as Briface, where he was again joined by the duke de Feria, whom necessity compelled to forget the afront he had received. This junction stopped the progress of the Swifs, until the ringgrave united his forces with those of marchal Horn, who then drove the enemy back to Bavaria, with the loss of five thousand men. The bad success of this campaign affected the Spanish general so deeply, that he died of grief; and Aldringen, who is accused of having been the cause of his misfortunes, was killed on his march to the relief of Lausitz.

Oxenstern had resolved to send Banner into Sle; with the army which he commanded on the Elbe, while Arnheim, with his Saxons, should march towards Belin, and

Marabul
Horn takes
Stein, and
makes an at-
tempt upon
Constance.

Bernard duke of Saxe-Wey-
mar marches
into Bavaria,
and takes Ra-
tibson, Straub-
ingen, Etc.

The duke de Feria obliges
the ringgrave to abandon the
siege of Brif-
ace; but is
defeated by
Aldringen.

Marabul
Horn pursues
Aldringen, and
receives de Feria dies of
grief.
The History of Germany.

A. oblige the Austrians to divide their forces; but this project was rendered unsuccessful by the practices of the Saxons, who attempted to stop the progress of the Swedes by all the means in his power; and instead of taking the route to Bohemia, turned towards La Marche, and confirmed his time to no purpose in besieging Frankfort upon the Oder.

Although the arms of Sweden had hitherto been pretty successful, except in Silesia, the war became every day more and more burdensome and disagreeable to that nation. The four circles of Upper Germany were heartily tires of its continuance, by which they had been exposed to so many ravages; for, notwithstanding the utmost precautions, it was impossible to restrain the soldiers within the rules of exact discipline, because they could not be regularly paid. The landgrave acted for himself alone, and infested upon keeping all the conquests he had made. The French pretended to claim all the country from Bohemia to the Moselle, and took umbrage at Oeynhiem, who refused to act in all things according to their pleasure. Holland beheld the conquests of Sweden with a jealous eye; and England, far from engaging heartily in the affairs of the empire, seemed rather to incline a little towards the interests of Spain; but the electorate of Saxony did infinitely more mischief than service to the common cause. As he could not bear to see Oeynhiem at the head of affairs, he precipitately engaged in a negotiation for a peace, which could serve no other purpose than that of producing a new war; besides, by means of Artheim, he did all that lay in his power to traverse the designs of Sweden. Dependence could no longer be placed upon the electorate of Brandenburg, because there was no longer any prospect or concluding the match between his son and queen Christina; and finally, Pomerania was an enemy to Sweden.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, Oeynhiem employed all his efforts in supporting the common cause. In an assembly of the circles of Lower Saxony, convened at Halberstadt, he exerted his whole address to retain the confederates in their union, and induce them to make vigorous preparations for war: he afterwards convoked an assembly at Frankfort upon the Main, to which he invited all the Protestant, to deliberate, whether the war should be continued, or an accommodation effected.

In the midst of all these difficulties, the Swedes conceived great hopes when they learned that Wolfstein was in disgrace with the emperor, and resolved to join the Protestants. We have already observed, that this general, when he was first invested of his command, thought himself extremely ill required for the services he had done the emperor; and, during his retreat, laid plans for raising himself again to such a pitch of power, as would enable him not only to revenge, but repay himself to his own wish: for he aspired at nothing less than the kingdom of Bohemia, and the possession of Moravia, as the reward of his toils, and an equivalent for the duty of Mecklenburg, which he had lost. His re-establishment in the rank of generalissimo of the emperor's forces seemed a favourable occasion for the execution of his projects; and since his elevation to this post, he had spared neither money nor care to conciliate the affection of the officers, so as that he might be formidable to the emperor, and obtain from his fear what he could never expect from his goodwill. He had likewise set on foot a secret correspondence with the Protestant party, and France, whom he professed to join with the army under his command, provided they would consent to his ascending the throne of Bohemia, and assist him to conquer that kingdom; and, lastly, he had exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, in which the emperor's name was not mentioned. These however were steps, which, in all probability, he did not take, until he found his enemies had succeeded in ruining him with the emperor. The jefuits, and other priests, were his inveterate foes, because he had always declared them perturbators of the public repose, who had no title to intermeddle in affairs of state; the duke of Bavaria bore him an old grudge; and the Spaniards were extremely incensed against him, because he treated their schemes and advice with contempt, and affected to ridicule their nation. These therefore, joining together, let fling no opportunity of blackening his character at the court of Vienna; and, unhappily for him, their accusations were rendered plausible by his own insolence and misconduct. They taxed him with having spent the summer in vain negotiation, when he might have easily invaded Pomerania and Mecklenburg; with having lost Ratisbon by his negligence; and exhausted the hereditary provinces of the house of Austria, by making them winter quarters for his troops, which might have been subsisted elsewhere. In a word, they represented him in such a light, that the emperor no longer doubted his treachery; and, perhaps, it was not till after he understood this triumph of his enemies (Q) that he seriously thought of betraying his trust. Certain it is, he made over-

(A) Puffendorf is of opinion, that Wolfstein at first had no other view than his forces negociating with Sweden and Saxony, then that of amusing them to their own destruction: and that the confederate he publicly took in speaking of the emperor, were in consequence of a secret permission he had from the court of Vienna, for the more effectual deceiving of the confederate. Certain it is, Bernard duke of Saxo-Wegman neglected his prophecies, by the advice of Oeynhiem, who from the beginning believed he acted in concert with the emperor.

Tures
The history of Germany.

tures to the Swedes, who suspected his sincerity; and afterwards, assuming his principal officials at Pilsen, pretended that he would relinquish the command of the army, rather than be longer exposed to the venomous shafts of his private foes. Having made this declaration, he retired; and his confidants, Turski, Illo, and Kinsky, took this opportunity to represent the prejudice which would result from his retreat, to religion, to the empire, and to the officers of the army, whose fortune was attached to the fate of their general; they therefore proposed, that he should be obliged to retain the command; but at the same time observed, it would be no more than justice in them to take effectual measures for protecting him from the malice of his enemies. The proposal was received with applause; and, in consequence of their insinuations, two and fifty officers subscribed an affirmation upon oath, by which they engaged to follow his fortune, and defend his life.

This combination was no sooner formed, than Picolomini, one of the subscribers, revealed it to Francis and Matthias de Medicis, the nephews of Ferdinand, who were then at Pilsen; and they immediately dispatched a messenger to the emperor, with an account of what they had learned touching this conspiracy. In consequence of this information, Ferdinand assembled the Imperial council, in which Wallstein was declared a rebel, and, with three or four of his accomplices, put to the ban of the empire. Picolomini, being charged with the execution of this decree, put himself at the head of a body of troops, and advanced towards Pilsen, with intent to seize the duke of Frieland and his partizans; while Balibazar de Maradés had orders to repair to Prague, and exact from the garrison and inhabitants a new oath of allegiance to the emperor, so as that the outlaw should find no shelter in that place.

Wallstein was not ignorant of these transactions, which gave him but little disturbance, because he thought he had made his party good among the Protestants, among whom he would be sure of finding protection, when every other retreat had failed; but in the mean time, as his scheme was not yet ripe, he resolved to try some expedients for removing the fulguration of the emperor; and, to the thought that he was under no apprehension, he repaired to Egra, with no other attendants than the counts of Turski and Kinsky, with two or three other officers. He looked upon this as the most secure and commodious place of retreat, because it was garrisoned by the Irjro troops, which he imagined were entirely devoted to his interest, and at hand for carrying on his negotiation with the Swedes. Accordingly he was no sooner arrived in this place than he received a courier, with letters from the duke of Saxony, pressing him to a conference with the duke of Weymar, in order to settle the junction of their forces; and he was actually resolved to comply with his request. But Lesley, a Scotch officer, who admitted the courier, as captain of the guard, having dived into the substance of his dispatches, communicated his discovery to Gordon and Butler, who were colonels in the Imperial service; and, as Wallstein was a proclaimed outlaw, they determined to prevent the execution of his purpose, by depriving him of life without any ceremony: his followers were likewise destined to the same fate, lest they should excite some disturbance on the death of their general. It was therefore agreed, that Gordon should invite the counts of Turski and Kinsky, together with the other three officers, to supper; and that, upon a certain signal, they should be assassinated by a number of soldiers, who were instructed to rush in and sacrifice the guests. This barbarous scene was accordingly acted to the disgrace of hospitality and the infamy of the perpetrators; who afterwards went to the apartment of Wallstein, and broke open the door. At the noiset, occasioned by their entering, he had started up from bed, and run towards a window, where Butler thrust a portulian into his body, and he fell dead upon the spot, without having uttered one word. Thus died, at the age of fifty, the famous Wallstein duke of Frieland, who had even shaken the fortune of the great Gustavus. Nothing could exceed his courage but his ambition; for the gratification of which he would have renounced all obligations, human and divine. His death was a loss to the Swedes, whose party he would certainly have embraced; and, for that reason, an advantage to the Imperialists, whom he was on the point of betraying.

Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, who enjoyed the confidence of Wallstein, having next day entered Egra, without knowing what had happened, was arrested, and sent prisoner to Vienna; and Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weymar, going to the same place, had well nigh shared the same fate: but he was advised upon the road to retire with all expedition, and he did not neglect the intimation. The colonel Spar and Ulfelt, together with sixteen other officers, lost their heads, for having espoused Wallstein’s conspiracy.

It was believed that the death of this general would produce great disturbance in the Imperial army, because he was so much beloved by the soldiers; but the emperor had taken such precautions as prevented any consequence of this kind, except the revolt of the Sieben, who took up arms at the insurrection of Freiberg, the lieutenant of Wallstein; but they were soon reduced, and their chief sent prisoner to Vienna.

* Struv. per. x. sect. ix. p. 3024.  
* Barre, t. ix. p. 655.  
* Hass, I. iii. c. ix.  
* Barre, t. ix. p. 458.
The history of Germany.

\( a \) prised and cut in pieces one regiment of Augrians; but the Imperialists, in revenge, drove part of his forces out of the Upper Palatinate, and another body was dislodged from Straubing by the Bavarians. However, Gyftauus Hor was made considerable progress in Upper Stubia, where he took the towns of Kempfen, Biberach, and Memmingen, and gained some other considerable advantages over the enemy. About the same time the rhingrave defeated a body of Imperialists and Lorrainers, in an obstinate battle fought near Wachten, and made himself master of divers places in Upper Auffle, and in the Suntiga: while Lewis Schmidiberg took Philipburg by famine, and Alexander Loffy drove the Augrians from Landberg.

The elector of Saxony had been a long time amused by the house of Augria with the hope of giving peace to the empire; but was at length deceived, and ordered his troops to enter Luccic. In obedience to this order, Frederic-William of Saxony, duke of Altenburg, being joined by Arnbirn, inveighed Bausen, the garrison of which was commanded by colonel Gobel, who, finding himself beleaguered, ordered the suburbs to be set on fire. This proved a very unhappy step; for the flames being by an high wind conveyed to the town, it was reduced to ashes, seven hundred men lost their lives, and all the wealth and provisions of the place were consumed: so that the governor was obliged to capitulate.

Then Arnbirn undertook the siege of Sittau on the river Neiß; and, hearing the Imperialists were in full march to attack him in his lines, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and meet them half-way: their van being defeated, they were obliged to retreat, and rejoin the main body of their army, commanded by general Coloredo, which, though advantageously posted and intrenched, Arnbirn determined to attack. His success was equal to the boldness of the enterprise: after an action that lasted five hours, they were forced on all hands, and beset themselves to flight, some to Lignitz, and others towards Glätz in Bohemia, leaving six and thirty pair of colours, seven and twenty standards, nine pieces of cannon, two mortars, all their baggage and ammunition, and four thousand men upon the field, besides fourteen hundred who were taken prisoners; while the loss of the Saxons was altogether inconsiderable.

\( e \) ARNBIRN, having obtained this victory, passed the Oder, took Stenau, and made himself master of Glawau, after a siege of fifteen days. Mean while, the Swedes proceeded with their operations in Pomerania and Mecklenburg. General Banner inveighed Frankfurt upon the Oder, which was surrendered, after a gallant defence, and put into the hands of the elector of Brandenburg. Then he advanced, at the head of seventeen thousand men, through Silezia, towards Bohemia: defeated a body of Croats, conquered Friland, took possession of Leitneritz, made himself master of Melnik, crossed the Elbe on a bridge of boats, and encamped at the foot of the White Mountain before Prague: here he was joined by the elector of Saxony and Arnbirn, who had marched through Misnia, in order to make a diversion in favour of Ratisbon, at that time besieged by the Augrians. In their way they had taken Sittau by assault, and abandoned it to pillage. The Augrians having postsfied themselves of the ramparts in the neighbourhood of the Saxon army, nothing passed on either side but smart skirmishes for several days; when the elector, seeing it was impracticable to force the enemy from their posts, and beginning to be in want of provisions, thought proper to retire towards Melnik, near which place he fixed his camp.

The affairs of the Swedes declined daily in Bavaria, where the siege of Ratisbon was still carried on by the king of Hungary, whom the emperor had declared generalissimo of his troops: here he was reinforced by the duke of Bavaria, and battered the place with one hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, this being the first enterprise of the new general, every step was taken to render it successful. On the other hand, the city was defended with incredible bravery and resolution by the Swedes commandant Larzi Kogge, who repulsed the Imperialists in divers desperate assaults, and at last obtained a very honourable capitulation. Bernard duke of Weymar and Guvernau Hor had actually joined Augrians, and were marching to the relief of the place, when they heard the disagreeable news of its being surrendered: they, at the same time, had the mortification to see their army harassed by the bad roads, without being able to indulge it with proper refreshment and repose; because the Augrians were posted before Nordlingen, and had received a powerful reinforcement of Spanish troops from Italy, so that they threatened to strike some stroke of importance before they should be obliged to part; for these troops of Spain were defined for the Low Countries, and could only act in their passage thither.

The Swedes took post near Roßburg in a very commodious situation, having behind them the whole country of Wurtzburg, from whence they could be supplied with necessaries and refreshments. Here they might have securely waited until the Spaniards should have proceeded on their march, and then ventured with the Imperialists, thus weakened, the worst consequence of this step would have been the loss of Nordlingen, which could not
have been a matter of great consequence, especially as their affairs were in a prosperous condition in other countries. They had the upper hand in Westphalia; Hildesheim had surrendered to George duke of Lauenburg, after he had defeated the enemy at Sarstedt. We have already mentioned the success of Arnhem and Bannier; and the rhingrave had reduced Brieg and Rhenfeld to the last extremity. Horn was therefore of opinion, that no unnecessary rife ought to be run, at least until the arrival of Craitz and the rhingrave, who were actually on the march to join them with ten thousand men: but he was overruled by the other generals, who proposed that they should approach nearer to Nordlingen, and occupy the mountain Arenberg, from whence they might with more convenience succour the besieged. While this motion was agreed upon in the Swedish council of war, the Imperialists eagerly waited for an opportunity to engage; for their army was very numerous, and they were inspired with uncommon courage and alacrity by the presence of four princes; namely, the king of Hungary, the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low Countries, and the dukes of Bavaria and Lorraine.

On the fifteenth day of September, about five in the evening, the Swedes began the action, by charging eight squadrons of the Imperial cavalry, who, after their general Aldobrandin was slain, retreated to a hill, where they were supported by the Spanish infantry. As this was an advantage to the Swedes, the duke of Weymar ordered it to be attacked; and, after a dispute which lasted till midnight, it was carried by the impetuousity of the Swedes, before whom the Spaniards retired to another hill, on which the Imperial army was encamped. At the break of day the Swedish army marched in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the Imperialists, which they charged with such fury, that the Austrians were put into disorder, and would, in all probability, have been routed, had not they been sustained by the Spaniards under Martin d'Ibargucque, who attacked the Swedes in their turn, and regained the ground which the Germans had lost. The duke of Weymar, who could not bear to see the victory so long in suspense, charged at the head of the left wing, a post defended by Galas, and the marquis de Leganaz, who were driven backwards as far as the station of the king of Hungary, where they were supported by Gambacorta, with his Neapolitan and Hungarian horse, and rallying their troops, retrieved their loss, and broke that wing of the Swedish army. But the hottest of the battle was upon an hill, where Charles duke of Lorraine, and John de Wert, signalled themselves in very extraordinary acts of valour. Nor did the Swedes believe the reputation they had formerly acquired. Bernard de Weymar came to their assistance; and his presence inspired them with fresh courage; they redoubled their efforts, and though fatigued by the long duration of the battle, fought with incredible fury and perseverance, until, at length, they were obliged to yield to the number and fortune of the foe.

The duke of Lorraine had the glory to win the duke of Weymar's standard with his own hand, and to break the hitherto invincible troops of that general. His cavalry pursued those who fled; and the generals Horn, Craitz, Hoffkirk, Kofstock, and several other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners: but the duke de Weymar had the good fortune to escape to Wirtemberg, with the greatest part of the Swedish cavalry; for the rhingrave, who was within three miles of the field, put himself in motion, and checked the pursuit of the Imperialists. Nevertheless, the Swedes lost eight thousand men, who were slain on the field; nine thousand were killed in their flight, and four thousand were taken prisoners; and they left behind them about fourscore pieces of cannon, all their ammunition and baggage, and an infinite number of standards and colours, while the loss of the victors did not exceed two thousand men who fell in battle (R).

Next day the garrison of Nordlingen surrendered at discretion; and the Imperialists profiting by their good fortune, subdued the greatest part of Franconia, and the whole circle of Swabia. Hailbron and Heidelberg opened their gates to the conquerors; the whole country of Wirtemberg was ravaged, and the duke obliged to take refuge in Strasburg, while Charles of Lorraine entered the Bruges, in conjunction with the Bavarian troops.

The news of this defeat overwhelmed Oxford with chagrin, especially as the league of Hailbron had, in a manner, vanished in smoke. The confederates were now reduced to despair, and loudly exclaimed against the Swedes, as the authors of those calamities they were destined to undergo. The chancellor, however, would not suffer himself to be totally dejected, but resolved to repair this misfortune by all the means in his power: for this purpose he endeavoured to gain time, and engage the French in the war; foreseeing, that should he be so lucky as to accomplish this aim, he might be able to obtain a tolerable peace from the emperor. For this reason he would not retire and abandon Upper Germany

---

(R) Puffendorf attributes the loss of the battle to the Polish and Hungarian cavalry and Croats, who rushed upon the Swedish ranks without order, and bore them down by mere weight of men and horses, so that the main body of the Imperial army charged them while they were yet in confusion.
The history of Germany.

to the Imperialists, according to the advice of some who pretended to be his friends; nor indeed was he as yet without resource. The troops commanded by George duke of Lunenburg, William landgrave of Hesse, as well as those under the conduct of Banner, and the rhingrave, had hitherto received no check, and were sufficient to cope with the enemy, had the confederates been firmly united: besides, the cavalry, which did not suffer much in the last battle, had rallied in the neighbourhood of Frankfort upon the Maine.

Notwithstanding these sources of encouragement, it must be owned their affairs were in a very melancholy situation. The elector of Saxony, far from bestirring himself for the common interest, employed his whole attention in obtaining an exclusive peace. The other confederates acted so coldly and so slowly, as to allow the Imperialists to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and hinder the junction of the allies; and those members of the league who were more remote, gave but little heed to the exhortations of the chancellor. To crown the misfortune, the troops began to clamour for their pay, which could not be raised; and the Austrians, passing the Rhine at Mentz, cantoned themselves in that neighbourhood, where they soon confounded all the forage and provisions.

In this emergency their only support was the king of France, whose interest was certainly concerned in this affair: for had the Swedes been opposed, the Imperialists would not have failed to invade that kingdom with all their forces. With a view therefore to render that monarch the more propitious, the Swedish chancellor put him in possession of Philipburg, and earnestly solicited the maréchal de la Force, to advance with his army, in order to facilitate the re-union and disposition of the Swedish troops which had been defeated and dispersed. At the same time ambassadors were sent into France, to induce the king, by the most preying instancies, to declare war against the emperor.

The rhingrave, who knew the condition of Alspace, proposed that Colmar and Schleisfeld should likewise be ceded to the French, that he might draw from these places sixteen companies of infantry, and two troops of horse, which, when joined to his little army, would enable him to keep the field; and this scheme was actually put in execution, by an agreement between the Swedes and de la Force; but death surprized the rhingrave, while he was employed in measures for putting Alspace in a posture of defence, and in him the Protestant party lost a very brave and fortunate general.

Immediately after this event, a treaty was concluded at Paris between France and Sweden; in consequence of which the whole province of Alspace was put as a deposit under the protection of his most Christian majesty, who engaged to maintain a considerable army on that side the Rhine, to advance money for the pay and accoutrements of the Swedish cavalry, and to break with the emperor, as soon as he should be assured that the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, with the princes and states of the Protestant league, would not conclude either treaty or truce with the common enemy, except in concert with him and his confederates.

This convention being made, the king of France sent fresh troops into Alspace, with the maréchal de Bresle, to act in concert with de la Force; and these two generals polled ten thousand men in the mountains of Voges, to line the skirts of that province: but notwithstanding this precaution, the Lorrainers surprized the Swedish garrison at Thau, though the marquis de la Force soon obliged them to retreat with the loss of their cannon. But this small dawn of success did not indemnify the French for the loss of Philipburg, which Galais, general of the Imperial troops, took by surprise, and found in it a well-furnished magazine of cannon and ammunition, a prize of such importance, as even equalled a victory in the field. He afterwards made himself master of Spiré, in which he placed a strong garrison, under the command of the baron de Metternich: but notwithstanding the rigour of the winter, the French marshals, with a reinforcement of the duke of Weymar's troops, invested the place, which was surrendered upon capitulation. The governor and principal officers were made prisoners, and the garrison lifted under the banners of the duke of Weymar, who was created governor of the place, and, for his greater convenience, allowed to quarter his troops in Landau, Wiesenburg, and Germersheim.

By these precautions, Lower Alspace was secured, though the upper part of that province was very much harassed by the duke of Lorraine, who had passed the Rhine at Brijach, and threatened to take Strasbourg and Rhenfels by surprise or assault. His schemes, however, were baffled by the vigilance and activity of the duke de Roban, who compelled him three times to repel the Rhine, and took such measures as absolutely secured Upper Alspace from all his attempts. Hitherto France had only employed her arms for the defence of her allies, without having directly committed any acts of hostility upon the house of Austria: but now she had interfered herself so far in the concerns of the Swedes and Protestants, that she waited for nothing but a pretence to declare openly against the emperor, and at this period

---

1 Puffendorf, rer. Succ. I, vi.  2 Recueil de traités, t. iii. p. 359.  3 Barrs, t. ix. p. 668.  5 Mer-

A.D. 1635.

The death of Obo, the rhingrave.
The history of Germany.

a favourable opportunity occurred. This was no other than the violent seizure of Philip-Chrístopher de Sester, elector of Trier, who was by the emperor and the infant Ferdinand committed prisoner to the castle of Louvres near Bruxells, after they had taken possession of his city*. Louis loudly complained of this outrage offered to his ally, and ordered his resident at Bruxells to demand of the infant-cardinal, the elector's liberty, and the restitution of his dominions: when he received for answer, that the cardinal could not comply with his desire, until he should have first of all consulted the court of Vienon. The king of France considered this as a refusal, and having other reasons to be dissatisfied at the Spaniards, who had in several articles infringed the peace of Vincs, he took the present opportunity of declaring war against Spain, by an herald sent to Bruxells for that purpose. Yet he did not involve himself in such an important quarrel, before he had concluded an offensive and defensive league with the states-general of the United Provinces; and sent Fugger to treat with the deputes of the circles of Saatine, Francheconie, the Upper and Lower Rhine, who were assembled at Worm; where, after mature deliberation, they engaged to the most Christian king to act with all possible vigour for the interest of the common cause; and they intreated his majesty to take into his pay the army of the circles, consisting of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the command of the duke of Weymar.

On the other hand, the court of Vienna still continued to negotiate with the elector of Saxony, who had some time ago resolved to effect an accommodation with the house of Austria. The deputes were actually assembled at Pirv in Misisia, together with those of George landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; and the conferences passed out to a considerable length of time, by disputes touching the restitution of ecclesiastical effects and dignities, which had been seized by the Protestants. At length, after much altercation, they agreed to assemble at Prague, where the treaty was concluded, and signed on the thirtieth day of May; and the articles were to this effect: 'That the mediate ecclesiastical benefices, or those which did not immediately depend upon the empire, and were seized before the pacification of Passau, should continue for ever the property of those Protestants who at present enjoyed them; and that for the space of forty years the Protestants should remain possessors of the immediate ecclesiastical benefices, of which they had made themselves masters before or after the said transaction at Passau, and actually enjoyed before the twelfth day of November, in the year one thousand fix hundred and twenty-seven. That the exercise of the Catholic and Protestant religion should be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of Bohemia and the provinces subject to the house of Austria. That the duke of Bavaria should be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of paying the jointure of Frederick's widow, and a proper subsistence for his son, whenever he should return to his duty. That there should be between the emperor and the confederates of the Augsburg confession, who would sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing which had been taken on both sides since the irruption of Gustave into the empire. That the duke of Lorraine should retrieve what he had lost; and if the king of France, or any other prince, should perfide in retaining his fefts, the house of Austria and the princes acceding to this treaty should join their forces to do him justice. That the fortunes of Philipburg should remain in the hands of the emperor, for the service of the Germanic body. And, finally, that the states subscribing the present treaty should enjoy a general amnesty.'

This is the substance of the peace of Prague, which was proposed as a sure expedient for re-uniting all the states of Germany, and was actually signed by William duke of Saxo-Weymar, the dukes of Lauenburg and Mecklenburg, the princes of Anhalt, the cities of Nuremberg, Ulm, Donauworth, Frankfurt upon the Maine, and some other states of the empire, won by the infinuations of the court of Vienna. In consequence of this accommodation, the archbishopric of Magdeburg, with the domains of Jemep, Guttenbeck, Trauna, and Burgim, were restored to Augustus, son of the elector of Saxony, on condition that he should pay annually a certain sum to John-William marquis of Brandenburg. The dukes of Mecklenburg were re-established in their dominions: Wolfsbuttle, Nienburg, and their dependencies, were given back to the duke of Lauenburg: Donauworth had the promise of being reinstated in the enjoyment of its former liberty, as soon as it should have paid to the elector of Bavaria the expenses of the war, as stipulated in the treaty. The hereditary paits substituting between the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse, were confirmed: his Imperial majesty engaged to withdraw his troops from the places belonging to those who should sign the treaty, and by a particular deed, ceded to the duke of Saxony the sovereignty of Upper and Lower Lusatia.  


C H A P.
The History of Germany.

C H A P. XIX.

Progress of the War till the Renewal of the Treaty between France and Sweden.

By these measures the emperor thought he had placed such bounds to the power of the
flares in Germany, that they would never be able to oppose his authority for the future;
but as this act was no other than a compulsive submission, which necessity obliged them
to make, they did not think themselves bound to observe it when they recovered their
strength; and accordingly in the treaties of Wolfshain, concluded in the reign of Ferdi-
nand the third, we find them inflicting upon an alteration in several articles, and obtaining
privileges which this emperor would never have granted.

The town of Strauburg, dreading the refention of France, excised itself from submitting
to the peace of Prague; and, notwithstanding the menaces of the king of Hungary,
determined to observe a neutrality until she should see to what his fortune would incline; but
the regency of Colmar openly espoused the articles of Hailbron, and admitted a French gar-
rison, after Louis had obliged himself by treaty to maintain its privileges, on condition that
the Catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

The treaty of Prague would have certainly completed the destruction of the Swedifh forces
in Germany, if France had not made great efforts to support them. Louis the thirteenth
began to levy forces with great diligence, so as to compose several considerable armies; the
first and greatest of which he sent into the Low Countries, under the marshals de Chatillon
and Broze; the second marched into Lorraine with la Force; the third took the route of the
Milandes, under the command of the marshal de Crequi; the duke de Rohan led the fourth
into the Valais; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under the orders of the duke de Wy-
mar, until the king should appoint another general (S).

The emperor, in order to oppose the operations of the French, sent thither general Ga-
las, at the head of a powerful army, with orders to join the duke of Lorraine, who intended
to besiege Colmar, and had already made himself master of almost all the towns in the neigh-
bourhood of that place; but the severity of the feason, and the orders which John de Berth
and Merei received to act on the other side of the Rhine, defeated the duke’s projects, and
obliged him to repass that river. In the month of May, however, he appeared at the head
of twelve thousand men, with design to enter Burgundy, and march to Montbéliard, which
he invested; but he was obliged to raise the siege on the approach of the duke de la Force,
who fell upon him in his retreat, and defeated his rear: so that this check, and the fatigues
he underwent in retiring towards Belfort, reduced his army to four thousand men, and dif-
abled him from attempting any new enterprise.

Meanwhile Galas, the imperial general, fixed his head quarters at Worms, from whence
he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprize the towns that were garrisoned by
the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by the count de Mansfeld; and though the preven-
tion of this place was of the utmost importance to the Swedes, by securing their communi-
cation with both sides of the Rhine, Bernard was in no condition to raise the blockade. He
was still more interested in preserving Kaiser-Lauter, where he had deposited all the booty
he had taken since the beginning of the war; but this place, though defended with great
obstinacy in several assaults, until the greatest part of the garrison fell in the breach, was at
length taken by storm by the Imperialists, who put every soul to the sword, and indemni-
sified themselves for the losf they had sustained, with the riches of the duke de Weymar.

Galas afterwards undertook the siege of Deux-ponts; but in the month of Augufh, the
cardinal de Pallete, at the head of eighteen thousand French, entered Germany, and joining
the duke of Weymar near Bingben, these two generals made themselves masters of this place,
then marched to the relief of Mentz, which they reënfranchised, after having forced the lines of
the count de Mansfeld (T); and lastly, compelled Galas to abandon the siege of Deux-
ponts.

The French having no other obstacles to surmount, marched towards Frankfort, in or-
ter to prevent the regency from acceding to the treaty of Prague; but, failing in their at-
tempt, they put a strong garrison in Saxenthalen, and returning encamped under the
cannon of Mentz. While they remained in this situation, Galas having assembled an ar-

* Barbe, t. ix. p. 696.
* Barbe Hist. t. ix. p. 678.

(S) This was Bernard duke of Saxe Weymar, youn-
ger brother of William, who had signed the treaty of
Prague, to which Bernard would never accede.
(T) This count de Mansfeld was called Maximilian-

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 3 Q

Philp, major-general of the imperial troops, and must
not be confounded with Ernfei count de Mansfeld, who
died in 1656.
They repulse the Imperialists after an obstinate engagement.

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY.

A.D. 1636.

The French concluded a treaty with the duke de Weymar.

The king of France conducted a treaty with the duke de Weymar, in which he was stipulated, that, in consideration of a certain yearly sum, the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes in alliance with the French king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance: that Lewis should cede in his favour all his pretensions upon Altice; and, in case of a treaty with the emperor, use all his influence to obtain for the duke the title of landgrave of that province, or some equivalent, and engage to indulge him for life with a pension of fifty thousand crowns, payable at the commencement of the peace. This convention being ratified by the duke, who went to Paris for that purpose, and measures being taken with cardinal Richelieu for the ensuing campaign, he, in the beginning of summer, repaired to Lorrain, where his army was, and having surplurped the castle of Hovenbaer, joined La Valette, in order to besiege Saarboons, where the marquis de Graas had taken towards the end of the last year. They accordingly invested the place, which made a gallant defence, in hope of being relieved by Galais, who promised to march against the besiegers; but he halted at Driftenper, perceiving that it would be impracticable to succour the town, which surrendered about the beginning of July. Immediately after this conquest, the duke and the cardinal took measures for preventing an irruption into Franche-comte, which was threatened by the duke of Lorrain, the imperial general, and the Spaniards, who were already joined for that purpose, to the number of forty thousand men. The cardinal and the duke omitted nothing that could obstruct and harass them in their march; and their efforts were so successful, that Galais loft above seven thousand men before he entered Burgandy: nevertheless, he arrived at Mirabeau, and about the end of October undertook the siege of St. Jean de Laons, which he was fain to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the waters, and continual rains, which rendered the approaches to the place quite inaccessible. He therefore retired into Franche-compte, whither he was close followed by the vicount de Turenne and the count de Rantzau; and towards the end of November arrived at Besancon, after having loft above five thousand men, and the greatest part of his baggage, in this retreat.

While the duke of Weymar carried on his operations in Franche-compte, general Banier, whose army was augmented by twelve thousand Prussians, being ordered by Oxenstierne to attack the Saxons, surprised their quarters near Parkein in Mecklenburg, cut in pieces five regiments of horse, and took a number of officers, together with a great quantity of bag-
The history of Germany.

243

The elector of Saxonylesen by the Elector of Saxony in the Battle of Magdeburg.

The elector of Saxony le-

fages and

takes Magde-

burg.


A gage; so that the elector was fain to relinquish his camp, and go and join Maracini, who commanded the imperial troops in Pomerania. He was, however, close pursued by the Swedes, who took Breslau in flight of both armies, and gained several other considerable advantages over them while he encamped in their neighbourhood; but these small checks did not hinder the elector from besieging Magdeburg, after he was reinforced by a body of Austrian troops, commanded by Hasfeld. The place was defended with great resolution until the breach was practicable; and the horn-work actually taken by assault; when the garrison, despairing of relief, obtained an honourable capitulation, and were escorted to Warten, where Bennier lay encamped; while the regency took the oath of allegiance to the elector, who promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges.

b

Elated with this success, the Swedes resolved to attack the Swedish army; but receiving intelligence that it was reinforced, he changed his design, and detached general Hasfeld, with a body of troops, to for purposes Tangermunde, the territory of which was plundered with great barbarity.

Being afterwards joined by Maracini, and a reinforcement under George duke of Lauenburg, he approached the Swedish camp, in order to provoke Bennier to a general action; but the two armies having faced one another for a long time, that general retired to the duchy of Mecklenburg, and encamped at Parkern, whither he was followed by the Saxons, who intercepted themselves in a forêt within a league of the enemy. While they continued in this situation, Maracini returned to the siege of Stargard, which he had before uncles without success, and took it by assault, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the Swedes, who lost a number of soldiers and officers on this occasion.

c

The war between this nation and the house of Austria was likewise maintained with great spirit and obstinacy in Eastoverland. The Swedes, under general Loisy, overran the country of Darmerj, from whence, however, they were obliged to retire on the arrival of the marquis de Groè and general Genut. Nevertheless, with the help of the Hessians their allies, they took Ansbach, belonging to the elector of Montz, and besieged Stadberg, in the dominions of the archbishop of Colm. On the other hand, the Austrian generals made themselves masters of Hemberg, though they in vain attempted to subdue the citadel; and ravaged the whole country of Hesse-Cassel, except Ziegenheim and the capital; while the landgrave, to revenge these outrages, joined Loisy, and, entering Wolfshalt, subdued Paderborn.

The Imperialists, commanded by the elector of Saxony and Hasfeld, and the Swedes under Bennier, were not long in the neighbourhood of each other, without coming to a general action. After having watched the motions of one another for some time, they halted at length in the plain of Wilsick, where both were drawn up in order of battle. The imperial camp was upon an hill, fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the army stood in battalia; and Bennier, being desirous of drawing them from this advantageous post, ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish.

d

At the approach of the Swedes, the Austrians changed their order; their infantry retiring upon the hill, being flanked on both sides by their cavalry, while the rear was closed up with wagons. Then Bennier ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing, to march and attack the enemy; and he himself, at the head of five brigades, advanced to support him; while general Stalins with the left wing wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the Imperialists in flank. These attacks were performed with such fury, that almost all the Austrian and Saxon infantry were either slain or taken; and Stalins, who pursued their cavalry for three days, returned with a considerable number of prisoners: so that of twenty thousand men, that composed the imperial army, scarce three thousand escaped to Magdeburg. Five or six thousand men fell in the field, or in the flight; seven thousand were taken; and three or four thousand, having dispersed themselves, would never engage again in the service: as for the elector of Saxony, he escaped by the way of Mecklenburg to Lopshick. In this battle, which was fought on the fourth of October, the Swedes gained a considerable booty, over and above thirty pieces of cannon and eighteen thousand wagons, the greatest part of which were loaded with provifion, ammunition, and baggage. The forts of Werben opened its gates to the conquerors, and the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, inrolled in the service of Sweden.

While the Austrian generals thus prosecuted the war in Saxony, Westphalia, Hesse, and Alsace, the emperor, in person, held a diet in Ratisbon, which was opened on the fifteenth day of August, and at which were present the electors of Hanze, Colm, and Bavaria, with the deputies of Saxony and Brandenburg: as for the elector of Tréves, he was still detained a prisoner. Ferdinand's chief aim in this assembly being to secure the imperial throne to his son, he sent four articles to the diet, as the subject of its deliberations, importing, that


Ed. iifld.
as he was now well fricken in years, and felt his strength sensibly decay, he wished they would proceed to the election of a new king of the Romans; that they would determine the fate of the elector of Trier; that they would take measures for a vigorous continuation of the war, in order to re-establish the peace of the empire; and that, as the states of Germany were not present at this meeting, they would consider whether or not it would be necessary to convocate a general diet next year at Nuremberg.

Although the emperor had secured the suffrages of Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Mentz, and signified that they should begin with the election, and postpone the pacification of the empire to another assembly, the deputies of the Protestant electors refused to proceed to the election, until the emperor should promise to give peace to Germany, as soon as it should be in his power: and they even wanted to stipulate, that, notwithstanding Ferdinand's being chosen king of the Romans, he should not be crowned before that desirable event. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that the emperor summoned an assembly at Coligny, in order to deliberate upon the preliminaries, and actually nominated his commissaries for that purpose, while the Catholic electors, princes, and states, promised to send their deputies to facilitate the work. At the same time he called another assembly at Hamburg, where the Protestants and their allies might freely revolve and debate upon the same subject; on condition that neither convention should come to any conclusion, without having first communicated their resolution to the other: for, should this correspondence fail, he would not ratify their transactions.

These points being settled, Ferdinand king of Hungary was elected king of the Romans on the twelfth day of December, and crowned on the twentieth of the same month, together with his wife Maria, the infanta of Spain. But this new dignity was not immediately acknowledged by all the princes of Germany and foreign powers: the king of France, in particular, maintained, that an election performed without the concurrence of the elector of Trier, against whom no criminal process had been instituted, was contrary to the Golden Bull and the fundamental laws of the empire. Nevertheless, it was in a little time received and held as good and lawful through every part of Germany.

Charles the first, king of England, had sent the earl of Arundel as his ambassador to the emperor, with prelging solicitations in favour of his nephew, Lewis count palatine; but this affair being referred to the future assembly at Coligny, the earl returned to London, and Charles resolved to go more politically to work. He was persuaded, that the house of Anjou eagerly longed to wrest Lorraine from the king of France, and was extremely apprehensive of England's engaging in a league with his most Christian majesty and the states-general of the United Provinces. In this conviction, he sent the earl of Leicester to the court of Vienna, with orders to threaten the emperor with this projected alliance, in case he should still refuse to do justice to the young count-palatine; but he was still amused with general promises, because indeed Ferdinand saw it would be impracticable to satisfy both the palatine and the duke of Bavaria. Charles-Lewis published a manifesto and protestation dated at London; the first containing an ample reparation of the proceedings against Frederic king of Bohemia; and the other implying a juridical act and protest against every step which had been taken to the prejudice of that prince and his family, as well as against the election of the king of the Romans, to which he ought to have been called as an elector.

In all probability these papers were never seen by Ferdinand the second, who, after a troublesome reign of eighteen years, died at Vienna on the fifteenth day of February, in the fiftieth and ninth year of his age. Notwithstanding the eulogiums which have been so lavishly bestowed upon this prince by Roman Catholic historians, he seems to have been born for the misfortune of his country; as it cannot be denied that the empire was involved in all the calamities of civil war by his pride, ambition, and bigoted attachment to the religion of Rome, which indeed seems to have been the only distinguishing part of his character. In other respects his personal talents were mean and contemptible; and all

(U) At the age of twenty, Ferdinand made a vow before the image of the Virgin at Loreto, to drive the Protestantists from Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, at the hazard of his life. He afterwards, when turned for many years, repeated this vow at Marienzell, against the Protestantists of Bohemia and the depending provinces. About eight years before his death, he took a solemn oath to proceed the Roman Catholic religion, and invited his prime minister to lay himself under the same obligation. All these vows he performed with the utmost zeal, by which he acquired the appellation of the apostolic emperor. He married first Anne-Maria, daughter of William duke of Bavaria; and afterwards Lenora, daughter of Vincent duke of Mantua, by whom he had no children. By the first, however, he had fixe, four of whom survived him; namely, Ferdinand the third, his successor; Leopold William, who was bishop of Paffau, Straßburg, Hallein, Olmuz, and Erbfuus, grandmoler of the Teutonic order, and afterwards governor of the Low Countries; Mary-Anne, wife of Maximilian duke of Bavaria; and Cecilia-Resi, married to Vladasius king of Poland.
The history of Germany.

a. The success of his arms was entirely owing to the capacity of his generals, some of whom were very ill required for their services.

The death of Ferdinand was soon followed by that of George Boghlaus, duke of Pomerania, the last prince of that family, which had subsisted about seven hundred years successively in the male line: so that the duchy devolved to the elector of Brandenburg, by virtue of a treaty in force between the two houses: but the Swedes having, before the duke's decease, made themselves masters of the greatest part of Pomerania, he could not enjoy it on account of the war, and his pretensions were not regulated until the treaties of Wolfenbutel took place.  

b. FERDINAND III.

WAR had defoliated Germany during the whole reign of Ferdinand the second, whereas that of his successor was mostly confounded in intrigue and negotiation.

The conferences at Hamburg were productive of no solid consequence, as neither the French, Swedes, nor Dutch, would send deputies thither; for they firmly believed that nothing could be determined without the consent of the Catholic league; and, in the mean time, both sides made vigorous preparations for continuing the war.

At the solicitation of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, who were incommunicated by the neighbourhood of a French garrison, John de Wirtz invested Hermenfhien, upon which the Imperialists had more than once made fruitless attempts; and Saludd, who commanded in the place, took all the necessary precautions of holding out as long as possible, that the duke of Saxe-Wemar might have time to march to his relief: but this general was otherwise employed by cardinal Richelieu, who was this year obliged to neglect the affairs of Germany, in some measure, in order to oppose the Spaniards; and William landgrave of Heffe-Cauffel being kept in awe by the marquis de Grana, so that he durst not abandon his own dominions; for these reasons, I lay, Saludd, despairing of succour, and being reduced to great extremity, demanded a capitulation. It was agreed, that the elector of Cologne should be put in possession of the place, and keep it until the archbishop of Trier should be set at liberty; and that the Frankish garrison should be conducted to Oppeln, a town belonging to the states-general.

during this transaction, the duke of Wemar advanced into Franche-comtes: and the passage of the Saone being disputed by the duke of Lorraine, who had detached Merci with his whole cavalry on that service, Wemar gave him battle on the thirteenth day of June, put him to flight, after having slain eight hundred of his men, and took one thousand prisoners, with twice the number of horses, and the whole baggage and standards of the detachment. Merci, having rallied his troops, was resolved to retrieve his honour in another action; when the rhingrave John-Philip falling upon him, cut in pieces one half of his forces, and pursued the rest as far as Vezoul.

After this action, duke Bernard reduced the castle of Leure, entered Alsace, and, building a bridge of boats, passed the Rhine about six leagues above Strafburg. Then he ordered Schenewesch to take possession of a large island in that river, opposite to Rhenens, and raise a kind of fort for the security of his men: there he was attacked by general de Wirtz, who nevertheless abandoned his enterprise, finding that this body had received a considerable reinforcement. Though the duke was now master of the banks of the Rhine, which he passed on a bridge of boats, and encamped between that river and the Elz, a whole month elapsed without his being able to make any considerable progres, because de Wirtz would never risque a general action; and then, understanding that the duke of Lorraine had entered Alsace, and that the Bavarian army was reinforced by the duke de Savelli, he resolved to repass the Rhine: but, in order to preserve his bridge, he raised several forts in the island of Weitemeyer, where he left colonel Mantamp and the French troops, whom, after his departure, de Wirtz entirely defeated, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This check, however, was not of confecquence enough to disconcert the duke of Wemar, who was about this time much more embarrassed by the death of his friend William landgrave of Heffe-Cauffel, who had actually formed the design of re-establishing the Palatine family, by means of the league between France, Sweden, and the United Provinces: he had repaired to Holland, in order to engage the states-general in the interest of the young elector; and, having finished his negotiation, set out from the Hague for Vejol, where he signed a treaty of confederation with Saint Chaumond, minister of France. But he was seized with a fever at Leer near Emden, where he died, to the infinite regret of the Protestant, who in him lost their firmest support and most zealous defender.

---

3. R.  
4. The
The duke of Weymar was sensibly afflicted by his death, which he was afraid would discourage the Protestantists that were attached to the family of Hesse; but by his singular address he soon confirmed those that began to waver; and, without staying till the winter should be past, quitted his quarters about the latter end of January, in order to take advantage of the enemy's inaction. Having loaded a waggon with two fishing-boats, he marched to Steina, a little town at a league's distance from Baslitz, and, crossing the Rhine with some troops, attacked and reduced Seckingen, one of the forest-towns: when he detached colonel Schönbeck with a part of the army towards Lauffenbourg, which made no resistance; Walsbut submitted; and Rhinfield being now the only forest-town that remained untaken, the duke resolved to besiege it in form. It was accordingly invested; and the trenches being opened on the seventh day of February, the works were carried on with such vigour, that it was supposed the place could not long hold out: nevertheless, it was so resolutely defended by the governor, that the Imperialists had time to come to its relief. Savelli quitted Besançon, and, being joined by John de Wert, appeared before Rhinfield on the twenty-eighth day of February, with nine regiments of cavalry, two of Cuirassiers, and about four thousand infantry. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, when the duke of Weymar's right wing fell with such fury upon the left of the enemy, commanded by de Wert, that it was broke in a very little time, the general being wounded in the cheek, and colonel Wolf, with some imperial officers, taken prisoners. Weymar's left wing did not meet with the same success; but, on the contrary, was at first repulsed: however, he rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge; but the enemy retired in good order by favour of the night. The rhingrave Philip was slain in the action; and the duke de Roban died in a little time of the wounds he received upon this occasion. Weymar retreated to Lauffenbourg, where he passed the night; and next day, having joined Tapadel, he put his army in order of battle, and advanced to attack the duke de Savelli and John de Wert, whose troops, being dispersed among the villages in search of provision, were with great difficulty re-assembled: they could not withstand the shock of this second engagement, but were entirely defeated, the two generals themselves being taken, together with a great number of officers.

After this victory, Hunningen submitted to Tapadel, and the duke returned to the siege of Rhinfield, which, after having made a gallant defence, surrendered upon a very honourable capitulation; and the conqueror found a great quantity of provision and ammunition in the place. This conquest was followed by that of Newburg and Rottelen; immediately after which the duke advanced towards Friburg, the capital of Brisgov, garrisoned by nine hundred men, under the command of colonel Esfer, who defended the town until a breach was made, and an assault given, and then evacuated the place upon very favourable terms.

The next siege he undertook was that of Brisjack, in which the duke of Lorraine and general Goetz utilized attempted to interrupt him by attacking his intrenchments, but they always found him upon his guard; and the town was at last obliged to surrender, after having been reduced to such extremity of famine, that the governor was obliged to eat a guard upon the burying places, to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead. The news of this important success no sooner arrived at Paris, than Lewis XIII. dispatched one of his gentlewomen, on presence of congratulating Weymar, but in reality to convey private instructions to Guébriant, who was ordered to employ his whole address, in order to induce the duke to cede Brisjack to the crown of France.

This could not but be a very difficult negotiation, as Weymar had set his heart upon the county of Brisgov, in order to keep in his own possession, as a throne in the shade of Auguria, which had divested John-Frideric, his great grandfather, of his dominions and dignity. He thought the conquest of Brisjack would secure Brisgov, of which he intended to make a settlement that should not be easily shaken, Brisjack being situated between Strassburg, Benfeld, and Baslitz, in the neighbourhood of France, and the princes of Germany, who were his allies; so that he could not be attacked from behind, and would, with the assistance of his friends, be able to counteract the designs of the emperor in Germany. In a word, he had now re-established his family, and believed himself equal to the elector of Saxony, against whom he entertained such resentment, that he resolved to strip him of his dominions, and with that view had, for a long time, formed a scheme upon Thuringia.

On the other hand, Lewis wished to be master of Brisjack, the possession of which would secure to him a passage to the other side of the Rhine, and at the same time exclude the Imperialists from Alsace and Lorraine. He therefore spared no pains to obtain it from the duke de Weymar, to whom Guébriant made very advantageous proposals on the

The history of Germany.

a subject: to which he answered, that, after he should have put his troops in good winter quarters in Franciæ-comptes, he would go, and in person, pay his respects to the king, whose orders he should receive touching Brīfack, as well as the operations of the ensuing campaign. This, however, was a mere evasion; for when he was afterwards pressed by Guibrìant to explain his intentions on this head, he replied, "To part with my conquest "would be to sacrifice my honour." Nevertheless, in order to amuse the court of France, he sent thither Erlaeb with a limited power of negotiation, who managed his master’s interests with such dexterity, that Lewis promised to furnish the duke with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing was concluded in the affair of Brīfack (X).

While the duke de Weymar triumphed over the Austrians in Altstae, the Swedish general Banner carried on his conquests in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Brīfack, he reduced Garte, Lëütz, Demmin, and Wölfz; and, understanding that Goler had extended his army, sent Stalans and Torfzen to reconnoitre with a detachment, that surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of their horse.

CHARLES-LEWIS, prince palatine, and his brother Robert, were not so fortunate in Charosth-Wolfsbalt: they had several times attacked the Spanish garrison of Guedre with various success; and all their motions were narrowly watched by the count de Hasfeld, the emperor’s lieutenant-general in Wolfsbalt, who having discovered that Charles Lewis had abandoned the village of Emsburen, in order to besiege Lemgo, the capital of the country of Lippe, ambuscaded all his troops, with a view to frustrate his design. Accordingly prince Lewis, finding himself in no condition to defend his lines against such an army, retreated towards Minden; but the count having overtaken his rear in the valley of Altheim, brought him to an action, which continued very obstinate on both sides for the space of two hours, and then victory declared in favour of the Imperialists, who made themselves masters of the palatine’s artillery. Prince Robert, and the count de Fersins, were made prisoners, with a great number of officers, and Charles Lewis eloped with great difficulty to Minden.

In the beginning of the year, Thau was invested by Guibrìant; but as the siege did not advance to the satisfaction of the duke de Weymar, he went thither in person, and ordered it to be battered with red-hot balls, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered without further opposition, and the duke’s character became so formidable to the emperor, that about this time he made some undertakers attempts to engage him in his interest. Sigismund Hasner was the perfon intrusted with this negotiation; but the duke would not listen to the proposals of Ferdinand, persuaded that he neither could with safety or honour depend upon the bare promises of his greatest enemy: he, therefore, far from allowing himself to be entrapped in the snare, or slackening in his operations, redoubled his industry in making preparations for passing the Rhine: however, in the midst of these occupations, he fell sick at Hunningen, from whence he was transported by water to Newburg, where, his distemper gaining ground, he made his will, which was put into the hands of his secretary Rilingen, and died on the eighteenth day of July, in the thirty and fifth year of his age (Y). By his will he ordained, that his conquests should be enjoyed by the eldest of his brothers; but in case none of them should chuse to take possession, they should devolve to Lewis XIII. on condition that the garrison should confine of an equal number of French and Germans, and that the places of strength should be restored to the empire at the general peace. He bequeathed the command of his army to major-general d’Erlaeb, and in his default, to colonel Obem and count Naflan, or the eldest colonel in succession: and he left legacies to his officers and domestics, to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns.

The duke’s death was no sooner known, than the Swedes agent at Benfeld endeavoured to engage the solders and officers to go and join Banner; the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places they had conquered: the dukes of Bavaria, Launenburg, and Lünenburg, pretented to the succession; and William of Saxony demanded, by virtue of his brother’s will, that he should possess the conquered places till the peace; but Lewis XIII. prevailed over all these pretenders, by concluding, at Brīfack, a treaty with the Weymarian officers on the following terms: That the troops of the duke de Weymar should constitute a separate body, under the direction of

part iii. l. xxiii. n. xxviii. e Memoir, de Guibrìant. p. 125. f Memoir, d’Aubel. l. ii. p. 419. 

(X) It was believed in France and Germany, that cardinal de Richelieu had, by means of a round sum, obtained a promise of Erlaeb, that in case the duke de Weymar should die, he would deliver up Brīfack to France (1).

(Y) The death of this gallant prince is said to have been hastened by the French, who lodged to be in possession of Brīfack, to such a degree, that by their agents they administered a certain poison to the duke, in consequence of which he expired (2).

(1) Barre, t. i. p. 710. (2) Puffendorf Introd. l. vi. of
of the officers named in the will for that purpose; that the king of France should keep a this body always effective, by the payment of a certain yearly sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the general officers the same appointments which they had received from the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessaries of war, and ratify all the donations which the duke had made to his officers and soldiers: that the troops should receive their orders from the duke de Longueville, by the medium of their own directors, who should be summoned to all councils held for the service of the common cause: that the conquered places should be put into the hands of his most Christian majesty, who might at pleasure appoint governors for Brisjack and Friburg, to command the garrisons which should consist equally of French and Germans; but with regard to other places, the governors should be chosen from the Weymarian army, and all the officers and garrisons bind themselves by oath, to preserve the places for the service of the king, without whose express order they should not be delivered to any person or power whatever.

In consequence of this treaty the duke de Longueville was acknowledged general, and a revolution taken to march towards the Lower Palatinate. The count de Guibrant put Brisjack, Friburg, and the forct towns, in a proper posture of defence. John-Lewis d'Erlaeb was continued in the government of Brisjack; colonel Kanski, a Pole, had that of Friburg; and Philip Bernold, a gentleman of Alexis, was invested with the command of Rheinfeld. Thus ended this important negotiation, which rendered the king of France sovereign of almost all Alsace, and a great part of Brisgeau.

Meanwhile, conferences were held at Hamburg, to pave the way for a general peace; but the powers that sent their ministers thither seemed to deplore and disfavour one another. France fell out with the count-palatine about the ceremonial of addressing letters to each other; or, rather, Lewis made a pretence of the young count's having failed in some expression of respect, to act coldly in his interest. There was likewise a grudge between the French and English nations, which rendered them averse to the conclusion of a treaty; and the Dutch, who were illсужed to both, openly refused to renounce the neutrality which they had agreed with the emperor to observe.

Besides the contending parties in the empire, there was a third which remained neutral, composed of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, some princes and free cities, the hanse-towns, and other states, which had some grievance to be redressed. William landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, had left the administration of his dominions, and the tutorage of his children, to his widow Amelie, whom, in his will, he recommended to the kings of France and England, and the states-general, in full persuasion that George, landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was his declared enemy, as well as a zealous partisan of the emperor, would take advantage of the troubles that distracted Germany, in order to enrich himself with the spoils of his children. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture, inasmuch as George did not fail to avail himself of an act, by which Ferdinand II. had put William to the ban of the empire; and although this decree had never been published, he obtained of the present emperor letters patent, establishing him administrator of Lower Hesse. Nevertheless, the discontented princes managed the inhabitants of Cassel, and the other towns, with such prudence, that they excused themselves from obeying the repeated orders of the emperor. Though she was not in a condition to withstand the imperialists and Bavarians, she gained time by a truce, and afterwards by a treaty of peace, effected by the mediation of the elector of Mentz; which treaty, however, the refused to ratify, unless the emperor would grant the free exercise of the Protestant religion through all the dominions of the empire. This demand being, according to her expectation, refused, she renounced the other articles, and threw herself into the arms of France, by which she could be enabled to support the war to advantage.

By her agreement with France, concluded at Dorfden, she engaged to maintain a body of horse and foot to act against the common enemies of the empire; to cede no part of the conquests she should make, or come to any accommodation with the king of Hungary, or his allies, without the consent and approbation of her most Christian majesty, who, in consideration of these engagements, promised to supply her with the yearly sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars; to make no truce or treaty with the king of Hungary, or his allies, without comprehending the landgrave and his interests; to engage the states-general to admit her into their alliance; to continue her for the pension which had been granted to his father; and finally, to guarantee, for the space of ten years after the re-establishment of peace, all the dominions of the landgrave.

These different negotiations did not disturb the house of Austria so much as did the progress of Bannier in Saxony and Bohemia. In the beginning of February this general had passed the Elbe with eighteen thousand men, though his military chaff was quite empty:

* Barres, t. ix. p. 716.  
* Dumont, t. vi. part i.
nevertheless he was carefully followed by his soldiers, who knew he would provide for all their necessities. Accordingly he obliged the duke of Lauenburg to furnish the troops with every thing they wanted. Colonel Uriet Wrangle, who had quit the Swedes service, and entered that of the emperor, now surrendered the town of Caribien, rejoined his own countrymen with eight hundred horfe and three hundred musketeers, and supplied them with plenty of provisions: Helderland purchased their forbearance with a large sum of money; and Augustus of Saxony, archbishop of Magdeburg, expected to buy the same favour at the same price: but Banner gave his deputies to understand, that the archbishop’s father, the elector of Saxony, having abandoned the party of the Swedes, he could not help looking upon him as an enemy; he therefore would order his vanguard to march towards Thuringia, in order to lay that country under contribution, and open their route to Magdeburg and Leipsic. His army being now considerably augmented by recruits, he detached general King into Westphalia with five thousand men, to interrupt the levies of the Imperialists in that province, and carry off the provisions which were amassed for the use of the Austrian troops, who possessed part of the dutchies of Juliers and Cleves. Banner himself, entering Meijnia at the head of five and twenty thousand men, reduced Kemnitz, Schevenberg, Hannenburg, and Marienberg, without having met with the smallest opposition; but the siege of Friedberg in some measure check’d the rapidity of his conquests. Colonel Hunke, who commanded the garrison, made several successful forays; and at length Banner, having received information that the Saxons were coming to the relief of the place, quitted the field and advanced to give them battle.

MARACINI, the Saxen general, no sooner perceived his design than he crossed the river Wesentza, and divided his cavalry into squadrons, with which he charged, routed, and pursued Banner’s vanguard, even to the main body of their army. However, the Swedes were soon rallied, fo as to repulse Maracini; and, advancing into a plain, attacked the Saxons, who had by this time retired into a very advantageous situation, flanked by a wood, in which they planted their artillery; after a very obstinate and bloody engagement they were put in disorder, routed, and pursued to the very gates of Dresfen, which the victorious Swedes would certainly have entered, had not they been prevented by the approach of night. They therefore contented themselves with the honour, and other advantages they had acquired by the battle, in which four thousand Saxens were slain, and almost all their officers killed or taken. This defeat, however, did not so much discourage Maracini but that he assembled a fresh army, in order to make another effort in favour of Friedberg; to the siege of which Banner had returned after his victory, and even given an assault, in which he sustained great losses. Hearing of Maracini’s second approach, he sent major-general Pfuel to reconnoitre; but he chanceing to take the wrong road, the Saxons suddenly appeared, to the number of eighteen thousand; so that Banner had scarce time to retire to an eminence, where he intrenched himself, while the enemy threw into Friedberg a reinforcement of men, provisions, and ammunition. The Swedes general sent orders to Torfenfon to join him with all possible dispatch; and being informed that Maracini waited for a reinforcement of six thousand Croats, and that general Hasfeld was upon his march to him in the Swedes on all hands, he resolved to try the fortune of another battle, and attack Maracini in his lines. With this design he departed from Zeitz on the thirteenth of February; and receiving information that the Saxons had abandoned their lines, he followed them with great expedition, and pursued their rear to the main body of their army, which being inaccessible, except by a narrow passage between two morasses, he ordered Pfuel to dismount his dragoons, and attack it on foot. This service being performed, the Swedes were drawn up in order of battle as they arrived; and Banner, at the head of his own regiment, charging the left wing of the enemy, a furious contest ensued, and the issue continued long doubtful, until Torfenfon arriving with his horfe, determined the victory in favour of the Swedes; for the left wing of the Saxons giving way, the right was overwhelmed with such confusion, that the greatest part of it laid down their arms without fighting, and their whole army was pursued with great slaughter. Above two thousand were slain in the action; by which Banner, whose losses did not exceed four hundred, made himself master of five and forty pair of colours, fifty standards, together with all their cannon, baggage, and ammunition.

By this victory Tübingia, Wateresla, Saxony, Meijnia, and the neighbouring provinces, were left under the dominion of the Swedes: for the wreck of the Saxen army was destroyed by major-general Pfuel, who, falling suddenly upon a body of troops rallied by Maracini near Kemnitz, cut them in pieces, and took their general prisoner. Torfenfon was ordered to renew the siege of Friedberg; but, perceiving the breaches were well repaired, he contented himself with blocking the place, and went to join the Swede’s army, which by this time had reduced Pirna.
WHILE Bannier and his generals thus filled Saxony and Bohemia with terror and dismay, a general Königsmarck acted the same part in Franconia; and Axel-Cili made great progress in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, where many places surrendered without opposition, and a good number secured themselves from the tempest by demanding a neutrality. As for the circle of Lower Saxony, and the hans-towns, they promised to the regency of Sweden, that they would neither furnish the emperor or his allies with troops or money.

HASFELD, the imperial general, taking the advantage of Bannier’s being at a distance, surprized Marienberg, blocked up Kennitz, and marched towards Pirn, in order to make himself master of that place. Bannier, being apprised of these motions, quitted Brandeck, where he was encamped, and passing the Elbe, seemed to have a design upon Prague; but all of a sudden, he turned towards Böhmen, in order to meet Hasfeld, and relieve the towns that were threatened by that general. He accordingly drove the Czucks, who blocked up Kennitz, under the cannon of Dresden: then marched towards Pirn, in quest of the elector of Brandenburg, who had joined Hasfeld; but they did not think proper to hazard a battle against such victorious troops; so that all he could do was to harry them in their retreat. He afterwards re-entered Bohemia, with intent to attack the Imperialists, who were encamped upon the White Mountain, at some distance from Prague; but they wisely retired into the town, and the Swedes undertook the siege of Königsaal, in which they succeeded without much difficulty.

The emperor, finding his arms ineffectual to stop the progress of Bannier, had recourse to other arts, by which that general had like to have been amuised to his own destruction. His wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, was tampered with by the count de Schütz, president of the council of war in Bohemia, to whom she was allied; and she listened to his importunity to be left to dispose of her husband to a passion for the house of Austria, in whose name the count promised, that Bannier should be created a prince of the empire, and be gratified with the possession of two dukedoms in Silicia. These splendid offers actually began to dazzle the eyes of the Swede, who could not think of neglecting so glorious an opportunity of putting an end to his fatigues: the negotiation was begun by a physician of Prague, whom Schütz lent on pretence of visiting the marshall’s lady, who was indisposed; and proceeded so far, that Beauvais, the French minister, who attended Bannier, got an inkling of the design, which he immediately communicated to the count d’Avaux at Hamburg, who exerted himself with such address on this occasion, that the council of Stockholm would not invest Bannier with the full powers which he demanded.

FRANCE was very much alarmed at this secret correspondence between the Imperialists and the Swedes, and took every measure she could devise to break off the negotiation, which was no other than a political stratagem of the imperial court to amuse Bannier until the arrival of Picolomini, who was ordered to march from the Low Countries with an army to retrieve the Austrian affairs in Bohemia. The scheme succeeded to their wish; for the marshall was not undeceived until he saw the archduke Leopold arrive in Prague, with a body of five thousand men, which were soon followed by general Pocollini at the head of another, confining of twelve thousand.

The departure of this officer left the duke de Longueville at liberty to advance along the Rhine, and reduce Alzey, Oppenheim, Bingen, and Creutznach. Indeed the Bavarian army, which had thrown itself into the Rhingau, hindered him at first from extending his quarters; but, for want of provisions, it was soon constrained to retire into Wirtemberg, so that all this side of the Rhine was left to the discretion of the Wurtemberg troops. However, as this country could not long furnish them with subsistence, the duke assembed the chiefs at Creutznach, in order to deliberate upon their next motion. Here it was determined to cross the Rhine; and this enterprise being effected by the conduct and invention of the count de Guibrant, they found very good quarters in Wurtemberg, and High Heile.

Among the other pretenders to the succession of the duke de Weymar, Charles-Louis, prince of Palatine, was strongly recommended by the prince of Orange, the states-general, and the king of England; and this last was so politic as to suppose, that France would concur in supporting his pretensions. With this opinion he spoke to Bellecre, the French ambassador at the British court, in order to procure a safe-conduct for the Palatine, that he might pass through France, and wait upon Louis in person, before he should set out for the Rhine. But this project was not at all relished by cardinal Richelieu, who deferred the grant of this passport so long, that Charles Louis, in the impatience of youth, resolved to go incognito; and actually arrived at Paris, from whence he set out for the Wurtemberg army. The cardinal, being perfectly aware of all his motions, allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom; then he was arrested at Maulins in the Bourbonnais, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes; and his two brothers, who learned their exercises at Paris, were secured


ad ann. 1640.
The history of Germany.

a at the same time. The count, for some time, refused to own his rank and quality; and this refusal furnished the cardinal with a pretence for laying, that France had good reason to suspect he was engaged in some enterprise to prejudice her; while Louis XIII. was at that time absent from his capital, gave out that this arrest was executed without his order; in consequence of which precaution of the ministers whom he had left at Paris.

His detention was no sooner known, than the kings of England and Denmark, together with the young queen of Sweden, interested themselves in his cause, and solicited his release in the most pressing terms; and, in consequence of their repeated requests and remonstrances, he was set at liberty, though not before he had entered into an engagement, by which he was restricted from making any attempt to put himself at the head of the Wymaranian troops, and from embarking in any enterprise to prejudice of France.

General Bannier having received a reinforcement of troops from Thuringia, marched towards Pizolomini, in order to give him battle; but he avoided an encounter, and abandoning the passages of the Elbe which he occupied, retired to Horben; where he learned, that the Imperialists were on their march to Erfurt, that they might be at hand to succour the Bavarians, in case of necessity. Bannier took the opportunity of this conjunction to demand of the duke de Longueville the junction of the two armies, threatening, in case of a refusal, to consult his own safety for the future, and to think no more of acting in concert with the French. Understanding that the Bavarians were advanced to the frontiers of Franconia and Vogelstadt, in their approach to the Imperialists, he resolved to compel the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg to renounce their neutrality, and detach a colonel, with orders to declare to them, that the only expedient for removing the Imperialists from their neighbourhood, would be to follow the example of the landgraves of Hesse, and join the crowns of Sweden and France. This remonstrance had weight with duke George, who, in the name of the whole Brunswick house, concluded a treaty with the Swabian general, by which he obliged himself to furnish three thousand foot, and five hundred horse; which, with the troops of Hesse, marched to the duke of Longueville; and these three bodies having joined the Swabian army, Bannier advanced to Salzgaf, where Pizolomini was posted; but the Imperialists were so advantageously encamped, that it was impossible to attack them with any prospect of success: so then, after the two armies had remained in sight of one another for the space of six weeks, the confederates began to be in want of provisions, and demaned to pass the river Vira, in the country of Hesse Castel, whither they were followed by Pizolomini. Here they were strengthened by a reinforcement from the duke of Lunenburg; in consequence of which they marched up to the Imperialists, but found them so strongly intrenched, that they would not venture to attack them. Then they retired to Hektor upon the Weser, with a view to put their troops into winter-quarters in Franconia, and upon the Danube. Pizolomini likewise decamped, and took the road to Wolfhaid, with design to throw a bridge over the Weser, and enter the dominions of Brunswick; but this project was disconcerted by the diligence of Bannier. This was the fourth time that the confederates had been in flight of the whole imperial forces, without engaging in a general battle; nevertheless both armies were miserably reduced; for the scarcity of provisions, and the fatigue of marches and encampments, produced such mortality, that the number of the Imperialists was diminished by nine thousand; and the Swedes, who died, were pretty much in the same proportion to their army: but whatever the loss might be on either side this campaign, it was certainly very glorious to Pizolomini, who not only obliged Bannier to quit the hereditary countries of the house of Austria, but also drove the confederates from Franconia, and reduced them to the necessity of defending the dominions of their allies, instead of forming enterprises, as usual, against the army of the emperor. (Z).

Mean while the electors had assembled at Nuremberg, in order to deliberate upon the means for reitering peace to the empire, or for continuing the war, in case they should not be able to reconcile the interests of the princes. Here the deputies of Lunenburg complained of the injustice that was done to their matter, in obliging him to withdraw the protection he had granted to the town of Hildesheim; and this grievance, together with the pretensions of the elector of Brandenburg to Pomerania, were examined, and referred to the diet of Ratibon, which the emperor had convoked for the month of September. As no effectual steps could be taken towards a general peace, without the consent of the powers which

b Puffendorf, L. xi. sect. xxiii.

c Adlzeif. p. iii. I. xxxv.

* * 

(1) Berage, Histo. della diplomaz. del regno di Portogallo. II. l. v. were

(3) The end of this year was rendered memorable by an event, which greatly diminished the power of the house of Austria. The Portuguese took the Spaniards yoke, which they had borne for sixty years, and proclaimed John, duke of Braganza, king of Portugal (1).

(Z) The end of this year was rendered memorable by an event, which greatly diminished the power of the house of Austria. The Portuguese took the Spaniards yoke, which they had borne for sixty years, and proclaimed John, duke of Braganza, king of Portugal (1).
The history of Germany.

were at war, a proposal was made to invite their plenipotentiaries to this diet; and tho' the emperor and his allies did not much relish this proposal, because they were afraid that the treaty of Prague would be abolished by the intrigues and remonstrances of the French and Swedish ministers; yet, in order to avoid the suspicion of an intention to perpetuate the war, they consented to expedite safe-conducts for the ambassadors of foreign princes, to come into the empire to treat of the preliminaries of the peace. Colgens was the place assigned to the French, and Lubeck or Hamburg to the Swedes, whither the emperor engaged to send his ministers. This article being discussed, they proceeded to consider that of winter-quarters for the troops of the empire; and these were left to the choice of the emperor, who was likewise enabled to recruit and augment his army by a subsidy of one hundred and fifty Roman months, granted by the circles of Austria and Bavaria, another of sixty by the rest, which pleased poverty in consequence of the war.

The diet made these concessions, in hope of obtaining with more facility of the emperor a general amity in favour of those places that were enemies to the house of Austria: but the Catholics and Protestants could not agree upon the year from which it should take effect; the last defining that it should commence from the time when Frederic was crowned king of Bohemia; and the others insisting on its being dated from the year in which Gustavus Adolphus undertook the war against the emperor.

During these deliberations at Raisdon, Lutzow, one of Ferdinand’s able counsellors, was employed in negotiating the preliminaries at Hamburg with the count d’Aues and Salvius, the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden, though he at first made some scruple of treating with the former, because, in the safe-conduct granted to that minister, Colgen was the place assigned for his negotiation: however, the king of Denmark, who acted as mediator in the treaty, prevailed upon Ferdinand to overlook that objection. This difficulty, and some others, being removed, the conferences began, and an agreement was concluded to this effect:

That a congress for a general peace should be held at Munster and Osnabrug, the garri
tons of which should march out, the inhabitants be released from their oath to either party, and observe a neutrality during the time of negotiation: that both cities should, for that time, be guarded by their own burgheers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, perfons, and followers of the negotiators: that the two congresses should be considered as one only; and the roads between the two cities be safe for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places where the negotiators might think proper to confer with each other: that in case the neighbours should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munster and Osnabrug should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress; but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the rupture of the negotiations: that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at Hamburg, by the mediation of the Danish ambassadors, in the space of two months, reckoning from the date of this agreement: that the emperor and king of Spain should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of France and Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his most Christian majesty; and that Sweden should give safe-conducts to the emperor’s plenipotentiaries, and to those of Meintz and Brandenburg. It was afterwards agreed, that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnabrug; and that each crown should have a resident where the other’s plenipotentiaries was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions.

The emperor refused to ratify this previous treaty or convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interest of the Germanic body; for these could never suffer the towns of Munster and Osnabrug to be released from the oath they had taken; or consider the treaties with France and Sweden as one, inasmuch as he had never approved of the alliance between these crowns. He therefore recalled Lutzow, and sent in his room the count d’Auesberg, with orders to make these objections, and propose the negotiation of a new treaty; but his proposal was not accepted, and the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns would no longer confer with his minister.

Besides the subjects we have already mentioned to have employed the deliberations of the diet, it was agreed that the war against France and Sweden should be considered as a war of the empire; that fifteen commissaries should be appointed to examine the grievances of the Protestants; and that the affair of the palatine princes should be discussed at Vienna in an amicable manner.

1 Puffendorf, l. xii. 311. 2 Dumont. Corps Diplom. t. vi. p. 231. 1 Barre. t. ix. p. 736.

(A) Towards the end of this assembly, the emperor created three princes of the empire; namely, Frederic of Hohenzollern, John-Anthony d’Eggemberg, and Wincislaus de Lobkowitz, who were admitted in that quality in the regifter of the Germanic body (1).

(1) Barre. t. ix. p. 735.

While
While the diet thus seemed to conspire with the house of Austria, in order to prolong the war, Bannier formed the design of dispersing the assembly, and even of surprizing the town. Having joined the French under Guébriant at Erfurt, he arrived at Hoff on the sixth day of January, and sending five regiments of cavalry to Egers, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to rejoin the army at Porcz, he advanced to Answick. On the nineteenth the confederates marched to Schwäbenburg, and next day the count of Nassen and Wittemberg, being detached with six regiments of cavalry to reconnoitre the country between Ratisbon and Straunburg, crossed the Danube upon the ice, and took above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself ran a very great risk of being surprized; for that very day he intended to hunt, thinking himself secure in an advanced guard, which was actually carried off by the Swedes, who likewise took his litter, hawks, and equipage. The approach of these armies filled Ratisbon with consternation: the bridge was immediately burned; but the country was covered with enemies, the villages set on fire, and the town defenceless, unprovided, full of strangers, malcontents, and suspected perfons.

The design of the allies was to take the advantage of the frost, to block up and starve the town; but the weather becoming more mild, the count de Nassen and Wittemberg were obliged to repair the river before it should be thawed, and rejoin the army, which had arrived at Regensbourg, about two leagues from Ratisbon. Nevertheless, Bannier, who would not retire until he should have made another attempt to disolve the diet, approached that city on the twenty-sixth day of February, and Guébriant, who commanded the van, placing his artillery on the banks of the Regen, which was between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor and diet with five hundred shot; an affront that stung Ferdinand so severely, that he seemed bereft of his usual constancy and fortitude. After this ineffectual expedition, the French troops separated themselves from the army of Sweden, and marched towards Banburg, while Bannier took the route to Chemnitz, to penetrate into Magdalia through Bohemia. As for the emperor, he was no sooner rid of such troublesome neighbours, than he liued out orders for assembling a body of troops with all possible dispatch, in order to revenge the insult he had undergone. His army being soon formed by the activity of the archduke Leopold and Picolomini, one part of it under marshall Glehn, which went in pursuit of Banvier, while the other, commanded by Picolomini, besieged Neumarkt, which was defended by a Swedish officer called Schlang, who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war. Immediately after the reduction of this place, the imperial general rejoined Glehn, in order to pursue Bannier, who retreated across the forest of Bohemia; on the other side of which, finding himself impeded by the river Pleis, he collected a number of boats with such expedition, that he had transported his men when Picolomini appeared upon the bank. This obstruction, however, did not retard the progress of the enemy; the Austrian cavalry swam across the river, and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis and the Moldau, Bannier's ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius, which redound more to the honour of a general, than does the acquisition of a victory, because fortune has no share in the successes. Finding himself thus feverishly preflled, he posted some troops in a mill below Prafizitza, which made such a long and gallant resistance, when attacked by Picolomini, that his army had time to retire to Zsaczew on the Moldau, whither his baggage and artillery were conveyed in the night: here likewise he was joined by Guébriant, who, after the siege of Neumarkt, had put himself in motion, and by surprizing marches arrived at this place, without having been attacked by the Augsbrian. All Germany admired this march, and Bannier's retreat, which indeed were scarce credible. Glehn and Picolomini accused one another of neglect, and were ordered to repair to Ratisbon to give an account of their conduct, which satisfied the emperor's fon. Ferdinand king of Hungary, who sent them back to their posts. Glehn, at the head of nine Bavarian regiments, advanced towards the Reine, and Picolomini, with the rest of the army, followed the Swedes towards Zeitz. Mean while Bannier, in consequence of the fatigues he had undergone, fell sick at Zsaczew, and ordered himself to be conveyed to Halberstadt, where he died on the twentieth day of May, in the forty-first year of his age, to the infinite loss and inexpressible regret of his party. This great officer had learned the art of war under Gisunus Adolphus, whom he had well nigh rivalled in reputation and success. He was remarkable for his moderation and humanity towards those whom he conquered: he always avoided the effusion of blood, as much as the nature of his occupation would permit: he was robust, patient, laborious, and averse; adored by his fol-

diers, who cheerfully undertook all sorts of toil and danger under his command; and all


MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 3 T Europe
Europe acknowledged him to be the most able general of his time, especially in the knowledge of encampment, of drawing up an army in order of battle, and of making a retreat in the face of an enemy of superior strength. 

FRANCE and Sweden had been alarmed at the death of George duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, which happened in April, because they apprehended that the elector of Saxony would induce Christian, his successor, to make an accommodation with the house of Austria; but, in spite of the intrigues of the court of Dresden, and the menaces of Piccolomini, the dutchess-dowager and her son concluded at Hildesheim, a new treaty with the two crowns, and engaged to join her forces to those of France and Sweden. Nevertheless, this alliance was not of confluence enough to prevent the diquiet of Sweden, which was overwhelmed with grief and conformation at the death of Banier, seemingly productive of such troublesome confluences; for his army was almost wholly composed of Germans, who were retained in the service by the single authority of the general; and now he was dead, they would be exposed to the arts and temptations of those princes, who were living in wait for such an opportunity of inveigling them into their own services. Accordingly they were tampered with by the elector of Saxony, and even by Christian duke of Lunenburg, whose aim was to be at the head of an independent army, that would act against the emperor for his interest only: but the young prince was diffused by Guibrant from the execution of his scheme, which was altogether extravagant; and the army, which at first seemed inclined to mutiny, laid aside all thoughts of declaring for themselves, and resolved to receive any general that the Swedish regency should think proper to appoint.

The elector of Saxony seeing the Swedish army without a general, resolved to seize this opportunity of retaking Zuickau, which was invested by general Barry, and, after a siege of five weeks, surrendered upon capitulation, though he did not keep his word with the garrison, which he disarmed on pretence of their having used iron and tin balls, contrary to the laws of war; and, in order to avoid captivity, they were constrained to enlist in the elector's service.

The reduction of Zuickau, and the death of Banier, elevated the hopes of the emperor and duke of Bavaria to such a degree, that they breathed nothing but total destruction to the army of the confederates. The archduke Leopold joined Piccolomini in Saxony, when, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, they resolved to compel the forces of George duke of Lunenburg to abandon the blockade of Wolfenbuttel, and to reduce the princes of Brunswick, and the landgrave of Hesse, to the necessity of suing for an accommodation. But these projects were soon frustrated by the Swedes and French, who, under the command of Guibrant, met and defeated them near Wolfenbuttel. Four thousand Imperialists were slain upon the spot, and a great number taken prisoners, who received quarter, contrary to the resolutions taken on both sides before the battle began. The greatest part of those who survived, being favoured by the night, fled for refuge under the cannon of Wolfenbuttel, and the rest reached the forest of Eimelgen. No other event of any consequence happened in the course of this year; and the winter approaching, the Hessian troops and those of Lunenburg went into winter quarters near the Rhine; while the French and Swedes remained in their camp near Sajkadi, waiting the arrival of general Torfenson, who had begun his march with eight thousand Swedes, and was the person whom the regency had chosen as the successor of Banier. This officer, upon his junction with Guibrant, proposed to go together and take winter-quarters in Bobem; but in this proposal the count could not acquiesce, because cardinal de Richelieu, who was bent upon the conquest of Rouffillon, had ordered him to lead the French troops back to the Rhine, on pretense of making a powerful diversion next year, or of defending that frontier against any attempts of the Imperialists. In consequence of this scheme the armies were parted, Guibrant entered Wolfenbuttel, and Torfenson penetrated into Bobem, in order to try their fortunes separately, as soon as the season should permit.

The princes of Germany, whole country had been so long ravaged by so many different armies, longed eagerly for peace; but no one expressed more impatience than the young count palatine, in whose favour the English resident at Vienna had orders to repeat the most pressing solicitations. The duke of Bavaria contented to reforest the Lower Palatinate to the count, and even to quit the Upper, as soon as he should be reimbursed of the thirteen millions that were due to him; but the Spaniards could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the places which they possessed in the Lower Palatinate; and the archduchess Claudia affirmed, that the prefecture of Germersheim made no part of it, but belonged to her children the archdukes of Austria: to support this assertion, she alleged, that the palatine princes had never possessed it in any other way than as a mortgage; that the &


Loth. rer. German. part ii. 1. xxviii. Abel. Ret. i. xxviii. n. i.
The history of Germany.

**a** emperor had made a grant of it to the archduke Leopold, to whom the subjects of it had taken the oath of allegiance; and that it was but a very slight recompense for the services which her husband had done the emperor and common cause of Germany. 

Ferdinand, that he might not seem averse to peace, which was so eagerly desired by the whole empire, promised to restore the Lower Palatinate to the Palatine princes, and reimburse them of the sums which their ancestors had lent upon the mortgage of this preface, provided they would renounce all the alliances in which they had engaged against the house of Austria; but this offer, which was not made till next year, they rejected, because he refused to re-establish the count in the electorate, and the dominions thereto annexed.

**b** About this time the ministers of France and Sweden were employed at Hamburg, in renewing the treaty of alliance between the crowns, which was on the point of expiring. The count d'Avaux, and Adler-Salvis, who were the two negotiators, exerted all their dexterity in obtaining their separate aims. The former affirmed, that the duration of the treaty was not limited to a certain number of years, so as that they should be put to the trouble of renewing it from time to time, while the Swedes were loth to tie up their own hands, and deprive themselves of the liberty of concluding a separate peace with the emperor, in case favourable conditions should be offered. However, the regency reflecting that they could never be secure in a separate peace, without the guarantee of France, gave up that point, and restricted themselves to the demand of an augmentation of the subsidy from France, together with a powerful diversion upon the Rhine, and in the hereditary countries of the house of Austria, or at least in Bavaria. They disputed a long time on these two articles; the count d'Avaux alleged, that France was too much exhausted to bear so great an expense: that in the course of four or five years she had given immense sums to the Swedes and Dutch, from which she had reaped no advantage; for the allies had converted their money to their own private occasions. With regard to the diversion he observed, that it would be impolitic in the French to lead their troops into remote provinces, without any prospect of emolument, while, by acting upon the Rhine, they might extend the conquests, and aggrandize the power of their country. Notwithstanding these objections, it was agreed, that in case of a truce the treaty should be in force until a peace could be concluded; but during that interval, France should not pay to Sweden more than seven hundred and fifty thousand livres yearly: that the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Brunswick, and other allies of the two crowns, should be comprehended in the treaty; and that if a truce could not be effected with the enemy, France should grant a yearly subsidy to Sweden of twelve hundred thousand livres during the continuation of the war.

**c** Puffendorf, lib. iv. 
**d** Vittorio Sici, lib. i. lib. ii. 
**e** Lucigo, Part. Gener. Contin. ii. pag. 189.

**C H A P. XX.**

Continuation of the War to the Peace of Munster and Osnabrugg.

Georg-William, elector of Brandenburg, having died in the month of November of the preceding year, his son and successor Frederic-William sent Winterfeld to Hamburg, to negotiate a truce with Salvis; and at the same time dispatched another minister to Stockholm, in order to forward the treaty, which he desired to conclude rather from a motive of private interest, than an inclination to give peace to his dominions. This was no other than the view of securing to himself the duchy of Jagendorf, after the death of the present duke Ernest, who had no children. Though this appenage of right belonged to the elector, he foresaw a difficulty in obtaining it from the house of Austria by fair means; and therefore he had recourse to the alliance of France and Sweden, by which his claim might be supported. But his conduct on this occasion was influenced by another consideration. By an article of the treaty of truce, concluded between Sweden and Poland, it was stipulated, that the fort of Pultawa should remain in the hands of the elector of Brandenburg: nevertheless, Ladislaus king of Poland pretended that this was nothing but an accidental incident, upon the execution of which the treaty did not at all depend, and therefore he refused to grant the investiture of Prussia to the elector, unless he would renounce the fort. In order to preserve the possession of Pultawa, Frederic had now recourse to the authority of the French king, who had been mediator in the treaty of Stuhmendorf, and for that reason ought to intercede himself in the execution of its articles. The count d'Avoux, to whom the elector wrote upon this subject, promised that Lewis XIII. should employ Frederic-William, elector of Brandenburg, solicits an alliance with Sweden.
employ his good offices with Ladislaus in his behalf; but in the mean time gave him to understand, that he ought to merit the king's protection by taking some step that would be advantageous to the party of the allies. Over and above these considerations, he had other reasons to cultivate the friendship of the Swedes. Under pretence of treating with them concerning the interests of his aunt, who was dowager of Sweden, he endeavoured to pave the way to the throne of that kingdom, which he was ambitious of mounting, by marrying the young queen, who was now in the fifteenth year of her age. This match, which had been projected by her father Gustavus, with a view of uniting Pomerania and Prussia to the kingdom of Sweden, was now countenanced by England and Holland, as an event that would tend to the support of the Protestant religion, and the balance of power in Germany, where the house of Austria preponderated to such a formidable degree: but the Swedish regency had other views, and took such measures as effectually disappointed the aim of the elector, though the negotiation was serviceable to the allies; for, while it remained upon the carpet, he made but very feeble efforts in favour of the contrary party.

The disposition of the dukes of Lunenburg with regard to the allies, became every day more and more equivocal. They demanded of France the same subsidy of money which that crown granted to the landgrave of Hesse; and of the Swedes, the restitution of some places which they had pillaged for many years. Being disapprob'd in this quarter, they attempted to effect an accommodation with the emperor, who had long solicited them to re-unite with his interests: but they would not enter into any negotiation with his imperial majesty, until he should put them in possession of Wolfenbuttel; and the conferences which were held at Gofar upon this affair, being protracted to a great length of time, the allies regarded the advantage of their uncertainty and fulness, for they still continued to treat the Imperialists as enemies, and at last the convention proved ineffectual.

Nor was the emperor more successful with the thirteen Swiss cantons, which the diet of Ratisbon had required to recall the troops of their nation, that were in the service of France, and to hinder the forces of that kingdom from passing through the Helvetic territory into the empire; but neither the letters of the diet, nor the promissies of the Catholic cantons, produced any effects in favour of Ferdinand, who did not much confult his dignity in trying such feeble resources, and who now sustained an irreparable loss, by the reconciliation of France with Charles duke of Lorrain, the first step towards which was his relinquishing his correspondence with the house of Austria; yet even this misfortune was not of such consequence to the emperor, as the progress made by the arms of France and Sweden.

The count de Guébriant having crossed the Rhine in January, upon a bridge which he built at Weisel, marched to Ordingen, which surrendered at discretion; and understanding that Hasfeld was on his march to join Lamboy, whose quarters were near Kempen, he resolved to hinder this junction by attacking the last in his intrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordingen, advanced towards the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the attack. After an obstinate opposition, the Austrian infantry was forced and put to flight: Lamboy, who rallied his troops, and returned to the charge, was, together with Merci, surrounded and taken; and of the whole imperial army, not above six hundred escaped. This victory, obtained upon the seventeenth day of January, was followed by the conquest of Niins, Bercen, Berchen, Coferg, and Gruenchenbruck; so that the count de Guébriant faw himself master of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. His next step was to besiege Kempen, which Greensfeld defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being made, he knew it would be impossible to sustain the attack, and therefore capitulated upon honourable terms.

The defeat of Lamboy, and successes of the French, did not hinder the archduke Leopold and Picolomini, who commanded the Imperialists in Moravia, from marching against Teschen, whom they intended to surpris; but finding the Swedes general always upon his guard, Picolomini resolved to substitute a ruse in the room of valour, and tampered with one Stenkendorf, a Swedes colonel, so successfullly, that he promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp by night: this design, however, was discovered, and the traitor being convicted of the crime, was beheaded at Salzdobel. In the mean time the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, with a detachment of Austrians, entering Silfin attacked Buthen, which was defended by three forts. The first was abandoned by the Swedes, who took refuge in the second, where they were forced and put to the sword; and the garrison which was in the third, capitulated, in order to avoid the same fate. The duke having raised these three forts, reduced the castle of Carlow, and marched against Bruntzlaw, which he besieged
The history of Germany.

a and took. Nauenburg surrendered almost without resistance; and all Silisia being thus subjected to the house of Austria, he joined the archduke and Pichlomint. Sillesia was no sooner abandoned by the Imperialists, than Torstenson marched thither to recover the places which had been lost, and proceeded in his conquests with surprising rapidity, which, in order to check the duke of Sax-Lauenburg marched towards Schweinsee with great expedition. He found the Swedes in order of battle, and having no desire to engage in a general action, thought proper to retire; when Torstenfon purfued him at the head of his cavalry, and found means to decoy him into an ambush of his mulqueters, who charging the Aurtherian squadrons in flank, soon put them in disorder, and produced a panic among the infantry, in consequence of which they fled with great precipitation. The duke made many efforts to rally his troops; but the Swedes horde, far from giving him time, fell upon his men with such impetuosity, that three thousand were killed upon the spot: the duke himself, being dangerously wounded, was obliged to surrender, with the greatest part of his officers, and was conveyed to the next town, where he died without issue by his death's Christiana, daughter, of John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg.

Torstenson, having now no enemy near to oppose him, invested Briss, and, in all probability, would have taken the place, had not the king of Hungary ordered Pichlomint to assemble all the forces he could collect, and succour the place, even at the expence of a battle. The archduke Leopold, foreseeing that the reduction of Briss would be followed by the loss of all Silisia, joined this body, which being greatly superior in number to Torstenfon, obliged him to relinquish his enterprise; tho' he retired in good order, and intrenched himself in an advantageous situation between Grove and Gros Glogau, the siege of which left place the archduke immediately undertook, but the beleaguered made such a vigorous defence, that he despaired of reducing the place, and retired to Luben, where he established his head quarters. The Auffrians were not more successful in the siege of Olmuciz, from which they were recalled by the archduke, in order to act to greater advantage against Torstenfon.

This general being strengthened by a reinforcement from Sweden, had pilled the Elbe, with an intent to besiege Leipizick; and having seized two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprise, ordered general Koningfmarck to invest the place, in hope of making himself master of it, or of obliging the Imperialists to fight, should they come to its relief. Accordingly, while he was employed in the operations of the siege, he received intelligence that the Auffrians had crossed the Elbe; and, in consequence of this intimation, he converted the siege into a blockade, and made preparations for receiving the enemy. On the thirty-first day of October, the count de Boucban, who commanded a body of Czeck and Hungarians, advancing within two leagues of the Swedes camp, Torstenfon marched out to meet them at the head of his cavalry, but understanding that the archduke had drawn up his army in order of battle, he returned to his camp, to deliberate upon the next step he should take. Mean while Leopold approached Leipizick in such a manner, as that the Swedes were between his army and the town; and Torstenfon finding himself between two fires, filed off his troops into a plain at the distance of a league from Leipizick. The Auffrians, imagining his design was to avoid an action, followed him in his march, with a view to harass his rear; but the Swedes general having put his army in order, faced about to the enemy, and a mutual cannonading ensued. Major-general Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the Imperialists with such impetuosity, that they were routed, after having made a flight with resistance: however, their right wing behaved with more valor, and the emperor's cuirassiers had well nigh broke the Swedish cavalry, which was rallied by Koningfmarck, and at length put the Auffrians to flight. While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the center fought with inexplicable rage and resolution, until the Swedes foot, animated by the example of their horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of the action, obliged the Imperialists to leave the field, and retreat into a wood, after having abandoned their cannon.

Torstenson pursued the left wing as far as Leipizick; Koningfmarck gave no quarter to the right; and the Auffrian infantry being driven from the wood to which they had retired, were surrassed by the enemy, and cut in pieces. In this battle, which was fought in the plain of Breitenfeld, on the second day of November, the Imperialists lost above eight thousand men, including three hundred officers that were found among the slain (B). As for the

(B) The regiment of Madou being the first that fled without fighting, and in some measure the cause of the general confusion that ensued, the archduke resolved to inflict an exemplary punishment upon that corps, when the remains of the army retreated into Bohemia. Six regiments, which had signalized themselves in the battle, being drawn up under arms, surrounded that of Madou, which was severely reproached for its cowardice and misfortune by the provost general, and ordered to lay down its arms at the feet of general Pichlomint. When they had obeyed
conquerors, they took a great number of prisoners, together with forty-six pieces of cannon, a one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, seventy-five standards, the chancery and plate of the archduke and Picolomini, a great many coaches, and six thousand waggons; and their whole loss did not amount to one thousand men, including some officers of distinction.

With regard to Piccolomini, he escaped to Leipzick with twelve thousand horse; but as he did not doubt that Turenfson would renew the siege, he would not shut himself up in that place, but retired with the archduke into Bobembia, to re-assemble the wreck of their army.

This total defeat of the Austrians overthrew the court of Vienna with confusion. General Eckenforst was ordered to make new levies with all expedition; Hasfeld and Viabl were sent for to court; Gotthake and Galtz exerted their utmost diligence to join the archduke, and all the troops in the service of the house of Austria were assembled to fopp the progress of the victorious Turenfson.

This general had returned to the siege of Leipzick, which he carried on with unceasing ardour, by means of sixty pieces of battering cannon; but the valour of the garrison was equal to that of the besiegers. They made a number of successful sallies, in which they damaged the Swedish works; but, being delithe: of all hope from the elector of Saxony, they sent deputies to Turenfson to demand a sum of money, in consideration of which they would give security, that the electoral troops in the citadel should live on good terms with the Swedes, and the burghers should observe an exact neutrality during the present war. These proposals were rejected by the Swedish general, who proceeded in his attacks with incredible vigour, until he had advanced to the very battions of the place. Notwithstanding this progress, the garrison defended themselves with great obstinacy until the French troops arrived in the Swedisch camp, when the town and citadel surrendered upon these conditions: that fifteen hundred Imperialists, who were in the town, should engage in the service of Sweden; that the Saxons, who composed part of the garrison, should be conducted to Dresdens, with their arms and baggage; that the town should redeem itself from pillage by the sum of seven hundred thousand rixdollars, and receive a Swedisch governor, without a garrison, though the Swedisch troops should take possession of the citadel.

The articles of capitulation being executed, Turenfson proposed an interview with the count de Guébriant at Radtads, in order to deliberate upon the march of the troops, and winter-quarters for both armies. His design being to purify the interest of Sweden only, he would have persuaded the French general to march into Bobembia; but Guébriant representing, that such a motion might disappoint them of the fruit which they might expect from their victories and successes, another plan of operations was settled, in consequence of which the French should pass the Main and the Neckar, in order to oppose the designs of Hasfeld and Wabli, the Bavarian generals, while the Swedes should besiege Hoff in the marquisate of Chambac, in France, and, after the reduction of that place, advance to the Upper Palatinate; and the march of both armies was regulated in such a manner, that in two days they could join one another. This was certainly a very feasible project, and the most advantageous enterprise that could have been undertaken in favour of the common cause. The armies of the emperor and duke of Bavaria were not strong enough to make head against those belonging to the two crowns; and the small body which Guébriant proposed to detach into Germany by Bristak, would have made a very useful diversion; they would have made themselves masters of towns, and excellent rofts for winter quarters, and there was nothing to obstruct their success. But this scheme was defeated by Turenfson, who after two days march returned, and, instead of besieging Hoff, took the road to Friesberg upon the Elbe. As for Guébriant, he passed the Main at Gundem, established quarters of refreshment on the Tauber, and afterwards marched towards the Neckar.

The archduke and imperial generals being assembled at Pilzen, to concert measures for stopping the current of the enemy’s success, it was resolved to march to the relief of Friesberg, which was by this time blocked up by Turenfson; who, being apprised of their designs, left one half of his infantry to continue the blockade, and marched out to meet them with the rest of his army. After having forded the country for three days, without finding the Imperialists, he returned to the siege, in which he proceeded with indefatigable industry: considerable breaches were made, and an assault actually given; but the garrison sustained

A.D. 1643.

A plan of operations settled by the French and Swedisch generals.

Turenfson marches towards Friesberg.

which is reduced.

† Barke, t. ix. p. 757.  
§ Puffendorf. rev. Suec. i. xiv.  
² Id. ibid.

(1) Heis, i. iii. c. 10.
it with such courage, that he was fain to recall his troops for that time. However, he was employed in making preparations for another attack, when he understood that Picolomini, at the head of fourteen thousand men, approached to the relief of the place. He no sooner received this intimation, than, ranging his army in order of battle, he put himself in motion to meet them half-way; when Picolomini, foreseeing his design, took another road, by which he threw supplies into the town, and then retired with the utmost expedition, so that the Swedish general, now desirous of being able to reduce Friedberg, marched into Lüftitz, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected, with Stalhans and Königsmark, from Pomerania and Lower Saxony.

The conferences were still continued at Hamburgh, though in a cold and ineffectual manner. After the battle of Bietenfeld, the allies expected that the house of Austria Hamburgh would appear sincerely disposed to an accommodation: but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid forewarned that France and Sweden would set an fir price on the peace at that juncture, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. The king of Denmark had, the preceding year, sent to Langerman, his minister at Hamburgh, a model of ratification of the preliminary treaty, touching the safe-conduits, which model was approved by Salvius and St. Roman, the Swedish and French envoys. But the emperor's minister, the count d'Acerberg, cavilled about the title of ambassador, which it bestowed upon Salvius; and the term afforded for the commencement of the congress, and these two articles, produced long debates: at length, however, the emperor finding the allies determined against any alteration, was obliged to acquiesce in this model, and the negotiators communicated to one another copies of the safe-conduits and ratifications. These being examined and exchanged, and all the formalities adjusted, they agreed to open the conferences for a general peace in the month of July; and, the preliminaries being published, all the nations which had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves upon the near approach of peace, plenty, and security. Nevertheless, this agreeable prospect was suddenly overcast by the death of Louis XIII. king of France (C), which happened on the fourteenth day of May, and induced the Swedes, who were dubious of the politics of the new government, to think of a separate peace with the emperor. But their doubts were soon removed by a victory obtained near Ardennes by the duke d'Enguien, over the Spaniards commanded by the count de Molla, which convinced them of the intention of the French ministry to act in concert with their allies.

The arms of France were not so fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorraine renounced his treaty with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the Bavarian troops; and Guebriant being mortally wounded at the siege of Retewill, which however was taken, a misunderstanding prevailed among the chief officers of the army, and produced a relaxation in their discipline, which was the cause of their total defeat. The count de Rantzau, who succeeded Guebriant in the command, marched to the neighbourhood of Dutilingen in the Saubia, upon the Dannube, where the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, surprized, defeated, and took him prisoner, with the greatest part of the general officers, and about four thousand men; and the remains of the army retreated to Aix-la-Chapelle, where they were collected and re-embarked by the count de Turenne, who was sent thither for that purpose.

Two eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the assemblies at Munster and Osnabrug. The plenipotentiaries nominated by the emperor were the count d'Acerberg and the baron de Krane, with Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, who was chief of the embassy: France appointed the count d'Avau, and Abel Servien, counsellor of state: the marquis de Caflé Rodero, and Diego de Saavedra, were chosen by the king of Spain; and deputies were also nominated by the other European courts which were interested in the negotiations. The Swedish garrison quitted Osnabrug, which, together with Munster, was by the baron de Krane released from the oath they had taken to the empire: the regencies of both cities swore to observe an exact neutrality, and to protect the persons and effects of the negotiators.

In the midst of these transactions, Torsteifen was ordered by the court of Sweden to march towards Holstein, the regency being incensed against the king of Denmark, whom they accused of harbouring all the sentiments of an enemy, under the mask of mediator. He had indeed taken several Swedish vessels that traded in the Sound, and neglected to give satisfaction to the regency, who complained of these acts of hostility, which, in a general assembly of the states of Sweden, they resolved to retort; and this resolution was not known till the moment in which Torsteifen invaded Holstein, where he reduced Oldenlau, Kiell, Christian-pries, and several other places of importance.

k Barre, tom. ix. pag. 764. 1 Heiss. lib. iii. cap. x.

(C) Cardinal Richelieu died on the fourth day of December, in the preceding year (1).

1 Barre, tom. ix. pag. 762.

CHRISTIAN
CHRISTIAN, king of Denmark, alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torftanjen as a palpable infringement of the treaty which he had lately concluded with Sweden; but finding that, instead of paying any regard to this remonstrance, he penetrated into Jutland, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his Danish majesty had recourse to the affiance of the emperor, who ordered Galas to march immediately to his relief, though the winter was by this time pretty far advanced. Though their march was very much retarded by the snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the auxiliary at length appeared on the frontiers of Holstein, and their general resolved to famish the Swedes who were in Jutland, by occupying the defiles between Stapelbom and Steinfack. This enterprise was detected by the vigilance of Torftanjen, who marched towards Rensburg, with intent to give Galas battle, in case he should dispute the passagé; but the Austrians did not think proper to give him the least molestation, so that he quitted Holstein, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near Rantzurg, whither he was followed by the imperial general, whose troops did nothing but exhaust the country. The Danes complained, that the flower of Galas, in executing the project of starving the Swedes, had given them time to retire with safety; while he, on the other hand, alleged, that the Danes had profaned a great deal, and performed nothing; that he had expected to have found money for the subsistence of his troops, together with a reinforcement of four thousand disciplined soldiers, and twice the number of peacocks; instead of which, he found not above four thousand raw men, ill paid, and miserably equipped.

In the beginning of this war, the duke of Newburg and the archbishop of Cologne had projected a league in the circle of Wolfshaff, with design to defend themselves equally against the Swedes and Austrians, and to maintain an exact neutrality. This affair seemed to be the more important, as the circle of Francia appeared well disposed to follow the example; and the count d’Avauz, in a letter to the duke, represented, that such a league would be altogether opposite to the interests of the Germanick body, because, in obliging the foreign troops to quit the empire, it would furnish the house of Austria with means for enslaving the whole nation. This argument had no effect upon the duke, who perished in his design, which however miscarried in the fequel through want of money.

The treaty which the elector of Brandenburgh negotiated with France proved also ineffective. He wanted to be supported by that kingdom in his pretensions to the succession of Juliers, and in his scheme of marrying the queen of Sweden; but, as I have already observed, the Swedes dreaded the government of a foreigner, who would, in all probability, betray the beef pools of the kingdom upon his own creatures and followers, to the prejudice of the natives; and France did not wish to see such an accession of power to any Protestant prince of the empire.

During these efforts of the elector at the French court, the emperor’s commissaries, assembled at Frankfurt, exerted their endeavours to destroy the alliances subsisting between the princes of Germany and foreign powers. Ferdinand had summoned a diet to meet in this city; and Ernæ Oetingen, who presided in his name, propounded, at first, that the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice should be reformed. But this proposal was indifferently received by the deputies, who, supposing the house of Austria a delign to protract the war, alleged, that the first object of their deliberation ought to be the means of restoring peace to Germany. The imperial commissaries, in order to remove the fulgionion they had incurred, attended to the justness of this proposall; but represented, that, in order to procure a general solid peace, the members of the Germanick body ought, first of all, to be united among themselves; that the landgrave of Hessen should detach himself from France and Sweden; and the elector of Brandenburgh be obliged to renounce his neutrality, and act in concert with the other states of the empire against all foreign powers whatever. This article was, after a long debate, rejected, and a resolution taken to make peace with foreign princes, before measures could be taken to re-establish union in the empire, because the one necessarily depended upon the other.

The next question that fell under consideration was, whether or not the college of the princes and towns should send deputies to the congress at Munster and Osnabrug. The college of electors represented, that they were the depository of the rights of the empire, and the guardians that ought to preserve them; that it would be impossible to keep the negotiations secret, provided they should be communicated to such a number of envoys, and that confusion must necessarily attend such a number of opinions. The deputies of the princes and towns, on the other hand, declared, that they had no intention to encroach upon the prerogatives of the electors, or even to mingle in the conferences held between the imperial ministers and ambassadors of foreign princes; but it was no more than rea-
The History of Germany.

a Sonable, that they should assist in the deliberations about the common interest of their country, on which subject no resolution ought to be taken without their privity and consent.

This pretension was extremely disagreeable to the emperor and greatest part of the Electors, who, fearing that the party of their adversaries would prevail, so as that they should be obliged to acknowledge their right of deputation to the congress of Weis
dphalia, proposed to continue the diet at Frankfort, where the states should be exactly informed of the negotiations at Munster and Osnabruck. They promised at the same time to convok a general assembly for regulating the differences on account of religion, re-
forming the abuses which had crept into the aulic council and imperial chamber.

b These proposals gave rise to warm debates, in the midst of which they received letters from the plenipotentiaries of France, expressing their affliction that the members of the empire, after having called in foreigners to their assistance, and supported a long and troublesome war, should let slip a favourable opportunity of retrieving their liberty, and convincing the world of their sovereign power to make peace or war, independent of any superior. They likewise exhorted the deputies of the empire to repair forthwith to the place of conference, and openly accused the house of Austria of a design to oppress the freedom of Germany.

Ferdinand was so much incensed at this affront, that he demanded authentic satisfaction, and would have considered as null and void the passports he had received from France for his ambassadores, on pretence that they were not signed by a prince of the blood, or ratified by the parliament of Paris, whose authority was very great during the minority of Louis the fourteenth. Various were the opinions of the electoral deputies, concerning the manner in which this outrage ought to be repressed: but the subject of their deliberation was soon changed by the progress of the French arms upon the banks of the Rhine, though the misfortune of their country filled them with the most profound sorrow. The princes and states of the empire were irremediably divided on the score of religion. The Protestants, who were often at variance among themselves, and always surfeited in number by those of the other communion, made very weak and languishing efforts in return to the invitation of France and Sweden; and the Roman Catholics sacrificed the liberty of their country to the interests of the house of Austria. Among other instances of their attachment to this family, they opposed and rendered ineffectual a scheme of the princes and cities for removing the diet to Munster, that it might be more at hand to consider the articles of the peace; for the emperor foresaw that France and Sweden would form a considerable party in such an assembly, and the elector of Bavaria was afraid that the cause of the Palatine would be brought before that tribunal.

France being disturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, which was fomented by the emperor, sent the fleur de la Thullerie to Copenhagen, in order to negotiate an accommodation; but his proposals met with little regard, until the retreat of Olaus, and the bad success of some sea-engagements, rendered his Danish majesty more tractable.

e He despaired of obtaining fresh succours of the emperor, he listened to the mediator; and on the seventeenth day of August a treaty was concluded at Breimer, by which Sweden restored to Denmark all the towns she had conquered in Holstein, and Stormarn, Dythmarstein, and, on the other hand, Christian ceded to the queen of Sweden, Jemtland, Halland, the island of Gotland, the citadel and town of Wight, with all the islands depending upon it.

Besides this treaty, which enabled Sweden to act with all her forces against the house of Austria, La Thullerie concluded another between France and Denmark, by which Christian engaged to yield no assistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of France and her allies; and Ferdinand was in no condition to prevent the execution of this new league: for the vicar count de Turenne had retrieved the affairs of his nation upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Brissac, and advancing with a small army towards the source of the Danube, routed the Imperialists commanded by the baron de Merici.

In the month of May the Bavarian army, being recruited and augmented, went and laid siege to Fribourg. Turenne was no sooner apprized of this motion, than he marched to the relief of the place; but count de Merici, brother of him whom he had just before routed, took such measures as effectually prevented the French general from throwing supplies into the town; so that finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, the vicar retired, and encamped within a league and an half of the town, which was obliged to capitulate. The queen-regent of France, being informed that the king's army was greatly inferior in strength to the Bavarians, ordered Louis de Bourbon, duke de Enghien, to join Turenne with a reinforcement; and these two generals attacked the count de Merici with such imperiousness, that notwithstanding his situation, which seemed almost inacessible, he was

* Puffen. l. xv. sed. lix. * Id. ibid. 

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men. This action, which lasted seven hours, on the third day of August, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians had at first some advantage. The duke d'Enghien pitched his troops, which were in disorder, and marched up to the enemy, whom they drove from their intrenchments three several times, but at length they were repulsed with some loss; though, as neither party quitted their ground, the victory remained undecided. Merci, who had left one half of his infantry, resolved to avoid a third shock by a quick retreat, which he effected in good order, notwithstanding the efforts of the French, who attacked his rear. Continuing his route, he reached the country of Wurttemberg, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landau. France and Sweden were not the only foreign enemies that incommode the house of Augsburg. Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania, had proposed to thee crown allies against the emperor; and they would not let slip this opportunity of finding employment for the emperor in Hungary and Bohemia, while the Swedes were employed in the Danish war. Accordingly a treaty was concluded; and the consent of the Grand Signior, to whom Ragotski was tributary, being obtained, the Transylvanian prince took the field with thirty thousand men. He advanced into the county of Neugrad, undertook the siege of Fileck, which he was constrained to abandon, while another corps of his army invested Caffiova. Having made himself master of a great many places, his army increased to sixty thousand men, whom he divided into four bodies for the convenience of provision.

In order to oppose the progress of the vaivode, the emperor sent the troops that were designed as auxiliaries to the king of Denmark, under the command of the count de Bouchein, who entered Hungary with eight thousand men, and marched directly to Pressburg, where he expected to be joined by thirty thousand Hungarians. Before these could be assembled, Caffiova was taken by Ragotski, who then convened the flaxes of Transylvania, of which he obtained an augmentation of his forces. For the justification of his conduct, he published a manifesto, addressed to the noblemen of Hungary, in which he assured them, that his whole aim in taking up arms was to defend their liberty and privileges from the encroachment of the emperor, whose design was to make that kingdom hereditary in his family: he therefore conjured them to join him in such a laudable undertaking. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who reproached the vaivode for having made an alliance with the enemies of the empire, to whom (he said) he had promised to deliver up the principal places of Hungary. At the same time he augmented the count de Bouchein's army, and gave the chief command to general Goeutz, who encamped within a few leagues of Pressburg, but being still greatly inferior to the enemy, all he could do was to harrow and attack their parties, cut off their provisions, and intercept their convoys. Ragotski's troops being raw, undisciplined, and without subordination, he durst not venture to give battle, until he should be joined by a reinforcement which Torstenson had promised to lend to his assistance, together with a sum of money; but, instead of this supply, he soon received intelligence that the Swedish general had occasion for all his strength to make head against the king of Denmark; that the grand vizier, his protector, was dead; and that the king of Poland intended to declare against him. These concerning circumstances filled him with such dependence, that he believed himself on the brink of ruin, and resolved forthwith to retreat. He was eagerly pursued by Goeutz; but the country being deficient of provisions, the imperial troops were half-starved, and afterwards totally ruined at the siege of Caffiova, where the vaivode had left five regiments, who defended the place with extraordinary bravery. This disorder of the enemy reinfired Ragotski with courage, inomuch that he rejected the conditions of peace which Ferdinand offered, and was of signal service to Sweden, by making a diversion in Germany, while her forces were employed in Denmark.

Nas was the emperor's forces in better plight in Lower Saxony, where Gales fled before the Swedes. On the last day of August this general crossed the Elbe at Lauenburg, without waiting for the provision which he had bought at Hamburg; and Torstenson pursued him with such diligence, that he was fain to leave his heavy artillery at Magdeburg: then crossing the Saale at Bernburg, he was joined by the Saxons; but hearing of the junction of major-general Koenigsmarck and Torstenson, he could not afford the least repose to his troops until he arrived at Hal, and established his quarters between Weten and Freibergen. Here he was reinforced by a body of Saxons, under general Enkenfort, who had reduced the town of Lukaw; but this reinforcement served only to increase the dearth of forage and provision in his army: but for such was the vigilance of Torstenson, who had pursued him all the way, and was now encamped at Oldenbeben that no party could go out of the imperial camp

1 Barre, t. ix. p. 774. 2 Id. Ibid.
The history of Germany.

Without being attacked. Königsbrück defeated a convoy of fifteen hundred loaded wagons, of which he took one thousand, together with twelve hundred soldiers, and four hundred horses: and this misfortune was followed by another of the same kind, in flight of the Imperialists, who durst not move from their situation. Nevertheless, Galas, finding it would be impossible for him to subsist in the place where he was, had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded: he detached colonel Dinante with fifteen hundred horse, and two thousand foot soldiers, to surprise Elefsten, and this officer set out in the dark, so as to conceal his march from the Swedes. Torstenson was no sooner informed of this motion, than he followed the detachment with the best part of his cavalry, in order to cut off its retreat. Then Galas, taking advantage of their absence, decamped without loss of time, taking the road to Stasfort, where general Ekenforst waited for him, and arrived at Magdeburg, leaving behind him some pieces of artillery, which he could not carry off. Notwithstanding all his vigilance and expedition, the Swede was at his heels, and hampered him in such a manner, that he could not find subsistence for his troops, which were reduced to such misery, that many died of famine, a great number deferred to the Swedish army, and all the rest were so exasperated against Galas, that they engaged in a conspiracy to blow him up with gun-powder: but this combination was happily discovered.

The imperial general being thus relieved, Torstenson left part of his army with Königsbrück to harry the Austrians, while he himself, at the head of twelve thousand men, took the road to Annenberg; and making himself master of the palace of Pestvitz, advanced into Babemia, every horseman carrying a pike and shovel, and every soldier being provided with victuals for eight days. As for Galas, he was reduced to such extremity, that he resolved to cut his way, sword in hand, through the Swedes, and was lucky enough to escape into the circle of Leutmeritz. Mean while Torstenson, who now found himself nineteen thousand strong, advanced directly to Prague, in hope of surprising that city, and taking the emperor and archduke Leopold, who had resided there for some time: but Ferdinand was no sooner apprised of his march, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Wurt, and the counts of Brecy and Montecinulii; yet all these forces could not dilate his fear, in consequence of which he and Leopold retired to Vienna.

The imperial army being formed, encamped between Thabor and Budweis, at a small distance from the Swedes, and each side watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and address. At length Torstenson, in order to decoy the Austrians from their post, spread a report, that he intended to march to Moravia, and actually took the road to that province, till finding the enemy in motion to follow his route, he returned, and encamped at Stockwitz. On the second day of March he passed the Moldau, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the Austrians. Here, though both armies glowed with an equal desire of battle, neither would quit its advantageous situation to attack the enemy, and during four days nothing happened between them but flight and skirmishes. At last the Swedes resolved to advance to the Imperialists: the cannonading began at break of day, and about seven o'clock in the morning, both sides were engaged in an action, that continued for four hours with equal obstinacy and success on both sides. At first the left wing of the Swedes began to give way; but being timely supported, the battle was restored, and they charged the Austrians with such fury, that their cavalry was routed, and their infantry cut in pieces: general Goetz, and about three thousand men, were killed upon the spot; six and twenty pieces of cannon were taken, together with sixty-three pieces of colour, and the number of the prisoners amounted to four thousand, comprehending general Hasfeld, and several officers of distinction. The Swedes, in purifying their victors, overtook a party of fugitives, who had escaped to the neighbourhood of Kremsk upon the Danube, flew twelve hundred, and took the rest, together with three thousand horse: then they sent a reinforcement to Olmutz, and filled all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conformation and despair.

Ferdinand, terrified at these repeated misfortunes, pressed the elector of Bavaria to afford him with troops; and the duke lent four thousand men towards Vienna, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, on account of his being obliged to protect his own dominions from the insults of the French, who threatened the Upper Palatinate. Galas collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Babemia, set on foot new levies, and, having formed a body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilen, to observe the motions of Torstenson. This general, in consequence of his victory, had reduced Leipnitz, Pilgrim, Igloau, and several other places: the towns of Krems, Stein, and the fort of Tyrau-stein, submitted to the conqueror, so that he was master of the Danube on the Moravian side; and all the towns of this province surrendered at discretion, except Brins, which he

---

3. Idem ibid.

A.D. 1645.

Galas forced his way into the circle of Leutmeritz.

The Imperialists are defeated at Jakeau near Thabor.

The Imperialists are defeated at Jakeau near Thabor.
The history of Germany.

This enterprise raised such terror in Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the emperors, with the nobility, took refuge at Gratz in Stiria: all the valuable furniture was removed; the suburbs were pulled down; the battlements and ramparts were repaired; some old regiments threw themselves into the place; the burghers and students were armed; the magazines were filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege, which, however, Trenzen never dreamed of undertaking. He was now employed at that of Brinn, which, by its gallant resistance, gave Ferdinand time to put his affairs in order. He declared the archduke Leopold generalissimo of his forces; and Galas, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that they might hinder the Swedes from crossing the Danube, and sending parties to lay upper Hungary and Austria under contribution. While the Imperialists thus exerted themselves in repairing the damage they had sustained, the elector of Bavaria was busy in taking measures to stop the progress of the French conquests, which alarmed his whole dominions. General Merci having received intelligence, that the viscount de Turenne, after having quitted his winter-quarters at Spire, had established his head-quarters at Marienbad, which he had taken, and that his troops were dispersed in the neighbouring towns for the convenience of finding subsistence, resolved to attack him unawares, before he should be able to reassemble them; and with this view, extending himself in the plain of Marienbad, he drew up his forces in order of battle, placing his infantry in the center, and his cavalry on the two wings. After having cannonaded the French for some time, he put himself at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a small post, which covered their front, a post which it was absolutely necessary to possess, before his left wing, commanded by John de Wurtz, could act to advantage. Turenne at the same time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the Imperialists, which he broke, and as far as the second line: but three thousand French soldiers, under the command of general Ragé, were routed and dispersed by the Bavarians; and de Wurtz receiving their disorder, advanced with his left wing to take the viscount de Turenne in the rear. This general, seeing the risk he ran of being surrounded, ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire across the wood; at the other side of which being joined by three fresh regiments, and fifteen hundred horsemen who had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view to attack the enemy, should they pass the wood to pursue him: but Merci did not think proper to try the experiment; and the French general having rallied his troops, repassed the Tauber, and retired in good order. Nevertheless, he was very much harrassed in his retreat, and often obliged to face about to repulse the enemy, in whole despite he crossed the Maine, and reached the frontiers of Hesse, where he was joined by the rest of his army, after having lost a good part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, four pieces of cannon, and his whole baggage.

The elector of Bavaria, elevated by the advantage he had obtained, made very lofty proposals of peace to France, which, without paying the least regard to them, sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke de Enguien; and these two generals resolved, either to oblige the Bavarians to come to a general action, or to drive them as far as the Danube, and then undertake the siege of Heilbronn. With this view they marched directly to Dunietslubel, and encamped near the enemy, who were intrenched at Wietzeuweib: their intention was to attack Dunietslubel; but understanding the Bavarians were in march to frustrate that scheme, they resolved to meet them half-way, and just as they quitted a wood, perceived their van-guard filing off on one side. Turenne, whose turn it was to command, drew up his squadrons in order of battle, and the Bavarians took post upon a rising ground, which was so inaccessible that the French would not attack them, though they cannonaded each other with pretty equal success. The duke de Enguien, seeing it would be impossible to bring the Bavarians to an action against their will, determined to prosecute his design of advancing to the Danube, and took the road to Nordlingen, while the enemy marched towards Donauwurt. Orders were actually given to return to Heilbronn, when news were brought, that the Bavarians were in march within a league and an half of the army; and in a little time they appeared on this side the river of Wermitz. The duke immediately drew up his army in order of battle upon the plain, giving the command of the right wing to the marshal de Grammont, that of the left to the viscount de Turenne. Marfias was at the head of the infantry of the first line; the second, composed chiefly of Hesseans, was commanded by major-general Gefs; and the sue de Chabot conducted the body of reserve. The Bavarians put themselves in order upon a mountain of easy ascent; their right was composed of the infantry posted upon a rising ground; and the rest of their army was intrenched. There was a village below, and upon their left a castle, which they manned.

* Puffendorf Introduct. i. vi. Hessi, ubi supra.
The history of Germany.

a

The duke

d'Enguien

attacked the Bavarians and Augrians, who were defeated near Nordlingen.

b

of the Bavarians fell with such impetuousity on the French cavalry, that they were routed, and the maréchal de Grammont taken prisoner; while John de Wert, attacking the corps de reserve, defeated Chadot, and penetrated as far as the baggage, which was pillaged.

during these transactions, Turenne attacked the right wing of the Imperialists; and, having

reached the top of the hill in good order, a terrible engagement ensued, in which the first line of the Augrians was broken; but general Glen, advancing with the second, disconcerted the French, who being in their turn feebly supported by the duke d'Enguien, the enemy were obliged to give way; and their cannon being taken, was pointed against the right wing, that extended to the village: then Turenne, charging the Bavarians in flank, repulsed them beyond the village, after having taken Glen prisoner;

and some regiments that were intrenched at a church and farm in the neighbourhood, deserting their affinities, surrendered at discretion. John de Wert, being informed of what passed on the field, hastened thither with his victorious wing; but he was not late, the day was lost, and every thing in confusion: so that all he could do was to conduct the remains of the army to Donauworth, whither they retreated by favour of the night, though they were pursued to the banks of the Danube. This victory was dear bought by the French, four thousand of whom were slain upon the spot; though they kept possession of the field, took a great number of prisoners, and made themselves masters of the enemy's artillery.

After the retreat of the Bavarians, Nordlingen and some neighbouring places opened their gates to the conquerors, who afterwards marched into the country of Hohenlohe, where they found abundance of forage and provision; while the enemy encamped within five or six leagues of them, and both sides remained in that situation till the fourteenth day of October. The elector of Bavaria, being apprehensive that the intention of the French was to take winter-quarters in his dominions, solicited the emperor to send him a speedy re-inforcement; and Ferdinand, who was then upon the eve of a peace with Ragosfel, so that he had no occasion for troops in Hungary, sent a large detachment of horse and dragoons into Bavaria, under the command of the archduke Leopold, accompanied by general Galas; and they being joined by John de Wert and Glen, who had been exchanged for the materiel de Grammont, marched forward with great expedition, in order to surprize Turenne, who, being apprized of their design, passed the Neckar, and fortified himself under the

c

Philipburg. The archduke, disappoinited in this project, besieged and took Winzen: Dinkefeld, Nordlingen, and the other towns which the French posseffed between the Neckar and the Danube, made no resistance; so that all the conquests of this year vanished in smoke, and Leopold retired into Bohemia to oppose the operations of Turenne. The duke of Bavaria put his troops in winter-quarters in Suabia: Grammont returned to France with the army of the duke d'Enguien; and the vicount de Turenne finished the campaign by re-establishing the elector of Trier in his dominions. This prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, and permission to go to the congress of Munster, in consequence of a secret treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, relinquished to the Spaniards the possession of what they had taken, and promised to retrieve what was occupied by the French. As he had signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and disagreeable imprisonment, he was no sooner enlarged than he had recourse to the protection of France, and the queen-regent ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. Accordingly that general invested Triers, the garrison of which was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

During these transactions the elector of Saxony, seeing himself unable to stop the progress of Konigsmarck, who had reduced a number of places in Thuringia and Meissen, had recourse to negotiation, and concluded a truce with the Swedes general for six months, before the expiration of which a peace might be negociated. This treaty was the more

g

disagreeable to the house of Austria, as it enabled Konigsmarck to join Turenne in Bohemia,
and put him in a condition to advance his progress in Moravia, where he was already very powerful; the emperor, however, in some shape counterballanced this advantage by making peace with Ragojski, vaivode of Transylvania, though the articles were not much for the interest of Ferdinand.

While the pope and Venetians sent the nuncio Chigi and Contarelli to mediate an accommodation at the congress at Munster, the parties concerned proceeded in their conferences at Osnabrug without any intercessor, and drew up preliminaries, which were published under the title of Propositions of Peace: but in these the demands of the emperor and king of Spain were so high, that peace seemed to be at as great a distance as ever; for they insisted upon having every thing restored that had been taken from them during the war. France wanted to preserve all the conquests she had made in the Low Countries, and in Rouillon; and demanded, that the emperor should make an absolute cession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; which, however, she contented to hold as fiefs of the empire, by which means she would have a seat in the diet, and a share in electing the emperor; she likewise claimed Alsace, pretended to appropriate Lorraine by right of confiscation, and to retain the conquests she had made on the coast of Italy.

The Dutch, though heartily tired of the war, by which they were loaded with debts and taxes, were yet afraid of concluding a separate peace with Spain, and the emperor, left they should give umbrage to the king of France, who was a dangerous neighbour, and therefore they delayed the departure of their plenipotentiaries for Munster.

Sweden was resolved to keep Pomernia, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Brandenburg; and, moreover, laid claim to three bishoprics in the circle of Westphalia, and to two in Lower Saxony. The emperor, who dreaded the Swedish arms, attempted, by flattering the ministers of that crown, to detach them from the interests of France, which continued still to cultivate the friendship of queen Christina, though not at all disposed to see Protestants in possession of so many Catholic dioceses.

The king of Spain, notwithstanding his high pretensions, was reduced to such extremity, by the loss of several battles, the conquests of France in the Low Countries and Rouillon, the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, the insurrection of Naples, and the invasion of Sicily by the duke of Guife, that he inveterately his ministers at Munster with the most ample powers to effect a general peace, or even to conclude a separate treaty with the king of France, or the states-general.

Ferdinand wished for nothing more than a pacification; but the same motives that inspired his wish, hindered him from enjoying it: for he had been so unfortunate in his operations of war, that he was afraid of making advances to a peace, which he could not expect on any other than unfavourable terms.

As for the elector of Bavaria, though connected with the emperor by the ties of interest and religion, he secretly favoured the views of France upon Alsace, in hope of acquiring a powerful neighbour, to whose assistance he could have recourse, in case of any future breach with the house of Austria. His troops and dominions were ruined, therefore he wished for peace; though he dreaded a general accommodation, by which he might be obliged to restore the Palatinate and the electoral dignity. Mean while, his private correspondence with France did not escape the penetration of Ferdinand's plenipotentiary the count de Trumpameroff, who treasured his despatches in the negotiation, and represented him to his master as a perfidious ally.

All the interested powers were jealous of one another; and this jealousy, together with the differences about religion, raised very strong obstructions to a general peace.

The ceremonial being adjutted at the congress, with respect to the titles conferred on the different powers (B), a dispute arose among the three colleges of the empire. The emperor had been obliged to admit the electors to the congress, contrary to his inclination; and now the princes and towns claimed the same privilege, which was supported by France and Sweden, because these powers thought the content of all the states might be necessary to confirm the acquisitions they intended to make in the empire. Ferdinand was therefore obliged to grant them permission to send deputies to the assembly of Westphalia: it was

---

Footnotes:


2. The French ministers insisted upon having the title of mayesty bestowed upon their king by the electors, and yet refused that of most serene to the elector of Brandenburg. At length, they agreed that neither should be used. The king of France demanded, that the title of almoff, or bishop, should be given to the duke of Louis of Orleans, brother to Charles VI., but the count de Naf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, claimed the same right, and it was refused to both. Another dispute arose about the title excellency, which the emperor would not grant to the ambassadors of the electors; and Contarelli was of the same opinion. At last a temptation was found, and they called the Swedish deputies royal ambassadors, and those of Brandenburg, electoral ambassadors (1).

---

(1) Hist. tom. ix. pag. 797.
The history of Germany.

a accordingly agreed, that the Catholics and Protestants of the three colleges, should be equally divided in the cities of Mannfeld and Osnabruck, with liberty of paffing and repaffing occasionally, in order to communicate their deliberations. These regulations being made, they were all unanimous in the article of politics; but when religion came upon the carpet, the Protestants complained that the aulic council, composed entirely of Catholics, took cognizance of religious as well as civil causes, and decided upon petitions without hearing the parties; and embraced every opportunity of oppressing those who adopted the confession of Augsburg. These complaints, though supported by the Swedes, were referred to the dicision of a general diet, that they might not interfere with the negotiations; and this evasion convinced the Protestants of the power and obstinacy of their adversaries.

b While Torstenson ravaged Austria to the very gates of Vienna, while the archduke Leopold, with the wreck of the Imperialists, who had been so often defeated, intrenched himself at Logenlabad, and the emperor retired to Linz. In Bohemia, general Konigsmark reduced one town after another, and laid the country under contribution; and Wrangel commanded in Prussia, and over-awed the negotiations at Mannfeld and Osnabruck. Torstenson, however, that his army might not be infected with the plague which raged in Vienna, decamped from Steckerow, and marched into Moravia, and afterwards advanced into Bohemia, as if he intended to undertake the siege of Prague: but the archduke Leopold being joined by the count de Bœufbain, took effectual measures for covering that city; while Torstenson, being terribly afflicted with the gout, quitted the command of the army, and retired to his own country.

c He was succeeded by general Wrangel, who found himself at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry, exclusive of the garrisons, and a flying camp under the conduct of Konigsmark; for at this time Wittenberg had retired from Siefla to join the main body. Against these the Imperialists advanced, to the number of thirteen thousand horse, and eleven thousand foot, reinforced by twelve regiments of cavalry, and eighteen of infantry, belonging to the elector of Bavaria. Their design was to attack the Swedes before they could be intrenched by Konigsmark, or the French make a diversion upon the Rhine: but Wrangel, in order to avoid a battle with an enemy, who in a little time must be obliged to divide his army, decamped with great expedition, and retreated into Moravia; then he detached a body of troops with Wittenberg, to levy contributions in Siefla, and beginning his march towards the Weser, reduced Hoster, Paderborn, Stadlergen, and some other small places in his route. The vicount de Turenne having given him to understand, that he would pass the Rhine at Bacharack in the beginning of June, Wrangel advanced into Upper Hesse, and posted himself near Wetzlar, where he was joined by Konigsmark; but Turenne failing in his promise, the Swedes general faw himself exposed to the utmost danger from the Imperialists, who now advanced against him with all their forces. In this dilemma he encamped near Ileniburgh, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the enemy, as well as to wait his junction with the French.

d In order to prevent this junction, and cut off the Swedes from all supplies of provifon, the Imperialists and Bavarians posted themselves upon a rising ground, at the distance of half a league from the Swedish camp, which they overlooked, but they were disappointed in their expectation: for Wrangel was plentifully supplied from Caffel, while they themselves suffered greatly by want of provision and forage; and the Swedes were joined by mareschal Turenne, in spite of all their vigilance and precaution. This junction being effected, the allies advanced to the enemy, who had retired to a strong camp near the convent of Ilenstadt; but as the Imperialists did not chuse to hazard a battle, they ravaged Frankonia and Suetia, and passing the Danube and the Leeb, invested Rain, which was considered to be capitulate. Then they undertook the siege of Augsburg, in which they had made considerable progress; when the archduke approaching to its relief, they relinquished the enterprise, and retired towards Leislingen. Wrangel was very dircious of penetrating farther into Bavaria, as they had a manifest superiority of strength; but the French rejected the proposal, and, indeed, during the whole course of the war, they had carried on the most considerable correspondence with the Bavarians, for they had no design to oppress the enemy in such a manner, as that the Swedes should be able to subdude of themselves without the assistance of France: for this reason the allies abandoned Bavaria, after having pillaged the country, and went into quarters in Suetia. Turenne seized the places along the Danube, and Wrangel occupied the country that extends towards the lake of Constance, though they afterwards made an irruption into Bavaria by the way of Rain, and routed two thousand horse near Bruckheim; and Wrangel had the good fortune to surprize some fortresses and castles, where he found a very rich booty. While the main body of the Swedish army

Barre ubi supra.  
Hift. du Vicomte de Turenne.
The history of Germany.

A.D. 1647. The emperor's son Ferdinand crowned at Prague and Freiburg.

The elector of Bavaria concludes a separate peace with France, which he afterwards renounces.

The capabilities commenced between the French and Bavarians.

A.D. 1648.

The French, on their side, without waiting for a favorable season, attacked Weissenberg, belonging to the elector of Bavaria, which they reduced, and afterwards surprised the castle of Hohensteckberg; while the Bavarians, on their return from Hesse, which they had plundered, made themselves masters of some posts, and seemed to prepare for some more important expedition.

Wranget advanced in the spring to join the vicount de Turenne; but they were obliged to separate for want of provision: while the Swedes marched along the Main, the French general kept on the left of the Neckar. Wranget wanted to make Bavaria the theatre of the war; and Turenne would not consent to leave Saxon and Wittenberg, where he had established his magazines. Perhaps he had secret orders to spare the duke of Bavaria, in hope of gaining him over again to the interests of France. This certainly was the opinion of Wranget, which he avowed openly to Turenne; who, nevertheless, continued staunch to his purpose, in which the Swedes general was obliged to acquiesce.
The history of Germany.

a They joined again, however, in order to drive the Imperialists beyond the Danube. Thefe, under the command of Melander, had retired towards the Neckar; and, being pursued by the confederates, proceeded to Augsburg, in order to cover themselves with the river Lech: but their march being retarded by their baggage and carriages, the confederates came up and attacked their rear. The action soon became general, and both sides fought with incredible resolution; until Melander being killed on the spot, the Imperialists fell into confusion, and were utterly defeated, notwithstanding the inconceivable efforts and intrepidity of Monteculli and Ulric duke of Wirttemberg, who made a fine retreat with the remains of the army to Augsburg, where they posted the Lech. Pizolamini afterwards took the command, and retreated towards Passau; while the Swedes and French generals, pursuing that river, penetrated into Bavaria, and laid the whole country under contribution; so that the duke was obliged to quit his capital, and demand an asylum of the archbishop of Salzburg 1.

This was not the only loss which the Imperialists sustained since the opening of the campaign. Baron Lamboy, who commanded the troops of Welfphalia and Cologne, gave battle to the Hessian near Grevenburg in the custody of Juliers, and was defeated: and the count of Koenigmarck surprized the new city of Prague, while Wirttemberg made himself master of Tabor. In a word, Charles-Gustavus, prince-palatine, arriving from Sweden with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of old Prague, and carried on his attacks with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of this city and the whole kingdom of Bohemia, relented in earnest to conclude the peace 2.

Hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnabruck had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war; the cession of Alsace to France, and the several demands of the treating powers, met with such difficulties, and formed such obstructions, as one would think almost impossible to surmount: nevertheless, after infinite debates and alteration, all these difficulties and obstructions were removed; and at length they determined this famous negotiation, which for the space of five years had held all Europe in suspense. The conferences were translated to Osnabruck, and from thence transported to Munster, and at each place a treaty was concluded, since well known by the appellation of the Peace of Westphalia. These being considered as fundamental and perpetual laws and constitutions, which serve as a basis to all subsequent treaties, it will be necessary to give extracts of them for the information of the reader.

The treaty of Munster imported, 3 That there should be a perpetual peace and sincere friendship between his imperial majesty and the most Christian king, as well as between all the allies and adherents of his said imperial majesty, the house of Austria, their heirs and successors, the princes and states of the empire, on one part; and all the allies of his said most Christian majesty, their heirs and successors, chiefly the most serene queen and the kingdom of Sweden, and respectively the electors, princes, and states of the empire, on the other part.

1. That the circle of Burgundy shall be and remain a member of the empire, after the differences between France and Spain have been determined; and that neither the emperor nor any of the states of the empire shall meddle in the present war between the two crowns.

2. That the dispute touching Lorraine shall be submitted to arbitrators, chosen by both parties; and that it shall be terminated by the treaty between France and Spain, or by some other amicable expedient.

3. That the electors of the sacred empire, the princes and states, comprehending the nobility holding immediately of the empire, their vassals, subjects, and citizens, &c. shall be fully re-established on both sides, with respect to spirituals and temporals, in the condition which they lawfully enjoyed, or might have enjoyed before the restitution, notwithstanding all the changes made to the contrary, which shall now be annulled.

4. That if the polieffors of the effects and rights to be restored shall think it incumbent upon them to make exceptions, they shall not, for all that, hinder the restitution; but, this being once made, their reasons and exceptions may be examined and discussed before competent judges.

5. That the electoral dignity which the electors-palatine have formerly enjoyed, with all the regal rights, offices, precedencies, &c. as also all the Upper Palatinate, and the county of Chefze, with all their dependencies, &c. shall be vested, as in past times, so for the future, in Maximilian count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, and his children, and in all the Willemtine line, as long as it shall produce male issue.

1 Heiss. i. iii. c. x. 2 Puffendorf, l. xx. sect. xlvii. 3 Z "As
The history of Germany.

"As for what concerns the Palatine house, the emperor and empire, in regard to public tranquillity, content, by virtue of the present convention, that an eighth electorate shall be established, and possessed by Charles-Louis count-palatine of the Rhine, his heirs, and all his descendants of the Rodolphine line, according to the order of succession expressed in the Golden Bull, &c.

"In the second place, that all the Lower Palatinate, with one and all the effects, ecclesiastic as well as secular, the rights, appurtenances, &c. shall be entirely restored to him; and every thing which may have been enacted to the contrary shall be repealed.

"That if the male issue shall fail in the Wiltelmine line, while it shall subsist in the Palatine family, the electoral dignity shall revert to this last, and the eighth electorate by these means be extinct.

"That the Paafa Familia between the electoral houses of Heidelberg and Neuburg, confirmed by the preceding emperors, touching the electoral succession, as also the rights of the whole Rodolphine line, so far as they are not contrary to this disposition, shall be preserved and maintained in their full force.

"That the said Charles-Louis, and his successors to the Lower Palatinate, shall not in any shape molest the counts of Limangen and Dassburg; but leave them in peaceable possession of their rights, &c.

"That those of the confession of Augsburg, who have been in possession of churches, and, among others, the burgesses and inhabitants of Oppenheim, shall be maintained in the ecclesiastical state of the year 1624; and that others, who are desirous of embracing the same exercise of the confession of Augsburg, shall be at liberty to practice it in public as well as in private, &c.

"That the most Christian king shall restore to the duke of Wurttemberg the towns and fortresses of Hohenweil, Sobernondorf, Tubingen, and all the other places which he occupied in the duchy of Wurttemberg.

"That the princes of Wurttemberg, of the branch of Montbeliard, shall be likewise re-established in all their dominions situated in Aislaac, and elsewhere; and particularly in the two lieu of Upper Burgundy, called Clairval and Paffavant.

"That the electors, princes, and states of the Roman empire, shall enjoy, without contradiction, the right of voting in all deliberations touching the affairs of the empire, especially when they turn upon the declaration of war, the imposition of a tribute, the levies of troops, treaties of peace or alliance; and they shall treat of other such affairs, which henceforth shall not be settled without the privity and free concurrence of all the states of the empire.

"That each of the states shall freely, and for ever, enjoy the right of making alliances among themselves, or with strangers, for their own preservation and security, provided that these alliances shall not be formed against the emperor and the empire, or contrary to the public peace, &c.

"To the end that peace and friendship may be more and more strengthened between the emperor and the king of France, &c. it is agreed, that the supremacy, the rights of sovereignty, and all other rights to the bithoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to the towns so called, and to the whole extent of these bithoprics, and especially to Metz, shall, for the future, belong to the house of France, with which they shall be incorporated perpetually and irrevocably, in the same manner as they have hitherto belonged to the Roman empire; reserving, nevertheless, the right of metropolitan, which belongs to the archbishop of Trier.

"That the emperor in his own name, as well as in that of the most serene house of Austria, and also the empire, shall ecede all the rights, properties, domains, possession, and jurisdiction, which they may have hitherto had to the town of Brisack, the landgraviate of Upper and Lower Aislaac, the Sungau, and the provincial prefecture of the ten towns situated in Aislaac, namely, Hagenau, Sceflat, Wittenburg, Colmar, Landau, Oberenbeim, Rogheim, Munster, Val-jaint-preoire, Kaiserberg, Turingbeim, and all the villages and other rights depending on the said prefecture, and shall transfer all and every one of them to the most Christian king, and kingdom of France; so as that the town of Brisack, with the villages of Hofsstadt, Niederfing, Harten, and Accarren, belonging to the community of the town of Brisack, with all the territory and precincts, according to their antient extent, shall, for the future, appertain to the crown of France; without prejudice, nevertheless, to the privileges and immunities heretofore granted to the said town by the house of Austria.

"Item, The said landgraviate of Upper and Lower Aislaac, and the Sungau, as well as the provincial prefecture over the said ten towns and places depending: Item, all the vassals, inhabitants, subject, men, cities, boroughs, castles, farms, fortresses, woods, forests, mines of gold, silver, and other metals, rivers, brooks, pasturages, and the rights of regality, and other rights and appurtenances, without any reserve, shall henceforward belong in perpetuity
The history of Germany.

a. 

The title to the most Christian king, and to the crown of France, and shall be incorporated with the said crown, with all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty, without contradiction on the part of the emperor, the empire, the house of Austria, or any other; in such a manner, that no emperor or prince of the house of Austria shall ever usurp, or even pretend to, any right or power over the said countries, as well on the other side as on this side of the Rhine.

b. 

The most Christian king shall, nevertheless, be obliged to maintain in all, and each of these countries, the Catholic religion, as it hath been maintained under the princes of Austria, and to banish all innovations which may have crept into it during the war.

c. 

In the fourth place, with the consent of the emperor and all the empire, the most Christian king and his successors, in the kingdom of France, shall have a perpetual right to keep a garrison in the fortresses of Philippsburg, as protector; which garrison shall be limited to a proper number of soldiers, that cannot give any just suspicion to the neighbourhood, and shall be maintained entirely at the expense of the crown of France. The passage by land and water shall be free through the empire, as often as there shall be occasion to convey thither soldiers, necessaries, or ammunition.

d. 

Nevertheless, the king shall pretend to nothing in the fortresses of Philippsburg, except the protection, garrison, and passage: but the property of the place, the jurisdiction, the possession, all the emoluments, fruits, revenues, rights of regality, and other rights and privileges, men, subjects, vassals, and all that antiently did or ought to belong to the bishop or chapter of Spire, shall remain entire in the possession of the bishops of Spire, and of the churches incorporated therewith, shall remain in their possession for the future, and be preserved to them entirely and inviolably, saving always the right of protection.

e. 

The emperor, the empire, and the archduke of Innsbruck, enjoy all the rights, which may be contrary hereto, etc.

f. 

For the greater security of the said cessions and alienations, the emperor and empire, by virtue of the present transaction, expressly derogate from all and every the decrees, constitutions, statutes, &c. which may be contrary thereto, etc.

The immediately after the restitution of Rhinfield, the fortifications of that place shall be razed, as well as those of Fort Rheinau, Saverne in Alsace, and the castles of Hohenbach and Neuburg on the Rhine, nor shall there be any soldier in garrison in any of these places. The magistracy and inhabitants of the said town of Saverne shall exactly observe the neutrality.

g. 

And the king's troops shall pass through it freely and securely, as often as there shall be occasion.

h. 

No fort shall be raised on the banks of the Rhine, on this side, from Bafot to Philipsburg; nor shall the course of the river be impeded or altered on either side, in any shape whatsoever.

i. 

With respect to the debts of the chamber of Engsheim, the archduke Ferdinand Charles shall take upon himself one third of all these debts, without distinction, &c. when he receives that part of the province which is to be restored to him by the most Christian king.

And with respect to the debts with which the colleges of the fates are charged, by a particular convention made with them, and by the princes of Austria, or such as the same fates have contracted in common, as being thereto obliged, there shall be a suitable distribution between those that pass under the dominion of the king, and those that remain under that of the house of Austria, to the end that each may know what share of the said debts he is to pay.

The most Christian king shall restore to the house of Austria, and especially to the said archduke Ferdinand Charles, eleventh son of the late archduke Leopold, the four: forest-towns, namely, Rhinfield, Steking, Lausenburg, and Waldhut, with all their territories, bailiwicks, farms, villages, mills, woods, forest, vassals, subjects, and appurtenances on this as well as on the other side of the Rhine.

The county of Haverheim, the Black Forest, all the Upper and Lower Briegow, and the towns therein situated, antiently belonging to the house of Austria, namely, Nendurg, Freiburg, Endingen, Kenzingen, Walrich, Wiltingen, Brandingen, with all their territories, bailiwicks, farms, villages, mills, woods, forest, &c. as also all the monasteries, abbeys, prelatures, provostships, &c. and all the rights of regality, other rights, jurisdictions, 

fiefs,
fiefs, &c. antiently belonging, in that whole country, to the sovereignty and patrony of the house of Austria.

"Item. All the Ortnau, with the imperial towns of Offenburg, Gingembach, and Zell, upon the Hamspeach, to far as they depend upon the prefecture of Ortnau, in such a manner that no king of France shall or ought ever to pretend or usurp any right or power over the said countries, situated either on this or on the other side of the Rhine; provided always, that the princes shall acquire no new right to them by this present restitution.

"That henceforward the trade and passages shall be free to the inhabitants of both banks of the Rhine, and of the adjacent provinces.

"That the most Christian king shall oblige himself to leave the bishops of Streuburg and Basle, the town of Streuburg, and the other estates and offices which are in both Alsace immediately subject to the Roman empire; the abbots of Mountebach and Luderts, the abbots of Andweil, Munster of Vel St. Gregoire, of the order of St. Benedict, the palatines of Luczellein, the counts and barons of Hannau, Fleckinsen, Oberstein, and the nobility of all the Lower Alsace: item, the ten imperial towns which acknowledge the prefecture of Haguenau: all these the most Christian king shall leave in that liberty of possessing the indemnity, with regard to the Roman empire, which they have hitherto enjoyed, in such a manner as that he shall not hereafter pretend to any royal sovereignty over them, but remain content with such rights as belong to the house of Austria, which are, by this treaty of pacification, ceded to the king of France; provided still, that nothing shall be understood in this present declaration as derogatory from the supremacy granted to the states of that province, as holding of the empire.

"In like manner the most Christian king, as a compensation for these cessions, shall pay to the said archduke Ferdinand Charles three millions of livres Tournois, within the three succeeding years of 1649, 1650, and 1651, at St. John's day, paying every year one-third of the said sum at Basle, in good and lawful money, deposited in the hands of the said archduke, or of his deputies. Over and above the said sum, the most Christian king shall be obliged to charge himself with two-thirds of the debts of the chamber of Enzbein, without distinction, &c. Moreover, the mention made of the Catholic king, and the nomination of the duke of Lorraine, in the treaty between the emperor and Sweden, and the title of landgrave of Alsace given to the emperor, shall in no shape prejudice the most Christian king.

"That, although the peace concluded shall remain in full force and vigour: that all those concerned in this transaction shall be obliged to defend and protect all and every the laws and conditions of this peace against every person whatsoever, without distinction of religion, &c. and if in the space of three years the difference cannot be determined, &c. one and all the parties concerned in this transaction shall be bound to join the injured party, and assist in redressing the grievance with their counsel and forces, &c."

Such were the conditions of the treaty, properly regarding France and the empire. That which concerned Sweden, and was concluded at Osnabruck, was the same with regard to general clauses: but the particular articles imported, that the archbishop of Bremen should devolve to Sweden, saving the rights and liberty of the town and bishopric of Werden, the effects of which shall be secularized: and Sweden shall hold the fiefs of these benefices immediately of the empire, having a deliberative voice in the diets. Moreover, that crown shall possess the town and port of Wismar in Mecklenburg, with Stettin, and all the Upper Pomerania; the Lower shall remain in possession of the elector of Brandenburg, who shall not enjoy the bishopric of Halberstadt, or the principality of Minden, with the county of Hobeinlein, and the archbishopric of Magdeburg, till after the death of the administrator August, duke of Saxony.

It was likewise stipulated, that, if the male branch of Brandenburg should fail, all Pomerania should revert to the crown of Sweden. In order to indemnify the duke of Mecklenburg for the town and port of Wismar, he was put in possession of the bishoprics of Swerin and Ratzeburg, with two commandaries of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, situated in the dominions of that prince. The dukedom of Brunswick and Luneburg, as a compensation for the coadjutorships of Magdeburg, Bremen, and Halberstadt, &c. which they had ceded, were, with the Catholics, secured in the alternative succession of the bishopric of Osnabruck, without altering the state of religion on either side.

In order to reimburse the crown of Sweden for the sums he had expended, it was agreed to pay five millions of crowns in three terms, to be charged upon the circles of the empire; excepting, however, those of Austria, Bavaria, and Burgundy.

With respect to the complaints of the Protestants, touching the administration of justice in the imperial chamber and aulic council, it was decreed, that, besides the judge and the four presidents, two of which, in the nomination of the emperor, should be of the Augsburg confession, the number of assessors should be increased to fifty; so that the Catholics should be restricted to the presentation of twenty-six, comprehending the two appointed.
pointed by the emperor, and the other four-and-twenty should be presented by the Protestants, who should be permitted in each neutral circle, not only two Catholics, but the same number of Protestants: that the emperor should decree, that in the imperial chamber, as well as in the sullc council, the judges of both religions, being equal in number, should decide ecclesiastical and civil causes between Catholics and Protestants, or between these last only, or between the Catholics and an intervening Protestant; and, for that effect, he should choose in the circle a suitable number of lawyers, well versed in the affairs of the empire, and take such measures as should prefer an equality of judges in both religions.

The articles of this treaty were now signed by all the ministers assembled at each congress, except those of the county of Burgundy, who, in the name of the king of Spain, declared their assent, but formally protested against them, as prejudicial to his Catholic majesty. Nevertheless, the treaties were next day published at Munster and Osnabruck, and couriers were dispatched to all the generals to order a cessation of arms.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken, many difficulties intervened before the ratification could be effected. The pope published a bull, annulling all the articles which he conceived prejudicial to the Roman Catholic religion. The king of Spain employed his influence with the emperor so effectually, that Ferdinand had well nigh frustrated the whole negotiation. He wrote to Munster, that the Catholic king was lawful possessor of the Lower Palatinate, which he had acquired at a great expense, and of which he had received the investiture in the most solemn manner: but as the states of Germany had not been consulted, they deemed it illegal, and paid no regard to the renoncements of the emperor.

The Swedes were in no hurry to exchange the ratifications, because the article concerning their winter-quarters was not yet executed; and the French refused to quit Germany, until the Spaniard branch of the house of Austria should have renounced the Savoy and Sardinia: for this reason the viscount of Turenne kept his army encamped on the banks of the Iser, till at length the deputies of the states, impatient to see the exchange of the ratifications thus retarded, declared, in the name of the Germanic body, that every article should be faithfully and effectually executed after the exchange: at the same time they proposed a pure and commodious plan for evacuating the places, and disbanded the troops. In consequence of their declaration, the plenipotentiaries of the different powers mutually delivered the ratifications of the treaty, and began to take measures for its being put in execution.

This subject was discussed in conferences at Nuremburg, where the treaties of execution were signed, on condition that the emperor should immediately disband part of his armies and troops, and maintain the rest in his own dominions; that the king of France should withdraw all his troops that remained in the empire; and that three terms should be fixed for the restitution of the places within the year: and as it was foreseen, that the opposition of the Spaniards would put it out of the power of the house of Austria to deliver up Frankenthal within the term prescribed, the emperor obliged himself to surrender Heilbronn, as a security to Charles-Louis count-palatine, until Frankenthal should be restored.

Terms were likewise fixed between the empire and Sweden, touching the dismission of troops, and evacuation of places, as also for the payment of the sum due to the Swedish soldiers, and every thing relating to the amnesty granted to the princes and towns which had espoused the Swedish party, as well as to the redress of grievances which the Protestants suffered, and the repartition of the five millions and two hundred thousand rixdollars to be paid by the circles to Sweden, was confirmed by this treaty, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, of Sweden, and of the princes and states of the empire.

Giving a Detail of the War with the Turks in Hungary, and with the French on the Rhine, to the Peace of Nimeguen.

**M.** A.D. 1648. The king of Spain pretexts against the treaty. A.D. 1649. The ratification of the treaty is exchanged, and the execution is regulated by another treaty concluded at Nuremburg.

**A. D. 1649.** The ratification of the treaty is exchanged, and the execution is regulated by another treaty concluded at Nuremburg.

**A. D. 1650.** The king of Spain pretexts against the treaty.

**C H A P. XXI.**

**C H A P. XXI.**

**C H A P. XXI.**

**C H A P. XXI.**
The history of Germany.

order to terminate which in an amicable manner, Ferdinand convoked an assembly at Drifden, where many expedients were proposed, as mutual offers made, for effecting an accommodation; but all the proposals fell under the consideration of the Spaniards, who, innumerable disputes, agreed to take Hailbron in exchange for Frankendel, which was no sooner delivered to the count palatine, than he demanded and received the investiture of the Lower Palatinate from Ferdinand, who ordered the count de Fürstenberg to invite that prince to the diets of the empire. Nevertheless Germany did not fail to enjoy the happy fruits of the peace: tranquility was restored in all the provinces. The Spaniards, after innumerable disputes, agreed to take Hailbron in exchange for Frankendel, which was no sooner delivered to the count palatine, than he demanded and received the investiture of the Lower Palatinate from Ferdinand, who ordered the count de Fürstenberg to invite that prince to the diets of the empire. It was a much more difficult task to regulate the difference subsisting between Sweden and the elector of Brandenburg, touching Further Pomerania. That prince was not as yet put in possession of all that had been adjudged to him by the treaty of Öland-kring; yet the queen of Sweden expected, that her deputies should be admitted into the diet, as she now assumed the title of duchess of Pomerania. The elector of Brandenburg, and the other princes, opposed this demand, because she had not as yet terminated her difference with the marquis of Brandenburg; and the negotiations occasioned by this affair obliged the emperor to postpone the diet, which he had summoned to meet at Ratibon.

Ferdinand Gullford with impatience to see his eldest son elected king of the Romans; and therefore, without waiting for the convocation of the diet, he proposed the election to the Romans, and all of them gave their consent, without hesitation, except the elector of Brandenburg, who, tho' he opposed Ferdinand's intention at first, was soon brought over to his views. Then assembling at Augsburg, they unanimously chose his son Ferdinand-Charles king of the Romans, after he had given a capitulation, obliging himself to maintain inviolably the Golden Bull, and the eighth electorate created in favour of the count palatine; to obviate religiously the treaties of Münster, Öland-kring, and Wurtemberg, with all that should be concluded in the diet at Ratibon; and to contract no alliance concerning the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the German body.

This ceremony being performed, the emperor returned to Ratibon with the electors, and there receiving an account of Lower Pomerania's being restored by the queen of Sweden to the elector of Brandenburg, he ordered the diet to be opened without farther delay,

(1) Gazettes des ann. 1650, 1651.

(2) BARNE, t. ix. p. 852.

(D) In order to convey a distinct idea of this dispute, it will be necessary to trace it to its origin. Albert, duke of Saxony, from whom the electoral branch descends, received from Ferdinand III. the revocation of Jülicher and Berg; and this eventual investiture was confirmed by Maximilian I. Notwithstanding this patent, Charles V. in 1521, bestowed the investiture of these dukedoms upon the elector of Brandenburg and his wife; with this proviso, that he should satisfy the house of Saxony with regard to its pretensions. Next year, however, the emperor being made feasible of the justice of the Saxons' pretensions, offered to betake himself and the same investiture to Jülicher, Berg, and the county of Ravenstein, declaring, that he had no intention to invade the right of the dukedom of Saxony. Perhaps this declaration was made on account of a marriage, which was then negociating, between John-Frideric, duke of Saxony, and Sidella, princess of Cleves. On this occasion, the emperor was solicited to consent, that, if the duke and dukedom should die without male issue, the dukedoms of Cleves and Jülicher, with their dependencies, should be vested in the daughters of the marriage; but an additional clause was made to the contract, importing, that the elector John should likewise revere his ancient rights. At length, by a transact, at Spire, in 1544, when Ferdinand was the Roman, and John-Frideric elector of Saxony, it was concluded, that this contract of marriage should be confirmed in the following manner: in case the duke of Jülicher, Cleves, and Berg, should die without male issue, the emperor, or his successors, would confer on the said elector, or, in case of his death, upon the heirs male of his body, the dukedoms of Jülicher, Cleves, and Berg, as masculine heirs. John-William, duke of Cleves, dying in 1609, without issue, his succession was disputed by the children of his fisters. John Sigismund of Brandenburg, son of Eleonora of Cleves, and Wolfgang-William, duke of Neuburg, of Anne, his younger sister, feizied the dominions by force, and maintained themselves in possession by the assistance of foreign powers. Mean while the elector of Saxony had recourse to the emperor, from whom, in 1610, he received the investiture of those dukedoms; and that same year a congress was held at Cologne, and afterwards at Interbach, where, by the mediation of Christoff, margrave of Brandenburg, and Maurits and Lewis, landgraves of Hesse, a treaty was concluded, that on certain conditions: that the houses of Brandenburg and Pomerania should admit that of Saxony into a real commumisation of the possesion of Jülicher, &c. until a definitive sentence could be obtained; that the house of Saxony should be obliged to pay the same amount regularly; that the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg should be governed by a council, which should take the oaths to the princes of the three houses; that the duke of Saxony, after his admission, should give four hundred and fifty thousand guilders of Mosel, in way of reimbursing the money expended by the elector-palatine and duke of Neuburg; which sum should be re stored to him, in case his pretensions should be set aside by a definitive sentence; but the marquis of Brandenburg and duke Neuburg refused to ratify this treaty, though confirmed by the emperor. Then George, duke of Saxony, instituted a process against them before the tribunal of the emperor, but this suit being strangely contested, the marquis of Brandenburg and palatine of Neuburg, in 1629, made a provisional agreement, by which the secession was shared between them. The marquis had the dukedoms of Cleves, with the counties of In Murch and Reuenenberg; while the duke enjoyed Jülicher and Berg, with the lordship of Ravenstein. The elector of Saxony protested against this transact, which Ferdinand II. refused to confirm. It was afterwards debated in the congress of Westphalia, but as the elector of Brandenburg was the last to the house of Habsburg and the allies, neither side paid much regard to his interest, and the affair was still uncertain, when Ferdinand III. endeavoured to put an end to it at the assembly in Driften (1).
The history of Germany.

a in order to deliberate upon measures for strengthening the peace, and for the entire execution of the treaties of Welfphalia.

The duke of Lorraine still ravaged Alsatia and Welfphalia, and obliged the Germanic body to support his interest against France: he refused to restore Homburg, Landstuhl, Hammerstein, and some other places occupied by his troops, unless the states would gratify him with a million of rixdollars. They promised to indulge him with a considerable sum, to the payment of which the electors of Brandenburg and Palatine, together with the free towns, refused to contribute, as much as his imperial majesty had obliged himself by the treaty of Munster to rid the empire of the Lorrain troops, by his own authority. Ferdinand, conscious of this obligation, directed the archduke Leopold, governor of the Low Countries, to decoy duke Charles to Brussels, where he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to Toledo, though not before he had found means to convey to the court de Ligneville, who commanded his army, a billet, ending in these injunctions: "Leave the Spaniards immediately; kill and burn all that falls in your way; and remember Charles of Lorraine."

This order, however, his general did not obey. The troops were, by the address of the count Fuenfeldagne, prevailed to continue in the service of Spain. Francis, the brother of Charles, took the command; and, in consideration of one hundred thousand rixdollars, evacuated the places which the Lorrainers occupied in Germany.

Meanwhile the diet of Ratisbon continued to deliberate upon complaints that were made by several states against France, by which they alleged their privileges were invaded, in consequence of the cession of Alsatia to that crown. The town of Bremen, likewise ceded to the Swedes by the treaty of Osnabrug, complained, that Charles-Gustavus, successor of Christina, queen of Sweden, who had abdicated the throne, paid no regard to their rights and privileges which were confirmed by the peace of Welfphalia, but had even surpirsed and seized a borough in their neighbourhood by force of arms. The towns of Lubeck and Hamburg, alarmed at this act of hostility, made remonstrances to Königsmarck, who paid no regard to their representations, and even affirmed, that neither the diet nor the emperor had the least title to intermeddle in any dispute between Sweden and its subjects. Ferdinand, incensed at this assertion, ordered the circles of Welfphalia and Lower Saxony to maintain the privileges of Bremen, which was an imperial town, while the Swedes generally invaded it without hesitation. However, the elector of Brandenburg, and the dukes of Brunswick, beginning to levy troops, and the town being well garrisoned, and supplied with plenty of provision, Gustavus listened to the proposals of the Hollanders and Hanse towns, which offered their mediation; and a congress was appointed at Stade, where the deputies concluded a peace, by which the privileges of Bremen were confirmed.

The session of the diet by this time drawing near a close, the Protaneists foreseeing, that the indulgencies granted to them by the treaty of Welfphalia would not have their due effect, unless they could be united under one chief, who should direct their conferences, and execute their resolutions, chose the elector of Saxony to perform that function, not only on the account of the high rank he maintained among the states of the Augsburg confederation; but also out of gratitude to his house, which had rendered such signal services to the Protestant cause. Their example was followed by the Catholics, who declared the elector of Bavaria chief of their union: but as both parties could not agree about the equal number of deputies to be appointed from each communion, that affair was referred to the deliberations of the next diet at Frankfort.

Meanwhile the elector-palatine was invested with the title of arch-treasurer, instead of arch-treasurer of the holy Roman empire, which the duke of Bavaria affirmed, in consequence of having been invested with the electorate of the count-palatine. Frederick Hohenzollern, Anthony Eggemerg, Winiflauss Lobkowitz, Charles count de Salis, Maximilian de Dijswichstein, Olausus Picolomini, and Weickard d'Aversberg, were acknowledged princes of the empire; but, at the same time, it was regulated that those of them who had no fiefs, immediately holding of the empire, should have neither feat nor suffrage in the diet.

Finally, the diet concluded with their enacting a decree, enjoining all the members of the Germanic body to observe the treaties of Osnabrug and Munster, as fundamental laws of the empire, notwithstanding the protests of the archbishop of Pisa, who ascribed to pope's nuncio at this assembly.

All these affairs being settled, the diet broke up, and the emperor, with his empress and eldest son, repaired to Vienna, which they entered in the midst of great pomp and loud acclamations: but their joy was soon blunted by their losing the king of the Romans, who died of the small-pox in the twentieth year of his age; and the imperial court re- tured in the utmost confusion to Ebersdorf.

b Actzim, lib. xxiv. pag. 897. c Londorp. tom. vii. pag. 437 & frequent.
The emperor having raised his son Leopold to the throne of Hungary, with the consent of the states, he convened for that purpose at Pressburg, and amused the Protestants of that kingdom with promises of favour and indulgence, he returned to Germany, and opened the diet at Frankfort, in order, if possible, to terminate the differences between the Protestants and the Catholics, touching the exercise of religion, the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, and the privilege of filling public offices; but notwithstanding an infinite number of propositions, on both sides, and almost incessant debates during the space of seven years that the diet lasted, these contests could not be compromised.

As for Ferdinand, he left them to dispute at their leisure in speeches and writings, and seemed to interest himself more in foreign affairs, than in helping to appease the intestine troubles of the empire. He acted as mediator between Spain and the dukes of Medinaceli and Savoy; ordered twelve thousand men to march into Tyrol, to attack Piedmont, in case this last prince should prove refractory; and sent a reinforcement of troops to Casmir, who returned from Silisium to Lublin, where he was affectionately received by the palatines, and began to renew the war with Sweden, on the promise of being powerfully supported by the command of Tartary. His first attempt was upon Warfovia, which was Garrisoned by the Swedes, and, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion: but this smile of fortune was not of long continuance. Gustavus, being joined by the elector of Brandenburg, advanced, and gave him battle, in which he was defeated, and Warfovia opened its gates to the conqueror. After this action, as the elector refused to march farther from Prussia, Gustavus left the command of his army to Wrangel, and repaired to Lubeck, to terminate a treaty which his ministers negotiated with Holland.

The neighbourhood of the Swedes incommoded Prussia so much, that the elector of Brandenburg eagerly wished for an opportunity to break with them: the king of Denmark projected an invasion into Sweden, and the emperor fet on foot a negotiation for raising the archduke Leopold to the throne of Poland, and procuring the renunciation of Casmir, for which purpose he sent the baron Lifala, as his minister, to Danzig, but that effort miscarried, he concluded a treaty with Frederick king of Denmark, in which the Muscovites, Tartars, and the states of the empire, should be comprehended, and to which the elector of Brandenburg should be at liberty to accede, importing, that his Danzic majesty should declare war against Sweden, and that the emperor should send sixteen thousand men into Poland to join the Poles, and act against Gustavus. This league was approved by the command of the Crimean Tartars, who ordered an army of an hundred thousand men to march to the assistance of Casmir, while Ferdinand reinforced him with fifteen thousand horse and foot, and the king of Denmark declared war against the Swedes by a manifesto; but the emperor did not live to see the effect of these measures, for he died at Vienna, in the fortieth year of his age, and in the twentieth of his reign.

This prince mounted the imperial throne during an obdurate war, which afflicted the Germanick body in all its parts; and it may be affirmed, that no emperor ever saw himself attacked by so many powerful enemies at once, or sustained such defeats and mortifications without linking altogether under his misfortunes. He was religious even to superstitious, expressed on all occasions a tender regard to his subjects, and not wholly void of liberality, though very unfortunate in the distribution of his favours; for he seemed to think, that his bounty conferred merit on the underfaring; and, in consequence of this prejudice, he admitted into his councils several persons who engaged him in unlucky enterprises, and were in a great measure the cause of his miscarriages (E).

It was at the diet of Ratisbon, in the reign of this emperor, that the secession of the princes, and the other states in the general assemblies of the empire, was regulated; for the ancient order of sitting, having been confounded by the cession of several ecclesiastical fiefs to lay-princes, there was a necessity for establising a new form; in consequence of which it was agreed, that the ecclesiastics should have the right hand, and the laics the left; and that on the side of the former, there should be a cross bench for the administrator of

---

(E) He had three wives, namely, Mary-Anne of Austrina, daughter of Philip III, king of Spain; Mary-Lougewena, daughter of Leopold V, archduke of Austria, of the branch of the counts of Tyrol; and Eleonora, daughter of Charles II, duke of Mantua. By his first wife he had Ferdinand-Francis, king of Bohemia, Hungary, and the Romans, who died in 1654; Mary-Anne, who married Philip IV, of Spain; Philipps-Augula, who died in 1659; Maximilian-Thomaz, who died in the course of the same year; and Leopold-Ignatius, who succeeded his father. By his second wife, he had Charles-Joseph, bishop of Pafian and Olomouc, and grand-master of the Teutonic order; and by his third venters, Theresa-Maria- Josepha, who died in 1653; Eleonora-Maria, first married to Michel-Korbut-Wojnowschi, king of Poland, and afterwards to Charles V, duke of Lorraine; Maria-Antoinia-Josepha, who married John-William count-palatine of the house of Newburg; and Ferdinand-Louis-Josepha, who died in 1698 (1).

---

The history of Germany.

a Magdeburg: but as the elector of Brandenburg at present possesses that archbishopric as a lay-fee, this bench is occupied by the bishops of Lübeck and Osнabrug, when this last is Protestant, that is, when the bishopric is in the hands of a prince of the house of Brunswick; because, by a regulation made in the diet at Ratibor, approved by the emperor, the ecclesiastical princes of the Augsburg confession, cannot be admitted to the bench of the Catholic clergy, nor to that of the lay-princes.

LEOPOLD.

b Leopold, already king of Bohemia and Hungary, though but seventeen years of age, governed his dominions under the tuition of his uncle the archduke Leopold, by whom he was educated. When he had been with Casimir, and sent an army into Poland, commanded by Hassfeld and Montecululi, who besieged and retook Cracovia, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the king of Sweden, who complained of these hostilities as infractions of the peace of Westphalia.

At the same time the Dutch were embroiled with the princes of the Rhine, by a quarrel between the bishop of Münsingen and his subjects, in which those powers espoused different parties: at length the affair was accommodated by mutual agreement, importing, that the city of Münsingen should maintain three hundred foot-soldiers, and the bishop be contented with five hundred; the commander of which should take the oath of fidelity to the magistracy, and attempt nothing contrary to the advantage of the place.

In the midst of these transactions the archbishop of Mentz convoked an electoral diet at Frankfort, in order to supply the vacancy on the imperial throne; but the ambassadors of France represented, that, before the election of an emperor, the states should remove the obstructions which retarded the execution of the treaties of Osнabrug and Münsingen, and effect an accommodation between the crowns of France and Spain, recall the German troops which were in Italy, revoke the commission of vicariat, granted to the duke of Mantua, confer the investiture of Montferrat upon the duke of Savoy, according to the tenor of the treaty of Münsingen, and declare void all the acts which had passed in the imperial court against the duke of Modena.

The electors of Mentz and Cologne entered into the interests of France, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to obtain for them the satisfaction they demanded: as previous steps to which, the archbishop of Mentz reinforced the intrigues of the maréchal de Grammont, and Hugues de Lorraine, to overcome or retard the election of Leopold king of Hungary and Bohemia. They at first offered his interest to his uncle Leopold, who protracted the negotiation, and amused them with equivocal answers, until his nephew should have attained his majority, or eighteenth year; and, in the mean time, he, at their pressing solicitations, inflamed that young prince to send orders to Montecululi to suspend his march into Pomerania.

The duke of Neuburg was also competitor for the imperial crown, and attempted to avail himself of the assistance of France, by which he was for some time cajoled: but cardinal Mazarine actually employed all his address and influence to persuade the elector of Bavaria to aspire to the imperial dignity; the king of Sweden backed the exhortations and promises of France; every argument that could stifle his apprehension, gratify his pride, or influence his ambition, was employed by the French deputies: they even interested his wife and mother in their scheme; but, in spite of all their united efforts, the elector persisted in his resolution to reject their offers, saying, "He chose rather to be a rich elector than a poor emperor," and his refusal paved the way to the election of young Leopold. Nevertheless, the electors were still divided in such a manner, that the vote of Brandenburg could make either scale preponderate. The French gained over Charles count-palatine with a sum of money; the elector of Cologne hated the Austrians, because, in preference to him, the archbishop of Mentz had consecrated Ferdinand the fourth king of the Romans; the electors of Triers, Bavaria, and Saxony, had declared for the king of Hungary and Bohemia; and as for Brandenburg, who had not yet disclosed his sentiments, France not only tempted him with sums of money, but also intimidated him by threatening to assail the duke of Neuburg in making himself master of Cleves. The French exerted themselves in this manner, not so much with a design to prevent the election of Leopold, as to obtain from that prince, before his elevation, a capitulation, obliging him to renounce the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and prevent the infradictions of the treaty of Münsingen. In pursuance of this view, the ambassadors prevailed upon the four electors of Mentz, Cologne, Palatine, and Brandenburg, to sign a preliminary convention, interpreting the third article of the treaty of

* Id. ibid.
† Recueil des Traité des Paix, t. iii. p. 720.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 4 B
The history of Germany.

Munster, in favour of Lewis the fourteenth, by which they obliged themselves to proceed to a new election, in case the future emperor should contravene this capitulation.

FRANCE, having gained this important point, raised not further obstruction to the successes of Leopold-Ignatius, king of Hungary and Bohemia, who was unanimously elected emperor, and signed a capitulation, promising to take proper measures for the reintegration of the circles, to abstain from alienating aught belonging to the Germanie body without the consent of the circles; from citing the electors, princes, prelates, counts, noblemen, and other states, to any other than the ordinary tribunals of the empire; but to leave all of them in general, and each in particular, to enjoy their immediate justice and privilege of non apparendo, according to the Golden Bull, and other ordinances of the holy empire: he obliged himself to preserve the liberty of the ten towns of Alsatia, and their union with the empire, without prejudice to the preëxister jurisdicition; to re-establish the electors and states in the possession of what had been taken from them by force, according to the treaties of Wöllphalia and the edict of Nuremburg; to favour the Protestant and Catholic religions equally in the restitution; to avoid entering into the war between the kings of France and Spain, as well as alliances with foreign powers touching the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the electors; and to maintain the privileges of the towns and princes.

While this great affair was in agitation, the electors of Mentz and Cologne formed the project of a peace between the courts of France and Spain, which was presented to Lewis the fourteenth at Amiens, and to the count de Pignan and the Spanish minister at Frankfort. Neither party was averse to the proposal; and Lewis defied it might be discussed before the election of the emperor, in the apprehension, that should it be delayed until a prince of the house of Austria should be settled on the imperial throne, he could not expect such favourable terms of accommodation: for that very reason the ministers of Spain endeavoured to protract the negotiation. He could not, however, prevent the ambassadours of France from forming at Frankfort the League of the Rhine, which was an offensive and defensive alliance between the French king, the electors of Mentz, Trier, Cologne, the count Palatine, the king of Sweden as lord of Bremen, the dukes of Luxemburg, and the landgrave of Hesse, obliging the contracting parties to employ their utmost endeavours in the diet, and otherwise, to strengthen the peace of Wöllphalia, and to hinder the German troops from marching to the assent of the Spaniards in the Low Countries (F).

Mean while, Leopold, having obliged the king of Sweden to make an accommodation with Poland, applied himself likewise to put a stop to his progress in the dominions of Denmark. Charles-Gufraves had seized upon the islands of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, Falster, and Zealand. These conquests forced the king of Denmark to a treaty, which was concluded at Roskilde, but in terms very disadvantageous to him; therefore he fought an opportunity to evade them, in which disposition he was encouraged by the emperor and the Dutch, who promised to assist him with all their forces. The king of Sweden, being informed of this, suddenly embarked ten thousand men, made a descent upon Zealand, and even besieged Copenhagen, but was forced, after three months spent in the siege, to turn it into a blockade.

The imperial troops, and those of Brandenburg, in the mean time, having entered Pomerania, met at first with some successes, which encouraged the Austrians to besiege Stein; but Wrangel, the Swedish general, having thrown great succours into the garrison, they were obliged to raise the siege with some loss. The elector of Brandenburg succeeded no better before Gipswald.

This invasion of Pomerania by the Austrians and Brandenburgers was the subject of the deliberations of the diet, then assembled at Frankfort. The majority of the deputies were of opinion, that the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg, by acting against Sweden, had broke the treaty of Olyenbrug; and that the German body, having guarantied the execution of it, ought either to oblige these two powers to recall their troops, or fend affluence

# Thalben, L. ix. p. 270.
# Dumont Corps Diplom. partii. t. vi.
# Puffendorf. de

(reb. C. Gutf. l. vi.

(F) In the course of this year died the celebrated Gaspard Bureh, one of the most learned men of the age. In the seventeenth year of his age, he published a work of merit upon the Latin authors, which is said to have compassed the space of four and twenty hours. He acquired great reputation by his writings; though he died poor; and his narrow circumstances were probably owing to the liberty with which he disapproved of the measures that were taken against the Jews, who had been unjustly oppressed in Germany and Hungary during the reign of Ferdinand, although they had done him great service in defending Prague against the Swedes. Leopold expelled them from Prussia, at the solicitation of his empress, who imagined her fertility proceeded from the toleration of the Jews; but after her death they were re-admitted, allowed to farm the customs under the emperor's protection, and even gratified occasionally with honourable titles (1).

The history of Germany.

a to the king of Sweden. Leopold, fearing one of these two resolutions might be agreed to, wrote to the diet, that he transferred their assembly to Ratibon, hoping at that place to over-awe their deliberations: but it was answered, that he claimed a right not granted to him by the constitution of the empire; and that the assembly, having been convened at Frankfort to put the treaties of Württemberg in execution, could not be transported elsewhere, without the consent of the states. The deputies of Saxony and Bavaria did not approve of this answer; but the rest, supported by the promises of the king of France, paid no regard to the order of the emperor, but continued their session at Frankfort.

b The duke of Neuburg was one of those who most firmly opposed the undertaking of the emperor. He was supported by France, who promised to cause the duchy of Juliers to be ceded to him, which had a long time been held in feoffeation by the Spaniards. The ministers of these two crowns were then negotiating the peace of the Pyrenees, which was concluded in less than six weeks in the island of Patjans. It consisted of twenty-four articles, which, among other things, regulated the restitution of the conquests made during the war. The king of Spain renounced the province of Al сф, the treaty of Queragüe was confirmed, Pignerol referred to the French, and the city of Juliers given to the duke of Neuburg.

c At the same time the French and English, fearing that the Dutch and Austrians should become too powerful in the Baltic, by reason of the diffusions of the northern powers, pressed the states-general, by their ambassadors at the Hague, not to give any more assistance to the king of Denmark. And having concluded a treaty, called The Convention of the Hague, they obliged themselves to reduce by force that party which should refuse to come to an accommodation. The king of Sweden rejected it; but being defeated by the Danes, and obliged to retire with great loss, he consented to declare his resolution, after consulting the states of his kingdom, which assembled at Gottenburg in the month of January; yet delayed coming to any resolution about a peace, depending upon the success of next campaign; but the king of Sweden dying of a fever, a peace was immediately after concluded, to which the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg acceded.

d The troubles of the North being composed, the emperor was threatened with an invasion from the Turks, who had advanced with an army to the borders of Transylvania, and demanded the head of young Ragotski, with all that his father had possessed in Hungary. That prince was then at war with them; and two years before, having represented to Leopold, that, if once they possessed Transylvania, there would be no barrier betwixt them and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, he had obtained from him three or four thousand men. This supply encouraged him to attack the vizier's army near Ais, which he defeated, after having killed five or six thousand of their troops. But elevated with this advantage, and advancing rashly, he was surprised by the Turks, his army cut in pieces, and his baggage and several cannon taken. In consequence of this defeat, the Turks made themselves masters of almost all Transylvania, and bestowed the government of it upon Jacob Botski. But Ragotski, being full in possession of some places, in the beginning of e this year made an incursion into the territory of Giula, and, finding a considerable body of infidels, he attacked and routed them. As soon as the feaon would permit, he marched with his little army against the Turks, and judging there was no resource for him but in a desperate attempt, he resolved either to conquer or die. Finding them encamped between Clujemburg and Alba Julia, he fell upon them with force, put their battalions in disorder, and was upon the point of gaining the victory, when, his helmet falling off, he received a violent blow upon his head, that he fell to the ground from his horse almost dead. His army, affrighted at this accident, made no resistance; but retired with their wounded general, who died soon after at Waradin.

f Ragotski, and which, since his death, the emperor, at the intreaty of several lords of that kingdom, intended to take from the princes of Transylvania, and fortify their frontier places as barriers against the Turks. But, first using the means of persuasion, he sent to Francis Ragotski, son of the late vaivode, to engage him to cede these two provinces to him, as he was not able to defend them himself, in the present bad situation of his affairs. That prince confining with the princes his mother, resolved to gratify the emperor, and gave the necessary orders for putting these two counties into the hands of the baron Mierberg, his envoy, judging that, by acquiring the friendship of the house of Austria, he might one day be enabled to recover Transylvania.

That

G After this cession, Leopold immediately sent the count de Souches with ten thousand men into Upper Hungary. He encamped at Trenčín, where the emperor had called a diet of the states of that kingdom, which gratuitously offered to supply his troops with provisions.
That the Turks might take no umbrage at these proceedings, he ordered his refidant to declare to the grand vizier, that he had disapproved of the bad conduct of the prince of Transylvania, and the Porte might be assured, that he would do nothing against the last treaty of peace; his only reason for sending troops into Hungary, being to take possession of the counties of Zalmaar and Zambohich.

DE SOUCHES soon after appeared before Tekes, and wanted to take possession of it in the name of the emperor, but those who commanded in the place at first made some difficulties, pretending that the Hungarian garrison ought to remain, and that it was sufficient if they took the oath of allegiance to his imperial majesty. De Souches put an end to disputes, by thawing them the emperor's order to take possession of it by force, if they refused to deliver it voluntarily. Upon this the Hungarian garrison withdrew, and the Germans took possession of the town. After the same manner he entered Zatmar, and wanted likewise to put imperial troops into Erzfeet*, but the governor for princes Ragsotki opposed it. De Souches had received an order from Vienna to treat with the princes, to induce her to allow German garrisons to be put into Erzfeet and Onod. The Hungarians opposed this negotiation, observing with regret the emperor enlarging his authority in Upper Hungary, and the princes could not be prevailed upon to truft to their assurances of delivering them up again as soon as the Turks should retire. The lords likewise talked high of their privilege of not allowing any German troops to garrison their towns; and so averse were they to the imperial troops, that the inhabitants of Waresdin chose rather to surrender to the Turks, than accept of the German assistance sent them.

The furrender of Waredin obliged the count de Souches to take all precautions against the Turks. He supplied the frontier towns with all necessaries, and made the kingdom contribute to the expense of the fortifications: he repaired the out-works of Kaloc, and secured the fidelity of Erzfeet. Afterwards settling his head-quarters at Caffaonia, he even obtained from the princes' Ragsotki leave to put a German garrison into Onod.

The emperor then applied himself wholly to provide for a war with the Turks. The bafhe of Upper Hungary had laid several villages in the neighbourhood of Zatmar under contribution, and had published a manifesto, threatening with fire and sword the inhabitants of the county, if they refused to acknowledge the sultan for their sovereign: besides, the infidels made such great preparations, that it might easily be perceived they despaired of some important conquest. Leopold, preparing to oppose them, acquainted the Transylvanians with his intention, and demanded of them Zelkelbeid and Kovar, as places of arms, and securities for their fidelity. He sent Montecualli with twenty thousand men into Hungary: Zelkelbeid was garrisoned with five thousand Germans; the fortifications of the frontier towns were repaired; the command of the army given to Count Staremberg; and de Souches made grand master of artillery.

These preparations gave a great deal of uneasiness to the Palatine, and other Hungarian lords: they were persuaded that Leopold intended by them rather to conquer Hungary, than oppose the invasion of the Turks: they declared loudly that the imperial troops, by entering their country, violated their privileges; and that the emperor, by taking possession of the places of strength, wanted only to drive the Protestant out of Hungary, as he formerly had expelled them from Bohemia.

These discourses, which were not without foundation, made an impression upon the people. They assembled in a tumultuous manner, and requested of the palatine and archbishop of Strigonia to represent to the emperor, that he must recall his troops, as the articles which he had sworn to observe at his coronation prohibited him from bringing German into their country. These two lords promised to speak to the emperor, though they expected but little success, as he could not draw off his troops without exposing the frontier to the invasion of the Turks. The Hungarians, observing no effect from their promises, absolutely refused to give winter-quarters and provisions to the troops. Leopold, being informed of this, sent for the archbishop and the count of Nadaji, and several other lords, to Vienna: having discoursed with them, he made them promis to allow winter-quarters for his army in Upper Hungary.

NADASI, upon his return, assembled the deputies of the thirteen counties, and drew from them a promise of lodging the Germans; upon which Montecualli marched directly with his army for Caffaonia, where, after some difficulty, he was admitted: but the palatine Wafflini seeing his measures broke, assembled the states at Caffaonia, and renewing in their minds the ancient fulctions of the emperor's conduct, prevailed upon them to deny provisions and winter-quarters to the Imperialists; although Montecualli, who was there, represented to them, that by so doing they would expel their country a prey to the Turks, but he being able to obtain nothing, and seeing his army diminish daily by sickness, was obliged to winter in Lower Hungary.

* Daré, ibid. p. 11.
The emperor being informed of this disposition of the diet of Cuffovic, sent the count A.D. 1662.

Restal, and the chancellor of the kingdom, to prevail with it to grant winter-quarters to his army: but the deputies persisted in their denial, and represented, that what was demanded of them was of dangerous consequence, and might be used as a precedent to complete the ruin of their liberties. They wrote to the emperor, entreating him to recall the Germans who oppressed them, and asking leave to defend their frontiers themselves, according to their laws and privileges: but finding no effect from this letter, and the Germans still continuing to oppress them, they at last proceeded to oppose them by force. The peasants, headed by some lords, attacked them on their march, killed many of them, and exposed their bloody cloaths to the wind, that all might know the vengeance they had taken.

b About the middle of this year there was an appearance of peace with the Turks upon which the emperor agreed with the states of Hungary, that nine thousand Germans should depart their kingdom; the rest should be subjected to his imperial majesty, and such regulations settled for their marches and quarters, as should not be disquieting to the kingdom. Nevertheless, the disturbances did not cease; for the Imperialists still continuing to pillage and plunder upon their march, were for this denied access to the Hungarian towns; and when they attempted it by force, they were repulsed. The Germans, in defiance to fee themselves thus treated, exercised, in their turn, the utmost violence against the Hungarians, which consequently greatly irritated them against the emperor.

c The negotiations of peace not succeeding, the grand vizier had orders to enter Hungary A.D. 1663:

with a powerful army. The emperor, upon this, demanded money and troops from the princes of the empire; who first petitioned for a general diet to be called, to regulate what each ought to fend. The diet accordingly assembled at Ratisbon on the twentieth of January, and deliberated upon the means of defending the empire from the designs of the Turks; of putting the treaties of Wolfshaid in execution; and of regulating what could not be finished at the last diet. The division among the deputies prevented their coming to any resolution about the succours to be given to the emperor, till they were surprised with the news of Novebainst's being taken by the Turks, which happened on the twenty-fifth of September.

Then they determined to assist Hungary with men and money; and the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bavaria, sent troops to the emperor: but their march was delayed, and they could not in time to take up their winter-quarters in Upper Hungary.

d The emperor likewise wrote to the Hungarians to raise forces, and make other preparations for war; but they, either not thinking the danger so pressing, or being less afraid of the Turks than the Germans, acquainted Leopold, that they had resolved to affemble the arriere ban, and entreat his imperial majesty not to fend any army till their troops were raised; but if he wanted to put garrisons in the towns, they contented it to, provided they were brought by water, and subsisted from the provisions which were in the magazines.

The Turks advanced towards Friuli. Edward, count of Auerstberg, had taken the field with some German and Croatian regiments to defend the frontier; and hearing that the Turks were coming down from the mountains of Jurcetcstein, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to guard the passage of Slatin, and send count Auerstberg to Reclanoe, to prevent the infidels from advancing any farther. The count of Serini, who was next in command, took possession of a little eminence covered with oaks, at the bottom of the mountain Jurcetcstein, and waited there for the coming down of the Turks. On the sixth of October, at break of day, a thousand janissaries, and four hundred infidels, came down into the valley, who were attacked by the Croats; with such vigor, that very few escaped, most of them being either killed, or taken prisoners. The Turks, struck with this resolution of the Croats, and judging that they were much stronger than indeed they were, fled with precipitation, leaving their baggage behind them.

e The emperor being informed soon after, that the grand vizier was preparing to march against Novebainst, called an assembly of the states at Freiburg, to prefix for the arriere ban, and put that place in a condition to maintain a siege; for though the twenty-fourth of August had been appointed for their general rendezvous at Vahberg, when the imperial officer came there, he did not find a man. This extraordinary conduct had surprised the court of Vienna, and therefore count Rothal was sent into Hungary, with full powers to treat with the states; who, being assembled in a diet at Caffoivia, at last granted him what he demanded.

Nevertheless, Leopold was still distrustful of them; and being likewise dissatisfied with A.D. 1664.

the lords of the Germanic body, he applied himself to foreign princes for assistance against the Turks. The pope allowed him to raise the sixth penny upon the goods of ecclesiastics in Austria and Bavonia; the king of France lent him two thousand horse, and four thou-

f Sand
The history of Germany.

The count of Sérini began the campaign by burning the bridge of Eisch, which was in the possession of the Turks. Soon after he took the city of the Five Churches, and many other places situated between the Drau and the Danube. The count de Soubies, who commanded a separate body, gained great advantages over the Turks: he made himself master of Neustria; and marching afterwards to besiege Newkaufer, he met with four thousand Turks, whom he defeated. He pursued them to the banks of the Gran, where they, receiving reinforcements, again opposed him; but, being vigorously attacked, they were entirely routed, and their artillery and baggage taken. Immediately after, he marched to Lewetzitz, which he attacked with much fury, that the garrison, being struck with a panic, surrendered at discretion.

The baflaw of Buda, having assembled the troops of Moldavia and Walachia, thought of recovering the place before the breaches were repaired. In effect, he besieged it; but the count de Soubies, passing the Gran with his little army, encamped within a league of the besiegers; and both sides drawing up in order of battle, the Imperialists attacked the Turks and Tartars with such vigour, that they soon put them to flight. The troops of Moldavia and Walachia went home, and their retreat passed for a revolt. The count de Soubies, pursuing his victory, took possession of the city of Barcem; and, after that, led his troops to Camora for refreshment.

Mean while the grand vizier, having made himself master of Serefsinar, in flight of the Austrians, who neither durst alight the place, nor offer battle, animated by this success, passed the Miser, and formed the design of marching to Vienna. Monteucculi, who observed the Ottoman army, undertook to stop him near St. Godard upon the Raab. The Turkish general, having found a ford, transported a part of his troops with design to offer battle: but he committed a great error in deferring till next day to transport the reft; for there fell such a heavy rain all night, that the Raab overflowed its banks. Monteucculi, resolving to prevent the re-union of the Turks, drew up his army in order of battle, to attack those who had passed to his side of the river; and the Turks, ill-endowing to pass the river over a small wooden bridge, were repulsed by five hundred French volunteers. This memorable action began on the third of August, at nine in the morning, and lasted till four in the afternoon. The victory was long doubtful; but at last the Turks were entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-two thousand men, and seventeen pieces of cannon.

This defeat appeared so considerable to the grand vizier, that he sent next day to offer a negotiation of peace, which was concluded at Zemisfar the tenth of August. The Hungarians, and Aboff, the prince of Transylvania, astonished at this precipitation, complained, that, instead of consulting their interests, they had treated without them; and as their expenses, they being still abandoned to the Turks, and exposed to the incursions of the garrison of Neubaufer, that the emperor might have obtained much more advantageous conditions from the infidels, considering the terror in which they were; and that Neubaufer ought certainly to have been delivered up, or its fortifications razed. The minister of the emperour endeavoured to excuse themselves, by affirming, that they were obliged to have more regard to the fad state to which the empire was reduced, than to the uncertain consequences of a victory. But the truth was, that Leopold confented to it the more willingly, as he wanted to accomplish his marriage with the infanta of Spain, to prevent the designs of the French upon that crown.

The murmurs of the Hungarians were not appeased by this answer; but proceeded so far as to threaten a revolt, if there was no regard paid to their remonstrances. The malcontents, hearing that his imperial majesty's resident with the grand vizier was carrying the treaty to Vienna, to be ratified by the emperor, attacked him on the road, took his horses and money from him, and with difficulty restored to him the dispatches he was carrying to their sovereign. The emperor no sooner heard of this violence, but he sent for the principal lords of Hungary to Vienna; and prince Lobkowitz, president of the imperial council, told them, that the Turks, seeing their measures broke, had of themselves proposed a peace; in which it was agreed, that Transylvania should enjoy its liberty, though formerly claimed as a province by the infidels; that the counties of Zabmar and Zambeck were

(G) Heitz relates, that the action began on the twenty-eighth of July; and though that day the Turks were repulsed with great loss, yet on the morrow they renewed the attack, forced the quarter of the marquis of Baden, and would have intirely defeated him, if the count of Coligny had not come to his assistance with the French, who routed the infidels, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.
The History of Germany.

a likewise ceded to the emperor; the bounds of Hungary extended to the Zbîjâq, a rapid and deep river, and consequently a good frontier against the Turks; that his imperial majesty had conferred the power of building forts to restrain the garrisons of Werden and Newanfels; and as he had resolved to recall all the German regiments from Hungary, provided they would put garrisons in their place, the lords of that kingdom ought not to make any difficulty of signing the treaty in the name of the states.

The Hungarians appeared at first satisfied with the reasons of prince Lobkowitz: never the less, they told him, that all the officers of war, even to a general, who should serve beyond the Danube, must only be natives of Hungary, and they were not obliged to support German garrisons, repair the old, or build new fortifications.

b The emperor, being able to obtain no more from the Hungarians, promised to exempt them from the lodging and subsistence of foreign troops; to leave them the command of all the towns beyond the Danube; a liberty of putting garrisons of their own choosing into those of the mountains; with a power likewise of bringing hussars and horse-draughts into the neighbourhood of Newanfels, till the fort which was proposed should be built. The lords, satisfied with these conditions, ratified the treaty, brought back the royal crown to Pressburg, from whence they had taken it the year before, and returned quietly to their possessions.

After the ratification of the treaty, the lords expected that the emperor would withdraw the German troops from Hungary; but he having ceded to Michael Abaffy, vaivode of Transylvania, the places depending upon that province, the garrisons coming from thence were transferred to Tokai, Zatkmar, Kale, and Osol. The Hungarians hoped that, at least, Neurits and Lexowitz would be put into their hands; but, after they had earnestly demanded them several times, they were refused, and German garrisons put into both those places.

c These absolute proceedings of the emperor, and manifest breaches of the liberty and privileges of the nation, re-united all the Hungarians against the house of Austria. They refused to pay the ordinary taxes, and universally complained of the government. The palatine and principal lords of the kingdom, far from opposing those commotions, even encouraged the discontented of the people, taking umbrage at Leopold's pretending to govern by himself, and not admitting them to any part in the administration.

d The emperor, to quell the revolt in its beginning, sent fresh troops into Lower Hungary, which only contributed to irritate their minds; they imagined that he wanted to destroy the lords that were most considerable for their wealth and authority with the people, and to leave only in the kingdom peasants, manufacturers, and artisans. In this persuasion, they resolved to seize upon the person of the emperor, and solicited him to come to the diet, that was to assemble at Pressburg on the twenty-eighth of September. But he, whether informed of the plot, or his council not thinking it safe for him to trust himself in the hands of the Hungarian lords, pretended a great many reasons for not coming.

About this time Leopold married Margaret-Thereza, infant of Spain. The rejoicings of this solemnity were scarcely over, when he was alarmed with the news of the great preparations of Louis XIV. of France, to take possession of the Low Countries, in right of his thereze, in his wife, as sole heir to the late king of Spain by his first marriage, pretending that the females of the first bed inherit to the prejudice of the males of the second. Louis XIV. before he declared war, had secured the alliance or neutrality of several princes of Germany, and had likewise engaged the English and Dutch to conclude a peace, to prevent the first from joining Spain, and to put the last in a condition to assist him. After the conclusion of this peace, he made a treaty with Sweden, which engaged to keep twelve thousand men in the territory of Brabant, to act on the side of the empire, in case Leopold should join Spain, and declare war against France.

Having concerted these measures he took the field, and entering the Low Countries A.D. 1667.

e immediately seized Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Alost, and Lisle; and at the same time defeated the Spanish army which came to the assistance of this last place: afterwards he proposed to carry the war into Franche-comté. The king of Spain, alarmed at the proceedings, and hoping to engage the states of the empire to elope his quarrel represented to the diet at Ratisbon, that this province being one of the circles of the empire, the Germanick body was interred in its preservation; and that France could not attack it without declaring war against the empire*; but the deputies, whether secretly in the interest of France, or employed in affairs that seemed to them of more importance, neglected this representation.

The great concern of the diet then was to compose a new imperial capitulation, to remain constant and invariable, which the emperors should be obliged to sign at their election. This matter had been formerly treated of in some diets by the electors, at their

own separate meetings; but being complained of by the princes and cities, it was again canvassed at this general diet, where they were all present, and a project for a perpetual capitulation was agreed upon; but this scheme, though approved in a general diet, has never yet received the necessary sanction to render it a law of the empire. The deputies had likewise under consideration, the differences betwixt the electors of Mentz and Cologne, and the duke of Lorraine on one part, and the count-palatine on the other; but determining nothing, the parties complaining proceeded to right themselves by arms.

A great number of the villages of the Palatinate having been rendered desolate by the long wars, the count granted lands and privileges to all strangers who should come and settle in them, and by a right called Wildfangiat, appropriated them as his subjects. The electors of Mentz and Cologne, the duke of Lorraine, and the cities of Spire and Worms, seeing the number of their citizens diminish, disputed this right with him; and the diet having decided nothing, the archbishop of Mentz declared war against the count-palatine, and began with the siege of Ladenburg, which he easily carried. Afterwards he took Edenheim, Heuk, and some other small places; so that the palatine, too weak to make opposition, proposed an accommodation, which was broke off by the duke of Lorraine, who lent the prince of Lillenburg with some forces, engaging the archbishop to continue the war.

This prince, who had commanded in Flanders, was very earnest to bring the matter to a decisive action; but the palatine army, not able to act offensively, had entrenched itself partly behind an inaccessible marsh, and partly under the cannon of Frankenthal. But the prince, after many skirmishes, drawing them to a general engagement by an ambuscade, routed them entirely. The elector-palatine, alarmed at this defeat, proposed an accommodation, and a truce was agreed to for four months; during which the deputies of the parties should assemble at Oppenheim to negotiate a peace: but he not waiting this decision, and impatient to attack the duke of Lorraine, broke the truce, and entered the county of Falkenheim. On the first news of these hostilities, the duke ordered a body of troops, who were in winter-quarters in the bishopric of Spire, to make reprisals upon the lands of the palatine. They accordingly made an incursion, and carried off six hundred horses and a great many cattle. The palatine having made several unsuccessful attempts upon Kips, and seeing his states threatened with approaching ruin, resolved again to enter into an accommodation. A supposition of arms was agreed to, and the prisoners on both sides were restored. These two articles were the preliminaries to a treaty afterwards concluded at Heilbronn, on the seventh of February, by which the right of Wildfangiat was confirmed to the elector-palatine.

During this dispute between the electors, Lewis XIV. had cauffed his troops to march off towards Franche-comté, under the command of the prince of Condé. This general took Beaufort on the seventh of February, while the marshal of Luxembourg made himself master of Salins. Dole likewise surrendered to the French on the fourteenth, Gray on the nineteenth, and, in less than a month, all Franche-comté was reduced under the power of Lewis XIV. The Hollanders, concerned at the progress of the French, offered themselves, in conjunction with the English and Swedes, as mediators to procure a peace; accordingly their plenipotentiaries assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the terms proposed by the French king were rejected by the Spaniards. Then he cauffed an hundred thousand men to march towards the frontiers, with intention to attack Bruges, Ouden, and Luxembourg; and by this appearance of a second invasion, which threatened the conquest of the whole Low Countries, compelled the Spaniards to accept of his terms. The peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the second of May, and by it Courtray, Bergues, Furnes, and all the country since called French Flanders, was ceded to Lewis XIV. on condition that he should restore Franche-comté.

The Hungarians being still dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, laboured to shake off the yoke, or lessen their dependence; therefore the deputies of Upper Hungary refused to come to the diet, which was convoked at Pöyburg for the coronation of the empress, unless the demands which they made at the last diet were granted to them. They complained likewise, that the office of palatine, vacant by the death of Wielinski, was neglected to be filled up by the emperor; and the Protestants also refused to come to the diet until their churches should be restored. Leopold, in order to suppress these complaints, promised to the deputies to grant their demands, and ordered Ragedt to restore to the Protestants their churches and the revenues belonging to them; in consequence of which concessions, many of the deputies came to the diet the sixteenth of April.

Nevertheless a number of malcontents, uneasy at seeing a German garrison in Tokay, assembled at Zembin, and sent deputies to the emperor, requiring it should be dismissed. They represented to Leopold, that the places of the kingdom, which ought to be garrisoned

---

1 Diar. Europ. tom. xii. 2 Wayre, Hl., Leopold, lib. iii. pag. 217, Diar. Europ. in Append. tom. xivii.
The history of Germany.

by the militia of the country only, were filled with strangers, though directly contrary to their privileges; and that the Protestants received all manner of bad treatment from the Catholics. The emperor endeavoured to satisfy them; but his reasons having no effect, they assembled at the castle of Kivar, upon the frontiers of Transylvania, and a league was proposed between the Hungarian Protestants and the Transylvanians, to drive the Germans out of the kingdom, demolish Zabomar, and arm themselves for the defence of the reformed religion; but the difficulties which occurred put a stop to their resolutions, and they separated without having come to any conclusion.

Mean while the elector-palatine being dissatisfied with the peace concluded at Heilbronn, the elector-palatine refused to ratify the articles of peace against the duke of Hesse, and commenced hostilities by entering the country of Falkenstein and Hesse. Having passed the Rhine with his army, he marched against Landserl and Husband, places ceded to the duke of Lorrain by the peace of Munster, which he made himself master of without any resistance, and afterwards took the castle of Hesse. The duke, surprised at these hostilities, marched against him at the head of his troops; and the armies engaging near Heidelberg, after an obstinate dispute the palatine was at last defeated, and the emperor, who needed the assistance of Germany to calm the troubles of Hungary, writing to the parties to negotiate a peace, the elector answered, that he was very well disposed to an accommodation. The duke, not minding the solicitations of the emperor, and incensed at the fiend of the palatine, ordered new levies, and proposed to raise eighteen thousand men; but the king of France taking umbrage at that great armament, and representing to him that he must disband his troops, and conform to the general peace, which allowed him only one company of guards, and another of light horse, the duke replied, that he was ready to agree to these terms, provided his subjects were protected from the hostilities of his enemies; in consequence of this representation a truce was agreed upon for six weeks, which ended in a treaty of peace.

During the negotiation of this peace, the duke formed a scheme of association with the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Strasbourg and Hildesheim, and some other princes of Germany, which was concluded at Nancy. Each member was taxed a certain sum, and a number of horse and foot. The city of Frankfort was appointed for the place of the council of the union, in which each party had a deliberative voice; but if any one furnished a double contingent, he was to have a double voice; and in case of an attack made upon any of the confederates, the rest obliged themselves to arm in his defence.

About this time also the count of Nassau demanded from the diet at Ratisbon, the restitution of the county of Saarwerden, then in possession of the duke of Lorrain. He founded his demand upon the treaty of Westphalia; but Ruffecourt, the duke's envoy, represented, that his matter, for want of a safe conduct, not being able to appear at the congress at Munster, it was not just to oblige him to the execution of an article made to his prejudice in his absence; that the county of Saarwerden had been adjudged to his highness after a process of an hundred years; and if the diet heartened to the demands of the count of Nassau, he hoped they would likewise attend to the treaty, by which the emperor had obliged himself to make no peace, till that prince his ally, was re-established in his duties and pretensions. The diet, influenced by these reasons, Charles highness only to retire to the count of Nassau, some villages depending upon the county of Saarwerden, till the affair should be judged to the bottom by arbitrators appointed for that purpose. After this decision of the diet, Ruffecourt went to Vienna, and concluded an alliance between the duke and the emperor, who made no difficulty of admitting him to the alliance of the house of Austria, and forthwith appointed him general of the Austrian horse, which were immediately to march into Hungary.

The malcontents of that kingdom had assembled at Zabomar, and resolved to raise a company of an hundred troopers, whose officers should be Protestants. At the same time, the count of Strafahl having received an order from Vienna to repair the fortifications of Tokai, the gentlemen absolutely refused to contribute to the fortifications, and made loud complaints of the violation of their privileges, by putting foreign garrisons into their towns. While the emperor was taking measures to stifle these discontents, the count of Tattonbach, at a conference with the count of Serini, showed him a paper written by the hand of Naafs, concerning the preservation of their privileges, and the manner of driving the Germans out of Hungary. Next day they subscribed to this, and engaged never to forfeit each other; but as they could not execute their design without the assistance of the Turks, they resolved to send deputies to Confessantipole, and, that the emperor's resistance might not discover their negotiations, they employed Transylvanians, who, being under the protection of the Porte, would not be suspected.
Upon the first overture made to the grand vizier, he promised to support the malcontents, if they would become tributaries to the Porte: but, rather than assent to that hard condition, they chose to continue faithful to the emperor; and he having sent regiments into Hungary, to prevent the insurrections of the Turks and Transylvanians, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and his just rights: but far from meeting acceptance with the emperor, his mind seemed rather irritated against them. The Hungarians then despairing of having their privileges restored, again renewed their negotiations with the Porte: they intreated the grand vizier to send an hundred thousand men into Hungary, and offered, on their part, to enter the hereditary countries of Austria with a powerful army, and to ravage the frontier provinces of Germany with fire and sword, to prevent the subsistence of any troops that might come to the affiance of the emperor: they contented also that the Turks should keep the places which they had conquered, leaving the rest of the kingdom at liberty, and satisfy themselves with an annual tribute.

The sultan being then at war with the Persians, was not much disposed to break with the emperor: he therefore refused to engage with the Hungarians, unless the places of strength were put in his possession as a security, and even made no difficulty of revealing indirectly the secret negotiations with the malcontents. The emperor having notice of this from his resident at the Porte, was afterwards fully informed of the plot, by means of the count of Tattenbach’s servant, who having been imprisoned by his master upon a suspicion of robbery, and thinking to be revenged and regain his liberty, sent some papers relating to the conspiracy, written by Tattenbach’s own hand, to Vienna. Leopold, upon this discovery, sent orders to the chancellor of Graz, diligently to observe the conduct of Tattenbach.

At the beginning of Lent count Serini took the field, to the surprize of all those who were ignorant of the conspiracy. Tattenbach, to avoid suspicion of being concerned with him, offered to the chancellor to endeavour to discover his intentions, and soon after came to Graz, to take his place at the council; but was immediately arrested, and an officer sent to his castle to seize his papers, upon which he confessed the engagements he had with count Serini, a copy of which information was sent to the emperor. While the count Serini was at act in Croatia, and keep up the spirit of the Walachians, who had already joined him with eight thousand men, Ragotski had promised to seize Montafel in Upper Hungary, where his father’s treasures lay; and coming to Tokay, where he treacherously surprized the governor and some of his chief officers, he endeavoured to make himself master of the town; but being repulsed, he marched to Montafel, where the gates were shut against him by his brother, and the cannon pointed to answer his demands.

The emperor, finding that the malcontents were growing powerful, resolved to reduce them by force, and ordered the march of some troops into Hungary; and, that his conduct might be approved by the states of the empire, sent a copy of some of the conspirators letters to the diet at Ratisbon, and demanded the affiliation of the states against the rebels and Turks. The diet promised an affiliation of twenty-six thousand men; but not being able to agree upon the number that each member should furnish, they concluded nothing that year. Besides the troops that were sent into Hungary, major-general Spankau was sent with six thousand men and eight pieces of cannon against count Serini in Croatia, who was then greatly embarrased, the Walachians having defected from him for want of pay, and he having failed in his enterprise against Copanitz, which he had promised to deliver to the Turks. The malcontents of Upper Hungary not rising as he expected, and the imperial army advancing to befiege him, he was persuaded to import the mercy of the emperor; but while a monk mediated a reconciliation, Spankau besieged Schakcwau with the imperial army; and, denying any knowledge of a treaty, pressed the town very vigorously, that count Serini, despairing of defending it, endeavoured to escape with his brother-in-law, count Frangipani; but they were both taken, and carried prisoners to Vienna.

While Spankau was reducing Croatia, Ragotski had besieged Tokai and Zalmar in Upper Hungary, and had seized all the paffes, to prevent the imperial army coming to relieve them; but receiving a letter from count Serini, by a messenger of the emperor, asking the liberty of the governor and officers of Tokai, and exhorting him to submit to his soveraign as he had done; at the same time he judging it was impossible to continue the war without ruining himself, and glad to have propositions made to him by the emperor, immediately laid down his arms, and set his prisoners at liberty, praying their affiance to procure his pardon; which at length, by the mediation of his mother, was granted to him, together with the possession of all his former estates.

The emperor, having now no more to fear from the malcontents, summoned to Vienna the chiefs of the nobility of Upper Hungary; and at the same time declared, that those who

*Barb. tom. v. pag. 54.*

refused
The history of Germany.

287

A refusal to appear should be judged guilty of treason, and proceeded against by military execution. Soon after Paglervati, the secretary of the association, being taken at Caffa, there were found in his chamber five boxes full of letters and papers relating to the conspiracy, by which it was discovered that Nadali was also one of the conspirators. He, being seized, confessed himself guilty; and only requested of the emperor to spare his children, who had not been concerned in the crime.

By means of these letters Leopold being informed of every thing relating to the plot, appointed judges to try the rebels. Serini, Nadali, Frangipani, and Tattinbach, were condemned to be degraded from their nobility, and to have their heads and right hands cut off; all their goods were confiscated, and their children obliged to change their names and coats of arms.

To put an end to these troubles, all the nobility and the deputies of the counties of Upper and Lower Hungary were summoned to a diet at Pressburg, which opened on the first of January; but the deputies of Upper Hungary refusing to come, unless safe-conducts were granted to them, the assembly was prorogued till the third of February, when it was seen underfoot, that the Hungarians had no desire to contribute to the subsistence of the troops; and for that reason they delayed coming to a conclusion of any affair. The emperor being informed of this immediately, made several regiments that were in Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Austria, march into Hungary; which the malcontents perceiving, they had recourse to his clemency, and endeavoured by their submissions to surmise his most faithful subjects; however, they demanded to be freed from the payment of money to the German soldiers, and proposed to the emperor to affix their subsistence out of the confiscated estates; but he refused, and told them, that by their revolt they had lost their privileges, and had no other part to chuse but that of submission; and, far from granting what they desired, he obliged them to maintain thirty thousand men, to pay ther usual taxes, and to punish the féodalous.

While the emperor was employed in settling the affairs of Hungary, Lewis the fourteenth was preparing to invade the Dutch, having taken umbrage at the triple alliance formed between them, the English, and Swedes, to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and chiefly designed to restrain his ambitious views. Having succeeded at the courts of England and Sweden in dissolving the triple alliance, and securing them to his interest, he likewise made a treaty with the elector of Cologne, the bishop of Munster, and several other princes of Germany; and also prevailed upon the emperor to observe a neutrality, provided he made no attempt upon the territories of the empire: but he could obtain nothing of the elector of Brandenburg, but an ambassador sent to France to dissuade him from making war against the Dutch; on the contrary, that elector made an alliance with the states-general, and engaged to furnish them with twenty thousand men, one half of whom were to be payed by the states, who, having foreseen the designs of the French king, were taking all possible precautions to oppose him; and, by their ambassador at Madrid, had engaged the court of Spain to furnish them with money, and fix thousand men from the court of Madrid into the territories of several princes of Germany, and fix thousand Swifs, brought by the count de Deblin. Other succours were promised them, and considerable levies were expected from the prince of Asturias; and the command of all their forces was given to prince Waldstein, and lieutenant-general Wurts: but the great preparations of Lewis the fourteenth, and the public calamity that threatened, so terrified the people of Holland, that they not only declared William prince of Orange captain-general, and admiral of the republic, but in a tumultuous manner altered their present form of government, and elected him stadtholder and governor-general of their armies by sea and land. That prince was then but fourteen years of age, and became afterwards the most indefatigable enemy of the ambitious schemes of Lewis the fourteenth.

The English began the first hostilities, by attacking the Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna; and, in the beginning of March, the French king marched with one hundred and twenty thousand men towards the Rhine, the elector of Cologne having opened to him all the passes into his country. At the same time the bishop of Munster entered with all his forces into the northern provinces of the republic: the French immediately took Orsay, Barleb, West, and Rhenberg; and passing the Rhine at Tolkuse, they took Arnheim, the fort of Schenk, Utrecht, Doelburg, Zutphen, Nimagen, Naarden, the fort of Creweck, the city and county of Brest and Bledeva; having, in a few months, passed three rivers, conquered the three provinces of Utrecht, Zutphen, and Overijssel, and taken forty towns. The troops of the bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne, being joined, had taken Grool, Borkelo, Eelke, and Breeker, and were let down before Deventer, which was obliged to surrender the twenty-second of June, after having suffered a most vigorous defence. The bishop of Munster...

1 Diir. Europ. t. xlii. p. 289. t. xlii. p. 630. 2 Barbe, t. x. p. 60. 3 Mem. de Brandeb. p. 130. after-
afterwards took Courtray, and on the twenty-seventh of July opened the trenches before Groningen, but was obliged to raise the siege with loss; and the Hollanders recovering Courtray, drove the troops of Munster from all the places which they had possessed in the province of Groningen.

These rapid conquests of the French caused the emperor and several princes of Germany to declare for Holland; and, in the month of August, Leopold wrote to all the members of the empire to unite themselves for the common safety of the Germanic body, and to recall their troops which were in the service of France and England; and although the elector of Bavaria and the French ambassador, by their intrigues at Vienna, endeavored to prevent any assistance being sent to the Hollanders, yet Leopold made a treaty with them, and engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to join the forces of the elector of Brandenburg; and the treaty was published, was followed with a manifesto, wherein the emperor declared, that, as guarantee of the treaties of Westphalia, which the French had broke, he proposed to hinder them from entering into the empire, and to stop their progress, which was now dreaded by all Europe.

On the thirty-first of January the elector of Brandenburg, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon, and the duke of Brunswick, the imperial general, left Lippe, and marched towards Loef, where they learned that Turenne had left Holland, and was coming to meet them at the head of thirty thousand French. The only fruits of this diversion were, the evacuating of Groningen by the bishop of Munster, and the siege of Maasbricht raised by the French; for though the elector of Brandenburg would have hazarded a battle, yet the imperial general, who had secret orders only to act defensively, would not give his consent. The elector not being powerful enough to act against the French by himself, was obliged to retire into the county of Ravensberg, while the Imperialists went towards Lippe, and the vicount Turenne following after him, and forcing the pails where he had left detachments, he was forced to quit Westphalia, and to recure to the bishopprie of Hildesheim, while the French took possession of the dutchies of Cleves and Mark, and the city Wesel upon the Rhine. The bad success of this campaign making the Hollanders murmur against him, his friends represented to him, that he ought to make use of that conjunction to be reconciled to Lewis the fourteenth. The states likewise, having omitted to pay the subsidies which they had promised, and all the provinces where the elector possessed in Westphalia being lost, he was dispose to make an accommodation with France, and a peace was concluded at Wesen, by which all his provinces were restored to him, except the cities of Retz and Wesel, which the French kept till the peace should be concluded with Holland: the elector promised not to give any more assistance to the Hollanders, referring to himself, nevertheless, the liberty to defend the empire, in case it was attacked.

The French having put garrisons into too many places, which considerably weakened their army, and having neglected to possess themselves of Amsterdam, the soul of the republic; likewise Montecuccoli, the imperial general, marching to join the prince of Orange, and prince Maurice, governor of Friesland, having gained several advantages over the bishop of Munster, Lewis the fourteenth saw that he could not long preserve his conquests; therefore accepted of the mediation of Sweden to negotiate a peace with the United Provinces. The place appointed for the congress was the city of Cologne; and the kings of France and England, and the states-general, sent their plenipotentiaries thither before the opening of the campaign. As a supposition of arms was not agreed upon, the prince of Conde arrived at Utrecht in the month of June, and formed a design of making himself master of Middelburg, but being repulsed by the Hollanders, he endeavored to let off the waters that overflowed the country, by opening the dykes towards the sea: but was obliged to desist from his attempt; for as the tide rose, he only let in more, which diffreceed his own army. The king of France succeeded better before Maasbricht, which he besieged with an army of forty thousand men; and, though it was defended with the utmost bravery by the governor Farjan, obliged it to surrender on the thirtieth of June.

The prince of Orange, not having forces sufficient to oppose the French army, employed himself in retaking the towns which the French had seized; and began with the siege of Naarden, which, after a week's defence, surrendered on the thirteenth of September. Afterwards marching his army into Brabant, he had a conference with the governor of Spanji Flanders, who promised to join him immediately with eight thousand men; and Montecuccoli being then at Coblenz, the three armies marched in conjunction to besiege Bwix, which surrendered after nine days siege; as did Kerpen and Denen upon the first attack. These successes of the allies obliged the French to evacuate the three provinces of Holland, and having exacted heavy contributions, and secured the artillery and holtages at Maasbricht and

The history of Germany.

a. Graves. Nevertheless, trusting to the advantages of the next campaign, they sought all means to retard the negotiations of peace, which was not now so impatiently desired by the allies, especially as they had conceived suspicions of the mediation of the Swedes, who, they believed, were too favourable to France; therefore the plenipotentiaries at Cologne spurned their time more in ceremonies and entertainments than in business: and William count of Fürstenberg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologne, having been seized and carried prisoner to Bonn by order of the emperor, gave occasion to Lewis the fourteenth to recall his ambassadors, and carry the war into the empire; although the emperor declared, that the reason why count Fürstenberg was taken prisoner was, that, being a vassal of the empire and of the duke of Lower Austria, he could not take upon himself the office of plenipotentiary against the interests of his master; that, besides, he was colonel of a regiment in the service of France, and had not obeyed the letters of revocation of the court of Vienna.

The duke of Noailles having entered France coquett, Leopold made a league with the Dutch and Spaniards: the elector of Brandenburg also promised to join the imperial army with six thousand men; and the elector Palatine, the dukes of Brunswick, and the landgrave of Hesse, acceded to the alliance, which obliged the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster to abandon France; but the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Hanover remained neutral. Lewis the fourteenth, coming to the camp, began the campaign with the siege of Besigheim, which surrendered in the end of May, the garrison being made prisoners of war. The French afterwards took Dols, Salins, the castles of Foux and St. Aune. Mean while, the German troops desiring to enter Alsace, were prevented; the French having feigned Germerstein, and the city of Strasbourg having denied them the use of their bridge; therefore they retired with their troops between Heidelberg and Philippsburg, where the duke of Bourgogne was to join them with the imperial army: but the viscount Turenne, to prevent that junction, took the route of Epingen, and in five days came within sight of the Germans, who were encamped upon a rising-ground near Sintzeim, a small town of the Palatinate, under the command of the count Caprarra and the duke of Lorraine. The two armies engaging, the Germans were defeated, and obliged to retire to Heidelberg; from whence marching to Worms, they were joined by the duke of Bourgogne, and their army now consisting of forty thousand men, they encamped upon the Neckar, to prevent the French forces, when united, being greatly superior to the army of the viscount Turenne, he was obliged to repass the Rhine, and encamp at Laden; whilst the Imperialists passed over the bridge of Mentz, and, marching along the Rhine, encamped between Spire and Philippsburg, where, in a council of war, it was resolved to pass the Rhine, and take winter-quarters in Upper Alsace. Accordingly they passed over the bridge of Strasbourg, the emperor's regiment having influenced the city to allow them, and encamping upon the river Ill, they waited for the elector of Brandenburg, who was coming to join them with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. The viscount Turenne, though inferior in number, yet profiting of the advantage of the mutual jealousies among the allied generals, resolved to attack them before they were joined by the elector; and marching from Wutzenau, he advanced on the fourth of October, at break of day, in order of battle, where the duke of Bourgogne, having placed a body of infantry with some cannon in a little wood, waited for him. The two armies looked at one another for more than an hour, without any action; but Turenne, fearing to be flanked from the wood, ordered it to be attacked; and, after a vigorous resistance, he made himself master of it, and took ten pieces of cannon. During the dispute in the wood, the allies fell upon the centre of the enemy's line, and, notwithstanding their heavy fire, broke through to the body of reserve; but being repulsed by some squadrons of horse, and the foot rallying and renewing their fire, they were in turn routed; and the night coming on, they retired beyond the Ill, leaving three thousand dead on the field, and having encamped under the cannon of Strasbourg, waited for the arrival of the elector of Brandenburg, who, having been hindered by the difficulty of some princes made of letting him pass through their territories, did not join them till eleven
days after. This strong reinforcement obliged Turenne to quit his post, and intrench himself behind the lines of Marleim; but the Imperialists falling the Bruich, he encamped at Wilzen, to cover Haguenau and Suremee. The elector of Brandenburg not being able to prevail upon the imperial general to hazard a battle, the two armies lay eight or ten days within a league of one another, without any hostilities; and the Germans, not having any magazines, were soon disheartened for want of provisons, and obliged to return to Blaiheim, from whence they separated into winter-quarters in the cities of Upper Alsat.

While Turenne protected the frontiers of France towards the Rhine, the prince of Condé attacked the prince of Orange at Senef; and the action continued till night, when the victory remained doubtful.

While the war was continued by both parties with such earnestness, pope Clement X. did not cease to exhort the emperor and king of Spain to renounce the alliance of the Protestants, and to reconcile to France. He likewise pressed the most Christian king to turn his views towards peace, which now seemed also to be desired by the allied princes of Germany. But the emperor, Spain, and Holland, seemed to be far from entering into a negotiation: nevertheless, the states-general made some proposals of peace, which were rejected by the French as too high demands; and the allies, thinking their affairs in a prosperous way, would not submit to any alteration in the plan of accommodation.

The viscount Turenne, having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Flender, advanced to Remiremont, and fell upon the quarters of the Imperialists, took a regiment of dragoons prisoners, and defeated six thousand horse near Mulhausen, taking the generals Caprara and Tumewald, with several other officers, the duke of Bournonville retiring in haste to Colmar, the quarters of the troops of the elector. Turenne, still advancing, attacked the allies, who were posted betwixt the rivers of Turckheim and Colmar. The Imperialists, giving way, were supported by the elector of Brandenburg; and night drawing on, the French retired, and stood under arms, expecting to renew the engagement next day; but the allies decamped at eight in the evening, and repassed the Rhine at Strasbourg, the Imperialists taking up their winter-quarters near Offenbourg, and the elector of Brandenburg in Franconia.

That the elector might be called from afflicting the Imperialists on the Rhine, the French had prevailed with the Swedes to invade the Marches of Brandenburg, though two years before they had made a defensive alliance with that elector. The Swedes at first observed an exact discipline, committing no great hostilities for three or four months; their general declaring, that he would retire with his army whenever the elector should make his peace with France: but provisions beginning to fail, they used violence; and not only pillaged the country, but raised contributions upon several towns. The elector, who was then in Franconia, ordered the prince of Anhalt, governor of Pomerania, to make no opposition; but to shut the gates of the cities, and remain in Berlin till he should arrive. At the same time he complained to the diet of Raisbon; and on the ninth of March presented a memorial, in answer to one that the king of Sweden had sent to the diet in the month of December: he concluded with desiring, that, since the king of Sweden had used hostilities against one of the most faithful members of the empire, the diet would be pleased to declare him an enemy, and proceed against him according to the laws of the Germanic body. Though this memorial and several others were supported by the emperor, yet it was not before the middle of July that Sweden was declared an enemy of the empire; the elector having left Franconia, and arrived at Magdeburg, a month before. During his absence, the Swedes had over-run all Pomerania, and taken a great many towns; but from the moment of his arrival, affairs so suddenly changed their appearance, that in less than twelve days all the country was retaken, and the Swedes repulsed with considerable loss. As the Swedes met with no opposition, they had divided their army into several bodies, that their conquests might be the more extensive; but, as there were no posts then established in Germany, they had no information of the elector’s long march, till they were surprised by him at Rathena; upon which that part of their army that was at Brandenburg marched towards Tberbellin, where they were to be joined by general Wrangel, with some other of their troops: but the elector not waiting for his infantry, but pursuing them with five thousand fine hundred horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, immediately attacked them; and killing three thousand of their men, the remains of their army retired into Tberbellin, and broke down the bridge after them; but not thinking themselves safe there, they retreated with precipitation into the duchy of Mecklenburg.

Montecuculli, having got a reinforcement of some old regiments early in the spring, had advanced towards Strasbourg, with a design to enter into Alsat; but Turenne, to
The history of Germany.

a. cut off the communication between Strasburg and the imperial army, resolved to pass the Rhine, and succeeded in his enterprise, before the Imperialists had any knowledge of his purpose. Having taken Wilthaal, he extended his army along the Rhine, to prevent the Imperialists from passing it; while Montecuculi, having thrown his forces into Offenbach, lay with his army at Reutben. The vicomte Turme, after a sharp dispute, having posted himself at Ariben, obliged the Imperialists to retire to Bibl, leaving one hundred men in the castle and church-yard of Salzach, with orders to defend themselves to the last extremity; but the French advancing, drew up their cannon against the castle; which Montecuculi observing, marched up with his army, with the design of an engagement, and about one in the afternoon brought his cannon to play upon the French. Turme, finding that his batteries were too low to have any effect, and that of the Imperialists bore upon his camp, went, with some officers, to view a riling-ground, where a battery might be raised to d mount of the enemy; and while he was talking to the officers, he received a ball upon his breast, and fell dead upon his horse's neck.

b. After the death of the vicomte Turme, the French, in a council of war, resolved to decamp, and repulsed the Rhine at Altenbein, where they had their bridges; and marching off on the twenty-ninth of July in the evening, they were attacked by Montecuculi in passing the Cévene; and after an action of ten hours, in which they lost many men, and a large part of their baggage, they were obliged to retire with precipitation to Altenbein, where passing the Rhine, they entrenched themselves on the other side.

c. The emperor, to free Montecuculi from a part of his enemies, declared the princes of Lauenburg, and the duke of Lorraine, to march their troops towards the Lower Rhine, and make a diversion by besieging the city of Trier. The marquis Crequi, being informed of their intention, immediately marched to Mainz: and having received a reinforcement from the army of the prince of Conti, he encamped on the Saarne, with the design of marching to the assistance of the besieged. The allies, not thinking it proper to wait for him, quitted their lines, and marched to attack him. The marquis of Griena began the engagement against the left wing of the French, and drove them from a riling-ground, in sword in hand. The cavalry of Zell, in the left wing of the allies, at first gave ground; but the duke of Zell rallying them, brought them back, and attacking the French in flank, their cavalry fled, and left the foot to be cut in pieces by the conquerors, who, falling in sword in hand, entirely routed them. The French lost their cannon, mules, carts, and baggage, and almost all their generals were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The allies returned to their lines; and having received a reinforcement, continued the siege of Trier, which surrendered on the twentieth day; and the dukes of Brunswick and Lauenburg, having taken possession of the town, left the army, and went to secure their own territories, fearing that the duke of Hanover should declare in favour of the Swedes, against the elector of Brandenburg. The duke of Lorraine dying soon after the battle, his nephew succeeded him, and led the troops of Lorraine into Alsace, to join the imperial army.

d. The elector of Brandenburg, being afflicted by the Imperialists, and having prevailed with Denmark and Holland to declare war against Sweden, attacked their provinces in his turn; and entering Pomerania, took Wolgast, and the island of Wolin; while the Danes made themselves masters of Dannzig and Wismar; and the bishop of Munster, at the head of several thousand men, invested the duchies of Bremen and Verden, taking all the small fortresses of the country. Afterwards, the dukes of Zell taking the command, and a reinforcement of three thousand Danes arriving, the allies besieged Stade, which, after a long blockade, was obliged to surrender, and completed the conquest of Bremen, which immediately became the subject of dispute to the conquerors, the bishop of Munster pretending it ought to be ceded to him as a reward for his services to the allies, was supported by the emperor, who, desirous of securing the Catholic religion prevail in that duchy. On the other side, the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, and the dukes of Lauenburg, proposed to divide that country among themselves, to the exclusion of the bishop of Munster, who, had always disturbed the Protestants in the exercise of their religion; but at length a congress being formed at Bremen by commissaries from the emperor, a treaty was concluded, which settled the division.

The loaves of Sweden did not greatly affect the king of France, as his arms were superior in the Low Countries; the maréchal d'Humieres having taken Lokeren, and several other places in the country of Vaez; the maréchal Crequi having taken Conde by an assault, and made the garrison prisoners of war, the citadels of Lige and Huy being destroyed, and the duchies of Cleves and Juliers ravaged. The prince of Orange, to repair these losses, fat down before Maastricht, but was obliged to raise the siege the twenty-seventh of August, upon the approach of maréchal Schoenbein, while the maréchal d'Humieres took Aire, and the duke of Orleans made himself master of Bouchain.

A.D. 1675. The elector of Brandenburg invaded Swe- den, and the imperialists besiege Bremen and Ver- den.

The French were not so happy upon the Rhine; for Monteculli having obtained leave of the emperor to retire to Vienna upon account of his infirmities, the command of the imperial army was given to the duke of Lorraine, one of the greatest generals that the house of Habsburg ever had. He, having passed the Rhine in the beginning of May, immediately formed the design of besieging Philippsburg, and took the fort of that city on this side the river in four days, and afterwards marched with his army into Upper Alsace, against the duke of Luxemburg, who was encamped near Sceletzat. The two armies were in view of one another on the fourth of June, near the little river Rember, which separated them. The duke of Lorraine marching towards Saverne, the duke of Luxemburg, to cover that town, marched in haste by Zibetsleig, leaving dragoons and infantry in the pales, to prevent the Imperialists from interrupting his march; but the Germans soon forced the French horse, and purifying their army, came up with it as the last squadron was passing the Sore. The French army having passed the river, and drawn up within pilfer-shot of the bank, were attacked by the Imperialists with such fury, that they were quickly put into disorder, and would have been entirely routed, had not the English infantry supported the charge of the Aufrions, till the duke of Luxemburg had talked the French, who continuing their march, encamped under the counter-carp of Saverne. The duke of Lorraine followed them, and raising three batteries upon a rising-ground, cannonaded them for four days; but the elector-palatine making great complaints of the garrison of Philippsburg, the emperor sent an express order to the duke to besiege that city, notwithstanding he wrote to Vienna, that he would oblige the French army to surrender at discretion in fifteen days. Marching his army towards Strafburg, he there embarked his infantry and heavy cannon, and advanced with the rest towards Philippsburg. The trenches were opened on the twenty-sixth of June, and, after the siege was well advanced, an unexpected event put all into disorder; for the Rhine suddenly overflowing, washed down the tents, filled the trenches, and ruined the batteries; so that the besiegers had all to begin anew. The duke of Luxemburg likewise, at the head of forty-five thousand men, made several attempts to assault the town; but not succeeding, he endeavoured to draw off the duke of Lorraine, by marching to besiege Friburg. Having spent much time in building a bridge over the Rhine, the duke followed him with his cavalry, with the intention of engaging him. Luxemburg, surprized at his approach, retired under the cannon of Brijsack, repassed the Rhine, and marched towards Sceletzat. The duke of Lorraine, returning to Philippsburg, summoned the governor to surrender, who, at last capitulated on the tenth of September, the garrison having leave to march out with drums beating, and matches lighted. After the reduction of Philippsburg, the duke of Lorraine wanted to force the duke of Luxemburg either to repass the Rhine, or consent to a battle: for this purpose he advanced upon him, and drove him under the walls of Brijsack, where his situation was so advantageous, that he could not be attacked; therefore the duke of Lorraine marching towards Rhinfind, caused them to lay over a bridge of boats, as tho' he had a mind to repass the river at that place. The duke of Luxemburg apprehending this, repassed the Rhine, to oblige him on the other side, and possessed the pales, to hinder the Imperialists from entering into the county of Burgundy: but the feoff being far advanced, the imperial troops went into winter-quarters in Suabia and Franconia, and the French army having sent some of their forces into Lorraine, and others into Burgundy, remained in Alsace.

The duke of Lorraine, having heard at Florainville of the raising of the siege of Charleroi, marched with his army towards Alsace, with a design to join the duke of Saxe-Eisenach, who, with twelve thousand men, opposed the French troops commanded by the baron de Montclair, and had even shut them up in a place where they must have perished for want of provisions, had not the maréchal de Crequi relieved them at the time when he was obliterating the march of the duke of Lorraine upon the Meille. The baron likewise having received a reinforcement of men, now obliged the duke of Saxe to repass the Rhine at Brijsack, and retire in his turn to Strafburg; and following him at the head of ten thousand horse, forced him into an island of the Rhine, between the bridge and the city. The prince of Saxe, waiting for the arrival of the duke of Lorraine, endeavoured to subdivide in that place as well as he could, with the affiance of the citizens of Strafburg, who had declared for the emperor: but at length they, dreading the menaces of the maréchal Crequi, ceased to send him provisions, and only acted as mediators between the two generals, making a kind of accommodation, by which the duke of Saxe obtained the liberty of marching out with all his forces, and retiring into Germany, upon condition that neither he, nor his troops, should carry arms against France during the rest of the campaign.

While the duke of Lorraine was marching to the relief of the prince of Saxe, he heard of his accommodation; but continuing his route, he passed the Rhine over the bridge of Strafburg, and following the French army, found it encamped near Heckerberg. Sending major-
The history of Germany.

The general Schultze, with a large detachment of cavalry, to observe the disposition of their army; there followed an engagement between thirty-six squadrons of the French and the detachment, in which it would have wholly been cut to pieces, had not the duke of Lorena come in person to bring assistance, and force the French to return to their camp. Soon after, the duke received orders from the court of Vienna to put his troops into winter-quarters, which he was obliged to submit to, although he represented, that it was to be feared that the margrave Crequi, who was still in arms, would form some enterprise against Fribourg, as soon as the imperial army should be disbandt into quarters. The imperial camp was no sooner broke up, than Fribourg was invaded by the French; which when the duke of Lorraine heard of, he dispatched a messenger to the governor of the place, affuring him of immediate assistance; 3 P. M. a. D. 1657.

Fribourg surrendered to the French.

b and drawing out the garrisons from the neighbouring places, he marched to his relief; but the town surrendered before he arrived, not without sufpción that the governor, major-general Schultze, had been gained by the French. Notwithstanding the advanced season, marshall Crequi marched against Walkirck, which he rased, with some castles in the neighbourhood. Afterwards he repassed the Rhine, and went into winter quarters. The duke of Lorraine marching to Worms, and putting garrisons into all the places near Fribourg, went to Vienna to conclude his marriage with the princess Eleanore, sister of Leopold.

The Swedes, who prevailed against the King of Denmark, had not the same success in Pomerania against the elector, who, having made himself master of the greatest part of Pomerania, now besieged Steins, the capital. After a blockade of five months, he ordered the trenched to be the sixt of June 4. The siege was maintained by the soldiers and citizens with the utmost vigour till the end of December, when, at last, the Swedes having failed in their attempts to relieve the place, the garrison, who were now reduced to three hundred men, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-fifth of December for want of ammunition; and on the first of January marched out, drums beating, colours flying, with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to Livonia, the Germans only being detained, agreeable to the emperor's letters of avocation.

In Pomerania, after the taking of Steins, the Swedes possessed nothing but the cities of Stralsund and Gripenwald, which were likewise soon obliged to submit to the conqueror. The elector of Brandenburgh having assembled several small vessels, under the command of admiral Tresphort, and having got a reinforcement of four thousand men, embarked his troops, and made a decent upon the island of Rugen: having defeated the Swedes, and taken Fevesbyantz and the port of Putbus, he passed over to Stralsund, where the count of Konigsmarck commanded, with one thousand six hundred horse and fix hundred foot. Three thousand of the citizens had likewise taken up arms, and, with a resolution of vigorously defending the town, had themselves set fire to the suburbs; but the elector landing his artillery, so furiously bombarded the town, that in a short time one half of it was in flames. The citizens, affrighted, immediately raised a flag of truce, without the knowledge of the governor; upon which the elector ceased firing, and sent a trumpet into the town to know if they would capitulate; but the count of Konigsmarck, pointing the cannon of the ram-parts upon the town, threatened to hang those that dared to mention a capitulation. The besiegers renewing their bombardment, and the bombs having set fire to seven places of the town, and burnt the magazine, the flag of truce was again raised, with the permission of Konigsmarck, and two deputies sent to the camp of the elector, who submitted to the terms of capitulation. After Stralsund had surrendered, the elector ordered the baron of Dorfin to besiege Gripenwald, which was likewise bombarded, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before the Swedes could come to their assistance. By the reduction of this place, the elector completed the conquest of Pomerania.

The duke of Lorraine having begun the campaign in Aisfac, in the month of May, encamped near Offenburg, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, with a design to besiege Fribourg; but he dispoied his army, as though he had an intention of passing the Rhine at Strasburg, and marching into Upper Aisfac. The motions of the duke obliged the marshall de Crequi to reinforce the garrison of Fribourg, and encamped near Colmar, with a view to assist Aisfac, or in case of need to enter into Bri Favre; but hearing that the prince of Baden was clearing the roads leading to Fribourg, and preparing magazines for a siege, he passed the Rhine, and encamped not far from Bri Favre. The duke of Lorraine seeing all his measures broke, polled himself between Bri Favre and the French army, with an intention of bringing the enemy to an engagement; but the marshall Crequi leaving his camp, went and found himself within the lines of Fribourg; but the duke of Lorraine, as it appeared from him, was obliged to march into Aisfac, and that the Imperialists might be met. Venting from following him, he demanded of the city of Strasburg to have the fort, which commanded the bridge on the side of Germany, to be put into his hands, alluding, that
it was to hinder them from breaking the neutrality. The magistrates having refused to deliver the fort, he ordered it to be attacked, and, on the seventeenth of July carried it, having killed or taken prisoners all night that defended it: afterwards raising the fort, and burning part of the bridge towards Germany, he entered Alsfeld, and continued in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. The duke of Lorraine fearing that he would undertake the siege of that city, immediately sent in boats one thousand foot, and four hundred horse, who were received into the town. Cregui regarding that action as a breach of the neutrality, ordered the two forts between Strasburg and the Rhine, on the side of Alsfeld, to be attacked, while the duke of Lorraine passed that river near Philippsburg, and having made himself master of Landau, pillaged it, and afterwards defeated some detachments of French troops.

The cause of the little successes of the Imperialists this year upon the Rhine was chiefly owing to the neglect of the court of Vienna, in not furnishing the duke of Lorraine with money and magazines, for the subsistence of his troops, and undertaking the siege of Fribourg; besides, the princes of Germany disgusted with the war, did not serve with the same ardour as they had done in the beginning; and the Hollanders, who wanted a peace, made such a weak resistance in the Low Countries, that the French were at liberty to send great detachments from thence to strengthen their army in Germany; and the king of Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, wholly employed with their conquests in Sweden, thought of nothing but augmenting them; the emperor also, more attentive to the troubles of Hungary, than the war in Alsfeld, thought chiefly of reducing the malcontents of that kingdom.

LEOPOLD, considering the government of Hungary, and determining to suppress the office of palatine, because it put too much power into the hands of one person, adjudged it more proper to govern that kingdom by a viceroy, who, holding all his authority from him, and subject to be recalled at pleasure, would be always submissive to his orders. Accordingly, five years before, he had established at Presburg a sovereign court, under the direction of prince John Gaspard Ampringen, grand master of the Teutschnick order, and prince of the empire. As this prince was a native of Hungary, it was thought that he would not be displeased with the nobility of that kingdom: but the change of government, far from appeasing the troubles, only augmented the number of malcontents; and the proceedings of the sovereign court determined them at last to take arms, in defence of their privileges. They surprized some places, and had several engagements, in which they were sometimes superior, and at other times defeated, which obliged the emperor to send a reinforcement of ten thousand men to general Spankau, who commanded in that kingdom.

But this year the number of malcontents increased so much, that the imperial court was fully resolved either to quiet them entirely, or to ruin them. The use of three churches in Upper Hungary was offered to be restored to them; but this offer provoked them the more, and they talked of throwing off the yoke of Austria, and chusing a king of their own nation. Some Hungarian troops likewise having taken up their quarters in the territory of Wadarin, the emperor’s general complained of it to the bishop of that city, as an infraction of the peace. He answered, that he could not refuse lodging to those people, whom the sultan did not look upon as enemies; that he had received them as Hungarians, and not as rebels and traitors, they living peaceably, and paying for the provisions which they bought.

LEOPOLD, judging by this haughty answer that the Turks favoured the malcontents, sent Hoffman, secretary at war, to Constantinople, to complain to the grand vizier of the afflurance which the bawhs of the frontiers gave to the rebels of Hungary. The vizier answered, that the invincible sultan, his master, was ready to renew the peace with the emperor, and refuse allegiance to the Hungarians; provided the emperor, in acknowledgment of that benefit, would pay an annual tribute to his highness, and grant him some claim which he had upon the frontiers. During this negotiation at Constantinople, the states of Hungary had assembled at Odemburg; it was there resolved to content to the restitution of all the churches to the Protestants, and to abate in several other points, that the malcontents might be drawn off from their engagements with the Turks. Mean while, the Hungarian lords whom the emperor had ordered to Vienna, represented to him that the change which had been made in the government, terrified the nation, and that they could not be quieted but by re-establishing in some measure their former privileges; that they would be contented with the re-establishment of the office of palatine of the kingdom, the convocation of a general diet, and the restoring of the churches to the Protestants. The imperial ministers contented to the re-establishment of the palatine; but they limited his power in such a manner, that he would entirely have depended upon the emperor; they wanted,

b Barke, tom. X. pg. 147.
The history of Germany.

wanted, that the diet should never be assembled but by the command of his imperial majesty; lastly, they eluded the demand of restoring the churches, so that the deputies underfooed the ministers only designed to amuse the Hungarians, by pretending to enter into an accommodation.

**ABAFF**, vaivode of Transylvania, having defeated a competitor by the assistance of the malcontents, in return sent them the greatest part of his troops, commanded by count Emerich, son of Stephen Tekeli, who had been one of the richest lords in Hungary. As he professed the Lutheran religion, and had a great estate, he became so criminal in the eyes of the ministers of Vienna, that they persuaded the emperor to order him to be besieged in his own castle. He dying during the siege, his son Emerich, then fifteen years of age, seeing the garrison about to surrender, saved himself in the night with some of his friends, and afterwards fled to Poland, believing the king might procure his pardon with the emperor; but being soon undeceived, he retired into Transylvania, and so distinguished himself by his merit, and the wisdom of his conduct, that **Abaff** made him his prime minister, and gave him the command of the troops which he sent to the assistance of the malcontents. Soon after his arrival count **Weffel**, his general, dying, they gave him the command of their armies, in consequence of which, and of the great lucres of his arms, afterwards took the title of, **Prince and Protector of the kingdom**.

**Tekeli**, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, entered Upper Hungary, and marched directly for **Augsf**, whether he was conducted by his affection for the daughter of count **Stern**, widow of **Raphael**, his mother-in-law, a bride Catholic, had hitherto opposed the marriage, and sent some troops to fall upon the quarters of **Tekeli**; which being entirely defeated, and a son of count **Stern** taken prisoner, by his means the alliance was concluded, and the marriage soon after celebrated. Mean while the imperial army, being too weak to venture an engagement with the malcontents, retired under the cannon of *Eperies*. Then **Tekeli** published a manifesto, declaring his design of re-establishing the kingdom of Hungary in its ancient rights, exhorting all honest Hungarians to join him, and threatening to treat those as enemies who should oppose his designs, or even be indifferent in the present juncture. By this declaration he soon augmented his army to twenty thousand men, with which he marched in the month of August towards *Eperies*, which he carried in three days, and by the end of September law himself master of all the places in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Krapack. Afterwards he took *Rosenberg*, and detached two thousand Tartars, who passed the Weg in sight of all the Imperialists, ravaged *Moravia*, and penetrated into *Austria* on this side the Danube. The season being advanced, it was resolved in a council of war to put the troops into winter-quarters, and wait for the succours that were sent from Transylvania. **Tekeli** marching towards *Stettin*, and hearing that count **Leeg**, who commanded the Imperialists, was at *Zetlmar*, he resolved to attack him; and having routed his army, he pursued them over the mountains, putting all to the sword whom he found. About this time likewise, one named **Father Joseph**, who had turned Protestant, put himself at the head of six thousand men, and calling himself *Jesuits*, and the Deliverer of the persecuted Hungarian Protestants, entered into the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, where he spread so great a terror, that the inhabitants abandoned their houses, and fled for safety to *Vienna*. The cities in the mountains also declaring for the malcontents, **Tekeli** went and besieged *Atzol*, which he took by storm, and afterwards made himself master of *Neufoll*, *Commenitz*, *Bolzenau*, and *Lipera*. The court of *Vienna*, alarmed at these conquests which the imperial army could not prevent, charged the bishop of *Szigetvar*, primate of Hungary, to negotiate an accommodation. This prince declaring himself mediator of the differences, **Tekeli**, and the other chiefs of the malcontents, laid before him their demands: they required, that a general amnesty, without any exception, should be granted for all that was past; that the Protestants should be allowed the free use of their religion, and the churches should be restored to the Lutherans as well as Calvinists; that the confiscated estates should again be restored to those who were dispossessed of them; that the diet should be allowed to elect a palatine of their nation, who should enjoy all the ancient prerogatives, rights, and authorities, annexed to that dignity. Though the emperor had no intention to grant these demands, yet he heard that they threatened to deliver all the cities in the mountains to the Turks, and had offered to the bashaws on the frontiers, to oblige them to take an oath of fidelity to the Grand Seignior, he anverted, that he would make known his intentions to the Hungarians that remained faithful, who might inform the malcontents.

During this negotiation, the imperial general, having received some troops that he expected, resolved to attack the malcontents; and having first taken possession of the passes in the mountains, to prevent the Turks from joining them, he marched against **Tekeli** and

---

1 Earrs. tom. x. pag. 154.
The history of Germany.

During the negotiations of peace at Nimeguen, Van Gale the bishop of Munster died, at the age of seventy-one, after having reigned twenty-eight years. His death was the occasion of new disputes among the allies in the North, who, neglecting his successor, thought only of seizing his part of the duchy of Bremen, the elector of Brandenburg complaining to the court of Vienna of the invasion of the duke of Lunenburg, who thought he justified himself by saying, he only prevented the king of Denmark. The emperor, displeased with the conduct of the duke of Lunenburg, obliged him to restore to the successor of Van Gale what he had taken from him: but he did not long enjoy the new conquests; for soon after, making peace with France and Sweden, he was obliged to restore to the last all that his predecessor had possessed in the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The emperor likewise concluding a peace with that crown, it was agreed, that the pacification of Holstein should be the rule and foundation of the treaty; and, that all acts, decrees, and commissions, declaring Sweden an enemy of the empire, and depriving it of the advantages of the peace of Munster, should be null and void.

The elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark, seeing themselves thus abandoned by their allies, protested against these particular treaties. The elector hearing that fifteen thousand Swedes, under the command of general Horn, had invaded Prussia, burnt the suburbs of Memel, made themselves masters of Tilsit and Insterburg, and over-run the greatest part of the country, leaving Berlin on the tenth of January, and putting himself at the head of nine thousand men, he passed the Vistula on the fifteenth. The Swedes, confounded at his approach, hastily retired; and Gortz, the elector's general, pursuing them, harried them in their march, which disorder ruined almost the half of their army. The elector, advancing to the gulf of Pritze, drew his infantry over the ice in flocks; and arriving at Laibow on the gulf of Courland, he sent five thousand horse to interrupt the march of the Swedes; and using flegdes likewise upon the gulf of Courland, he arrived within three miles of Tilsit, the Swedes quarters, on the nineteenth of January. He learned the same day that his horse had defeated two regiments of the enemy; and that, upon the news of his arrival, the Swede had abandoned Tilsit, and retired towards Courland. Gortz, pursuing them towards C adjud, fell in with their rear, and entirely routed them, returning to the elector with much booty, and a great number of prisoners. The remains of the Swedes army that returned to Livonia scarce amounted to three thousand.

These successes were of no advantage to the elector; for the time of the cessation of arms, which was prolonged to the first of May, being expired, Lewis XIV. rejecting all propositions made by the minimizers of the elector for a particular accommodation, initiated...
The history of Germany.

upon the intire re-establishment of the Swedes; and ordered general Gains, with the troops that were in the countries of Cleves and Jülich, to pass the Rhine, and enter the principality of Minden. The general of the elector, not being in a condition to oppose them, had a conference with the marquis de Créqui, and procured the cession to be again prolonged to the nineteenth of the month. Mean while, his ambassadores at the French court, still hoping to negotiate a particular treaty, delayed signing the peace till the day after the cession expired; so that the maréchal Créqui had advanced to the gates of Minden, and beat general Spann, who, at the head of three thousand men and some cannon, opposed his passing the Weser, before the news of the peace had reached his camp. The treaty of Wolfenbuttel served as a foundation for this peace of St. Germain; only, to avoid future differences about limits, the king of Sweden ceded to the elector fome lands beyond the Oder, and the property of all the customes of the ports in Further Pomerania. The elector, on his side, promised to restore to Sweden all the provinces that he had conquered, and not to afflit the king of Denmark, upon condition that France evacuated his provinces of Wolfenbuttel, and paid him three hundred thousand ducats, to indemnify him for the damages committed by Créqui’s army in his territories. The king of Denmark soon followed the example of the elector, and on the twelfth of September concluded a peace with France and Sweden at Fontainebleau, by which he consented that the crown of Sweden should be re-established in all that it possessed before the war, and in all the provinces and cities that it had acquired by the three treaties of Roßbild, Copenhangen, and Wolfenbuttel.

The general peace being concluded, Lewis XIV. still continued his conquests, by establishments at Brisack and Mentz chambers of re-union, which, by examining ancient charters and records, adjudged to him cities and lordships, of which he took possession, under pretence that they were originally fiefs and dependencies of countries ceded to him by the peace. On the twenty-second of March the sovereign council of Alsfack declared, that the cities and villages of Upper Alsfack, of the prefecture of Hagenau, of Mandat, and the chapter and provost of Weissemburg, ought to acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign. This declaration alarmed the posseffors, who believed that the king of France wanted likewise to deprive them of the profitable dominion of their fiefs; but he declaring, that he did not pretend to deprive them of the propriety and advantage of their posseffions, then the bailiffs of Rhingrave, of the elector of Trèves as bishop of Spire, of the count of Hanau, of Oderbach, of the bailiffage of Grevenstein, of the barons of Falkenstein, and of the prince of Berkenfeld, took the oath of fidelity to the king of France, promising to yield obedience to his orders, and to acknowledge the sovereign court of Brisack as their judge in the last resort.

The sovereignty of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, having been ceded to France by the treaty of Munster, Lewis XIV. by a decree of the twenty-fourth of July, ordered all the mediates vafls of these bishoprics to deliver in their titles and papers, justifying their rights and pretentions. This decree was followed by another, dated the nineteenth of September, giving power to the commissaries to judge of all difficulties that should occur upon account of these inquiries. The archives of the churches and abbeys of the duchy of Lorraine having been examined, it was found that formerly many bishops, to oblige their relations, had favoured them with grants of their bishoprics, which were in their gift. These prelates had, indeed, received others in exchange; but the council of Metz thought it probable, that the value received was not so considerable: and, besides, they pretended that the dependence of the fief was unalienable; and though the faith and homage of the posseffors had been transferred to others for several centuries, yet no precription could justify a failure right, and that the immovable posseffions of bishoprics were unalienable in their nature; therefore France had a right to claim all that had been withdrawn and upfurred.

The sovereignty of France over all the fiefs of Alsfack still met with more difficulties. The king of Sweden, as duke of Deux-ponts, and the elector-palatine, as count of Veldenz, refused to pay homage to Lewis XIV. The court of France, being informed of this refufl, ordered the sovereign council of Alsfack to judge of the affair. They decreed the duchy of Deux-ponts and the county of Veldenz to be re-united to the crown of France, if, within a limited time, the two princes, posseffors of them, did not pay homage to Lewis XIV. As this decree likewise regarded the ten cities of the prefecture of Alsfack, they, in conjunction with the king of Sweden, the counts of Veldenz, Nassau, &c. complained of this proceeding to the diet of Ratisbon. The empire, exhausted by a long war, contented itself with writing to the king of France, and to Charles II. of England, who had been mediator of the
The history of Germany.

congress at Niimguen. In their letter to Lewis XIV. they affirmed, that, by the treaty of Munster, only the landgrave of Upper and Lower Alsfat was granted to him; and that the ten cities of the prefecture were not comprehended in that cession; but, to put an end to the differences, they prayed his majesty to determine these claims by the arbitrators that had been formerly agreed upon.

The king of France replied, that what he claimed was only in consequence of the rights ceded to him by the treaties of Munster and Niimguen; but, rather than trouble the peace of his neighbours, he would consent to a revival of what his courts had decreed. The states of the empire, having received this answer, prayed Leopold to communicate to them the negotiations of his ambassadors at Niimguen, and those of Count Mansfeld, his minister at the court of France. They were sent to the diet to be examined, which afterwards agreed to have France to appoint a congress at Frankfurt to terminate the difference about the sovereignty of Alsfat. The ministers of the Germanic body being personally obliged to Leopold, he prevailed on them to prolong the negotiations, that he might have leisure to provide for war. The king of France, to strengthen the frontiers of Alsfat, cut off the Germans from passing the Rhine betwixt Brissack and Bofit, and to awe the Swafs, who had promised not to grant the Imperialists a passage through their territories, ordered the village of Huninguen, within half a league of Bofit, to be fortified with five regular bastions, and all necessary outworks.

LEWIS XIV. not contented with fortifying Huninguen, resolved likewise, under pretence of taking possession of Alsfat, to seize upon Strauburg, which makes a part of that province. The French court thought that the exception in the treaty of Munster, regarding the immediateness and liberty of these cities, ought not to be an obstacle to the design their king had formed; therefore the marquis de Louvois ordered troops to enter Lorrain, Franche-comté, and Alsfat, under pretence of employing them at working upon the fortifications in those provinces. But soon after they all assembled within a few leagues of Strauburg; and baron d'Asfeld, taking possession of the ground betwixt the Rhine and the city, and the redoubt which covered the bridge, told the magistrates, that the French only took possession of those parts to prevent the Imperialists, who had a design of seizing them, but that the city had nothing to fear, since the king would take it under his protection. The twenty-eighth of September the baron de Montclar, at the head of an army, spoke a different language: he summoned the town to surrender; adding, that, if they made any resistance, they would be treated as enemies. While the magistrates and people, alarmed at this proposition, were deliberating what course to take, the marquis de Louvois arrived at Illirk, and told his deputies, that the king his master being informed that they had defined the Germanic body to send a garrison into their town, he wanted to prevent them, and therefore required the city to be put into his possession, not that he desired to destroy their privileges, but rather to load them with his favours: that they might draw up articles of capitulation according to their desire, which would be granted them, if they were compatible with the sovereignty granted to France by the treaty of Munster. The magistrates and people, seeing themselves without resource, drew up articles of capitulation; by which the inhabitants were confirmed in their privileges; the Protestant were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of all their ecclesiastic property, and the churches which they then used, excepting the cathedral, which was given to the Catholics: but it was regulated, that the cannon, military stores, and arms in the public magazines, should be put into the hands of the French. These articles being signed by Louvois on the thirteenth of September, he took possession of the city.

The same day that Strauburg surrendered to Lewis XIV. Cafl, the capital of Montserrat, received a French garrison, by an agreement with the duke of Mantua, its lawful sovereign. This city being a fief holding of the empire, Leopold suspected that the king of France wanted to dismember it, and ordered his ambassador in France to make complaints to Lewis XIV. concerning the surprizing of Strauburg, and the posseffing of Cafl by the French. As he received only evasive answers, he resolved to prepare for war with France; but as his own forces were mostly employed against the malcontents in Hungary, he prevailed upon many of the princes of the empire to declare war against Lewis XIV. On the tenth of June he concluded a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of the circles of Franconia and the Upper Rhine; to which the princes of Lannenburg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, acceded. The countries upon the Rhine were proposed to be the scene of action, where the allies were to assemble three armies, having the promise of assistance from the Spaniards and the states of Holland.

The minister of the elector of Brandenburgh opposed these proceedings, and declared that the emperor could not, in virtue of a treaty made with some states of Germany, engage the

1 Histoire d'Alsfat, I. xxiii. p. 264.  2 Vita Leopoldi, p. 536.
The history of Germany.

whole empire in a war, without the consent of the Germanic body. He had likewise private
reasons for his opposition, being piqued at a defensive league of ten years, which the em-
peror had concluded with Sweden on the twelfth of October; therefore, to disappoint the
emperor's designs against the French, he entered into an alliance with the king of Denmark
and the bishop of Munster to preserve the peace of the empire, and mutually assist each
other against any violences contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and the treaties of
peace.

While the mean while the count de Creigy preferred the diet of Ratisbon to come to a determination,
with regard to the sovereignty of the king of France over Alsace. The diet assembleing on
the twenty-second of January, it was resolved to examine the treaties upon which his majest
Christian majesty founded his right to the sovereignty of Alsace. After two months de-
bating on that subject, the emperor, being threatened with an invasion from the Turks, pro-
pelled the count de Creigy to conclude a truce with France for thirty years, which Lewis
XIV. consented to; and accordingly, on the thirtieth of August, a truce was agreed to by
them, without either regulating the articles or time.

While the negotiations were carrying on at Frankfort and Ratisbon, the Hungarian mal-
contents had broke the truce concluded at Oedenburg. Count Tekeli being joined with four
thousand Turks, surprized the castle of Zaichmar, and put the garrision to the sword: after-
wards, marching to Collepowit, he made himself master of it, the fourth day after he had
opened the trenches; Emperor submitted to a body of janissaries, commanded by the bahaw
of Buda, who likewise took Leutis, the forts of Zipt and Zemere, and entered the country
of Scapa. While the Turks were besieging Tokai and Filek, Tekeli went and ravaged Silezia.
The grand vizier, to reward the services he did to the Porte, caufed him to be declared
king of Upper Hungary, and tent him a veft, a fabre, and standard, with the patent of the
Grand Signior.

The sultan, in the midst of his conquests, made proposals of peace, which were re-
jected by the emperor, since he could not agree to them without opening a passage for the
Turks into the dominions of Austria. Leopold hearing of the great preparations made by
the Turks on the frontiers of Hungary, and not doubting but they were designed against
Germany, made a league offensive and defensive against the Turks with John Sobieski king of
Poland, who engaged to march in perfon to the assistance of Vienna, in case it were be-
fiegled. He likewise addressed the princes of the empire, who engaged to furnish him
with a certain number of auxiliary forces, and prince Charles of Lorraine was ordered imme-
diately to join the imperial troops at Pressburg. That prince, leaving his government of
Tirfol, arrived at Vienna on the eighth of April, and setting out from thence on the twenty-
inth of the same month, he arrived at Kisfe, where the imperial troops were encamped.

Immediately he besieged Newkaufl, and pushing the town vigorously, he had already
made himself master of the suburbs, when being informed that the Turks were on their
march, and threatened to enter Stiria, he raised the siege, and retired towards Comorova, to
watch the designs of the enemy. Soon after, being informed that they intended to march
towards Alke-Regale, or Weiffenburg, he quitted his camp at Comorova, and passing the Raab,
entered the island Schut, having sent four regiments to reinforce a body of Hungarians at
Neutra, under the command of the palatine, and ordering general Schultz to march to
Schinzt, in order to cover the frontiers of Moravia.

The grand vizier arriving at Belgrade, marched from thence to Weiffenburg, at the head of
fifty thousand janissaries, thirty thousand paphis, and two hundred thousand men, drawn
from different garrisons, with artillery and baggage proportioned to such a multitude; and
camping betwixt Weiffenburg and the mountains of Raab, detached a great number of
Tartars to ravage the country, from whence the imperial army was to draw its sub-
ficence. Afterwards advancing to the mountains of Raab to take possession of them, he
was repulsed with considerable loss, and was likewise opposed in attempting to pass the river
of that name. In the mean time, count Tekeli arriving at his camp, published a manifesto
declaring, that the sultan would take under his protection all those who should embrace the
party of the malcontents; and that he would maintain them in their privileges, liberties,
goods, laws, and religion; but that no quarter would be given to those who refused to
lubmire.

This manifesto had so great an effect, that the cities of Papa, Tot, and Vesprin, immo-
diately opened their gates to the malcontents: which example the emperor fearing that Neu-
stra would likewise follow, he ordered count de Schultz, the governor, to withdraw the heavy
cannon, arms, and ammunition, and to abandon the city. The same orders having been

given to the governors of the towns in the mountains, the cities and counties of Hungary

A.D. 1583.

\( \text{The Hungarian telnets broke the truce, and count Tekeli pub-
lihsed a mani-
festo in favour of the sultan.} \)

\* Inform. Hist. fur les villes Imperiales d'Alsace, in 12mo.
\* Recueil de Traits, t. iv. p. 500.

\text{declared}
declared to the commissaries of the emperor, that they should be obliged to open their gates to count Tekeli, as they did not think that they ought, upon the bare hopes of assistance, to expose themselves to fire and sword.

The grand vizier having passed the Raab over the bridge of Kirnied, which was abandoned by the Imperialists, entered the country, and put all to fire and sword; having afterwards passed the Rabnitz, he continued everywhere the fame devastation. Prince Charles, having only twenty-four thousand men, was not in a condition to resist so great an army; and fearing that they would cut off his retreat to Vienna, and the hereditary countries, he retired to Berane, to cover the river Leitha, and watch the motions of the Tartars, who ravaged the country between the Raab and that river. The infidels advancing, attacked the guards commanded by the count de Taaff, supported by the regiment of Montecuccoli, and several squadrons, and defeated them when the duke of Lorraine arrived, who rallied them, and bringing up several regiments to their assistance, repulsed the enemy, and afterwards retired with his army under the cannon of Vienna.

While all was in the utmost consternation in that city. The emperor, with all his court, had abandoned it on the seventh of July, and retired to Linz. Great numbers of the citizens followed the court, and the roads were crowded with fugitives, and carriages loaded with furniture and valuable effects. The first advice of the flight of the regiments had made such an impression, that they believed all was lost; but the presence of the duke of Lorraine had, in some measure, removed their fears. As the defence of the city was of very great importance, they, with all dispatch, repaired the fortifications; and count Staremberg, who commanded the garrison of eight thousand men, foreseeing that the siege would be long, appointed the different quarters of the city to different general officers, and named fulbears to give an account of all that passed: the citizens likewise, the tradesmen, and the masters of the university, with the students, formed themselves into companies, to assist in defending the town.

After the retreat of the duke of Lorraine, the grand vizier, leaving the battaow of Buda to besiege the city of Raab, marched to Vienna, and on the thirteenth of July appeared before the city. On the sixteenth the trenches were opened, and soon after the city was wholly invested. The duke of Lorraine, being thus cut off from all communication with the garrison, marched against count Tekeli, who was on the other side of the Danube, and with twenty thousand Hungarians, and eight thousand Turks, besieged the castle of Pressburg. After having come within sight of the camp of the rebels, he sent two hundred men to reinforce the garrison of the castle; and having obliged the malcontents to abandon the town, he afterwards defeated them entirely, and burnt the wood and materials which they had provided for building a bridge over the Danube, in order to have a communication with the army of the grand vizier. Tekeli afterwards marching into Moravia, and furnishing that province to pay contribution, the duke obliged him to desist, by threatening to order the emperor's garrisons in Upper Hungary to make reprisals upon the houses and lands of those of his party: then marching to the neighbourhood of Vienna, he defeated the Hungarians in several skirmishes, and prevented them from joining the Turks under the grand vizier.

While the siege of Vienna was carried on with great vigour: notwithstanding the bravery of the defenders, the Turks had made a breach of fix fathoms in the body of the place, when John Sobiecki, king of Poland, having joined the auxiliary troops of the circles, and passed the Danube over the bridge at Krems, on the eighth of September, gained the heights of the mountain of Calenberg with his army, and, by lighting fires, informed the beleaguered that assistance was arrived. The grand vizier, having neglected to disperse the baggage of the Danube, and allowed the imperial and Poliards armies to gain the top of the mountain, continued the siege, hoping that the city would capitulate, before the allies could force him to an engagement, and only sent a body of ten thousand men to observe their motions, and harass their march. On the eleventh of September the allies holding a council of war, regulated the order of battle: the Polards had the right, and the duke of Lorraine the left; the elector of Saxony drew up his troops on the right of the duke of Lorraine; and the elector of Bavaria was posted on the right of the Saxons; while the king of Poland posted himself in the center of the army, which consisted of about sixty-four thousand men. In this order they marched down the mountain. The Turks observing them, extended themselves from the Danube to the bottom of the mountain, and poised themselves of the hedges, intrenchments, and hollow ways, from whence they could harass them in their descent. Towards the evening, the king of Poland arriving at the plain at the foot of Comalsoli, ordered count Lajos to post his troops at the opening of a wood which extended to Vienna, and to raise a battery to secure the pass. Next day, about five in the morning, the Turks sending some troops to attack those who were working at the battery, the count

The history of Germany.

De Fontaine opposed them for some time, till the duke of Croy coming up to his assistance with some regiments, the infidels were repulsed, and forced to abandon their posts. The grand vizier at last coming out of his camp with thirty thousand horse, the king of Poland hastened his march, and about noon joined the right wing of the Imperialists, and attacking the Turks vigorously, they retreated from mountain to mountain, while the duke of Lorraine on the left advanced to their camp, which he attacked. Soon after, the king of Poland having received a reinforcement, vigorously charged the body of horse commanded by the grand vizier, and having broke through it, put them into confusion. The infidels, finding themselves so pressed by the king of Poland, and seeing their camp in danger, were struck with a panic, and fled with precipitation, leaving a decisive victory to the Christians, with the loss of only two hundred men, they themselves having scarcely lost a thousand: so great was their terror, that they left behind them the great standard of Mahomet, their tents, the great part of their baggage, their provisions, the warlike stores, and their artillery, which amounted to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon and mortars; and their retreat was so precipitate, that, on the morrow after the action, the first of their troops had already passed the Rhine.

While the duke of Lorraine was giving the necessary orders to act against the Turks, the emperor arrived at Vienna, on the fourteenth in the evening; and next day went to the camp of the king of Poland, to see that prince, and testify the obligations which he had to him, for leaving his own kingdom, and coming to deliver Vienna, and save the empire. Altogether the grateful acknowledgments ought to have been above formalities, yet there were some difficulties about the ceremonials, which were at last overlooked, and the salutation was given on both sides at the same time.

The king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine, being able only to prevail with some of the princes of the empire to continue with the army, advanced towards Cemorra by the island of Sebuc; and the king, being informed that the Turks had retired to Barcas, formed the design of attacking that place before the imperial troops were all assembled. The Turks, having passed the Danube over the bridge of Strigonia, had put a strong garrison into Barcas, and had ordered several plaques of soldiers into all the gardens in the neighbourhood. The king having no information of these dispositions, had marched within half a league of Barcas, when the Turks, beginning to come out of the gardens, attacked his van-guard; and these few at first, yet being intently joined by other squadrons and battalions, the king was drawn into an engagement, without having time to draw up in order of battle. At first he opposed them with his horse in one line; but the number of the infidels grew increasing, and by their motions threatening to flank his right and left, the Poles were put into disorder, and obliged to fly. At the same time the duke of Lorraine, who had heard of the engagement, coming up to their assistance, the Turks retired, not thinking it safe to pursue.

Two days after the defeat of the Poles, the Turks appeared in order of battle in the plain of Barcas. The Christian army, which still consisted of sixty thousand men, Germans and Poles, was so disposed, that the soldiers of both nations were intermixed by equal numbers; the great general of the Turks being the right wing, the great general of the Poles the left, and the duke of Lorraine the center. The infidels began the charge upon the left wing of the allies with incredible fury; but being sustained by firmness, they lost a great many Turks and men, and the vizier of Siliusia, and bashaw of Caramania, were taken prisoners. The Turks still continuing the engagement with the same ardor, the king of Poland on the right wing, making a motion to flank their army, they gave ground by degrees, and at last fled towards Barcas, whither the Christians pursued them, and killed a great number in the marches.

After this victory, the allies took Barcas by storm; and in a council of war resolved to besiege Strigonia, the officers of the Polish army made some difficulty of agreeing to it, desiring to return home; and alleging, that the war was now carried on more with a design to deprive the Hungarians of their liberties, and subject them to the absolute will of the emperor, than to make conquests upon the Turks. But Sobieski affording them, that the siege of Strigonia would not be of long continuance, it was at last undertaken on the twenty-second of October, and the Turks capitulated four days after. Thus all Hungary, on both sides of the Danube, was again reduced under the power of the emperor, as far as Strigonia, or Greva, which place had been in the possession of the Turks for more than one hundred and fifty years.

After the reduction of Strigonia, the elector of Bavaria and the marquis of Baden-Durlach marched home with their troops; and the king of Poland having proposed an accommodation with the Hungarian malcontents, the duke of Lorraine and their deputies assembled in his tent. The vice-chancellor of Hungary, after having shewn the solid advantages that would attend a peace, demanded the confirmation of their privileges, and


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
The history of Germany.

liberty of conscience; the restoration of their confiscated estates, and the assembling of a free diet; a suspension of arms during the negotiation of peace; and the sovereignty of some counties for Tekeli, which had been offered to him the year before. The duke of Lorraine, anowing, that he had no power to conclude any article, but that every thing might be expected from the clemency of the emperor, the king of Poland immediately perceived that Leopold did not desire an accommodation; wherefore he resolved to withdraw with his troops to his own kingdom. Notwithstanding the duke of Lorraine pressed him to take winter-quarters in Upper Hungary, he parted from him, after reciprocal marks of the highest esteem; and, taking the route of Lublinit, arrived at Caffezza, on the twenty-fourth of December.

A. D. 1684.

LEOPOLD, seeing the siege of Vienna raised, and the great success of his arms in Hungary, had hitherto prevented the dict of Rosilin from agreeing about the articles and time of duration of the truce with France; and had even transferred the negotiations to the Hague, under pretense of an universal peace. The electoral college, offended at this remonstrance, acquainted the emperor, that they accepted of the propositions made by France, and took no part in the congress assembled at the Hague. They wrote in the same terms to the king of England and the states general; and forbade their ministers at the Hague to enter into any negotiation, the Germanic body having given them no power.

While the electors complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the emperor, who wanted to regulate the affairs of the Germanic body without their consent, the maréchal de Crecy attacked Luxembourg, and made himself master of it, after twenty days open trenches. He likewise took possession of Tries, which he dismantled. Louis XIV. after the peace of Nimzgen, had demanded Luxembourg from the Spaniards, in exchange for Alsace, which he pretended belonged to him, as he had conquered it in the preceding war. Although the peace bore, that he was to restore to the Spaniards all that he had conquered from them, and the town had really returned under their power, yet he pretended that he had only left the keeping of it to the Spaniards, and therefore absolutely requiring either that city or Luxembourg, had ordered the last place to be invested; but the affair being referred to the mediation of the king of England, the blockade was afterwards raised. That mediation producing no effect, Louis XIV. had recourse to arms, which obliged the states-general and the emperor to agree to the truce. Accordingly they agreed, that for twenty years France should be left in peaceable possession of Strassburg, the fort of Kel, and other posts on the Rhine between that fort and the city; and that in all these places his most Christian majesty should freely exercise the rights of sovereignty. Louis XIV. promised to restore to the Germanic body, all the cities and lordships which he had seized, excepting Strassburg, and the forts thereon depending, without waiting for the decision of the chambers of Metz, Drasack, and Belfac; but he would not agree that his sovereignty over Alsace should be the same that the emperor had formerly exercised, but only granted to the proprietary lords the revenues of their fiefs, and refused them the advantages belonging to the sovereignty. The Protestants were allowed the liberty of their religion, and the enjoyment of the possessions belonging to the churches.

The greatest part of the Hungarian lords being struck with terror at the success of the duke of Lorraine's arms, were prevailed upon by him to return to their obedience to the emperor, and again to take the oath of fidelity to him. Afterwards the duke, being informed that the Grand Signior had made extraordinary preparations during the winter, to repair all his loots; that he had caufed Kara-Muflapha, his grand vizier, to be strangled; and given the command of his army in Hungary to Kara-Ibrahim, whom he had raised to the same dignity, he left Lintz on the nineteenth of May, and assembling his army at Karainitz, marched to besiege Wiligrade, which capitulated after four days open trenches.

The duke having likewise taken Vatz, and defeated the grand vizier's army, passed the Danube, and on the fourteenth of July encamped before Buda. His artillery having made a breach on the nineteenth, he gained the lower town by assault, where he fortified himself; but the vizier marching to the relief of the place, he resolved, if possible, to bring him to a general engagement, before he attacked the upper town, and ordered fourteen thousand men to march out of the camp in the evening without noise. On the twenty-second he came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on the declivity of a hill, and attacking them, drove them from their ground. Afterwards, ordering a body of Hungarians to take possession of a rising-ground, and to fall upon the right of the Turks, they were forced to retreat, having endeavoured in vain to affright the imperial horses, by three hundred camels, mounted by men who held several standards of various colours. The duke of Lorraine, having disordered the camels by his artillery, commanded all his horse to attack the enemy in their retreat; which great motion obliged them
them to fly with precipitation to their camp, with the loss of a great number of men. Two days after, the siege of Buda was again resumed, but the Imperialists were obliged to raise it, upon account of the sickness of the duke of Lorraine, who being seized with a violent fever, committed the care of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and the generals Staremburg and Caprara. Afterwards strong garrisons being put into several places, the rest of the army was sent into winter quarters in Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia.

**LEOPOLD,** being informed of the great preparations that were making at Constantinople, and that the Turks designed to take the field early in the spring, prepared for a proportional defence, and resolved, if possible, to prevent the infidels: he had recourse to the states of the empire, who engaged, by different treaties, to furnish him with thirty-five thousand men: the pope likewise promised to open the treasuries of the church, to contribute to the support of an army that was to fight against infidels. The operations of the campaign were left to the conduct of the duke of Lorraine; only it was resolved to give nine or ten thousand men to count Schilliz, to cover Meran, and oppose the malcontents on that side; and that count Lefè, with such another body of Croatsians, should act upon the Drauce.

The elector-palatine dying on the sixth of February, without issue, the succession to his estates was the subject of new disputes between the empire and the king of France. The elector having an only sister married to the duke of Orleans, he pretended to succeed to all his alodial possessions, and the greatest part of his moveables; in virtue of the will of his father, in which claim he was supported by Lewis XIV. The duke of Neuburg, who was called by the will of the last elector, took possession of the alodial estates of the Palatinate, as of a male-fief, holding immediately of the empire. The king of France, though he allowed the duke of Neuburg to be the chief of the palatine branch, and nearest heir to the deceased elector, yet he insisted, that the alodial estates having been left to the duchies of Orleans, by the will of her father, could not be comprehended under that article of the Golden Bull, which declares the estates of electors unalienable from those who possessed the titles; and preparing to make good the claim of the duches of Orleans by arms, when the pope offering his mediation, the affair was left to be decided by his arbitration. The duke of Neuburg had likewise another competitor for the whole of the succession.

**Levis-Leopold,** count-palatine of Wildenitz, being nearer by one degree in the collateral line to the deceased elector, pretended that this proximity gave him a preference to the branch of Neuburg; but the duke being supported by the emperor, who had married his daughter some years before, and being called by the decision of the states of the empire, was put in possession of the electorate, the palatine of Wildenitz only having a liberty to protest against his investiture.

During these discussions the duke of Lorraine, at the head of the imperial army in Hungary, had resolved to besiege Neubaufl. On the seventh of July he arrived before the town, and draining off the water that surrounded the place, on the night of the twelfth he opened the trenches: mean while the Turks advanced with an army of sixty thousand men, and having surprised the lower town of Wissigrade, which they plundered and burnt, they laid siege to Gran, or Strigonia, which they prefied with great vigour. The duke of Lorraine being informed when the Turks were preparing to give the assault, marched against them at the head of thirty thousand men, leaving twenty thousand under the command of Caprara, to continue the siege of Neubaufl. The Turks, upon the news of his approach, left the siege of Gran, and drew up on a small rising-ground, with a marsh before them, and the Danube on their right. The duke having put some troops into Gran, signified a precipitate retreat, with the intention of drawing the Turks from the marsh, and obliging them to an action. He succeeded in his design; and drawing them to an engagement, after several attacks defeated them entirely, forcing two thousand into the marsh, and pursuing the rest so vigorously, that they abandoned their camp, in which was found plenty of provisons, with twenty-four pieces of cannon. The Imperialists returning to Neubaufl, three days after took it by storm, sparing neither age, sex, or condition. In the town, besides one hundred pieces of cannon, there were provisions and ammunition for several months. The duke of Lorraine hearing that the vizier was at Buda, resolved to besiege Novigrade, hoping thereby to draw him over the Danube, to hazard a new engagement. Before the arrival of the Imperialists, the Turks had evacuated Novigrade and Wissigrade; and soon after the vizier sent an aga to the duke, desiring a suspension of arms, in order to negotiate a peace. The duke of Lorraine sending the vizier's letter to the emperor, refused a suspension of arms; and marching with his army towards Vats, found that the infidels, after having withdrawn the garrison, had blown up the fortifications, and

---

1. WATNER, lib. 2.
3. PEFFAND, lib. xix. sect. xii. xiv. PEFFINZER ad vit. lib. i. tom. xiv.
5. LESEN, Eugen. pag. 155.

A.D. 1685. Leopold gets affiance from the prince of the empire against the Turks.

The elector-palatine dying, his succession is disputed.

The duke of Lorraine took Neubaufl, and defeats the grand vizier's army.

Novigrade and Wissigrade, for ever to the Imperialists.
that the vizier had passed the Danube, over the bridge of Peß, on purpose to avoid an engagement.

The retreat of the infidels, and other circumstances favourable to the Imperialists, determined the duke to employ the rest of the campaign in reducing the rebels of Upper Hungary, who seemed now desirous of the succours of their arms, as every day some of them were coming into his camp, asking pardon. A detachment of ten thousand men, sent to join the body commanded by General Schultze, were employed in reducing the places which the rebels held in Upper Hungary, and the main body of the army, encamped in places convenient for provisions, with a delign of observing the Turks. General Schultze having taken possession of Epperis, afterwards joined Caprara, and marched to Caffesia, which he besieged. Mean while the emperor, offering an amnesty to all those who should lay down their arms, many of the Hungarians accepted of it, and left the army of Tekeli. This defection deprived him of the power of executing any enterprise; and the Turks, suspecting that he had a private intelligence with the king of Poland, and the house of Austria, the bashaw of Wuradin ordered him to be taken prisoner, and put in irons, which entirely changed the face of the rebels affairs. PeterŒs, who had been lieutenant to Tekeli, having obtained his pardon from the emperor, influenced a great number of the malcontents to submit to their prince. By offering rewards to some, and intimidating others with the power and renement of the house of Austria, and by representing to all, that their obstinacy only exposed the kingdom to a general desolation, he prevailed on the cities of Tokai, Caffesia, and Filek, with their territories, to return to their obedience to the emperor. The rebels in the other places submitted at the first appearance of the count Caprara, and the Turks surrendered without resistance, upon being conducted to Buda.

A. D. 1686. The duke of Lorraine having strongly represented to the emperor, that the taking of Buda would contribute to the security of his conquests, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege that city, after having taken Erla and Albe Royale. The army soon after assembling in Hungary, was commanded by the elector of Bavaria, as the duke of Lorraine had fallen sick at Odenburg. The elector began with investing Albe Royale, which soon surrendered; and on the twelfth of June the army marched along both sides of the Danube for Buda, without waiting for the troops of Brandenburg and Sweden. The duke of Lorraine returning to the army, which was then at Peß, immediately detached two thousand men to invest Buda. On the twentieth at night count Starenberg began the attack at the lower town, some field-pieces being advanced to defend the workmen: after a month spent in advancing their attacks, and poisselling the batteries, the allies at last attacked the body of the place; and having made a large breach, the duke of Lorraine, and the elector of Bavaria, agreed to give a general assault, having disposed all the necessary preparations in the most secret manner. But notwithstanding their precaution, the enemy having notice of their design, reinforced their second and third retrenchments with janissaries, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The signal for the assault in three places being given at fix in the evening, in an infant the grenadiers and heyduques, who marched first, removed the gabions that were laid in the breach, and being supported by fusiliers, and others with pikes and halberds, advanced to take possession of the palliades. The Turks, on their side, made a continual fire upon the Imperialists; and charging them with granades, stones, and bombs, they at last appeared in a body upon the breach, and, sword in hand, repulsed the foremoit of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. The duke of Lorraine observing this, and advancing to the foot of the breach to encourage his men, they, with new armour, regained the ground they had lost, and made themselves masters of the palliades. Immediately the Turks springing a mine, the Imperialists were almost all either buried or wounded. New troops instantly succeeding, mounted the breach and took possession of the palliades; but the Turks springing several other mines through the whole exent of the breach, these gulps of fire destroyed the Imperialists, and encouraged the besieged, so that the women and children ran to the breach with stones and granades, to have part in the defence.

The generals of the allies, encouraging their men, replaced the dead and wounded with fresh troops, who, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, began to force their retrenchments; and having made themselves masters of the whole exent of the breach, they made a lodgment upon the ruins. The attacks made by the troops of Brandenburg and Bavaria were not attended with so much slaughter, though no less vigorous. The loss of the Turks in the whole attack amounted to fifteen hundred janissaries; and that of the allies to above three thousand soldiers, and two hundred officers, killed and wounded. The duke, being informed that the grand vizier was marching at the head of forty thou-
found men to the relief of the besieged, resolved to increase the fire of his batteries, that the place might be forced to surrender before the arrival of the vizier's army, as his forces were not sufficient to venture an engagement, having only ten thousand foot fit for service. Meanwhile, three thousand of the enemy's horse appearing on the neighbouring hills, the duke determined to put all upon the issue of a general assault. On the first of September, all things being prepared for the attack, towards the evening the troops marched into the trenches; and the generals taking their posts, with a provision to the officers or orderlies to quit their ranks, next day, about five in the evening, the signal was given for the assault by a fire of cannon. Immediately the Imperialists, marching to the different breaches, began the attack; though repulsed with the utmost resolution by the janizaries sword in hand, and exposed to the fire from the windows of the neighbouring houses, yet they formed themselves upon the right of the retrenchment which the Turks had been obliged to quit; and, charging the besieged, drove them to an entrenchment behind the breach, where, not having time to draw up, or oppose their chevaux de frise, they saved themselves by flight, some into the houses, and others over the wall of the covered-way, hoping to save themselves towards Pest. These last were taken by the Bavarians; while the Imperialists, who had entered the town, made a dreadful slaughter, men, women, and children, being all put to the sword.

Buda being taken, after ten weeks' siege, it was resolved to march with the army towards the bridge of Eßneck, to cut off the retreat of the Turkish army, which, though superior in number, and within sight of the town before the attack, yet did not dare to give any disturbance to the allies. But the vizier retiring precipitately, the duke did not march till the sixth of September; and on the nineteenth encamped near Tolma, within three leagues of the enemy, with design to bring them to an action: but they, to shun an engagement, repelled the Drave, and retiring between Eßneck and Wolkamor, the duke undertook at the same time the sieges of the Five Churches and Segedin, which last soon surrendered; but the Five Churches held out till the end of October. The Imperialists afterwards took Silocos, Darda, and Kapronza, without any opposition; being masters of the whole country, on both sides of the Danube, as far as the Drave.

The allies having separated into winter-quarters, the Turks retired towards Serbia; from whence the grand vizier wrote to Vienna to make propositions of peace. Leopold, having consulted with the duke of Lorraine, answered, that he would confine to a peace, if the sultan would engage to pay six millions of gold for the expenses of the war, if he would restore all the places which the Porte still possessed in Hungary, and give full satisfaction to Poland and the republic of Venice. These propositions being rejected, Leopold promised to moderate them, provided the Turks gave proofs of sincerely desiring peace, he himself desiring nothing so much as to finish a war which had depopulated the cities of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, desolated the provinces, and exhausted his treasures. Besides, having consulted with great reluctance to the truce with France, he sought an occasion to break it, in order to recover Alsatia, which Lewis XIV. had united to his crown; and the duke of Neuburg still retaining the alodial possessions of the late elector-palatine, likewise desired a war, to protect himself, under a general alliance, from the arms of France. Therefore Leopold, having privately concluded a treaty with the elector of Brandenburg, who engaged to send seven thousand men to the assistance of the elector-palatine, in case he should be attacked, afterwards prevailed upon several states of the empire to conclude a league of alliance, on the ninth of July, at Augsburg. The purpose of this alliance was to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body, as well in general as particular; to guarantee the treaties of Westphalia and Nimoguen; and to confirm the truce of twenty years concluded with France two years before. The king of Sweden and the elector of Bavaria entered into the league; likewise the whole ducal house of Saxony contented to what the emperor desired, and the elector-palatine was the chief promoter of the alliance. The emperor engaged to furnish sixteen thousand men; the king of Spain, for the circle of Burgundy, fix thousand; the duke of Bavaria eight thousand, and two thousand for the circle of Bavaria; the circle of Franconia four thousand; the Upper Rhine an equal number; and the house of Saxony two thousand.

The contingent of the king of Sweden was not determined. For the support of the troops magazines were formed, and a common cheft was resolved to be established at Frankfurt: and to be asured that the troops of the league were in good condition, and fit for service, it was concluded that the army should encamp every year, for a month or six weeks, in a place appointed by the emperor.

Meanwhile, the king of France fortified Hungen; and likewise caused a bridge to be built there over the Rhine, and a fort to be raised for its defence. These two works gave great offence to all Germany; and, complaints being made to the diet, the emperor wrote

* Vie du comte de Tékei, p. 209.

Puffendorf ter. Brand. l. xxix.
A.D. 1687. The duke of Lorraine attacked the fort of the bridge of Ejsiek.

The proposal of peace made by the grand vizier were designed only to amuse the emperor; for the Porte still hoping to repair the losses of the former campaigns by arms, the warlike preparations were carried on by the Turks, during the winter, with such diligence and assiduity, that their army was sooner ready, and much more numerous, than that of the emperor, who could not raise above sixty-six thousand men, fourteen thousand of which were garrisons of the cities, and twenty thousand to act separately under the command of the elector of Bavaria: the rest were to be commanded by the duke of Lorraine, who arrived at Strigonia, on the second of June, found only sixteen thousand men. Soon after, having assembled all his troops, on the twenty-fifth of the same month he began the operations of the campaign, by attacking the fort which covered the bridge of Ejsiek. Having taken it by assault, on the eight of July he marched towards Orvar, to secure the passage over the Drave. On the fifteenth, having joined the elector of Bavaria, who was encamped on the other side near Valpo, the two generals, after a great many marches and counter-marches, on the twenty-seventh came in fight of the Ottoman army, which had passed the Drave, and encamped at Darda. The grand vizier, having fortified his camp, declined coming to an engagement, and only watched the motions of the Imperialists, sending out his Tartars to interrupt their foragers, and skirmish with the advanced guards. The duke of Lorraine, seeing it impossible to attack the grand vizier's camp, resolved to march forwards, in order to engage the Turks to follow him; and on the twelfth of August, having passed some defiles, he put his troops in order of battle, and led them into the plain of Sider. He had no sooner marched than he discovered large bodies of the enemy through the openings of the woods; but not thinking it proper to attack them, as they only intended a skirmish, he continued his march; which the grand vizier observing, sent out a great detachment of Tartars to fall upon the baggage of the elector of Bavaria. The duke of Lorraine immediately sending some regiments to the assistance of the elector, the Tartars were repulsed; but the whole Turkish army advancing, and with their artillery beginning to attack the electoral troops, the duke marched with all his forces against the enemy, who were posted in several lines between two woods, extending their front about a quarter of a league. The Imperialists advancing very near to the enemy, and receiving their first fire, immediately attacked them with such fury, that they routed the janissaries who guarded some redoubts, and pursued them to their camp. At the same time the elector of Bavaria forcing their retrenchments, and attacking the quarters of the grand vizier, the disordered became so general, that the whole army flying to Ejsiek, left their camp in possession of the victors. The grand vizier, afterwards reviewing his army, found he had lost twenty thousand men, some having deserted, the rest being killed or drowned. The duke of Lorraine, seeing that the grand vizier could give him no more disturbance, passed the Danube near Mobitz, and marched towards Transylvania, to take up his winter-quarters in that province, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the emperor and the vaivode on the twenty-eighth of June; by which it was stipulated, that the emperor should not make any alterations in the province; that the troops should evacuate the towns next spring; and no inquiry should be made after those who had favoured the revolt of the Hungarians: which treaty, far from being punctually executed by the emperor, was only used by him as a means to gain possession of the strong places of that principality.

The cause of the Hungarian malcontents being now entirely ruined, Leopold resolved to caust the archduke Joseph, his son, a boy of nine years of age, to be declared king of Hungary. Having called an assembly of the estates at Presburg, he went thither with all his court on the thirtieth of October, and proposed to the diet to confirm the hereditary succession of the kingdom of Hungary in the house of Austria. The diet contented to elect the archduke Joseph; but demanded to be left to enjoy their ancient liberty, without proposing a hereditary succession: and likewise presented a paper, requiring their grievances to be examined and redressed, before the coronation of the archduke Joseph. The emperor replied, that though he could freely dispose of a kingdom, which he had reconquered from the infidels at the expense of much blood and treasure, nevertheless he desired to preserve their ancient laws, as far as they were agreeable to the royal dignity; and that though the succession belonged to him already by so many different titles, yet it was proper to confirm a new, by a solemn convention, the hereditary succession of the crown to the princes.

*Happlerius Hist. Bell. inter. Imper. & Turcas ad An. 1687, t. vii.*

*Annales de l'Empire, t. ii.* p. 324.

*Heiss, l. iii. p. 256.*


of
of the house of Augsburg; and in the coronation-oath to repeal the clause of king Andrew II., in the year 1224, by which every private gentleman had a right to take up arms against his sovereign, if he attempted to violate the liberties of the nation, which only served the malignants with a pretext to revolt. The states, being obliged to comply with the emperor's demand, confirmed the succession of the crown to the male descendants of the house of Augsburg in Germany; and, after their extinction, to the males of the Spanish branch; having obtained only, that the king should reside in Hungary, or in a neighbouring province: and that, in case of the extinction of the two male branches, the states should be at liberty to elect a sovereign of another house. The clause of the oath of king Andrew II. was likewise revoked, upon condition that the new conquests in Hungary should be incorporated into the kingdom: and, as a redress of their grievances, it was resolved to suppress the criminal chamber of Eperies, which had been established in the beginning of the year for the trial of the rebels, and had still continued, condemning great numbers without distinction, who were executed with barbarity. It was likewise agreed, that the quartering and payment of the national and German troops should be directed by Hungarian and German commissaries; and that a chamber of finances, composed of persons of both nations, should be established at Buda.

The emperor having given his content to these articles, the archduke Joseph was crowned on the ninth of December with pomp and magnificence, all things succeeding to Leopold's desires, even beyond his hopes; for, besides this happy change of government in Hungary, the Turks, by reason of their intestine divisions, retiring before the king of Poland, were bombarded by him in Czarniecko: and the Venetians, having beaten their fleet, had made themselves masters of Patras, Lepanto, Caflertorne, and Mistra, anciently Macedon, Agripa also, in Upper Hungary, having surrendered, there only remained Moncatch, which was defended by the counts of Tekel. That prince being in want of provisions and ammunition, and seeing all Hungary subdued, was prevailed upon to submit to Leopold, who promised to preserve to her all her estates, and the fame rank she formerly held in the kingdom, and to cause her children to be educated at Vienna, according to their rank and birth. The capitulation being signed on the seventeenth of January, the prince was conducted to Vienna with his children, and that up in the convent of the Ursulines with her daughter, her son being sent to be educated under the Jesuits at Prague.

All Hungary being now reduced, the emperor directed his arms against the Turks, who, having dethroned their sovereign, Mahomet IV. and put his brother Soliman in his place, were making great preparations for the ensuing campaign. The duke of Lorain being seized with a dangerous sickness, and the elector of Bavaria refusing to take the command of the troops, the Imperialists acted in separate bodies, count Vaterani taking Cremnstadt on the twentieth of May, Ilebock, Peterwaradin, and Tittel, surrendering to prince Lewis of Baden; and the city Brodt, in Boemia, being surprised by count Hofkirchen. At length the elector of Bavaria, having the promise of a separate body to act by itself, in case the duke of Lorain should recover his health, was prevailed upon to take the command; and on the twenty-eighth of July arrived at the army, which was encamped near Peterwaradin.

That prince, eager to signalize himself by some enterprise, resolved upon the siege of Belgrade, and ordered a bridge to be laid over the Save. The bridge being completed on the eighth of August, on the sixteenth they marched in order of battle to force the Turks, who were intrenched near Belgrade; but were agreeably surprised to find the camp abandoned, and abounding in provisions and forage. The elector having viewed and examined the city, and the heavy artillery being arrived from Buda, it was resolved to attack the upper town, because the houses of the suburbs being less damaged by the fire, the soldiers might approach within three hundred paces of the countercarp under shelter. The Imperialists laboured with such diligence, that, on the twenty-sixth of August, all their artillery was ready to do execution; and using thirty pieces of heavy cannon, and five mortars, they removed several quarters of the town, notwithstanding the great fire of the besieged, which only animated their courage.

The duke of Lorain having now recovered his health, and the elector not testifying any repugnance to the division of the command, but rather declaring his impatience to see him leave Vienna, and arrived in the camp. Afterwards visiting the trenches with the elector, who demanded his advice upon the measures to be taken for the future operations, he complimented his highness upon the progress of the siege, and gave him his opinion of the manner of passing the ditch, and giving the assault. On the fifth of September, the mines being ready, were sprung; and immediately after the Imperialists gave the assault; but were at first repulsed. Returning a second time to the charge, they forced all that was before them;
and having entered the town, made a dreadful slaughter, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The beshaw, who commanded the cattle, despairing of assistance, immediately surrendered, upon condition of life and safety for himself and the garrison. Some days after, the news arrived at the camp of a victory gained by prince Lewis of Baden over the Turks, near Veroen in Bosnia.

The Imperialists were prevented from making any further progress in Hungary this campaign, the elector of Bavaria being obliged to leave the camp, to manage the affairs of his own states; and the duke of Lorraine not being able to bear the fatigues of the campaign, by reason of his bad health. Besides, the king of France, in breach of the truce, having begun hostilities on the Rhine, the attention of the emperor was chiefly engaged to put a stop to the progress of his arms.

The reasons pretended by Lewis XIV. for his invading the empire, were, to procure the public revenue, to support the pretensions of the duchy of Orleans to the succession of the late elector palatine, and, lastly, to assert the right of William Egon, of Furstenberg, to the archbishopric and electorate of Cologne. This electorate having become vacant on the first of January, by the death of the late elector, France, by its intrigues, procured the majority of the votes of the chapter in favour of the prince of Furstenberg; but neither of the candidates having the qualifications requisite for an election, they could only succeed by a postulation, in which case, two-thirds of the votes were necessary, besides the confirmation of the pope, and the investiture of the emperor. The pope, preferring prince Clement of Bavaria, gave him a dispensation for his want of qualifications for an election, which being obtained, his postulation became a legal election, tho' he had the minority of votes, because the other candidate had not fully two-thirds.

The king of France, having presented a manifesto to the states-general, and the diet of Ratisbon, declaring that he would look upon the enemies of the cardinal of Furstenberg as his own, soon after ordered the marquis de Boufflers to march with some troops towards Cologne. The marquis, having passed the Rhine on the twentieth of September, took Keiser-Lauter, afterwards Oppenheim, with several other towns, and, on the sixth of October, invested Philippsburg, which surrendered to the dauphin after some days of open trenches. Lewis XIV. then published a manifesto, offering to restore Philippsburg and Friburg, after having dismantled them, provided the cardinal Furstenberg was put in possession of the electorate of Cologne, the truce changed into a perpetual peace, and all the places which he had re-united to his crown by the treaty of Montfer and Nimpeguen, granted to him by a good treaty. The emperor refusing to consent to convert the truce into a peace, upon the conditions proposed by the king of France, because that would be to yield for ever the sixth part of the empire, which France had taken possession of, the French immediately entered the Palatinate, put a garrison into Mentz, took Mainz, Frankenthal, and made themselves masters of Trier, Spira, and Worms.

**The emperor and the states of the empire enter into an alliance against France.**

A.D. 1689.

**The marquis de Boufflers takes Philippsburg.**

The rapid conquests of the French alarming all Germany, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the duke of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse, assembled at Magdeburg, where they resolved to declare war against France. The prince of Orange, who was now king of Great Britain, determined likewise upon a war with France, for invading the empire, in breach of the treaties guaranteed by England, and giving assistance to the Papists of Ireland, that refused to submit to the government then established. The preparations of the allies were interrupted by the dispute between the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, with regard to the sovereignty of some territories, which was at last determined by a treaty concluded at Altena, on the thirtieth of June.

**The emperor and the states of the empire enter into an alliance against France.**

Some troops of the elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Hanover, had marched towards Frankfort; the emperor sent five regiments of horse, and four or five of foot, towards the Rhine; the elector of Brandenburg repaired to Wofol, where his best troops were assembled; the bishop of Munster promised to throw eight hundred men into Cologne; and the marquis of Brandenburg to lend two thousand. The states of Holland caufl seven or eight thousand men to march into the country of Juliers, and sent others to take possession of the places in the electorate of Munster, which the French had not yet conquered. At the same time eight regiments of Hanoverians advanced towards Trier, to cover Coblenz, and the country round. The emperor beseeches having engaged those princes, with England and the states of Holland, had likewise prevailed with Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to enter into the alliance. The diet of Ratisbon, after having in a decree mentioned, that Lewis XIV. in breach of the treaties of Munster and Nimpeguen, had feigned upon many places belonging to the empire; that he had raised forts, and built bridges over the Rhine, cut down woods, and appropriated to himself entire countries, under pretence of re-uniting them

---

7 Mem. de Brandenburg, p. 175.  
8 Barre, t. x. p. 248.  
* Id. ib. p. 258.
The history of Germany.

a them to his crown; on the fourth of March declared him an enemy to the empire, and sent their declaration to the emperor at Vienna.

The duke of Lorraine immediately leaving Innsbruck, and arriving at Vienna on the first of April, consulted with the emperor upon the operations of the campaign. The command of the troops of Hungary being given to prince Lewis of Baden, it was resolved to assemble three armies on the Rhine, namely, thirty thousand men on the Upper Rhine, commanded by the elector of Brandenburg; thirty thousand men likewise on the Upper Rhine, to assemble at Hailbron, under the command of the duke of Bavaria; all the rest of the troops of the empire were to form the third body of forty thousand men, to assemble near Frankfurt, and to be commanded by the duke of Lorraine.

b The duke afterwards arriving at Frankfurt, was surprised to find that many of the troops were but still on their march; that the magazines were but poorly furnished with provisions and warlike stores; and that there were no boats at Coblenz in order to build a bridge: the heavy cannon likewise were not yet arrived from Hungary and Bohemia, being detained by the overflowings of the rivers. The French, more vigilant and better served, had taken all possible precautions to prevent the Imperialists from passing the Rhine; and having added several new works to the fortifications of Mentz, had left a garrison in that place, consisting of twelve thousand men, among whom were two thousand officers.

The French having assembled several small camps upon the Moselle, with a design of attacking Coblenz, the duke of Lorraine reinforced the garrison of that place with several regiments; and some days after, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, and the landgrave of Hesse, arriving at the camp, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege Mentz, as the armies then, by their situation, were fo'encamped as to be easily united. The ceremonial of rank among the princes of the allied army being regulated, and some officers of artillery being arrived from the camp of the elector of Brandenburg, who had taken Kaiferswir and Nais, the duke of Lorraine decamped from Moyes, and passing the Naue, encamped at Birgen. A few days after the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, advancing with their troops, and taking possession of the pofts in the neighbourhood of Mentz, on the sixteenth of July the town was invested.

c Six days after the trenches were opened in three different places; the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Lorraine, dividing the attacks. The Saxons and Aughty labour at the trenches for several days, without being much disturbed by the French; but on the thirtieth the marquis d'Uselles, who commanded the garrison, ordered five hundred men to make a sally, who at first put the besiegers into disorder, but were at last, after an obstinate engagement, repelled. On the tenth of August the besieged making another sally, killed upwards of two hundred soldiers, with several officers; and six days after, two thousand of the best troops of the garrison fell out at mid-day, and falling upon the Saxons, in a moment cleared the trenches; but the duke of Lorraine coming up with a reinforcement, the French were repulsed with the los of twelve hundred men.

d On the eighteenth the besieged, having made two successful fallies within two hours of one another, they came out a third time with three thousand men, drums beating, and colours flying. The allies being gatigated with the two former fallies, and not expecting this third, the French fell upon five hundred men, whom they put to the sword, nailed two pieces of cannon, ruined the works of the allies, and posted the grand guards of the cavalry at the place where the trenches had been first opened. But the duke of Lorraine and the other generals, having rallied their men, repulsed the French, killing a great number of them, and regained their former pofts. On the twenty-fifth the besiegers, having sprung a mine near the covert-way, made a lodgment in that place. The elector of Bavaria having made two lodgments upon the glacis, it was resolved to attack the counter-scarp; and having gained the palisadoes of the covert-way, they finisht two good lodgments within three or four paces of the two points of the counter-scarp, with the los of two thousand men, killed and wounded. Afterwards sending for a reinforcement of foot from the elector of Brandenburg, they extended their lodgments along the covert-way; but the besieged did not wait till they were finisht, demanding to capitulate on the eighth of September; and on the eleventh they marched out of the town with all the honours of war, and six pieces of cannon, and four mortars.

e The princes having quitted the neighbourhood of Mentz, the duke of Lorraine repaired to the camp of the elector of Brandenburg, who had invested Bonn for some time, and was now carrying on the attacks with vigour. On the fifteenth of October the town capitulated, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war. The duke of Lorraine professed afterwards to besiege Traexbach; but the allies declining any new action that campaign, the camp broke up, and the troops retired into winter-quarters.
The history of Germany.

In Hungary the arms of Leopold, under the conduct of the prince of Baden, were likewise successful. In the month of July he had advanced to the river Morava, to observe the Turkish army; and finding it consisted of fifty thousand men, he returned towards Paffa-revitza, in order to reinforce his army, which only consisted of about thirty thousand men, and to furnish himself with provisions from the magazines at Semedria. The Turks finding that he retreated, marched after him, and sent out a large detachment of cavalry to intercept his convoys. This detachment being defeated on the twenty-ninth of August, the next day the prince marched his army against the Turks, who were drawn up in order of battle beyond a wood. The Imperialists having passed the wood, by the favour of a thick fog, were attacked by the Turks, who had not observed them till they were forming their lines. After the engagement had continued an hour with doubtful success, the cavalry of the Imperialists falling upon the flanks of the infidels, broke them, and pushed the whole army as far as their camp. The prince of Baden, posting himself within half a league of the enemy, after a short repose, ordered the camp to be attacked, which the Turks immediately abandoned, leaving one hundred pieces of cannon, with their baggage, warlike stores, and proviisons. On the twenty-third of September the prince defeated the Turkish army a second time near Vidin, and likewise forced their camp. Next day he entered Nizza, without any resistance; and having defeated the Turks a third time, made himself master of Vidin; where leaving a garrison, he passed the Danube, and marched into Walachia: leaving six regiments there, under pretence of protecting the hospodar from the incursions of the Tartars, and ordering the rest to march into quarters in Transylvania, he himself repaired to Augsburg, to be present at the electoral diet.

The electors being arrived, the emperor proposed to their consideration two points; the first concerned the security of the empire against the designs of Lewis XIV. The second regarded the election of a king of the Romans, which he pressed with great warmth, as necessary to disapprovethe expectations of the French, and proposed his son Joseph, king of Hungary, to be elected, with the proviso, that if the emperor should die before the designated successor had attained his eighteenth year, the vicars of the empire should govern in his name until he arrived at that age. After some objections to this diocesis, as tending to render the imperial crown hereditary in the house of Austria, Joseph was at last elected on the twenty-fourth of January, and crowned two days after. The electors then renewed the league of Augsburg, and left the determination of the succession to the duchy of Saxony-Lauenburg, till the princes pretenders had produced their manifestoes.

The German body was now in a condition to march with all its forces against France; and on the sixteenth of March a general assembly was held at the Hague, at which the envoys of the confederate princes were present, it was resolved to send two armies upon the Rhine; the first consisted of the troops of the emperor, the elector of Saxony, the house of Luneburg, and some other princes, of the king of Sweden, for the siege which he had undertaken in the country of Bremen; and lastly, of the elector of Bavaria, who commanded the whole army in chief, in the room of the duke of Lorraine, who died on the eighteenth of April, in the forty-eighth year of his age, much regretted by the whole empire, but particularly by the house of Austria. This army was to act upon the Rhine, near Philippsburg, while the second, composed of the troops of Neuburg, Mayfro, and the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded them in person, was to encamp in the neighbourhood of Cologne.

The troops which France opposed to these being very considerable, and commanded by the dauphin, great exploits were expected from two such fine armies. Nevertheless, as the strength was nearly equal on both sides, each army wanted to prefer the advantage of its post, and only watched the motions of the other, without venturing to hazard a battle. Thus the whole campaign passing over without any action, the French repassed the Rhine, and took winter-quarters in Alsace and Francne-comte, while the Germans retired, disappointed in their design of retaking Philipsburg, and invading France.

The Turks at Constaninople, exasperated at the bad success of their arms in Hungary, and the neighbouring provinces, had, in a mutinous manner, demanded the head of the grand vizier, and of the caimacam, for mal-administration of affairs. The new vizier being of an active disposition, and skilful in the art of war, made great preparations for the ensuing campaign; and the vawode of Transylvania being lately dead, he prevailed with the Grand Signior to declare Tekeli his successor, while the emperor supported the eldest son of the late Abahi. Prince Lewis of Baden being arrived at the army in Hungary, ordered general Halfer, with four thousand men, and some of the militia of the country, to make himself master of the passes, to prevent the irritation of Tekeli, who appeared upon the frontiers of Transylvania; but Tekeli, at the head of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, marched over

---

*Gazette de France, à l'An. 1690.*
almost inaccessible mountains, attacked the body of troops commanded by Heiiser, cut them in pieces, and made the general prisoner.

This victory obliged the prince of Baden to pass the Danube at Somendria, to support the Transylvanian or the imperial party; and in his absence the Turks made themselves masters of Nissa and Viljrin, which last surrendered on the twenty-first of September. The grand vizier, likewise, being informed that the breaches of Belgrade were not yet repaired, marched against that city, after having forced the palak at Somendria, and put the garrison to the sword. On the second of October the trenches were opened before the town, which, though weakly fortified, having only palisadoes in the old breaches, yet was taken by an accident sooner than was expected. On the sixth day of the siege, a bomb falling into the magazine of powder, it blew up with a dreadful noise, overturning a great many houses in the neighbourhood, and setting fire to others. The Turks, taking advantage of the disorder, attacked the palisadoes with much vigour, that they carried the place, and put all to the sword whom they found. Eight hundred soldiers and officers, who escaped, fled to Efeek, to endeavour to preserve that post, and were immediately besieged by a body of Turks from the grand vizier's army; but the Imperialists marching to the assistance of the town, the detachment of Turks retired with precipitation, leaving their cannon and part of their baggage.

The prince of Baden having received a reinforcement, which rendered his army superior, advanced against Tekel, with a design of drawing him to an action; but that count chose rather to retire to the frontiers of Moldavia than hazard an engagement; and Augustus of Hanover, at the head of one thousand horse, harrying him on his march, attacked the Germans, killed the prince of Hanover, and cut in pieces the greatest number of the men, the rest saving themselves by flight. The grand vizier, instead of joining Tekel, in order to oppose the prince of Baden, and make himself master of Transylvania, contented himself with taking Lipa, and putting provisions into Giula, Temeswar, and Waradim. The rigour of the fean not permitting Tekel to improve his late advantage, he retired into winter-quarters in Walachia, and the Imperialists being cantonised in Transylvania and Hungary, the prince of Baden repaired to Vienna.

The duke of Savoy, who had hitherto observed a neutrality, had this year acceded to the grand alliance, in consideration of the emperor's allowing his claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, and giving him the title of royal highness; and likewise to be freed from contributing to the immoderous demands of the French, who desired to put a garrison into the cities of Turin and Verceil. Louis XIV. supposing that he had abandoned his friendship, sent Catinat to Turin to expostulate with the duke; while, at the same time, an army of eighteen thousand men marched from Dauphinée into the duke's territories. The duke openly professing his engagements, Catinat left Turin; and advancing with his army, on the eighteenth of August defeated the duke near Saluzzo, and soon after made himself master of Saluzzo, Savillana, and several other places. On the tenth of September, Prince Eugene arriving with the German auxiliaries, the allies marched to attack Catinat; but he, by a feint, declining the engagement, made himself master of Sufa, and afterwards put his troops into winter-quarters.

The emperor, being informed that the Turks were making great preparations, ordered Efeek to be fortified; and that he might oppose them with greater vigour, he left the war upon the Rhine to be carried on by the German body; and prevailed with the elector of Bavaria to represent to the diet of Ratisbon the necessity of this proceeding, which likewise offered to furnish the greatest part of the troops promised to the duke of Savoy, and to go and command them in person.

The French having surprized the duke of Savoy, before he was in a condition to refit them, determined, if possible, to force him to abandon the alliance, and leaving only sufficient forces upon the Rhine to protect Aix and Lorraine, they pushed the war in Italy with great vigour; and Catinat, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of Nitra, Villa-franca, St. Aupice, Montalban, Villana, and Carmagnola; which encouraged him to besiege Coni, a place situate on a craggy hill, and defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred men, one half of whom were Protestant Vaudois and French refugees. These rapid conquests of the French were chiefly owing to the flounders of the Germans and Spaniards, who had not yet arrived, and to the embezzling of the money allowed by the king of England and the states of Holland, for the payment of the Vaudois and French refugees; but the duke of Schonberg arriving as Turin on the eighth of June, though he found affairs in a desperate situation, the court removed to Verceil, and Turin itself apprehensive of a bombardment, yet, he soon gave life and spirit to the army, by sending the officers often upon parties; and having relieved Coni, by a convoy under the command of prince Eugene, he

obliged the French to raise the siege, and retire to Ville Nova d'Asti. Soon after the Genoese auxiliaries arriving, to the number of eighteen thousand horse and foot, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and Caraco, the allies, by this reinforcement, being superior to the French, endeavoured to bring Caitnay to an engagement; but he, retiring under the cannon of Saluzzo, sought only to preserve the conquests which he had made. The allies, therefore, thought of recovering some of the places which they had lost in the beginning of the campaign; and prince Eugene, investing Carmagnola on the seventeenth of September, carried on the siege with so much vigour, that in eleven days the governor was forced to capitulate. After this conquest the allies going into winter-quarters, Caitnay beheaded the castle of Montmellian; on the seventeenth of November the trenches were opened before the place, and after a most vigorous siege, wherein they had to dispute as well with the rigours of the season as with the desperate defence of the garrison, that for there was at last, on the twenty-first of December, surrendered to the French upon honourable conditions.

LEOPOLD, chiefly intent upon opposing the Turks in Hungary, had sent the prince of Baden with upwards of forty thousand men to watch the motions of the grand vizier, who, at the head of sixty thousand Turks, intended to pass the Save, and besiege Eisleck. On the tenth of August the prince appeared before their camp, and offered them battle; but the Turks would not hazard an engagement, detaching only a body of horse to harrel the rear of the Imperialists. Some days after, posting themselves upon the rising-grounds near the Danube, with a design of cutting off provisions from the prince of Baden, they intercepted a convoy of two hundred waggons with provisions, cutting in pieces a regiment of dragoons who opposed it; and likewise falling upon the guards that conducted another convoy from Eisleck, they routed them, and made themselves masters of the waggons.

These actions, which were the most prudent the Turks had done during the war, made the prince of Baden and the other generals perceive, that they had to do with a vizier who understood how to conduct an army; wherefore, seeing themselves absolutely defitute of provisions, they resolved to force the camp of the infidels, since otherwise they must perish with famine. On the nineteenth of August they marched to attack the Turks, whom they found strongly intrenched: nevertheless, as three in the afternoon, the Imperialists, having regulated their dispositions, began the attack with great fury; and though they were repulsed several times by the Turks with great resolution, yet at last, with the loss of a great number of men, they forced the intrenchments towards evening, when the janizaries retreated in good order, notwithstanding the death of the grand vizier, who was killed in the action. The prince of Baden, marching afterwards to Petervaradin, repaired the fortifications; and dividing his army into two bodies; the one, commanded by the duke de Croy, took the road of Eisleck; the other, conducted by himself, passed the Danube in the beginning of September, and marched to besiege Grand Varadin: but the attacks having little effect, by reason of the vigorous fallies of the besieged, and the Turks likewise opening the sluices and laying the country under water, the prince of Baden left a sufficient body of troops to continue the blockade, and put the rest into winter-quarters.

LEOPOLD, having reinforced his army in Hungary, was more successful this year than in the former campaign. The colonel Colon defeated the Tartars near Eilek, upon the frontiers of Transylvania, and took Garentzebs. Count Serâu took the fortresses of Calo by assault; and the prince of Baden, who had during the winter blockaded Grand Varadin, expected to have forced the garrison to capitulate for want of subsistence; but the army of the janisaries, who commanded in the place, having found means from time to time to procure provisions, and even troops, it was resolved to turn the blockade into a siege. On the second of May the trenches were opened before the town; and, notwithstanding many fallies of the besieged, on the fourth of June the breaches were large enough to give the assault. The bavary, seeing the danger to which he was exposed, immediately demanded to capitulate; and, marching out on the seventh, the Imperialists took possession of the place. Afterwards general Heisler marched towards Segedin, and from thence took the route of Eisleck, where the prince of Baden arrived on the sixteenth of August. The army afterwards encamping in an advantageous post above Petervaradin, threw two bridges over the Danube for the convenience of foraging and provisions, and watched the motions of the Turks. But the new grand vizier, Halil, continuing in his camp at Belgrade, the prince of Baden resolved to go and attack his intrenchments; yet the heavy rains that immediately followed, made him abandon that enterprise, and think only of putting his troops into winter-quarters.

On the Rhine the allies had two small armies, that acted separately, under the command of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the margrave of Barei. But the duke of Lorraine ad-
The history of Germany.

vanishing towards the Rhine with thirty-six thousand French, and a great train of artillery, it was removed, in a council of war, that the two armies should join, which was accordingly done: but the landgrave, marching afterwards to besiege Eberenburg, was informed, by an express from the margrave, that the French were advancing towards him. He immediately sent four thousand dragoons to his assistance; and the duke of Wirtemberg, advancing with four thousand horse, posted himself near Edelfstein, with a design to amuse the French till the margrave's army should be reinforced. But Lorges, taking the advantage of a great fog, surprized the duke in his camp, and, charging so briskly that the Germans had not time to put themselves in a posture of defence, he took the duke, with several officers, and about four hundred soldiers prisoners, and killed about one thousand of the enemy upon the spot. The duke being sent to Paris, the French afterwards penetrated as far as Stuttgard, the capital of Wirtemberg, laid the country under contribution, and obliged the landgrave to raise the siege of Eberenburg, and repuls the Rhine above Binghen. The count of Stirum afterwards joining the landgrave to cover Rheingau, they put their troops into winter-quarters in the circles of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine.2

The elector of Bavaria, who was now governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had put these provinces in a better state than formerly; yet he could not hinder the king of France from attempting the siege of Namur. Leciz XIV. invested the town himself, and pursued the siege with such vigour and diligence, that in four days he made himself master of all the outworks; after which the garrison surrendered the town upon articles, and retired into the citadel. The French, encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, pushed the siege with the utmost activity; and resolving to carry the place at all adventures, by repeated sallies they drove the besieged from their posts 3, and on the twenty-first of June obliged them to surrender. All the attempts of the prince of Orange and the elector of Bavaria to relieve the place were ineffectual; the march of Luxemburg, at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, having orders to cover the siege, and the great rains that fell at that time preventing the allies from palling the Mechaigne to attack Luxemburg's army. When the citadel of Namur surrendered, the allies lay encamped at Melle: from Melle they posted over the Steine, and were joined by twelve thousand Hanoverians. On the second of August the allies being informed of the disposition of marchal Luxemburg's army, which posted itself near Stein Kirch, they attacked the French infantry, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. The duke of Luxemburg, trusting to the intelligence he had with the elector of Bavaria's valet de chambre, was surprized at this attack; but the treachery of the valet having been discovered, the allies forced him to give the French general false information, to conceal from him their real design. Luxemburg, galloping to the right, found the brigade de Bourbonnais drove from the height in great disorder, and the allies matters of their ground and artillery. After two attacks without success, he put himself at the head of the brigade of guards, and forced the prince of Orange to retire. The duke of Wirtemberg came to the assistance of the prince, and sustained the attacks of the French for a long while; but the dragoons of the marquis de Bousiers coming freth to the engagement, the allies were obliged to retreat.

In Italy the allies were superior to Catinat; for the French, chiefly regarding the war in Flanders, deferred only to defend what they had gained on this side; but the duke of Savoy, having dispersed several parties into the valleys, and other places, for securing the country, marched in the month of July at the head of twenty thousand men into France; and pillaging several villages in Dauphiny, he made himself master of the castle of Guillafyre. Afterwards he attacked Ambros, which surrendered after nine days siege. Here he found twenty pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand livres, by seizing the pay of the French king's troops, and laying the city and neighbouring villages under contribution. From Ambros the army marched to Gap, a city upon the frontiers of Provence, whose inhabitants opened their gates, and readily conformed to pay contribution, to preserve their houts from being pillaged and burnt; a treatment which near eighty castles and villages received from the Germans, in retaliation of the barbarities committed by the French in the Palatinate.

But the duke of Savoy falling sick of the small pox, a spirit of division breaking out among the generals, and winter approaching, the allies thought proper to abandon their conquests; and having burnt and plundered the country, they retired before the mountains should be shut up by the snow.

This year the Protestant interest in Germany was strengthened by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover. That duke, who had been long in the interest of France, had now entered into the grand alliance; and promised great supplies against the Turks. King William concurred.

currying to prefire the matter at the court of Vienna, the emperor agreed to it, under pretence that the number of electors ought to be unequal, to prevent the inconveniences of an election, where the votes might be equally divided. The duke was supported in his claim only by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; the other electors, both ecclesiastic and laic, and the college of the cities, opposing it with great warmth. Their deputies at the diet of Ratisbon represented, that it was with great astonishment they heard that the emperor designed to erect a new electorate, without the participation and consent of the states of the empire: nevertheless, they hoped that, regarding the ancient customs and constitutions of the empire, he would suspend the investiture of this ninth electorate till the result of the deliberations of the three colleges should be known.

Leo Pold, without having regard to these remonstrances, on the nineteenth of December gave the investiture of the new electorate to Ernold Augylus, with the title of elector of Brunsfoite, and great marshal of the empire. The deputies at Ratisbon, being informed of the investiture, immediately drew up a manifesto, representing to his imperial majesty the grievances of their masters, and complaining of the investiture as contrary to the Golden Bull, and several capitulations confirmed by successive emperors; therefore they declared the investiture given to the duke of Hanower null; and that they would not acknowledge him as an elector, resolving to adhere to the Golden Bull, the treaties of Waffophelia, and other fundamental laws of the empire. This dispute continued for some time in terms of negotiation with the princes opposing the investiture, who consented themselves to renew their protestations afterwards in the conferences held at Ryszowic for the general peace.

A. D. 1693.

The emperor, finding his cities dispeopled, and his treasures greatly exhausted, had, during the winter, made proposals of peace to the Turks, which were by them rejected; therefore he resolved to begin the campaign early upon the Rhine, and in Hungary; and raising the militia of Bohemia, Austria, the Milanes, and other hereditary countries, he prefixed the princes and cities to hasten the march of their troops. But many of the states of Germany, dissatisfied with the war, and the new electorate which Leopold had erected, were not much disposed to obey; so that they acted slowly, and with little vigour, and were likewise retarded by some private disputes about the command.

The French army, being assembled at Little Holland near the Rhine, on the seventeenth of May paffed that river near Philipburg, without opposition; and the marquis de Chamilly, with twenty thousand French, encamped before Heidelberg; while the duke de Longis, at the head of thirty thousand men, crossed the mountains to oppose the prince of Baden, who was encamped under Heibron with a very small army. The marquis de Chamilly, finding that the prince of Baden was not yet in a condition to act offensively, prefixed the siege vigorously; and having gained the furubs, and killed five hundred of the garrison, he entered the town by the fortress of the Star, which the besieged had abandoned. The governor of the castle, seeing the French masters of the town, where they put all to fire and sword, offered to capitulate; and the articles being signed, the garrison marched out on the twenty-fourth of May, with two pieces of cannon and all their baggage, and were conducted to Wimpfen. The French, being masters of the castle, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes, not sparing even the tombs of the electors and patrician princes. Soon after the duke de Longis advanced towards the Neckar, with a design to attack the prince of Baden; but being twice repulsed in attempting to pass that river, he was forced to abandon his enterprise, with the loss of near one thousand men. The dauphin afterwards, arriving with a strong reinforcement, resolved to force the intrenchments of the Imperialists; but marching to the rising-grounds at Otmarraigem, within cannon-shot of the enemy, he perceived that their camp was inaccessible; and not being able to force them to quit their intrenchments, he repassed the river; and having put a garrison into Strigtard, and sent a detachment of twelve thousand men into Piedmont, and another of ten thousand into Flanders, he returned in Augst to Verailles. After the departure of the dauphin, the allies obliged the French to evacuate the duchy of Wirtemberg, and then put their troops into winter-quarters.

In Flanders the French were prevented from entering Brabant by the diligence of King William, who had encamped at Parke near Lowdian; but the duke of Luxemburg took Huy, and defeated the allies at Landen.

The duke of Saxony being recovered from his long indisposition, put himself at the head of the allies in Italy; and resolving to drive the French out of his territories, he began the campaign with the attack of Fort St. George, which completed the blockade of Cafa: afterwards the army marching to Pignerol, bombarded the town; but while they were deliberating about the siege, Catinat, who had received a reinforcement of twelve thousand men

[Note: Partial footnotes and references are provided at the end.]

from
from the Rhine, descended into the plains, and gave the duke such apprehensions for Turin, that he drew off from Pignerol, and encamped at Marsiglia. Catinat approaching, the duke, contrary to the opinion of Prince Eugene and the duke of Schomberg, resolved to hazard a battle. On the fourth of October, about nine in the morning, the two armies engaged; and, after a desperate dispute on both sides, the honour of the action fell to the French. The duke of Schomberg died soon after of his wounds at Turin: the allied army having encamped under the cannon of that place; while the French, after raising great contributions, repassed the mountains, and took winter-quarters in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc.

In Hungary the Imperialists did nothing considerable this year; for the duke de Crey was obliged to raise the siege of Belgrade after thirty-two days open trenches, the grand vizier coming to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thousand men. The duke de Crey, with only eighteen thousand men, quitted his camp, and intrenched himself under the cannon of Peterwaradin, while the grand vizier arriving at Belgrade, sent out his Tartars to pillage the country, who every day had small skirmishes with the Imperialists. Afterwards thirty thousand Turks marching into Transylvania, and the bashaw who commanded them, leaving the heavy baggage at Giulia, with three or four thousand men, count Hofkirchen, who defended the frontiers, put himself at the head of six regiments of dragoons, and attacking the Turks who guarded the baggage, killed about one thousand of them, and returning with his booty to the Feyer, posted six regiments of foot, and several regiments of horse, along that river; by which disposition, the Turks being prevented from succeeding in their design, retreated, and afterwards put their troops into winter-quarters. The imperial camp being then very sickly, soon after broke up, and the duke de Crey repaired to Vienna, and represented to the emperor the great necessity of augmenting his troops, as the Turks threatened to return in the spring with greater forces.

By the persuasion of the prince of Baden, it was resolved to have a fleet this year upon the Danube; but the emperor’s finances being greatly exhausted, to remedy this deficiency commissaries were given to private persons, who being indulged with particular privileges, destructive of commerce, fitted out some fias; and to support the expenses of the war in Hungary, a new tax was railed of three crowns upon each measure of salt. The difficulty of raising money occasioned a great diminution in their proceedings, so that the army could not assemble in Hungary till towards the month of August. It was expected that the deposition of the grand vizier would have delayed the progress of the Turks; but his successor redoubling his efforts, had given express orders for the speedy march of the troops, the Tartars threatened an irruption into Transylvania, and the Tatarish of Belgrade, having passed the Danube with an army, had invested Tirol.

The court of Vienna was at this time greatly embarrassed for want of money to pay the troops, who demanded with great earnestness, the arrears of two or three months which were due to them. The people being pressed to pay the taxes, some lords, faithful subjects of the holy state of Austria, borrowed considerable sums upon their private credit, to pay the garrisons of Peterwaradin, and the neighbouring cities. The negociations of the emperor likewise, with the princes of Germany, advanced very slowly; for as his coffers were exhausted, the minister of the other courts did not express such an ardor for his service: but George elector of Saxony, dying on the seventeenth of May, Frederick-Augustus, his brother, who succeeded him, contented to continue the Saxon troops in Hungary, and to augment those who were to march for the Rhine.

The duke de Crey having relieved the command of the army in Hungary, the emperor gave it to count Caprara, who left Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July, with the promise, that in a short time the money necessary for paying the troops, and for other expenses, should be sent to him. Mean while the grand vizier, at the head of an army of ninety thousand men, passed the Sava, and invested Peterwaradin. Having encamped within a league of the place, and posted the rising-grounds upon the banks of the Danube, he advanced his fleet of one hundred and ten vessels within cannon-shot of the Imperialists. The German army, with a design of asstilling the besieged, had continual skirmishes with the Tartars, and the cannonading was continued every day with upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, from both the fleets, and the batteries at land. The presence of the count Caprara’s army, having prevented the Turks from making great progress in the siege, the heavy rains in the end of September obliged them to abate and abandon it, and go into winter-quarters.

France having suffered greatly by two successive bad harvests, the common people were reduced to misery, and great multitudes perished for want. The extreme poverty of the kingdom obliged Louis XIV. to try all possible methods for bringing about a ge-
The history of Germany.

2

eral pacification, or at least a separate peace with some of the confederates. In the beginning of this year he made some offers to the duke of Savoy, who did not hearken to them: he likewise employed the mediation of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, for a peace with the emperor and German princes; but the preliminary propositions appeared so unsatisfactory to the allies, that they could not be persuaded that he sincerely desired peace, or at least such an one as they desired for their common safety; therefore, as there was no prospect of a just peace, the allies made preparations for the campaign.

The death of the bishop and prince of Liège, gave the French a fair prospect at this time, of embroiling the affairs of the confederates on that side: but the cardinal Beziillen, who was supported by the French, being rejected by the chapter, the major part of the capitulars chose the elector of Cologne, and the rest the grand-master of the Teutonic order, for their prince and bishop. Both the candidates sending to the pope and the emperors to have their respective election confirmed, it was still feared that the election would not be quietly concluded: but whilst both parties impatiently expected the decision of the fee of Rome, the contest was determined by the death of the grand-master; so that the elector of Cologne, in some time after, obtained the peaceable possession of that bishopric and principality.

The prince of Orange, and the elector of Bavaria, at the head of the confederate army in Flanders, were encamped at Tillemont, whilst the French army, under the command of the dauphin, were advanced as far as Tongres, where they were joined by the troops of marchal Boufflers. Both armies continuing for some time in their posts, the allies at last formed a design of passing the Scheldt at Pont d'Espieres. With this view, on the twenty-fourth of August, they detached a body of troops, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, to endeavour to take possession of the bridge: but the dauphin, sensible of the danger of allowing the allies to penetrate into French Flanders, ordered four thousand dragoons, with each a footman mounted behind him, to march with the utmost dispatch to take possession of the bridge, and throw up some intrenchments to oppose the enemy. The elector of Bavaria, upon his arrival, finding the French strongly intrenched, did not think it prudent to pursue his enterprise.

The prince of Orange, finding it impossible to attempt any thing on that side, resolved to dispossess the enemy of Dixmuide and Huy. This last place, though well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, surrender'd on the twenty-seventh of September, after eight days open tresses. By this conquest, which was the last expedition of the campaign, the French were totally expelled out of the bishopric of Liège.

On the Rhine the Imperialists, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, lying encamped near Heilbrun, the marcher lal DAGH having pass'd the Rhine, marched towards them with his army in order of battle; but finding that the prince of Baden, though not yet reinforced with the Savs, had resolution to meet him, he retreated towards Wislach, pass'd the Neckar, burnt the town of Landenburg, and ruined the flat country. The prince of Baden, defirous of engaging the French, advanced to Wislach, an advantageous post, of which he took possession after a sharp encounter with the enemy, who pass'd the Rhine three days after, and encamp'd between Mainheim and Frankenthal. Soon after the allies decamp'd from Stolhom, and laying a bridge over the Rhine, entered Alsace on the fourteenth of September, and destroy'd a great quantity of forage, and some magazines, they laid the great bailliage of Haguenau, and part of Lower Alsace, under contribution. The marcher lal DAGH, surpris'd with this sudden expedition, marched towards Landau, and design'd to inclose the German, he detach'd the marquis d’Uxelles, that marching behind the mountains he might attack their rear, whilst he himself attack'd them with the rest of the army: but the prince of Baden suspecting his intention, ordered his army to repass the Rhine, which then beginning to swell, immediately after overflow'd its banks so much, that it was impossible for the French to follow him.

The elector of Brandenburg, being ambitious of the title of king, in order to secure the good dispositions of the emperor, whose approbation would influence the votes of the whole Germanic body, by a treaty this year, put an end to the differences that had, for some time, subsisted between the houses of Brandenburg and Auffria, with regard to their pretensions to some fiefs in Babemia and Silezia. The elector ceded to the emperor the circle of Schwiebus, and his imperial majesty granted to the electoral branch of Brandenburg, the title of king of Prussia, the reversion of the principality of Ekh-Frieland, and barony of Limburg, a place in the aulic council for a Protestant deputy, and promis'd to pay the elector two hundred and fifty thousand florins. The treaty was accordingly executed on both sides the year following.
The history of Germany.

a The duke of Saxony, though he openly rejected the proposals made to him from France, after his defeat at Marignano, yet entering into a private negotiation he continued very inactive, and prevented the execution of the schemes formed by Prince Eugene, general of the army of the empire. The taking of the castle of St. George, and the blockade of Cazal, were the utmost of their expeditions, while marchal Catinat observed their motions, being encamped at Fenuselles.

This winter the court of France flattered their people with a speedy end of the war; A.D. 1695 and Lewis XIV. accepting the mediation of the king of Sweden, proposed to make the treaties of Wisbyphalia and Nimeguen the basis of the negotiation, and that the truce concluded at Ratisbon should be turned into a definitive treaty, with some alterations: but some men of great consideration, being sent by the allies as far as Marfriech, to see what powers their sent by France had brought, they found them so limited, and the preliminaries so high, that the negotiation was soon at an end, or rather never began: and the allies depended upon the success of their arms, as they had made great preparations in Flanders.

b The prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, invested Namur, which he reduced after an obstinate siege, while Villers reduced Dixmyde and Deneffe, and bombarded Brussells.

There was not any action this year upon the Rhine, both armies being so equal in strength, that they could not lie on the defensive. In the month of May the French raised some redoubts along the Rhine, and the Germans ordered the fortifications at Heilbron to be repaired, and a camp to be marked between the Rhine and the Main, from whence their auxiliaries might harass the French soldiers and workmen.

In Montserrat, the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had ordered six thousand Imperialists, and as many Spaniards and Piedmontese to march in the beginning of April, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to attack Cazal: but after the siege was well advanced, there fell such a quantity of snow, that the allies were obliged to go into winter-quarters again. In the month of June their army again taking the field, encamped before Cazal, which capitulated a few days after the trenches were opened. It was agreed that it should be restored to the duke of Mantua, after all the fortifications were destroyed; that the demolishing the out-works should be at the expense of the allies, while the king of France demolished the rest. A truce being agreed to during the dismantling of Cazal, the work went on so slowly, that the whole summer was spent before it was finished.

c In Hungary the Imperialists were obliged to remain upon the defensive, the Turkish army being upwards of one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the Tartars, and commanded by the Grand Signior in person. Besides the power of their enemy, the court of Vienna had to struggle with domestic difficulties; for, notwithstanding the heavy taxes upon the people, they were still in great want of money for the necessary expenses. The fleet upon the Danube was unserviceable for want of sailors; and a great many officers delayed joining their regiments, till they had assurances of being payed their arrears. The reinforcements likewise of Saxony and Brandenburg were yet upon their march, though the summer was far advanced. In the beginning of August the elector of Saxony, who was to command the German army in Hungary, repaired to Peterwaradin; and being informed that the sultan had made a bridge at Panzova, with a design of taking Lips, and entering Transylvania, he left count Herberville with a body of troops to cover Peterwaradin and Tisza, and marched towards Betch with the rest of the army: from thence he passed the Tisza, resoluing to go to the assistance of Veterni, who guarded the frontiers of Transylvania. But the Turks, having the advantage of several days march, sent a detachment of twelve thousand men to take possession of Tisza; likewise carried Lips by assault; and afterwards attacking Veterni, entirely defeated him, though with very great loss to themselves. The remains of his army, to the number of three thousand men, under the command of general Truchfes, retired to the Iron-gate, one of the principal passes on the frontiers of Transylvania. At 1st, after thirty days hard march, the Imperialists, under the command of the elector of Saxony, encamped within a few leagues of general Truchfes. The sultan, being informed of the elector's arrival, on the sixth of October repassed the Danube with his troops, and, taking the route of Adrianople, left the grand vizier to order the preparations for next campaign, which he resolved to begin early.

d The emperor, seeing the necessity of having a strong army in Hungary, engaged the German princes to augment their contingent: and treated with the king of Denmark for some regiments: but that prince, having then some difference with the duke of Holstein, would not consent to part with his troops. Frederick, duke of Holstein, having succeeded his father, who died this year on the fifth of January, proposed to call an assembly of the g-ulates, that the clergy and nobility of the two duchies of Holstein and Steinfisk might pay

1 Puffend. lib. viii. pag. 76. Barre, tom. x. pag. 340.
him their ordinary homage; and wrote to the king of Denmark, joint sovereign of the
duchy of Holstein, for his approbation. As Frederick had not named the regencies of the cities
of Lubeck and Hamburg among those who ought to pay homage, and as this omission had
been practiced during the late duke’s reign, against which the Danish deputies had protested,
in order to preserve the rights of their master, the king of Denmark desired the duke to
defy the solemnity of the homage, assuring him, that the delay should be no prejudice to the
common rights.

A. D. 1656.

The duke, not hearkening to the representations of the king of Denmark, had entered
into an alliance with Sweden, and taken some troops of that crown into his service, design-
ing to cause the homage to be paid him, without any more regard to the king of Den-
mark. The king being informed of this, declared to the duke, that, notwithstanding the
irregularity of his conduct, he would still observe mildness and moderation; and not
oppose the exercise of the acts of common government; provided that he first communicated
the testament of the duke to his father, renewed the antient unions, which ought to be done
at the beginning of each reign, and dismissed the troops which he had taken into his ser-
vice. The duke refusing positively to comply with these conditions, the king immediately
prohibited the exercise of the acts of common government; and was preparing to have
recourse to force, when the princes, mediators of the treaty of Altam, prevailed with the
two parties to terminate their difference in an amicable manner in a congress held at Pi-
neberg; but the treaty was not faithfully observed by either of the parties.

The allies, though weary of the war, yet hoping, from the late success of their arms, c
to oblige the king of France to offer more reasonable conditions than those already pro-
posed by him, they made great preparations for the campaign; and on the thirteenth of
March forty squadrons marching from Namur, the greatest part of them invested Dinant;
while the rest, under the command of lieutenant-general Coehorn, burnt the French maga-
azines at Givet. Marechal Villerey having taken the field, the prince of Orange soon after
appeared at the head of the allies, and encamped near Wavre. Afterwards quitting that
post, and marching towards Gemblours, he obliged marechal Boufflers to decamp, and pas-
s the Sambre, to cover the places situated on that river, and on the Maas. Both armies
seemed to have grand designs, yet they executed nothing; but fatigued one another by
marches and counter-marches betwixt the Maas and the Schelde. The generals on both d
sides practiced all the stratagems of war, and fought the advantages of a victory without
the effusion of blood.

On the Rhine, as well as in Flanders, both armies continued on the defensive. About
the twenty-third of June the French passed the Rhine, and encamped within a league of
Eppingen, where the Imperialists were intrenched. Towards the end of the campaign the
prince of Baden passed the Rhine in his turn near Mentz, and advanced to Neufhardt against
the French; while general Turenne was to have passed the Rhine near Philippsburg, and at-
tacked them in rear; but the French, having notice of his design, detached the marquis
d’Aizelles to oppose him. The Germans, therefore, after having raised great contributions,
repassed the Rhine in the beginning of October, and then marched into winter-quarters.

This year the duke of Savoy was drawn off from the grand alliance by the intrigues of
the French court, seconded by the pope’s nuncio and the Venetian envoy, who were defrous
of sending the Germans out of Italy, and afraid of the increase of heresy, by the encour-
agement given to the Vaudis and the French Protestants. As the duke could not conclude
the treaty at Turin, being narrowly observed by the lord Galway, in the beginning of the
year he went, with a small retinue of his own naming, to our Lady of Loreto, under pre-
tence of a religious vow. There having concluded the treaty, by the mediation of the
agents of Rome and Venice, he returned to his capital, and, in conjunction with the allies,
made great preparations for the campaign. In the mean time marechal Catinat marched
towards Turin with an army of fifty thousand men, with a pretended intention of bombard-
ing that place; but in reality to support the duke, when he should publish his acceptance
of the treaty. On the twelfth of July, the French army threatening the town, he con-
cluded a truce with them for a month, which was afterwards continued to the fifteenth of
September. The treaty was at last published on the twenty-third of August, under the
title of the Neutrality of Italy; when the duke wrote to the emperor, and the electors of
Bavaria and Brandenburg, desiring them to accede to the neutrality; otherwise he should
be obliged to join his arms with those of France, to force the Germans to observe the peace,
or to retire from Italy.

In conformity to the treaty, the king of France made a solemn renunciation of all pre-
tensions to Savoy, and the duke’s territories; Pignerol was demolished; four millions of
livres were to be allowed to the duke for reparation of the damages sustained during the

The history of Germany.

a war, and a marriage immediately treated of between the duke of Burgundy and the princes Mary Adelaide, to be consummated as soon as they should be of age. In the mean time, the allies began to retire out of a country where they were already looked upon as enemies; and marching into the Milanese, were followed, at the expiration of the truce, by the duke of Saxe, at the head of the French and his own troops. Thus, by an adventure not to be paralleled in history, the same general commanded two contending armies in one campaign. Four days after the duc's arrival, he beliged Valenza, in order to oblige the allies to evacuate Italy, or to accept of the neutrality. After the siege was far advanced, the allies at last consented to accept of the neutrality, upon condition that three hundred thousand crowns were paid to the Germans, in lieu of winter-quarters. Thus was concluded the particular peace of Italy, which hastened the general one the year following.

b The elector of Saxony, who commanded in Hungary, began the campaign with the siege of Temesvar, but some days after was obliged to abandon his enterprise. Being informed that the Turks advanced, with a design to force his intrenchments, he marched himself towards them, in order to give them battle. The grand vizier was then encamped in the plain of Temesvar, with the river Beghe in his rear, a marsh on his left, and in his front three rows of wagons, fastened together by chains and ropes. The elector, resolving to fall upon the Turks before they had fortified themselves better, ordered six battalions, supported by two regiments of dragoons, to begin the attack. But the Turks, sending out twelve thousand chosen horse, repulsed the Germans; and forcing the chevaux de frîle, which covered their infantry, they penetrated to their second line, cutting in pieces all that opposed them. The janizaries also advancing, put the Germans into such disorder, that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of six or seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and twenty-three pieces of cannon taken. The Imperialists soon after repulsed the Beghe, but were attacked on their march by one thousand Turks, who put them in disorder, killed many of their men, took a hundred cattle, and several wagons laden with baggage. For eight days together the Turks harrassed the march of the Germans, who were extremely fatigued, having had no rest, being in great want of provisions, and tormented with thirst. At length, by the great care of the elector of Saxony, they arrived, on the thirtieth of Aug., at Olajsz, where they found refreshments.

c The elector, having afterwards distributed them into winter-quarters, returned to Dresden, to endeavour to procure the throne of Poland, which was now vacant by the death of John Sobieski. The election of a successor having been delayed almost a whole year, by the artifices of the bishop of Gêzna, was at last fixed to the twenty-seventh of June. During this delay, the elector having gained many of the palatines, and agreed to renounce Lutheranism, and profess the Roman Catholic religion, professed himself as a candidate for the throne, and marched his troops towards Poland, to be ready to support his interest. On the day of the election, he was proclaimed king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, by the bishop of Czestochowa; tho' the prince of Conti, the other candidate, had the majority of votes. Being thus called to the throne, he immediately entered Poland at the head of his troops, and being joined by those of the crown, which declared for him, he strengthened his authority thro' the kingdom; and having forced the prince of Conti to retire, secured the quiet possession of it to himself.

In the mean time, the hopes of a general peace were not so certain, but that each party thought it necessary still to prepare for war, at the same time naming the generals for the armies, and the plenipotentiaries for the negotiations of peace. On the Rhine, the allies, after having thrown up intrenchments along the Neckar and the Rhine, encamped at Eppingen; whilst the French army, commanded by maréchal Cholet, passed the Rhine on the fourth of July, and posted themselves at Steinbach. The two armies afterwards lay several days in sight of each other, but declined coming to an engagement; and the French marching towards Ebermberg, which furrowered after eight days.

The French, having withdrawn their forces from Italy, sent Catinato Flanders, who, at the head of forty thousand men, laid siege to Aalb; while Villery and Bonfils, with two other armies, opposed the allies, who made some motions to secure the place; but as they must have hazarded a battle against an army much superior to theirs, they resolved, in a council of war, to entrench themselves in an advantageous post, in order to secure Brabant. Aalb furrowered to the French, they afterwards proposed to take possession of the post of Andelbruck, by means of which they could have made themselves masters of Brussel and Flanders; but finding the allies so advantageously situated, and the prince of Orange having lent a great reinforcement to Brussel, they thought proper to alter their designs.

g This north of Germany was at this time disturbed with new commotions: the duke of Streit having called in Sweds to enable him to take possession of the duchy of Goerzow.

A. D. 1697. In afterwards becoming king of Poland.

The prince of Baden takes Ebermberg.

The theatre furrowers to the French.

The history of Germany.

pretending to the succession of the late duke Gustavus Adolphus, who died without male issue. a The envoy of the emperor representing to the directors of the circle of Lower Saxony, that the duchy of Guelfaw ought to be put under sequestration, till the rights of the pretenders to the succession were determined, the duke of Strelitz submitted to the commissio; but the Swedifh troops refused to evacuate the city of Guelfaw, without orders from the king their matter, and likewise denied admittance to the duke of Mecklenburg, who was declared suc-

cessor by the emperor. The directors of the circle joined their forces to those of Sweden, pre-
tending that their privileges were violated by Leopold's determination.

The plenipotentaries of the allies being arrived at the Hague, while those of France resided at Deift, it was resolved to hold the conferences at a palace of the prince of Orange, situated betwixt these two places, and close by the village of Ryfsweck; and the preliminaries being settled, baron Lillieroot, the mediator, appointed the first conference to be held on the ninth of May. Some days after, the imperial plenipotentaries delivered to the mediator their demands in the name of the emperor and empire; and some of the German miniature, at the same time, gave in the particular pretensions of the princes their matters. The French, in their turn, proposed the conditions, according to which they were ready to make a peace, and declared, that, if the allies did not accept of these offers before the twenty-
fifth of September, they would reckon themselves free to propose new articles*. The imperial miniature made a tedious answer to the plan proposed by France, as the emperor fought all means to retard the peace, and defied the continuance of the grand alliance, to assist him in the design he had of placing the archduke Charles, his youngest son, upon the throne of Spain, in case of the death of his Catholic majesty, who was at present in such a declining state of health, that the imperial court thought he had but a few months to live. The same reason that made the emperor defie the continuance of the grand alliance, obliged the king of France to hasten the peace; for he likewise intended the succession of that monarchy for the duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin: therefore, desiring chiefly to satify the rest of the allies, he made large offers to the states of Holland and Spain. The day fixed by France for the termination of the conferences being at last come, the English, Spanish, and Dutch plenipotentaries signed the treaty; while the imperial and electoral miniature, who were present in the hall, entered a protestation against the proceedings of the allies.

Nevertheless, the Imperialists thought proper to agree to a cessation of arms; and expeditions were dispatched to the respective armies upon the Rhine, to discontinue all acts of hostility. The plenipotentaries of the empire and France then resuming their conferences, endeavoured to settle the remaining points in controversy: but the French now seeing the empire under the necessity of accepting the conditions proposed by them, absolutely refused to part with Strafsburg, but ceded Philippsburg, Friburg, Briack, and the forts on the other side the Rhine, as equivalents. At length the emperor, considering that Briack and Friburg were places belonging to his hereditary dominions, consented to the exchange; and all other articles being agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the thirtieth of October, and ratified by the emperor on the seventh of December, in his own name, and the name of the empire.

By the treaty, Lewis XIV. engaged to restore to the emperor and the empire the fort of Kell, Philippsburg, Friburg, and all his other conquests beyond Alsace; and likewise that all the re-unions made by the chambers of Metz, Besançon, and Briack, since the treaty of Ni-
mequen, should be made void: that Lorraine should be restored according to the conditions of that treaty; only that the fortifications of Nancy should be destroyed. On the other side, Strafsburg, and all depending upon it on the left side of the Rhine, were ceded to France; the duke of Neuburg was re-established in the Palatinate; the pretensions of the princes, which were disputed by the duke, were referred to the arbitration of the pope, and, till the difference was decided, the elector was obliged to pay every year one hundred thou-
sand florins of the Rhine to the duchefs of Orléans.

During the negotiations at Ryfsweck, the ambassadors of the Protestant princes delivered a memorial to the mediator, demanding that in Strafsburg, and all the other cities of Alsace to be ceded to France, the Lutheran religion should be tolerated, and enjoy all the rights and privileges secured by the treaty of Wolfshalia*. The French desiring some time to an-
swer, afterwards, in concert with the imperial plenipotentaries, negleected this representation, and inferred in the treaty, that the Roman Catholic religion, in the places to be delivered up, should remain in the same state in which it was at that time. Thus, no notice being taken of the Protestants, several churches were to be left to the Papists, which, according to the laws of the empire, and the preliminaries of the treaty, ought to have been taken from them, and restored to the Protestants. The ministers of the electors, and other Protestant princes, refused to sign the treaty till this clause was altered; and published a memorial justly.

---

* Barne, t. x. p. 365.  1 Histoire de Alsace, t. ii.  2 Memoires de Ryfsweck, t. iv. p. 121.
The history of Germany.

Containing the Progress of a new Alliance against France.

The elector of Saxony being engaged in quieting the tumults in his new kingdom of Poland, Leopold gave the command of his troops in Hungary to prince Eugene, who had already become famous by his actions upon the Rhine, and in Italy. The prince repairing to Virismarton, in Upper Hungary, put himself at the head of the Imperialists, and ordered prince Vaudemont to dispose a body of malcontents, who, commanded by one of Tekai’s captains, ravaged the country, took Tekai, and several other places, putting to death all who offered to resist them. Upon the approach of prince Vaudemont, the malcontents retired into Tekai; which place was attacked with so much vigour by the Imperialists, that they carried it by assault in a few days, putting most of the malcontents to the sword. Those that remained having fled to Potach, the prince pursued them, cutting to pieces all that resisted, and forcing the rest to deliver up their captain, and lay down their arms.

In the mean time, the Turks army, which was three times the number of the Imperialists, and commanded by the Grand Seignior, marched from Belgrade, with an intention of besetting Peterwaradin; while the fleet, composed of one hundred and fifty vessels, sailed up the Danube, and paffed the Save. Prince Eugene, being too weak to oppose the enemy, waited for a strong reinforcement from Transylvania, and put a garrison into Titoul. After the reinforcement had joined him, he marched his army towards the sultan; who, judging it impossible to besiege Peterwaradin in fight of the imperial army, resolved to make an irruption into Transylvania. Having taken and burnt Titoul, he passed the Danube, and marched up both sides of the Thysf. Prince Eugene having heard that Tekai had persuaded the Grand Seignior to besiege Sagedin, sent a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison, and continued his march to watch the motions of the Turks. The sultan being encamped near Zenta, on both sides of the Thysf, over which he had thrown a bridge, prince Eugene formed the resolution of attacking his camp. On the eleventh of September, in the morning, he put his army in march in twelve columns, and about four in the afternoon, having formed them in order of battle, he advanced against the enemy, who were defended by three intrenchments, and seventy pieces of heavy cannon. The Turks began the engagement with their artillery, which was answered by the Imperialists, who, at the same time, advanced with their right towards the river, and their left towards the country. About fix in the evening, coming up to the intrenchments, they attacked them with such impetuosity, that the Turks were immediately broke, and put into confusion; and the grand vizier being killed whilst he was endeavouring to rally them, they made no more resistance, but fled in disorder. The right of the Imperialists, having broke down the bridge, intercepted those that fled, and put them all to the sword, not sparing even the bawhows, who offered them money to spare their lives. The ground was covered with twenty thousand dead, and ten thousand more were drowned in the Thysf. The loss of the Imperialists was very incon siderable, having only four hundred and thirty men killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. There were taken from the infidels nine hundred waggons, fix thousand camels loaded with provisions, seven thousand horses, seventy-two heavy cannon, seven horse-tails, fifteen thousand tents, with that of the Grand Seignior, and his chariot, in which were ten women of the seraglio, the military chefs, in which were found three millions, and the archives of the chancery of the sultan.

That prince had fled to Belgrade with a small body of horse, and left the remains of his army intrenched on the opposite bank of the Thysf; while prince Eugene marched into Bosnia, took Srepskis, the capital, by surprise, destroyed the fortresses of Dobay, Magley, and Brandach, and landing his army with booty, led them back into winter quarters, returning himself to Vienna.

The troops that had been employed upon the Rhine, and in Italy, having now marched into Hungary, and being assembled at Salankemen, between Peterwaradin and Belgrade, prince Eugene repaired thither early in the spring, with a design to open the campaign, before the

---

Battali* de Prince Eugene, i. Barre, t. x. p. 376.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.

4 N
The History of Germany.

Turks were joined by the khan of the Tartars, who was on his march with thirty thousand men. The prince made many attempts to draw them to an engagement; but they still continuing in their camp, he proposed in a council of war to besiege Temeswar, which, if it was taken, would confine the infidels to Walachia, and prevent them from giving any assistance to the malcontents of Transylvania and Upper Hungary; but the place was so well provided with everything for a siege, and the Ottoman army was now so strongly reinforced by the junction of the Tartars, and the garrisons of several towns, that it was thought proper not to undertake that enterprize. Prince Eugene, afterwards hearing of a great convoy that was preparing for Temeswar, made all the necessary dispositions to intercept it; but his design being betrayed by a huiscar that defected to the enemy, the convoy was stopped, and the Imperialists obliged to return to their camp. Thus the whole campaign having passed over without any action, both parties now waited the issue of the conferences for peace to be held at Carlowitz, a small town upon the Danube, near Petervaradin.

The emperor, tho' he was now delivered from the war with France, yet, as his revenues were quite exhausted, he very willingly hearkened to proposals of peace; and the Grand Seignior, fearing a revolution upon his bad success, had prevailed with the king of Great Britain, and the states-general of the United Provinces, to act as mediators in negotiating a peace. The first conference was held on the first of November, and the preliminaries being quickly agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the twenty-sixth of January, in the year following, between the sultan on one part, and the house of Austria, the Venetians, Poland, and Muscovy, on the other. Transylvania was ceded to the emperor, with the conquests which he had made in Hungary; and a truce was agreed to between the emperor and the Porte for twenty-five years. The Turks being able to obtain nothing for Tekeli, as an acknowledgement for his services, they ceded to him Lugosi, Carinhas, and Vidin, with the title of a principality.

This year there was some opposition to the execution of the treaty of Ryswick by the Protestants and the elector-palatine. The Protestants complained to the diet against the fourth article of the treaty, concerning religion, as a formed design between the emperor and the king of France to destroy the Protestant religion in Germany: but far from having that satisfaction which they desired, they were only told, that the article in the treaty, concerning religion, was conformable to that of Wolfibaltia, the Catholics being left to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Protestant countries, and Protestants enjoying the same privileges in Catholic countries. The elector-palatine, under pretence of not being fully re-established in all his rights, refused to pay the one hundred thousand florins to the duches of Orleans, according to his agreement. To prevent this refusal from troubling the peace of the empire, both parties contented to refer their reciprocal pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor's ministers at Frankfort.

ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, duke of Hanover, dying on the twenty-fourth of June, without ever having been admitted into the electoral college, his son George-Lewis, who succeeded him, met likewise with the same opposition; for though he received the investiture of the electorate from the emperor, in the month of January following, yet the electors and princes opposing him, composed a memorial to the kings of France and Sweden, guarantees of the treaty of Wolfibaltia, shewing, that the erection of that electorate was contrary to the Golden Bull, and other constitutions of the empire. The two kings laid these complaints before the court of Vienna, who did not much regard them, hoping that the opposition would infallibly drop, when the fear of the tendency of the emperor's proceedings was abated.

A.D. 1700. While the king of England and the states of Holland took measures to preserve peace between the houses of Austria and Bourbon. As the king of Spain, whose life was now defaered of, had no children, and the young electoral prince of Bavaria, whom he had appointed his heir, was lately dead, it was thought prudent, in order to avoid a war, to regulate the succession to his estates by a treaty of partition before his death. The only pretenders to succession, by birth, were the dauphin, and Joseph king of the Romans. The dauphin, being the son of the eldest daughter, seemed to have the best title; but Maria-Theresa, his mother, having renounced all right to the succession of Spain, the emperor justly insinuated upon a preferable claim. Lewis XIV., from a pretence of moderation, and love of peace, did not insist upon the whole succession for the dauphin, but acceded to the partition; by which the dauphin was to have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with their dependencies, the duchy of Lorraine, the marquisate of Fingal, and the province of Guipuscoa; the duke of Lorraine was to have the Marcheſe; and the archduke all the rest of the Spanſh monarchy. The French king and his son appeared satisfied with the partition, and bound themselves not to accept any will, testament, or donation, contrary to the treaty. Nevertheless, the greatest part of the troops of France moved towards Spain; and the ministers of Lewis XIV.

The history of Germany.

at that court, having gained over the cardinal Portocarrero, and many of the guards, who had an aversion to the Germans, they persuaded their king to sign a will upon his death-bed, in favour of the duke of Anjou, second son to the dauphin. The emperor, who had all along refrained to accede to the treaty of partition, as being rightful heir to the whole, now likewise declared against the will. He protested against all that had been done as null and void; and that he might not give apprehensions to the princes of Germany, by claiming the succession himself, he declared the archduke Charles, his second son, king of Spain, and only claimed the Milanesse as a fief of the empire. The king of Spain dying on the 1st of November, Lewis XIV. immediately accepted of the will. He sent the duke of Anjou into Spain, ordered French garrisons into the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan, and sent a squadron of ships to the West Indies.

The French, by lending garrisons into the Milanesse and Flanders, greatly alarmed the emperor and the Dutch. Leopold, claiming the duchy of Milan as a fief of the empire, devoted to him by the death of the king of Spain without issue, ordered prince Vaudemont, governor of the Milanesse, and likewise the cities of that duchy, to swear allegiance to him; but Philip V. the new king of Spain, had prevented him, and received the homage of the governor and the cities before the arrival of the emperor’s messenger. Leopold, then resolving to have recourse to arms, ordered a body of twenty-nine thousand men to march into Italy under the command of prince Eugene, and negotiated alliances with the other powers in Europe. The kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, refused to engage in a league against France; and the Switz cantons, and the republic of Venice, declared that they would observe an exact neutrality: but the elector of Brandenburg having for a long time been ambitious of the title of king, Leopold secured him to his interest, by conferring on him the title of king of Prussia, for which favour the elector engaged to furnish ten thousand men at his own expense during the war, and likewise maintain a company in the garrisons of Philipburg. The king of Portugal, after many delays, at last made a treaty with France and Spain. The king of England and the states of Holland had not yet declared themselves: but the French, uneasy at their preparations, endeavoured to amuse them, by sending count d’Avaux to the Hague. After many conferences, the negotiation was at last broke up, the French refusing to evacuate the Spanish Netherlands, or give any satisfaction to the emperor.

Prince Eugene, having arrived in Italy, made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara. Having thus amused the French, he passed the Adige near Carpi, and advanced to Albano, within two miles of Verona. Upon his approach Catinar decamped, and posted five thousand of his men at Carpi, and the rest at Oglio. Prince Eugene attacking the forces posted at Carpi, after a brisk engagement drove them from their pofts, took one hundred prisoners, and the greatest part of their baggage. In several other skirmishes the Germans having the advantage, Lewis XIV. sent Villeroi into Italy, with orders to march against the enemy. Prince Eugene, having then no place of defence to retire to, in case of a defeat, had fortified his camp at Chieri with strong intrenchments; and, being informed of the design of the enemy, disposted his army in order to receive them. On the 1st of September, having passed the Oglio, attacked the German camp with great resolution; but being received with firmness, after an engagement of four hours they were repulsed, with the loss of five thousand men. Afterwards, their army being attacked with licks, they quitted the field, and retired into winter-quarters. Towards the end of the campaign the Germans laid all the Mantuan under contribution, except Montua and Geis; and, continuing in motion all the winter, they took several places on the Oglio, which greatly enlarged their quarters.

As the war between the emperor and France did not directly regard the empire, but only the succession to the crown of Spain, several princes of the empire assembled at Heilbronn, and concluded a treaty of neutrality. The electors of Bavaria, Cologne, and Mainz, and the circles of Saxe and Franconia, engaged to take no part in the present war. But the emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes to take part with him in the war, the dukes of Hanover and Zell marched with their troops into the territories of the duke of Wolfenbuttel, and made themselves masters of several places, which obliged that duke to quit his engagements with France, the elector promising to take into his service those troops he had raised to serve Lewis XIV. The Dutch likewise, being informed that the elector of Cologne desired some French troops to enter his country, marched into his territories, and took possession of several of his towns. Representing to the king of England, that the French had put formidable garrisons into the strong towns in Spanish Flanders, were drawing a line from the Scheld to the Maas, were making great magazines in Brabant, Gunderland, and Namur, and building forts under the cannon of the towns belonging to

Mem. Negoc. par Lambert, t. i. p. 381.
the states, that prince concluded an alliance with them and the emperor, which was signed at the Hague on the seventh of September, and known afterwards by the name of the triple Alliance. By this treaty it was stipulated, that if, in the space of two months, the French king did not give satisfaction to the demands of the allies, the parties concerned should mutually affight each other with their whole might.

Marechal Villeroi, having left his head-quarters at Cremona, and repaired to Milan with several of the officers of the garrison, to be present at the diversions celebrated in that city in the month of January, prince Eugene formed the design of surprizing Cremona. Having ordered prince Thomas to march from the Parmesan with eight thousand men, to be ready at a certain time to take possession of the bridge upon the Po, he himself marched secretly on the other side of the river towards the town; and finding in a small body of men, through the ruins of an old aqueduct, which quickly made themselves masters of one of the gates, he entered the city with four thousand men, before the garrison had any apprehension of his being near them. The Germans were opposed by one regiment at first, till the rest of the garrison put themselves in a posture of defence; then the skirmishes became very warm, the Imperialists still pushing forwards to the other side of the town, wanting to make themselves masters of the gate of the bridge. Villeroi, who had returned from Milan the evening before, awaking with the disturbance, ran out into the street, and was taken prisoner by the Germans. The garrison, by this time, being thoroughly alarmed, had secured the gate of the bridge, and the body of troops, that marched from the Parmesan, coming too late, had no access, which delay obliged prince Eugene to think of a retreat. Finding it impossible to keep possession of the town with the few troops he had, after skirmitishing the whole day, he retired at night by the gate of St. Margaret, carrying marechal Villeroi, and several other prisoners, with him.

The French, having then no other enemy to contend with but prince Eugene, in the beginning of March sent twenty-five thousand men into Italy, under the command of the duke of Vendome, who was to succeed marechal Villeroi. The duke having marched thro' the Venetian territories, to avoid prince Eugene's posts upon the Oglio, arrived at the French camp, and began with the relief of Mantua, which had been blockaded by prince Eugene for eight months. In the beginning of June, the French army encamped within a league of the Imperialists, with the design of offering a battle, but as they were greatly superior, prince Eugene declined an engagement, till he should be reinforced by the junction of several garrisons. Hearing that the French had a design upon the castle of Luzzara, the prince marched on the fifteenth of August with a design to attack them: at five in the evening the artillery began to play upon the enemy, and soon after both armies engaged; the battle continued for two hours very desperate, and night putting an end to the engagement, both sides claimed the honour of the victory, the Germans having possession of the field of action, and the French afterwards making themselves masters of Luzzara and Guastalla.

Queen Anne, who succeeded to the throne of England after the death of king William, supported the engagements which he had entered into, and on the fourth of May declared war against France and Spain. The Dutch having sent some troops to the siege of Kaiserswerth, as auxiliaries to the emperor, followed the example of Queen Anne, and became principals in the war. Kaiserswerth having been put into the hands of the French by the elector of Cologne, and endangering the circle of Westphalia, and the states of Holland, the emperor ordered the prince of Nassau-Saarbrug to besiege the place. The garrison being frequently reinforced by count Tallard, who was encamped on the other side of the Rhine, the allies did not make themselves masters of the town before the fifteenth of June, after fifty-nine days open trenches.

The Duke of Burgundy arriving at the French camp on the tenth of June, maréchal Bouflers decamped privately with a design of surprizing Nimègue; but the earl of Abbeville, who then commanded the confederate army, hearing of his intention, marched immediately to prevent him, and arrived at the outworks of the place half an hour before him. The French, thus disappointed of their design upon Nimègue, filed off towards Cleve, venting their rage upon the defenceless country, which they riddled and laid waste.

While the French army encamped at Cleve, the earl of Marlborough arrived at Nimègue to command the army of the allies; and drawing all the detachments from the garrison that could be spared, he passed the Maas below Grave, and took the route of Brabant. The Duke of Burgundy being informed of this, advanced towards Roemond, and reinforced the garrisons in Spanish Guelderland: then finding himself obliged to retreat as the confederates advanced, he left the command of the army to maréchal Bouflers, and departed for Paris on the sixteenth of September. The allies having taken several small places without
The history of Germany.

a any resistance, endeavoured to bring the French army to an engagement; but the deputies of the states-general, who followed the army, having represented to him that it was much more for the advantage of Holland to dissuade the enemy of the towns they held in Spanish Guelderland, he detached several parties, who took Venlo, Moesbeck, Stenvenwert, and Raremond. Marchal Bayfier, fearing that the allies had a design upon Liége, went and posted himself at Tongres, with a view of securing that place; but the confederates advancing, obliged the city to capitulate, and afterwards took the citadel by storm.

The emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes of the empire to abandon a neutrality, employed those troops that were raised for the preservation of the peace of the empire, in the war against France; and having assembled a powerful army, gave the command of it to the prince of Baden. The troops being encamped between Spires and Worms, began the campaign by laying siege to Landau. Some days after the opening of the trenches, the king of the Romans arrived at the camp, in order to make his first campaign; but with so large a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expense of it threw all the emperor's affairs in disorder, the most necessary things being neglected, while the treasure was wasted in supporting this needless pomp. The siege was flung for some weeks for want of ammunition; but at last the citadel was taken by storm on the ninth of September, and on the twelfth the city surrendered.

After the taking of Landau, the king of the Romans encamped at Bifschweiler near Straßburg, with a design of attacking the French army commanded by mareschal Catlin, but seeing the French strongly intrenched, and always upon their guard, he quit the army, leaving the command to the prince of Baden. Afterwards, the imperial army being greatly weakened by several detachments, which the neighbouring circles and princes had called away to defend themselves against the enterprises of the elector of Bavaria, the design of attacking the French army was laid aside. That elector having, from the beginning, secretly favoured the success of the duke of Anjou, his nephew, was now prevailed upon by the offers of France to declare publicly in their favour; after he had, on the eighth of September, surprised the free city of Ulm, and taken Kieberg, Bibersch, and some other places.

These proceedings of the elector of Bavaria alarmed thediet at Ratisbon: the credit of the emperor being very great in that assembly, it was resolved, by a decree of the twenty-eighth of September, to declare war against France; and a memorial was presented to the emperor, requesting him to proceed against the elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. Mean while, the French army being now superior to the prince of Baden, took possession of Neuburg on the Rhine, over which river they laid a bridge, notwithstanding the great fire of the Imperialists; and mareschal Catlin sent a detachment of ten thousand men, under the orders of count Guevara and the marquis de Villars, to march towards Hungen, in order to cut off provisions from the prince of Baden. The prince being informed of the motion of the French, decamped from Friedingen on the thirteenth of October, in order to go into winter-quarters; but being observed by the marquis of Villars, who was encamped near Hungen, the French passed the Rhine, and attacked him on his march. After an ostinate and bloody engagement, which continued for near two hours, the prince, being greatly inferior to the French, began to think of a retreat; but his infantry falling upon the French foot with fresh vigour, broke their ranks, and drove them from their ground into a wood. The prince, after he had been five hours upon the field of battle, directed his march towards Stauffen. Nevertheless the French claimed the honour of the victory; and Lewis XIV. honouring Villars with a mareschal's staff, ordered To Deum to be sung. The prince of Baden, soon after having received a reinforcement, advanced within half a league of Neuburg, with the design of a second engagement; but mareschal Villars, not thinking fit to wait his approach, repassed the Rhine, and encamped at Otmarzen.

Marchal Villars, being thus prevented from joining the Bavarians, wrote to count d'Arce, their general, that he would march towards him by the forest-cities; but the Swiss, having put garrisons in these towns, declared that they would take up arms against him, if he undertook any thing to the prejudice of the liberty of these places. The Bavarians, though they failed in being affixed by the French, took Kempten and Weisenburg, and beat count Pafl, who commanded the Imperialists in that province. Towards the end of October likewise the French made themselves masters of Triers and Traerbach; while, on the other side, the prince of Hesse-Cassel, marching from Liége with ten thousand Hessians, recaptured Zinch, Brijaek, and Aldernebach, from the French.

L E W T S XIV. being affixed by the elector of Bavaria, resolved to carry the war into A. D. 1705, the empire; and apprehending that the duke of Lorraine would declare for the house of Austria, he obliged him to receive French troops into Nancy, and his other fortified towns.

The history of Germany.

He likewise desired to continue the alliance with the duke of Savoy; but that duke beginning to reflect, that if the French king drove the Imperialists out of Italy, and became master of the Milanese, he must be expostulated to his mercy; and finding that the emperor was willing to make him large offers, he abandoned the interests of France, and concluded a treaty with the emperor on the fifth of January, Leopold having ceded Montferrat to him, with some cities of the Milanese. Louis XIV. being informed of this treaty, ordered the duke of Vendome to besiege the troops of Savoy that were in his army, and demand the fortresses of Vercelli, Verjuru, and Sufa. The duke, instead of complying with this demand, published a manifesto against France, and sent envoys to England and Holland to solicit affiance, while count Staremburg received positive orders from Vienna to endeavour to join him with fifteen thousand men. That count made himself famous by his remarkable march; having left the Modenese in the worst feast of the year, when the roads seemed almost impassable, by reason of the rains that had fallen, he marched through the enemy's country, having the French frequently both before and behind him; and, notwithstanding all obstructions, joined the duke of Savoy at Canelli.

The emperor being informed that marechal Villars had orders to join the elector of Bavaria, with the army then encamped at Strasburg, sent the prince of Baden with an army to watch his motions; while the counts of Stirum and Schlick had orders to march with two different bodies to enter Bavaria, the one on the side of Salzburg, the other on the side of Neumark. Stirum, having taken Neumark, defeated a body of Bavarian troops, and made himself master of Freystadt and Neubatable. At the same time count Schlick, having passed the Inn, took possession of several small places on the other side of Bavaria, and published the evocatory letters of the emperor, discharging the magistrates from their oath of fidelity to the elector their sovereign. To put a stop to the progress of the imperial generals, the elector assembled his army near Brenau, and, to deceive count Schlick, reported that he was going to besiege Passau. The imperial general, considering the importance of that place, marched towards it with the greatest part of his infantry: the elector having thus succeeded in dividing the count's army, marched towards the bridge of Schardigen, and attacking the body of troops commanded by general Plefse, he routed them, and made himself master of the tents and baggage, and a few days after took Neuburg on the Inn. Afterwards marching towards Ratibson, with a design of making himself master of that city, count Stirum had raised the siege of Amberg, and went to encamp between that place and Neumark, resolving to engage the elector with the first opportunity. The elector, without giving the Imperialists time to entrench themselves, marched towards them all night, and at eight in the morning attacking their camp, routed them in less than half an hour, having killed and taken prisoners about three hundred men, the prince of Brandenburg-Anspach being among the number of the first. The elector having formerly proposed to the city of Ratibson to observe a neutrality, and not to allow a passage to the imperial troops, to which proposal he had never got any satisfactory answer, now marched to that city, and obliged the magistrates to deliver up the bridge and two gates upon the Danube. Notwithstanding this the emperor refused to ratify the conclusion of the diet for the neutrality of the city; therefore the elector still kept possession of the city, and the deputies fearing to be over-awed in their deliberations, transported the diet to Lintz.

While the elector of Bavaria was employed in protecting his territories from the imperial troops, marechal Villars had passed the Rhine, and taken the fort of Keil over-against Strasburg, and several redoubts built upon the banks of the Rhine. Afterwards attacking the lines of the prince of Baden at Stolbffen, with an intention of joining the elector of Bavaria, he was repulsed with great loss, the prince having received a reinforcement of eight Dutch regiments during the time of the action. Notwithstanding this unsuccessful attempt, Villars, having received repeated orders, resolved to endeavour to join the elector by the Black Forez, where the passes were but slightly guarded, it being thought impracticable to march that way, by reason of the great rains; and overcoming all difficulties, he at last joined the elector near Dutting, on the nineteenth of September.

The combined army immediately marched to attack the lines of count Stirum; but that general, being informed of their design, quitted his intrenchments, and marched to join the prince of Baden. The duke of Bavaria and marechal Villars, pursuing him, defeated his army near Donauevert, and obliged them to retire under the cannon of Norlingen, leaving all their baggage, thirty-three pieces of cannon, and three thousand dead upon the field, besides losing three thousand prisoners, and many standards. The French likewise, with another army of forty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, besieged Briljack, which surrendered after three days open trenches, for which the governor afterwards lost his head; and count Marfegli, who was second in command, was degraded, and had his sword broke over his head by the hand of the hangman.

4 Barre, t. x. p. 428. 5 Mem. de Lamberty, tom. ii. pag. 631, &c.
The history of Germany.

Whilst the emperor was thus overpowered in Germany by the French and Bavarians, the affairs of the confederates upon the Lower Rhine, and in Flanders, were in a more prosperous situation. Count Lettin, general of the Prussianians, having taken Rheinbreck, blocked up Gueldres; and the duke of Marlborough having invested Bonn, opened the trenches in three different places, on the eighth of May, and carrying on the siege with great vigour, obliged the city to surrender on the fourteenth. While the duke of Marlborough was employed in the siege of Bonn, the rest of the confederate army, then assembled at Maasbrdt, proposed to march to Tangeren; but the maréchaux Bouflers and Villers advancing with forty thousand men, the allies were obliged to retreat under the cannon of Maasbrdt. The French afterwards took Tangeren, where two battalions were quartered; but the duke of Marlborough joining the confederate army at Maasbrdt, with the troops that formed the siege of Bonn, they abandoned that place, after they had blown up the walls and the tower, and retreated to Hamme. The French thus declining an engagement, the allies resolved to attack them in their intrenchments: accordingly baron Spier was appointed to attack the lines towards Ghent; while general Coehorn passed the Scheldt with another detachment, to make an attack near Liefkenshoek; and general Opdam, with the rest of the army, made an attempt before Antwerp. On the twenty-seventh of June, in the morning, baron Spier feigning a march towards Eupen, immediately altered his disposition, and attacked the lines in the country of Waas, near Steken, where, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, he forced them sworid in hand. About the same time, general Coehorn attacking them at the point of Callo, after a short resistance, broke through, with very inconsiderable loss. Next day baron Opdam, who was posted nearest Antwerp, marched to Eekeren, with design of appearing before that city, and preventing them from sending any detachments over the bridge into Flanders. He remained two days without seeing any enemy; but, on the thirtieth of June, maréchaux Bouflers and marquis Bedmar appeared at the head of thirty-two squadrons and thirty-two battalions, and using the advantage of their superiority, immediately attacked the allies. The action was very warm on both sides, and the French pushing on within pithof the place where general Opdam was, cut him off from the army; upon which he fled to Breda, with thirty horse: but the Dutch, tho' forsaken by their general, rallied again, and maintained their ground with such firmness, that the French were obliged to retire. As the loss was pretty equal on both sides, each party claimed the victory. The allies soon after joining all their forces together, took Limburg and Hay; and Gueldres at last surrendered to the Prussianians, on the seventeenth of December.

On the Upper Rhine, after maréchal Villars had joined the Bavarians, the elector marched into Tirol, reviving his ancient claims upon that province; and having taken Innspruck the capital, and raised great contributions on the other towns, he marched towards Trent, to meet the duke of Vendome, who was to join him from Italy; but count Staremburg detaching a body of troops to secure the passes and castles upon the road, and the boors of Tirol rising against the Bavarians, the elector was obliged to retire out of the country before the duke of Vendome could join him.

The duke of Burgundy having left the command of the army after the reduction of Tir, maréchal Tallard was ordered to besiege Landau, which had been taken by the king of France. The seat of the Roman before. The place being of great importance, the prince of Heisse-Cassel set forwards from the Netherlands with a body of troops, in order to raise the siege, who having joined the general of the Palatine forces near Spire, they concerted measures for the relief of the place. The French, hearing of the prince’s departure, ordered monsieur Pratons, with a body of ten thousand men, to follow him with all expedition. Marechal Tallard having received this reinforcement, did not wait for the Imperialists in his lines, but marched out to meet them, and attacking them before they had time to form, he defeated them with the loss of three or four thousand men. Afterwards returning to his camp before Landau, the governor of the city expecting no more relief, surrendered on the sixteenth of November. The elector of Bavaria still keeping the field, on the sixth of December invested Augsburg, which surrendered soon after.

About the end of this month, Charles, king of Spain, arrived in England from Vienna, in order to embark from thence for Lisbon, the king of Portugal having now made an alliance with the emperor, upon consideration of having several places in Spain, and the country beyond Rio de la Plata in America, ceded to him. Leopold, who, in the beginning of the war, had ceased mentioning his claim to the crown of Spain, and only infested on his right with Milanese, as a feint of the emperor, judging that the Germanic body would not consent to his being that inconvenient to his hereditary dominions, this year ceded his right to the Spanish monarchy to the archduke Charles, who was proclaimed at Vienna, on the twelfth of September, king of Spain, by the name of Charles III. In England he was received A.D. 1704.
with great magnificence; and the queen behaved towards him in a very noble and obliging manner. Orders being immediately given to fit out the fleet with all expedition, he sailed soon after for Portugal, where he arrived on the ninth of March, with about nine thousand men, rais'd by England and Holland for his service. Charles, upon his landing at Lisbon, published a manifesto in Portugal and Spain, promising a pardon to all those who should abandon the party of Philip duke of Anjou. This prince, on the other side, published a manifesto, which he supported with a strong army, and entering Portugal, took several towns, which the Portuguese retook at the end of the campaign. The prince of Donjóes foiled an attempt on Barcelona, failed with the combined fleet to Gibraltar, which he reduced in the month of August, and surrendered into the hands of the English.

In Italy the French seized upon Modena, because the duke had declared for the emperor. b The Imperialists retaliated upon the prince of Mirandola, protected by Lewis; and the duke of Mantua, perceiving his dominions become the theatre of war, retired to Paris, where he married Madame d'Elbeuf. Nothing, however, could obtrude the conquests of Vendôme, who over-ran the territory of Victor Amadeus with surprizing rapidity. Verceil and Yvet fell an easy prey, and were demolished; Suza experienced the same fate; but Venè sustained a siege of five months open trenches, though the garrison at length yielded to the superior fortune of the French general.

While the imperial court was under great affliction for the losses sustained in Italy, the Hungarian malcontents ravaging the duchy of Austria, pushed their incursions to the gates of Vienna. To prevent their destroying the suburbs, the emperor ordered a deep ditch to be formed from the mountains to the Danube, and defended by strong redoubts, mounted with cannon. Three years had now palled since the court had arrested Ragotski; about this time he made his escape, and no sooner found himself at liberty, than he fomented a rebellion in Hungary, in defence of the religion and privileges of that kingdom. The allies, apprehending the disturbances in this quarter might occasion an unfeisional diversion, and draw the emperor's attention from the affairs of Spain, and the more immediate object of the confederacy, offered their mediation. They pleaded so warmly the general interest of the empire, that the Hungarians consented to send deputies to Vienna to represent their grievances. They demanded, in conquence of the royal capitulation, that all civil and military employments should be given to natives; that the princes Ragotski should be set at liberty; that the sentence pronounced against the prince should be revoked, and all his possessions restored. The imperial court was unwilling to accept these conditions; but fearing they could not obtain better by force of arms, they proposed, that the kingdom of Hungary should be elective at the death of the king of the Romans; that this prince should renounce the hereditary act past in favour of his family, provided the nobility and people renewed their oath of fidelity to his person; that the Catholic and Protestant religions should be mutually tolerated and restored to their former privileges; that the emperor and king of the Romans should grant a general amnesty without exception; that all new taxes should be abolished, and the people suffer'd to engage in every species of industry and commerce, on paying the antient duties regulated by the states of the kingdom; that, in three months after the ratification of this agreement, a general diet of the nation should assemble, to examine the grievances of the people; and that, for the three succeeding years, the same diet, if they thought proper, should meet, to deliberate on the general affairs of the kingdom; finally, that the Hungarians should be permitted to send deputies to Vienna, vested with the character of counsellors to the king c.

These terms would appear more favourable to the Hungarians than the conditions demanded; but they were thought too general. Ragotski's ambition and revenge were not satisfied; his influence was great, and he found himself supported by a powerful army. In person he commanded a body of twenty thousand Hungarians; general Forgats was at the head of eight thousand; count Caroli had under him nine thousand men; Efterbozi four thousand; and Berciuni was assembling an army of twenty-five thousand strong. So formidable an armament elevated the courage, and raised the demands of the Hungarians: they grew indifferent to an accommodation, and were preparing to drive matters to extremities, and begin the war with vigour. Their conduct greatly embarrassed the court at this critical juncture. Already the French army, under the elector of Bavaria, occupied the chief posts on the Neckar and the Danube, after having reduced Augsburg, Paffau, and other considerable places. Lewis had promised to assist him with all his forces; but all the posts were guarded, and the lines of Stolhausen, Kinzel, and Bebel, possessed by the prince of Beden. Marnelal Tallerot, however, surmounted these difficulties by an ingenious feint: under pretence of a design to march through the Switz territories, he drew off the imperial g forces from their posts, and penetrated by forced marches the Black Forest. Nothing could
The history of Germany.

a now have saved the empire besides the vigilance and ability of Marlborough, who flew with incredible rapidity from the Netherlands, joined the prince of Baden, forced the lines at Sceflenberg, obliged the elector to retire from Dillingen, his troops to abandon Dennewitz, after burning the magazines, and several cities of the electorate to submit to the superior fortune and conduct of the confederates. It was now that the most advantageous propositions were made to that prince, with a view to detach him from the French monarch. He amused the allies, under the pretext of deliberating upon their proposals; but shewed, by the event, that nothing was capable of shaking his constancy and fidelity to his engagements. The battle of Blenheim was lost, after prodigious slaughter; the electors constrained to implore the protection of the imperial court, at the price of almost all her dominions, and the electorate reduced to the utmost distress; yet did the elector remain firm and unmoved in his resolution to adhere to the treaty with Lewis (A).

In consequence of the fruit of successes produced by the actions at Sceflenberg and Blenheim, the emperor commanded the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to quit Ratisbon; a proceeding which highly incensed the Bavarians, and obliged them to declare to the inhabitants, that, if they refused paying a contribution of three hundred thousand florins, their city would immediately be laid in ashes. The regency and the diet were terrified at these menaces: the imperial ministers represented the danger of continuing the diet in a city threatened with bombardment, and proposed transferring it to Egra, a strong town on the frontiers of Bohemia and Franchecon. To this the deputies of the circles replied, that, by the constitution of the Germanic body, the diet could only be held in a free city; that, as Egra did not enjoy this privilege, they could not consent to the proposition; but it was easy, they said, to obviate all difficulties, by observing an exact neutrality.

During these disputes about the security of the diet, and the privileges of the Germanic constitution, the allies, determined to push their advantage, invested Landau, where the brave defence of Lauenstein astonished all Europe. This intrepid officer behaved, under the pressure of bodily infirmity, and the misfortune of blindness, with all the ardour and impetuosity of youthful bloom and florid health. He replied to the menacing summons sent to him by the king of Romans, that he could not let slip the glorious opportunity of perishing in the service of his country, and erecting the most honourable monument to his own memory on the ruins of Landau, in which he proposed burying himself. He kept his word, and obstinately defended the last remaining work, ordering himself to be conducted to the trenches to feel the progress of the enemy, and giving directions for the fallies; which the soldiers, fired with the amazing constancy of their general, obeyed without murmuring, and executed with irresistible fury. At length Lauenstein was wounded, every inch of ground was lost, the garrison dwindled to an handful, spent with perpetual fatigue, and a general assault preparing; this determined the governor to save the lives of his valiant garrison by an honourable capitulation, which he obtained, without hesitation, on the twenty-fourth of November, after the siege had cost the Imperialists near ten thousand men, killed and wounded.

d The campaign terminated with the obstinate battle of Caffano, in which prince Eugene was defeated, after the most glorious efforts to restore the emperor's affairs in Italy. Greatly inferior in number of troops, distressed for money and necessaries, and supported only by promises and his own genius, he encountered Vendome, the best general of France, at the head of an army flushed with conquest. Even his repulse at Caffano was less mortifying to the great soul of Eugene, than the constant checks and mortifications he sustained from the unsteady measures of the imperial court, fluctuating from one resolution to another. Already the princes of the empire began to testify their aversion to a war, which, though fortunate for the last campaign in Germany, produced nothing but useless victories, deflation, and slaughter: the republic of Holland raised various difficulties about furnishing her quota of money and troops: the allies made fresh demands, and proposed several alterations in the new levies, in the pay, clothing, and quarters of the army: the prince of Hesse refused to suffer his troops to be commanded by Dutch officers: and prince Lewis of Baden would not acknowledge that superiority which had long been granted by the other inferior princes of the empire as due to the republic. To these difficulties others, more immediately relative to the empire, were superadded: the circle of Saba, to avoid paying the stipulated contingent, represented, that the country was ruined by the heavy contributions levied by the

b Disputes in the Diet.

c The brave defence of Landau.

d The brave defence of Landau.

e The campaign terminated with the obstinate battle of Caffano, in which prince Eugene was defeated, after the most glorious efforts to restore the emperor's affairs in Italy. Greatly inferior in number of troops, distressed for money and necessaries, and supported only by promises and his own genius, he encountered Vendome, the best general of France, at the head of an army flushed with conquest. Even his repulse at Caffano was less mortifying to the great soul of Eugene, than the constant checks and mortifications he sustained from the unsteady measures of the imperial court, fluctuating from one resolution to another. Already the princes of the empire began to testify their aversion to a war, which, though fortunate for the last campaign in Germany, produced nothing but useless victories, deflation, and slaughter: the republic of Holland raised various difficulties about furnishing her quota of money and troops: the allies made fresh demands, and proposed several alterations in the new levies, in the pay, clothing, and quarters of the army: the prince of Hesse refused to suffer his troops to be commanded by Dutch officers: and prince Lewis of Baden would not acknowledge that superiority which had long been granted by the other inferior princes of the empire as due to the republic. To these difficulties others, more immediately relative to the empire, were superadded: the circle of Saba, to avoid paying the stipulated contingent, represented, that the country was ruined by the heavy contributions levied by the

f

g (A) The reader will perceive that we only touch upon those transactions, which already have been explicitly related in the history of France, volume ix. This is necessary to avoid repetition, to confine our labours to a moderate length, and to furnish an opportunity of dwelling more minutely on those occurrences, which more immediately regard the empire. A general history must be retrenched in some places, in proportion as it is redundant in others.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 4 P 4 French
The history of Germany.

French, by furnishing winter-quarters to both armies, and by the marches and counter-marches of friends and enemies. This affair was debating in the aulic council, when the emperor Leopold breathed his last, on the third day of May, after having wore the imperial diadem for forty-six years, maintained the affection of his subjects, great authority in the diet, the respect of neighbouring powers, and the reputation of an affable, cautious, and politic prince, whose prudence had often preferred the crown that tottered on his head, and his character, amidst the vicissitudes of a variegated fortune (B).

Leopold was elected emperor at Frankfort in 1662; three years before the death of Austria had paid his homage: at the same time he was crowned king of Hungary at Pressburg, and soon after of Bohemia at Prague. In 1666, he married Maria-Terezia, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. At her death he espoused Claudia, daughter to his cousin the archduke Ferdinand; and lately, he married Eleonora, princess of palatine, daughter to the elector. By his first marriage, he had one daughter; and by the last, two sons and three daughters (1).

Struven, tom. x. sect. xi

(C) Containing the Election of the Emperor Joseph; the Transactions in Hungary; the Progress of the German War; the Disputes with the Pope; the Disturbances in Bohemia; the Affairs of the North; and the Invasion of Saxony; with other Particulars.

JOSEPH.

The emperor Joseph succeeded to the imperial crown of his father in the flower of his age, after having some years before been solemnly acknowledged king of Hungary and Bohemia. It was universally believed that this change in the succession would contribute greatly to terminate a war, which had defoliated Germany, and impoverished Europe; but the opportunity that offered of recovering Lorraine, and penetrating into France, was lost. The English were obdurate in all terms of accommodation; and Lewis was not sufficiently humbled to grant such conditions to Joseph, separately, as he could with honour accept. It was certainly intended to compromise the differences with the Hungarians; but their spirit and invincible love of liberty pushed them on to demand such a barrier for their freedom, as would wholly have destroyed the emperor's authority. Joseph banished the ministers most attached to the Jesuits, hoping thereby to prevail on the malcontents to listen to reasonable conditions. He promised to restore to the natives all the effects the Jesuits had acquired, and the immense riches they had amassed since the year 1665; to convene a general diet, to which all might report their grievances; to restore and confirm the ancient privileges of the nation; to assemble a general diet every three years, and oftener, if necessary; candidly to examine the pretensions of Ragotski, and the other discontented chiefs; and to pass a general amnesty, including all degrees of men. Six days were given the Hungarians to deliberate on these proposals; after which they were to be perfected with the utmost rigour, and their country deposed with fire and sword.

RAGOTSKI called a great council of the principal lords of the kingdom to deliberate on these proposals: the result was, to hearken to no conditions which tended to disunite them; to keep in arms until their grievances were fully redressed; to obligate Joseph wholly to banish the Jesuits; to abolish the arrears of the diet of Pressburg in 1667; to restore to the people their uncontroverted right of electing their own sovereigns; to have the sole garri- soning of their own fortresses; and to obtain ample security that no foreign troops should ever be quartered in the kingdom, or employments bestowed but upon natural-born Hungarians, either civil or ecclesiastical, except in cases where the diet should think proper to gratify very extraordinary services by certain preferments. All the members of the council swore strictly to observe this resolution, and to punish as traitors to their country those who should depart from their engagements, or connive in the least with the measures of the house of Austria.

The consequence of the discontent in Hungary was apparent to the confederates. England and Holland were sensible that the emperor would apply his whole strength to subdue those turbulent subjects; they therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to moderate an accommodation. Their mediation was accepted by both parties, and conferences were held at Tyrowo; but some inconsiderable advantages gained by the imperial forces encouraged the emperor to rise in his demands. A body of the Hungarians was defeated near
The history of Germany.

a near Fort Pax by general Glokelsberg, and Berceciit was worsted in a sharp encounter he had with count Heiller. Thus the negotiations were broke off, after they were in a fair train of coming to a happy issue.

General Heberville, who commanded the grand imperial army, could not boast the same advantages. After raising the blockade of Varadin, he advanced within sight of the malcontents, intrenched at Saba to dispute his passage. Here he met with a variety of unexpected obstructions; and was reduced to the necessity of giving battle, under all the disadvantages of situation, in returning to Great Varadin, and expelling his rear to the attacks of the enemy. Besides, Rulatin had sent him advice, that, without immediate succours, he should be forced to relinquish all his imperial majesty’s fortresses in Transylvania.

b In this extremity, he determined upon fighting. At first the enemy made a brave resistance: they twice repulsed the Imperialists with great slaughter; but their cavalry giving way, they were forced to yield to Heberville’s obstinacy, to abandon their camp with precipitation, and leave their baggage and magazines to be plundered. This victory was followed by the entire reduction of Transylvania, where the emperor’s sovereignty was again acknowledged; after which Heberville returned to Hungary, having left a sufficient force with Rulatin for the defence of the province.

While Vienna rung with rejoicings for the victory at Saba, Lower Hungary, Moravia, and the hereditary dominions, were desolated by the malcontents, who had penetrated into the heart of the duchy of Austria. Trautsandorf, with some other towns and villages, were laid in ashes, and several fortresses reduced, in which the rebels lodged their booty. Their success in pillaging drew into their party crowds of the Austrian peasantry, fired with the hopes of plunder; and this increase of numbers so elevated the expectations of the malcontents, that they refused the armistice proposed by the mediators. The allies acted heartily in this caue, that the emperor might be at liberty to turn his whole force against the common enemy; but their endeavours proved fruitless. Lewis, though considerably weakened by his late defeats, still maintained his spirit, and now joined redoubled activity to numerous forces. Marechal Villars was at the head of a formidable army on the Moselle; and the banks of the Rhine were covered by the numerous troops of Marlborough. The elector of Bavaria had invested and reduced Huy, the garrison surrendering prisoners of war; and Liege was in the utmost danger, had not the fortune of Marlborough interposed.

That general, with his usual boldness and irresistible impetuosity, forced the elector’s lines near Meffelin on the Meuse, and obliged him to retire in disorder towards Louvain, to cover that place, Antwerp, Liége, and Mechlin. This motion rendered almost fruitless the bloody advantage gained by the allies; yet the elector mentions it in the following modest terms, in a letter which he wrote in the field to his favourite the baron Maltrechts: “God I hope will pardon those who were the cause of our being surpris’d. The whole army is here; nor is the misfortune irrecoverable; with God’s assistance we shall be able to save Brabant and Antwerp. I am well, but extremely fatigued.” After all, it was the obstinacy of the Dutch deputies which probably saved the elector: Marlborough was for pursuing and attacking him in the neighbourhood of Louvain; but he was opposed by the Hollanders, who refused to suffer the Dutch army to run the hazard. The English general loudly complained, that their unseasonable caution had wrested victory out of his hands, and deprived him of additional laurels. He remonstrated to the states-general, of the little regard paid by their officers to discipline and subordination: “My heart is so full, said he, that I cannot refrain from lamenting to you the decline of my authority since the last campaign.” However, all his remonstrances produced no effect: all his efforts served only to reduce some incon siderable places, and were insufficient to prevent the elector’s becoming master of Diep.

Alterations now arose between the confederate generals. Marlborough, not unju tly, reproached the prince of Baden with dilatoriness; and, in some measure, attributed to his backwardness that the different members of the empire had not yet furnished their contingents. The prince replied, that he had never doubted the duke’s courage or ability, but he did not imagine he would have presumed to insult a prince of the empire, who had hitherto commanded not only the respect of his equals, but, in a particular manner, the esteem of every officer of cander and merit in the army. Not satisfied with the farce implied in this rebu ke, he complained of Marlborough to the courts of Vienna and London: he even wrote to the diet at Ratisbon in terms full of remonstrance, saying, that the haughty carriage of the Englishman reflected dishonour on the whole German body, if they tamely passed the insult. He alleged, in his own justification, that he only waited to be joined by his detachments; and that the juncture with Marlborough was soon enough effecte d, had not that general imprudently involved himself in difficulties, from his ignorance of the country, and the enemy’s situation: that he now was desirous of throwing, upon a prince of the empire an error consequent on his own presumption. The issue of thel
The history of Germany.

these disputes was, that the allied army separated, and by that means suffered M. Villars to
reinforce the elector of Bavaria with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons, by which he was
again enabled to face his enemies. An attempt was accordingly made to attack the prince
of Baden in his intrenchments, before he should be reinforced by the troops of different
circles now on their march; but his prudent disposition baffled all the endeavours of the
elector and Villars. He soon after received the expected succour, and was in a condition
to act offensively, which obliged the French generals to retire behind their lines at Hagu-
neau. As Villars was forced to detach seven battalions to Italy, he found he should not
be able to cover his lines, and therefore retreated under the cannon of Straitsburg. By
this means the count de Fries was at liberty to invest Druffenheim, which he reduced in five
days, while the prince of Baden was forming the siege of Hagneau. After the batteries
had played for some time, Perry, who commanded in the garrison, demanded a capitula-
tion; and proposals were sent him by the prince; the first article of which imported, that
he should surrender prisoner of war. Perry demanded eight days to deliberate on this
article, and the same time for each of the other propositions; which being refused, the siege
recommenced with great vigour. The governor, having advice that the town was not in-
vested on the side of Saverne, resolved to retire by that quarter, and save the garrison
from falling into the hands of the enemy. Leaving the fieur de Reibnitz in the covered
way with two hundred men, he evacuated the town at nine in the evening, and was fol-
lowed by Reibnitz at eleven o'clock, arriving happily at Saverne before his design was dis-
covered. This circumstance gave additional credit to the reproaches levelled by the duke
c of Marlborough to the prince of Baden, and perjured most perfidious, that the prince was
greatly relaxed in his usual vigilance and activity.

With this transaction ended the campaign, during which the emperor found himself
involved in a dispute with the pontiff. Cavalletti, one of the imperial ambassador's dom-
ecatics at Rome, had struck the officers of justice, in the execution of their orders to arrest
his son for some misdemeanour. The scribes, informed of the violence, ordered both to be
seized, imprisoned, and their effects seized. A few hours after the secretary to the em-
bassy complained to the pope of this insult upon the privileges of an ambassador; but the
pontiff replied, that Cavalletti was imprisoned not as the domestic of the imperial ambas-
dador, but as the subject of the holy see, who had opposed the execution of justice. This
d answer proved unsatisfactory: the count de Lamberg represented the affair to the emperor;
but, before he received any instructions from the court of Vienna, the prisoner was set at
liberty. Notwithstanding this, the count no sooner received an answer from Vienna than
he quitted the ecclesiastical state, without the ceremony of taking leave; and the pope's
nuncio was at the same time desired to leave the imperial court. So trivial a circumstance
was sufficient to revive an ancient controversy, which had for some time been absorbed in
business of more consequence. The emperor now demanded, that cardinal Patuni, secre-
tary of state, should be deprived of his office, and forbid the court; that Paleavicini, go-
vernor of Rome, should be banished; that the processe formed against the marquis de Vojie,
a Neapolitan nobleman, vested with the character of ambassador from the archduke Charles,
should be burnt by the ignominious hands of the common executioner; that the pontiff
should send a cardinal to Vienna, to apologize for his conduct; and that, as an immediate
atonement, Ferrara should admit an imperial garrison. This, indeed, was talking in the
file of an emperor; no measures half so spirited had been taken since the days of Charles
V. Had Joseph perished, it is probable the pontiff must have yielded to all that was re-
quired. Clement wrote several letters to the court of Vienna, representing the irregular con-
duct of the count de Lamberg, on his quitting Rome. He likewise demanded, that the or-
ders given his nuncio to depart from Vienna should be revoked; but he was not able to ap-
peal the emperor, or procure the least mitigation at that time, notwithstanding the affair
soon after appears to have been almost forgot.

The altercation between the papal and imperial courts, prevented Clement's soliciting
the emperor to pay more regard to the complaints of the Bavarians. By a treaty with the
electors, all acts of hostility on both sides were to cease, and the elector to be regarded
merely as the general of Lewis XIV. at the head of a French army. Besides, it was stipu-
lated that the Bavarians should enjoy all their privileges; and that the revenues of Munich,
the capital, and its dependencies, should go untouched, for the support of the princes and
the electoral family. The treaty was badly observed after the emperor gained possession of
Bavaria: it was regarded as a conquered country, and treated with the same rigour as if
no agreement had ever passed; all the records were removed to Vienna, and the electoral
palace stripped of the plate and rich moveables. The nobility and people were oppressed
with exorbitant contributions, and the troops quartered upon them at discretion: all were

― Barke, tom. x. p. 464.

pil-
The History of Germany.

Pillaged and disarmed. Nothing could exceed the misery of the inhabitants besides the brutality of the Austrian army, the soldiers committing every kind of excess; and the rapacity of the officers carried them so far, as to dig in the tombs for the hidden treasures of the Bavarians, which ought to have been sacred: all were imprisoned upon suspicion of concealing their wealth; and to be rich, was sufficient to be deemed criminal: loud complaints were made to the imperial commissioners. Crowds of old men, women, and children, poured out their grievances and demands before them, in a piteous manner, aspiring only to obtaining the most obdurate breach; yet did their fright, wailings, and wretchedness, produce no effect. As it was necessary to justify to the public the excesses committed, it was pretended that the Bavarians had conspired against the Austrian garrisons. The accusation was false, and, indeed, too absurd to gain credit; but it was urged to palliate their severity. The Bavarian nobility demanded of the commissaries a list of the names of the conspirators; they promised to have them punished agreeable to the laws; but the commissaries gave only a general reply, refusing to enter into a detail. Some days after several private gentlemen, who had ventured to make the fame remonstrances, were arrested, and their estates confiscated: thus all were deterred from interposing in behalf of the innocent victims to the Austrian avarice.

When it was presumed the spirit of the Bavarians was sufficiently subdued, the count de Leuenstein, governor of the province, published an edict, enjoining all the young men from the age of eighteen to thirty-five to appear in certain places specified, in order to be drafted for recruits to the regiments in Italy and Hungary. This ordonnance was thought beyond measure oppressive: it was not only a direct violation of the treaty with the electors, but the grossest infraction of the laws of nations, and of the electorate in particular. The peasants hid themselves; and their evasion was conduced into an act of rebellion. In a few days all the jails in Bavaria were crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, dragged out of churches and monasteries, in which they had taken refuge; and where the culprit could not be found, the imperial vengeance was reeked on the heads of his mother, children, and relations. Their houlings were pillaged, and the little magazines of provision they had for the support of their families burnt and destroyed. Terrified with these violations, and fainting under the pressure of extreme want, the peasants fled in the night to the woods, in search of food to appease their hunger. Thither they were pursued by the barbarous Austrians, and driven to such despair, that they united against the common enemy, and joining the malcontents of Bohemia, soon became formidable. Above twenty thousand took the field, and suddenly reduced Burkhausen, Kelheim, Willhausen, Hildburgh, Brunau, and Scharfbruck. A design was formed to surprise Huy, but their troops being separated in detachments, and accidents preventing their assembling at the place of rendezvous, they were attacked and defeated by the Austrians. Perceiving they could not make head against regular forces, the peasants made proposals to surrender the places they had taken, and lay down their arms upon certain conditions. Their terms were accepted, and an amnesty granted; but observed like the former treaty. Some were hanged, some beheaded, and others broke on the wheel, dismembered and dispersed about the country, and fixed up in the most public places. At this time the electors was in Italy with her mother the queen of Poland. She demanded leave to return to her dominions, and a passport, which was granted; but just as she arrived on the frontiers of the electorate, she was prohibited from pursuing her journey, without any reason assigned. Her complaints of this violation of the treaty of Landau availed nothing: she was even deprived the poor satisfaction of mingling her tears with those of her faithful subjects, and bewailing in concert the misfortunes of her country.

Such was the deplorable situation of the house of Bavaria, when the death of the duke of Zell occasioned some disputes between the family of Hanover and the king of Denmark, which were happily accommodated under the mediation of the emperor Joseph and the queen of England. The decease of the bishop of Lubeck had likewise almost kindled a storm in the North, by renewing the several pretensions of the crown of Denmark, and the house of Holstein-Gottorp, to that see. The duke took possession, and the prince of Denmark demanded the decision of the aulic council. The former was supported by the Swedish monarch, and the king of Denmark resolved to maintain the right of the prince his brother. By the interposition of the queen of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces, the affair was for a time compromised, just as the parties were upon the eve of hostilities. Charles of Sweden was at this time engaged in Lithuania, and king Augustus of Poland, relying on Sweden by the opportunity, assembled an army near Cracow. The Swedes, apprised of his design, quitted Lithuania, flew like lightning to Poland, appeared with his army before Cracow, offered battle, and was refused. Augustus waited to be joined.


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
by the army from Saxony; but Schamburg, the Saxon general, was defeated in his march by Renfschild, quartered with a body of Swedes on the frontiers of Brandenburg. Next year, after Charles had driven the Ruffians out of Lithuania, he proceeded, with redoubled vigour, the quarrel with Augustus, transferring the fear of war into the heart of the electorate of Saxony: in this manner a dispute between two northern princes became a concern of the empire. His arrival overwhelmed the Saxons with consternation: all the princes of the empire dreaded the vicissitude of so enterprising and ambitious a monarch. They offered their mediation to accomplish a peace; Charles gave audience to their ambassadors, and the deputies from the states of Saxony, at Altenfels. At length a treaty was concluded, in which were a great variety of articles kept secret from the German princes. The treaty was ratified by Stanislaus, the competitor for the crown of Poland, and afterwards sent to Warsaw, for the approbation of Augustus; during which an armistice for ten weeks was published in the Swedish camp. The Polish envoy, Pjegforsen, being sent with the treaty, Charles intrusted him with an order for general Mordecewitz, and the palatine of Livonia, to refrain from hostilities for the time specified; but the envoy committing this order to another hand, it was never delivered. In consequence of this neglect a battle was fought, in which the Swedes were defeated; upon which the peace was again broken, and Charles determined to punish, with the utmost rigour, the supposed perfidy of his enemy. Saxony was loaded with exactions, and the people reduced to extreme misery. In the end, Augustus, to save his hereditary dominions, was forced to renounce the crown of Poland; to confirm it to his rival Stanislaus; to renounce all his engagements with the czar, and other enemies of Sweden; to restore all the jewels and archives of Poland, which he brought into Saxony; to maintain in Saxony and Lusatia the Protestant religion; and to surrender all the Swedish prisoners, defectors, and particularly the famous Patkul, who was broke on the wheel and quartered, though his merit, courage, patriotism, and public character, ought to have exempted him from so ignominious a punishment, however obnoxious he might have been to the Swedish monarch (A). The allies, apprehensive of disobligeing the ferocious Charles, were obliged to guaranty this treaty. England and Holland feared he might be induced to join with France, and support the elector of Bavaria, now put under the ban of the empire. Joseph had the same sentiments: he had constrained the aulic council to proscribe the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, by which he confirmed to the council an authority before disputed. After so extraordinary a precedent, it did not become the inferior princes of the empire to contend this extensive jurisdiction, though we have since beheld it profaned to the worst purposes of ambition and policy.

No sooner was the decree of the aulic council passed, than the emperor assembled a great number of nobility. Seated in his imperial throne, he heard read the acts by which Leopold had inveighed the two proscribed princes with the electoral dignity. He then tore them in pieces, threw them on the ground, and trampled upon those treasonable decrees. The heralds at arms took up the scaps on the points of their lances, and flung them into the street. Then was pronounced the decree of the aulic council, by which the princes were proscribed, after which the sentence was publicly proclaimed by the heralds in all the public streets of Vienna. A price was set on the head of the elector of Bavaria, and the same would have been done to the elector of Cologne, had not his ecclesiastical character exempted him from such severity. Even the children of the elector of Bavaria were deprived of their titles, and ordered to be called only the children of the count de Wintzpsch. Most princes in Germany blamed the emperor’s inflexibility, and the rigour of the sentence: they likewise declared, that the form was not agreeable to the usual method of proscribing the members of the Germanic body. The constitution indeed requires, that the accused should be tried before a full diet, be permitted to plead their own defence, again examined before the three-colleges, and, if found guilty, three several times summoned to comply with their obligations, and make ample satisfaction. If the delinquent should still persist in his fault, the three colleges then assemble, and publish the ban of the empire. It was therefore concluded, that as those formalities had not been regarded in this instance, the proscription was void, and of no effect.

(A) Patkul was a native of Livonia; his zeal for the liberties of his country incurred the resentment of the states of Sweden, in the reign of Charles XI. He arranged boldly, in the king’s presence, upon this subject, and his eloquence and public spirit secured the royal edict. The states, however, condemned him to death; the king warned him of his danger, and Patkul withdrew to Poland. Animated with revenge, he ad-
The history of Germany.

The electors, however, rested their cause upon a surer foundation: they hoped that M. Villars, backed by a numerous army, would restore their affairs, and demonstrate the injustice of their sentence. He advanced with great rapidity along the Sar, and obliged the prince of Baden to abandon his camp, and retire towards Drachenstein. This situation like- 

wife he quitted precipitously on the defeat of his advanced guard, who disputed the passage of the Mosel with the French forlorn hope. This retreat extremely affected the reputation of the prince of Baden, as he left all his tents standing, his baggage, stores, ammunition, and part of his cannon, a prey to the enemy, repulsing the Rhine before a body of irregulars, with an expedition which had all the appearances of a flight. In consequence, Lauterburg fell an easy victim, and the Imperialists were driven from post to post, without the credit of striking a blow, or making the least shew of resistance. In a word, M. Villars profited so much by this general confederate flight, that he soon occupied all the posts and fortresses from the river Mosel to Spirebach. Next he reduced Augustana by a detachment under the fame Perry, who had lately so bravely defended it against the Imperialists; after which, he was too much weakened by draughts made from his army, to enter upon any considerable enterprise.

Prince Lewis of Baden was in much the same circumstances: he was forced to send strong reinforcements to Hungary, to oppose the progress of the malcontents, who had forced the lines at Moreau, defended by general Beskai, and made an irruption into Austria, whence they returned with booty of immense value. Guy de Sarenberg, who imagined he lay in security behind the lines of Oedemburg, had likewise the mortification of being forced; while the Hungarians, after destroying thirty villages, and desolating the whole country, returned with rich plunder to Neubaulg. Afterwards Ragotki harrassed, for the space of a month, the army under Sarenberg, by perpetual marches, counter-marches, skirmishes, and alarms. Both practised every fineness of war, and exhausted the whole military art, in endeavours to gain some decisive advantage: when at length Ragotki, by a sudden manœuvre, appeared before Strigonia, in Lower Hungary, which he took by assault. Sarenberg retook this place soon after, though he found himself unable to stop the ravages of the enemy. Ragotki was at the head of forty thousand men, and had left considerable detachments with the generals Forgats and Oskai, to penetrate into Austria and Moravia. They passed and 

re-passed, pillaged, plundered, defoliated all before them, and returned untouched, laden with booty. A corps of Hungarians had near surprised the emperor, and seized his person, as he was hunting in the forest of Eberdorf. The scheme was well laid, and it only miscarried through accident.

In Italy affairs were not more prosperous: the enemy, under M. Berwick, had reduced Nice, and the Imperialists were diminished at least four thousand in number since Prince Eugene had quitted the command. Such was their superiority, that the French were meditating the conquest of all Piedmont; nor could the remonstrances of Eugene animate the councils of Vienna, or quicken their measures. Money was wanting, and the emperor was afraid to supply the deficiencies by new impotations on the Bavarians; but Eugene, touched with the misfortunes of the elector, proposed a scheme more generous and noble: it was to mortgage to the English the revenues of Silesia for the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. The proposal was embraced. Eugene intrusted with the negotiation, the money borrowed, and the utmost expedition exerted in levying troops for the service in Italy. As soon as the levies were complete, the prince prepared to repass the Alps; but, before his arrival, he was informed of the unfortunate action at Calcante. Before he could collect the remains of the scattered army, the enemy had invested Turin. The capital was on the verge of destruction, when Eugene, by the most astonishing march, enveloped by danger, and hemmed in on every side by enemies, appeared before the French camp, forced their intrenchments, obtained a complete victory, relieved Turin, and recovered all the conquests made by Lewis the Great, with a rapidity which will transmit his memory with glory to the latest posterity.

In Flanders the duke of Marlborough rivalled the fame of Eugene, by a victory equally glorious and decisive as that at Turin. Villers was defeated by an inferior army at Ramillies, with the loss of his cannon, baggage, and an infinity of killed and prisoners. Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Oudenarde, and a variety of other places, surrendered at the summons of the victorious confederates. Covered with glory, Marlborough set out for London, and from thence proceeded to found the intentions of his Swedish majesty, who was supposed to have a bias in favour of Lewis and the elector of Saxony. Here he approved himself as able a statesman as his repeated conquests had shewn him a general.

While Marlborough refrained at the court of Charles XII. the emperor dispatched the count de Wattez to Leipsick, to accommodate the differences between the Swedish monarch

Vide Univ. Hist. in the Reign of Lewis XIV.
and the house of Austria. Charles demanded satisfaction for the injury done him, by granting a passage through Siefla to a body of Ruffians. With respect to the house of Heflein, he required, that right of primogeniture should be established, and the see of Lubec confirmed to the present possessor: he insisted, that his contingent against France should be excused, on account of the war against Poland and Muscovy, in which he was engaged: he farther expected, that liberty of conscience should be allowed the Protestants in Siefla, and the count Zeborn sent to apologize in the Swedif camp for the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of him and his ally king Staniflaus. The count replied, that his instructions were too limited to grant those demands: he refused restoring to the Protestants any of the churches of which they were deprived previous to the treaty of Ryswick; but the king insisted and extended his demand to that of Wilipolia. Wransiflaus returned for fresh instructions to Vienna; and, during his absence, the English and Dutch ministers laboured to persuade the king to march without delay against the Ruffians. They offered their mediation to terminate the affair with the emperor to his satisfaction; but Charles well knew that his presence would have more influence. In fact, the emperor was forced to accede to all the propositions made by the Swede, who, at this critical juncture, was courted by all the potentates of Europe, who equally feared and admired a young prince so fierce, active, ambitious, and warlike.

The long duration of a war, in which all Europe was embroiled, entirely drained the provinces of money, and deprived them of the possibility of furnishing the usual contingents. The people ardently wished for peace; but the imperial and British courts, and the states-general, were not yet satiated with conquest. The circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine, of Swabia and Franconia, complained of the impossibility of defending their frontiers against the enemy, unless the disembarked forces were regularly levied. This gave birth to the assembly which met at Heilbron, where it was resolved, that an army of forty thousand men should be raised for this purpose, and augmented by a certain number of English and Dutch forces. A sufficient sum of money for the maintenance of this army was voted; magazines were to be formed at Philipenburg; Landau was to be fortified, garrisoned, and well provided; and recruits sufficient to complete all the regiments to be sent early in the spring to Savoy; but the execution of these resolutions met with numberless difficulties.

Negotiations were likewise on the carpet, to engage the emperor to invest his brother, the archduke Charles, with the duchy of Milan. He had long waved this request, and thereby excited jealousy in the Italian states, who dreaded the establishment of the imperial power in Italy, and the vicinity of so formidable a potentate. At the same time the English and Dutch were labouring to procure the extension of the duchy of Savoy’s territories. He was detached from the French interest by a promise of the late emperor, to cede to him the towns of Valencia and Alexandria, with their dependencies. Joseph had long deferred the performance of his father’s promise; but he now at length yielded to the intercession of his allies: he surrendered the above cities to Victor Amadeus, and invested the archduke Charles with the duchy of Milan. Perhaps the treaty which the emperor now signed with the court of France, was the least politic of all his late measures: he contented that Lewis should withdraw his garrisons out of Italy, with all their baggage and artillery. They must have necessarily fallen into the hands of prince Eugene, who now carried all before him; and the French army in Flanders, received by this means a reinforcement of eighteen thousand of the best troops of France, veterans, who had served during the war in Lombardy. Had the whole imperial army in Italy been likewise recalled, it would more than have counterbalanced this advantage gained by France; but the cafe was otherwise: that army was almost wholly taken up in garrisoning the towns evacuated by the enemy. It is true, a direct path was now opened to Provence, and a scheme on foot for penetrating into the heart of France; but as these extensive projects never took effect, it may reasonably be presumed, that this treaty was, on the whole, prejudicial to the alliance. The imperial generals proposed laying siege to Toulon; accordingly the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene encamped at la Valette, where they established their head-quarters. On the twenty-ninth of July they attacked the enemy posted on an eminence near St. Catharine, and strongly intrenched: they were twice repulsed; but returning a third time to the charge, they attacked with such impetuosity as carried the intrenchments sword in hand; upon which they erected batteries on the eminence to play upon Toulon. M. Pepe, who commanded the French army, perceived, that the safety of the town depended upon dispossessing the Imperialists of an eminence that entirely commanded the besieged. He resolved upon the enterprise, and executed it with so much vigour, that the whole allied detachment was put to the sword, and above four battalions cut in pieces. This disappointment, the scarcity of provision, and the difficulty of forcing a strong town well garrisoned, provided and covered with an army, determined the duke and prince Eugene to raise the siege; and withdraw the imperial forces. The latter, however, in his retreat, made himself matter of Saffa.

No2
Nor were the emperor's arms more successful on the Rhine. At the death of Prince Lewis of Baden, one of the best officers in the imperial service, the command of the army was given to the margrave of Brandenburg-Bareith, a Protestant prince, and the oldest veldt-marshal. It was an agreement between the Catholics and Protestants, that the officers of either religion should have the command in turns; the only expedient by which both parties could be united for the common interest; yet did the directory of Menz op- pose this coalition, because it was disliked by several of the Catholic princes of the German body, who wanted to engross all preferments. The emperor had taken some measures to satisfy the directory, which so enflamed the Protestants, that he was now obliged to appease them, by appointing Prince Eugene and the margrave alternately to the com-
mand. As the former was wholly occupied in Italy, this regulation gave the Protestants full satisfaction. The margrave no sooner entered upon his new appointment, than he wrote to the several circles to solicit their contingents; and his remonstrances were sup-
ported by the states-general of the United Provinces, who wrote to the diet, reproaching the circles with backwardness, and with having taken no measures for the defence of their frontiers, and the campaign on the Rhine. Their letter, which was exceedingly bitter and spirited, became the subject of debate in the diet. Several of the members took offence at the acrimony of the style; and the ministers refused to act, until they were empowered by fresh instructions from their different courts.

Meanwhile, the margrave was at the head of an army on the Rhine; but, instead of the forty thousand men voted by the assembly at Heilbron, it did not exceed twenty-eight thousand, newly levied, ill armed, and worse paid. With this force he was embarrassed how he should act against M. Villars, and be able to defend the lines at Stolboffen, which covered the territory of Baden Durlach, and extended to the impassable mountains of the Black Forest. These lines were indeed impregnable, had they been sufficiently guarded; but Villars knew the state of the imperial army, and resolved to profit by the opportunity. Conducted by the count de Broglie, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, the strength and weakness of the lines, he made divers feints and false attacks, as if he intended penetrating into the campaignate, while he was assembling twenty battalions, and forty-five squadrons, under Broglie, at Lauterberg. Filling sixty boats with grenadiers, he dropped down to the isle of Newburg; he chafed from thence the Imperialists, after a short refil-
ance. As he was preparing to attack the lines, they were abandoned by the margrave, who retired under cover of a thick fog, not imagining he should be able to stand the assault. Thus, without fear striking a blow, Villars got possession of the strong works at Stolboffen, all the tents of the Imperialists, great part of their artillery and baggage, the clothing of several regiments, a variety of copper pontoons, an intire bridge of boats, twenty thousand sacks of corn, a prodigious quantity of forage, ammunition, and stores, and the entire com-
mand of the marquise of Baden. Terrified at this unexpected loss, the marchioness dowager fled precipitately with her family from the castle of Rastadt; but Villars sent after her to request she would return, promising her the protection of his master, and all the respect due to her sex and quality. She relied upon the marshall's word, returned to Rastadt, and found all her effects untouched, and the greatest order observed; only contributions to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns were levied in the marquise's. Villars then penetrated into the duchy of Wirtemberg, which he taxed at the rate of two mil-
ions of livres. His approach gave the alarm to the margrave, encamped at Heilbron, who did not believe himself in security here, notwithstanding his army had been augmented by considerable reinforcements. The truth is, he was forced again to weaken himself, in order to secure Landau, Friburg, and Phillipsburg, by strong garrisons. Villars, however, had too much discernment to waste his time in sieges. He found it more to the king's and his own advantage to spread consternation over Germany, drive before him the little fugitive imperial army, and support his own by contributions levied on the enemy.

The misfortunes of the campaign were wholly charged upon the misconduct of the mar-
grave: they ought, perhaps, to be imputed to the backwardness of the circles in contrib-
uting their contingents. Certain it is, that so displeased was the emperor with all the mar-
grave's proceedings, that he offered the command of the army to the elector of Hanover, under pretence that Bareith was too old and infirm to support the duty. His true motive was, to engage the elector to join his forces to the Imperialists. This the elector perceived, and declined the compliment, on account of his bad state of health. It was obvious that he chose not to declare himself, until he was certain the princes of the empire would fulfill their engagements, and aflured of the meagre of the king of Sweden. To raise money sufficient to augment the army, the next step taken by the imperial court was, to confiscate the estates of all the ministers and officers in Bavaria, who had shewn the least attachment to their

*The marquis of Bareith made general of the Imperialists.*

*The margrave flies before the French.*
The history of Germany.

All this time the circles of Swabia and Franconia, assisted by the deputies of several imperial cities, remonstrated to the diet at Ratisbon upon the dangers which threatened all Germany, and their territories in particular. The remonstrances were followed by a declaration of their deputies, importing, that if speedy measures were not taken for their defence, they should be under the necessity of accepting the pretended neutrality with France. At the same time it was whispered, that the princes of Wurtemberg, Baden, and the states most exposed to the enemy's incursions, had come to a resolution of heightening up a separate pacification. In these circumstances, the diet exerted the utmost vigilance to prevent any breach of the alliance and the states of the empire. No method more effectual could be found than issuing orders to the margrave of Brandenburg to join with all possible celerity the troops of Hesse and other circles, assembling in the neighbourhood of Mentz, and after this junction to proceed to the Rhine. This resolution had two important objects in view. One of which, it was imagined, might necessarily succeed. M. Villars was only advanced into the heart of Germany, because the imperial army retired; but should the margrave return to the Rhine, the march could not in all probability be observed by the elections of Alsace, and retaliate all the injuries the empire might sustain from the loss of the electorate, and the heavy contributions levied in other districts. The emperor approved the resolution, and the orders were immediately dispatched to the margrave. He passed by Heilbronn, through Frankonia, with such rapidity as baffled all the endeavours of Villars to obstruct his progress: upon which the French general sent a detachment of four thousand men under the count de Bourché to sustain the lines at Lauterberg, in case they should be attacked. Another detachment, under the count de Breil, seized upon Lauen on the Neckar; while the march in peril crossed that river with a part of his army, and arrived on the fourth of July at Deurloch. His approach broke the design of the imperialists upon Alsace, and enabled him to lay under contribution all the states of the Palatinate.

Though the margrave was reinforced by the troops at Mentz, and the flying camp of general Thungen, he was still unable to make head against the march. The necessity of augmenting his army occasioned a motion in the diet to take into the pay of the empire a body of eight thousand Saxons; but to this the circles of Swabia and Franconia objected, on account of the heavy contributions levied upon them by the enemy, which had already impoverished the country. They proposed the necessary supplies should be borrowed of England and Holland; hence the emperor perceived the backwardness of the circles to enter upon fresh expenses, and the danger they might close with the proposals of France, should any constraint be laid on their inclinations. For these reasons the proposition was dropped, and he again sought the assistance of Hanover. The more strongly to induce the elector to accept the command of the army, it was proposed to invest him with the title of veldt-marchal: the margrave complained of the injustice done him, and the indignity offered, by so declared a preference. He vindicated his own conduct; and, with great truth, shifted the blame on the circles of the empire, the insufficiency of his army, and the want of every necessity. However, the emperor peremptorily, the margrave reneged the command, and it was bestowed, with the title of veldt-marchal, on the elector of Hanover.

In the month of September the elector repaired to the camp at Ettlingen, attended by a body of Hanovrians. Immediately he visited all the posts; and, having examined the situation, formed the design of running a line along the Elbe, for the greater security of the country. He sent a sketch of his project to the diet; and, while he expected their sentiments, was preparing to surprieve the marquis de Vicon, encamped at Offenbach. With this view he detached two thousand cavalry, and an equal number of infantry, under the conduct of count Merci and prince Lobkowitz, under cover of a thick fog, to make the attempt. They approached so near to the French camp, that the scheme must have taken effect, had they not been discovered by foraging parties, who spread the alarm, and gave the French general time to withdraw and evacuate his camp, with the loss of three hundred soldiers and a few officers. With this transaction ended the campaign, both armies going into winter-quarters.

Affairs in Spain bore a very untoward aspect. The battle of Almansa was lost; the allies everywhere foiled by the vigilance, activity, and superior genius of marchal Berwick; and the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon forced to submit to the conqueror. But 


these
these losses were in some measure repaired by the happy revolution in Naples, effected by cardinal Pignatelli and the duke de Monteleon. Here count Fleming was appointed governor, and the archduke Carl was declared sovereign of the whole kingdom. At the same time the nuptials of this prince, with Elizabeth-Christina of Wolfenbüttel, was celebrated with great magnificence at Vienna. This reverie of fortune, however, in Spain, prevented his attending the ceremony in person, which was performed by his proxy.

During the recees from hostilities produced by the winter, the diet was plicated with remonstrances from the allies. The states-general represented, that as the war was undertaken in defence of the liberties of Europe in general, and of the states in particular, they were resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour and alacrity: the same measures they expected from all their allies; yet hitherto it unfortunately happened, that in proportion as they augmented their forces, the emperor and princes of the empire diminished their army, and seemed to throw the whole burthen of the war upon their allies. A variety of other grievances were represented with great freedom and energy, which so embarrassed the diet, that three months were spent in disputation. At length the colleges agreed to raise three hundred thousand florins, to supply the deficiencies of the preceding year, and a million of crowns for the sole use of the military chest: besides, three thousand Saxon horse were to be taken into pay, the army to be augmented to one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, for the defence of the frontiers, the garrisons, and the purpose of facing the enemy upon the Rhine; the elector of Hanover was authorized to enforce a proper assessment, the decrees of the diet, and the contingents of the federal members, either in men, money, or artillery. Yet did not this precaution produce the effect. The princes and cities alledged various excuses for evading this extraordinary expense. They inflected upon recalling the army from Italy, as a measure preferable to new and oppressive levies.

Besides these difficulties, another occurred of a more refined and political nature. By the partition of the one hundred and twenty thousand men, and two million eight hundred thousand florins made by the diet, a certain proportion was assigned to the Spanish Netherlands, under the name of the circle of Burgundy. In this division were included a great number of towns belonging to the republic of the United Provinces, who highly contended that they should be taxed by the empire, at the same time they were contributing to the support of the war as subjects of the states-general. They remonstrated to the diet, refused to pay the taxes, and by this means introduced a new scene of discord and confusion. Ruemond, Venlo, Nimveren, Tielt, Bommel, and the whole barony of Brede, sent their deputies to the diet, and to the states-general. It was on the pretension of their having a voice in the grand council of the empire, that they were taxed as subjects of the empire; it was because they were the acknowledged subjects of the republic they refused to pay them. They pleaded the impossibility of being subject to two separate independent states; and the diet thought it unreasonable they should maintain the privileges of members of this assembly, without contributing to the expense of the government. However, the cities carried the debate, and in consequence the whole decree of the diet was rendered fruitless, because an additional expense must fall upon the other members.

During these altercation, the crown of Portugal, the archduke Charles, the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, the duke of Würtemberg, and the prince of Hesse-Cassel, were all clamorous for money, troops, provisions, and necessaries. All were in want, and disappointed. The projects of the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, and the elector of Hanover, were at a stand, and the troops in a most deplorable situation; but nothing could hasten the dilatory proceedings of the Germanic body. Without England, the confederates must have perished, and all the glorious victories of Eugene and Marlborough rendered abortive. The British parliament kept firm not only to their engagements, but greatly exceeded the promised supplies, and became equally the support and the cement of the alliance. Through the invigorating influence of this wealthy state, always proud of taking the lead, the principal in every quarrel, and the prey of every confederacy, the combined armies were at length put in motion. In Flanders the battle of Oudenarde was gained, under the auspices of Marlborough and Eugene, though the enemy were headed by a prince of the blood, and the philosophic Vendôme, one of the first generals in Europe, and now, with maréchal Villars, the prop of Lewis's declining glory. Lips, Ghent, and other cities, surrendered to the conquerors, and nothing seemed capable of stemming the impetuosity of the confederates. On the Rhine no considerable transaction occurred: both sides directed their chief strength to the Netherlands; and the affairs of Hungary still bore an unfavourable aspect.

a Barre Hist. tom. x. An. 1708.
Though the malcontents had been frequently defeated, they were far from being conquered, obstinately refusing the terms proposed by the court of Vienna. They flattered themselves with the hopes of some happy revolution, which should induce the emperor to secure their privileges. They even wished for a Turkish war, hoping that, between rival powers, they might acquire independency. Ragotski, and the other chiefs, loudly complained of the violence offered to public liberty; and to silence their clamours, and redress their grievances, the emperor convoked a diet at Pressburg. This was certainly a prudent measure, had it been rightly pursued; but no steps were taken in the diet to appease the troubles; no concessions were made to soothe, or propitiate to satisfy the disaffected. The diet answered no other purpose than to shew that the kingdom swarmed with malcontents; only a small proportion of whom appeared in arms, and to draw up a remonstrance of the grievances of the people. They demanded a public ratification, in full diet, of the late emperor's declaration, that no attempts should ever be made on the privileges of the kingdom: they also demanded security that his imperial majesty should never bequeath the crown by will or testament; and that, at his death, the antient right of election of a sovereign should revert to the people: that no Hungarian gentleman should be condemned for treason, before he was legally proved of having appeared in arms against the supreme authority: that the nobility should be exempted from having soldiers quartered upon them: that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the estates, and all contributions upon any other authority be abolished: that the general diet should be assembled every three years: that the imperial council, relative to the kingdom of Hungary, e constrict wholly of natives of that country: that all employments in the kingdom be filled up by Hungarians, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical: that all foreigners should immediately resign their places, except the cardinal Saxe-Zeith, primate of the kingdom, who, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, should continue in possession of all his dignities: that the officers of the treasury should be wholly directed by the laws, with respect to the constitution of the estates of noblemen: that liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of religion, should be restored to the Protestants: that, however, the Catholic faith should be the established national religion, and the other tolerated only, for the sake of peace: that the offices of palatine of the kingdom, judges of the king's court, of the thane of Croatia, &c. should be restored on the antient footing, and their salaries regularly paid out of the public revenue: that the revenues of the kingdom should be administered by an Hungarian treasurer, independent of the imperial court: that foreign troops should be obliged to observe exact discipline, and entirely to quit the kingdom before the session of the next diet: finally, that his imperial majesty should commit the whole direction of affairs to his Hungarian council, assisted by four other counsellors of his own election.

Such was the bill of remonstrance presented to the court; several of the demands were entirely new, and others the same which had been repeatedly urged, to little purpose. Hitherto the successes of the malcontents had not been considerable enough to induce the emperor to grant all their demands; however, defeats and disappointments could not break their spirit; they even rose with mischief. Nor did the sitting of the diet prevent the malcontents from making excursions into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, which they overwhelmed with terror. They besieged a variety of places, and, among others, the strong fortresses of Neustettl, which they reduced to great extremity. General Heisser, informed of the wretched situation of the garrison, marched with seven thousand cavalry, and a body of infantry, to their relief; his approach obliging Ragotski, and the count Bircacci, to retire beyond the river Trenchin. In their retreat he attacked the enemy's rear with so much vigour, as put them in confusion, and obliged them to relinquish the siege, with the loss of a considerable number of men and military trophies.

While rejoicings were making in Vienna for this striking victory, the court was alarmed with advice that the rebels had crossed the Danube, forced the lines of Petrovella, carried fort Raff by assault, and plundered the towns and villages within forty miles of the capital of the empire. Intelligence likewise arrived, that the enemy had forced a passage over the Mauer, taken Legrad, a town situated on the confluence of that river with the Drau; surprised Chackburn and Petau, cut off the communication between Slavonia and Transylvania, and reduced general Heisser to the necessity of raising the siege of Neubukof. With this news vanished all hope of reducing the malcontents: their armies, their courage, their refractions, and their prospects, were daily augmenting. They had fortified Neubukof, razed the works of the besiegers, augmented the garrison with two thousand men, and put this place out of all manner of danger. Ragotski had assembled the chief discontented generals, and obtained from them a resolution to continue so just and necessary a war, with the utmost vigour and alacrity. They highly extolled his valour, activity, and patriotism, and rewarded his zeal for the public liberty with the chief command. Then they
The history of Germany.

a signed a new association, whereby they agreed to defend their privileges with their lives and fortunes; to obey the directions of Ragoski; and to suffer every extremity for the space of six years, rather than renounce their pretensions: at the expiration of this time the association might be renewed.

This court of Vienna, however, was less astonished at the firm resolutions of the Hungarians than at the spirit with which the pontiff reenacted the emperor’s late conduct. He now thundered excommunications against some officers of the imperial army in Italy, because, in passing thro’ the territories of the church, they had committed some irregularities, and exacted contributions from the clergy of Parma, and other districts. The pontiff had first complained to the emperor, but not finding redress, he proceeded to judgment with great rigour, and feigned this opportunity of wreaking his vengeance for the late insult offered his authority. He likewise refused to acknowledge the archduke’s pretensions to the crown of Spain, and thereby widened the breach between the papal and imperial courts. In the month of July the count de Cavour, auditor of the rota for the empire, distributed circular letters in Rome, supported by an imperial manifesto, whereby Joseph annulled the pontifical censures, alluding, for a reason, that Parma and the towns where his troops had lived at free quarters, were fiefs of the empire. He added his resolution to support the imperial rights in Italy, without other exception, than of those towns which could prove their immunities by authentic deeds, signed by former emperors, and ratified by the Germanic body. In this menace he had an eye to the pontiff, and the dukes of Tuscany and Parma, whose neutrality, during the war that raged in Italy, gave great offence to his imperial majesty.

b JOSEPH pushed his resentment still farther. The cardinal Grimani, viceroy of Naples, published a decree suppressing the nunciatory tribunal, and forbidding the clergy to pay the annates to the chancery of Rome. He inflicted, that the king of the Two Sicilies did not require the investiture of the pontiff, because these provinces were not fiefs of the papal see, and the eftates of Avignon and Bourbon reverted right to the crown of Naples. To support these decrees the Imperialists commenced hostilities: they feized on Como, Baveno, Legno, Cesenatico, and other places, commodious for throwing succours into Ferrara, one of which they aimed the right of the duke of Modena. At the utmost time the dukes of Mantua and Montferrat were put under the ban of the empire, and their eftates confiscated, because they had presumed to tax the imperial justice. It had been stipulated in the treaty of 1707, by which the French evacuated Lombardy, that the duchy of Mantua should be sequestrated in the hands of the pope and the republic of Venice, until a general pacification should determine its fate; and the emperor should maintain garrisons in such towns as he thought proper, out of the revenues of the duchy, only allowing a certain sum for the support of the ducal dignity. Without regard to this treaty, the Imperialists appropriated the whole revenues to their own purposes, and the duke was left to beg his sustenance, like a vagrant, from the neighbouring princes. They likewise transported the duke’s artillery to Milan, and other places, obliging the inhabitants of Mantua to maintain their forces at free quarters. It would be vain to attempt a vindication of this conduct, equally inhuman and oppressive. The Imperialists acted in this manner wherever their arms were successful, poverty being the strong motive to their rapacities.

c As to Montferrat, the emperor gave the investiture of the duchy to the duke of Savoy, on condition that prince adhered faithfully to the alliance during the war, without regard to natural affection and the interests of his daughter, married to the duke of Anjou, competitor with the archduke Charles for the Spanish monarchy: that he acknowledged the princess of Wolfenbüttel as queen of Spain, in right of her husband the archduke; and that he should grant the duke of Modena a subsidy of fifteen thousand livres, until he was put in quiet possession of the duchy of Ferrara. The death of the duke of Mantua happily prevented the chagrin he must have felt from this iniquitous distribution of his dominions.

This event made no alteration: the emperor pursued his resolution of embalming the imperial rights in Italy on the antient footing; and he ordered the duke of Parma to prove his rights in fifteen days, or pay homage to the empire, under pain of confiscation of all his dominions. All Italy was alarmed at the high tone in which Joseph expressed himself. Venice, Genoa, and all the other states, were deeply interested in this resolution, which must rob them of the greatest part of their dominions, or render them at least subject to the empire: yet the imperial forces in Italy, and their own weaknefs, obliged them to suppress their complaints, and satisfy themselves with murmuring at a conduct they were incapable of repeating.

d At length, Joseph carried his violences to so enormous a length, that they ventured upon remonstrances. They said, that his meafures were contradictory,
since he required the consent of the aulic council in a simple donation in Italy; and yet a had of his own right, disposed of the Higher Palatinate, and the county of Champtoise, in favour of the count Palatine. His father Leopold had never confounded the empire when he transferred to the duke of Savoy a considerable part of the Milanese. Besides, that prince had, in the year 1691, declared the duke of Parma a vassal of the holy see; yet the emperor now claimed the duchy as a fief of the empire. These arguments were unanswerable, but Joseph's claim must be decided not by reason, but the sword.

The court of Rome, less timid than the other states and princes of Italy, resolved to join force to arguments, to stope the progress of the imperial power. In a conclav of thirty-four cardinals, a great majority was for coming to an open rupture, and repelling hostilities: all of them contributed to the expence of raising an army, to the command of which count Mariotti was appointed. The peafants of Ferrara were already in arms; and being joined by a few ecclesiastical forces, they drove the Imperialists out of Argenta and Longarino, while the marquis de Bentivoglio, at the head of his own vassals, feized upon their magazines. On the first notice of these hostilities, count Tasso marched for the Ferraresi, forced several important pofts, and laid siege to the capital, forbidding the people to supply the inhabitants with provision, under the penalty of military execution. At the same time the prince of Darmstadt, commander in chief in Naples, ordered several regiments to file towards the ecclesiastical territories; but before they entered upon action, the marquis de Prie was sent to Rome to propose an accommodation. The terms were that the pontiff should reduce his standing forces to five thousand men; that he should permit the Imperialists to quarter in the ecclesiastical territories, and a passage when required. A few days were given him to consider the conditions, and in the mean time an armistice was granted.

Already the Imperialists were in possession of the greater part of Ferrara, and the troops under count Tasso only waited for orders to march directly to Rome, while the fleets of England and Holland threatened the pontiff's sea-ports and coasts. The princes of Italy were over-awed: they scarce ventured to breathe in whispers their grievances; and the remonstrances lately published, they feared had already roused the indignation of the confederates. Terror appeared in every face, and a general revolution in the affairs of Italy was apprehended. Clement assembled a conclave, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and the emperor's propositions: several cardinals were bold enough to repel them; but the more diffident were of opinion, it was better to yield certain points, and a few temporal rights, than incense a monarchy equally able to destroy or support the holy state. As they could come to no resolution, a message was sent to the marquis de Prie, requesting a prolongation of the armistice, the time limited being too short to deliberate on matters of so great moment; but he answered, that an extension of the truce exceeded his instructions; and that the infallible consequence of rejecting the emperor's proposals would be the defection of the ecclesiastical territories, perhaps of Rome itself. This menace determined the conclave: they were terrified with the picture drawn by the imperial ambassador; and fearing the ecclesiastical forces were too weak to resist the enemy, they embraced the proposals, and signed the treaty in the month of January. Here it was stipulated, that the pontiff should reduce his army to the number mentioned above; that he should disbanded all the French and Spanish auxiliaries; that he should furnish subsistance for six thousand Imperialists in his dominions; that he should on no terms abet the malcontents in Naples, or afflict the enemies of the house of Austria, and the other allies; that Conacio should remain in the hands of the emperor, until it was otherwise disposed of at a general pacification; at which time commissaries should be appointed on both sides to adjust their mutual pretensions to this and to Parma and Placentia. No mention was made about acknowledging the right of the archduke to the Spanish monarchy; this was remitted to the conclave, where the emperor depended on a majority. This circumstance gave the French the greatest uneasiness. Lewis doubted not but establishing the right of Charles to the Spanish succession would be a necessary article of the treaty. Marshal Tilly was therefore dispatched to Rome to frustrate the negotiation; but his remonstrances made no impression. The Imperialists marched towards Rome, the treaty was signed, and the march was forced to rest satisfied with protestations. With respect, however, to acknowledging the archduke Charles, the pontiff egregiously equivocated. In his brief, addressed to that prince, he called him 'Our dear son the Catholic king in Spain;' a phrase which equally incurred the resentment of both parties. France alleged he granted too much in calling Charles a Catholic king; and the emperor was displeased he gave him a title inferior to the Catholic king of Spain, Naples, and the Indies. Clement, however, cleared himself.

The new year was ushered in by the emperor's application to the states of the empire, to confirm the ninth electorate he had created in favour of the duke of Hanover. A variety
The history of Germany.

viety of princes objected to the erection of this electorate, particularly the archbishops of Frezen and Colign. All the Catholics blamed Leopold for strengthening the Protestant interest in the electoral college, and they now represented to Joseph the evils which might arise from ratifying the creation of a new dignity. For six years the affair had been agitated; but Joseph determined to surmount all opposition, and at any rate oblige the general of his army on the Rhine, and his Protestant allies. To satisfy the Catholics, it was proposed to erect for them another electorate, so as to turn the scale in the electoral college; but this being opposed, it was resolved to give a casting vote to the president of the diet, who was always a Catholic, the archbishop of Mentz constantly holding that dignity. Upon this compromise the elector of Hanover was admitted into the college; but the dispute was not wholly terminated. The duke of Wirtemberg opposed his being complimented with the grand standard of the empire, which had been long postponed by his family. He said, that honours ought to be contrived for the elector of Hanover which should diminish in no respect the other members of the empire, and particularly the duke of Wirtemberg, who had always distinguished his loyalty to the imperial crown. Recourse was then had to the place of grand treasurer, because, since the procuration of the elector of Bavaria, the count-palatine quitted that title for the other more honourable one of grand master of the empire: yet, as by the peace of Baden all employments and dignities were established on the antient footing, this project likewise met with difficulties. It was almost impossible to adjust the different pretensions of the elector-palatine and the elector of Hanover, who disputed about the dignity of grand treasurer. It was expected all obstructions would be removed, by making the new elector grand master of the horse; but to this the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, put in his claim, pretending that all the functions attached to that charge belonged of antient right to the arch-marchal of the empire.

After the diet had acknowledged the elector of Hanover, they voted that the emperor Joseph had a voice in the electoral college as king of Bohemia, an honour which none of his predecessors enjoyed since Ladislaus. A peculiar prerogative he likewise enjoyed: it was, that his presence at the assembled could not be required, unless the diet was held on the frontiers of the kingdom whence he derived his right of voting. There was a wide difference made between the re-admission of the sovereign of Bohemia, and the introduction of the house of Brunsfels into the diet: the rights of the first were without exception or limitation; those of the other were restrained to the male issue of Ernest-Augustus, the first elector.

In this situation were the affairs of the empire, when the most Christian king began seriously to wish seeing an issue to a long war, which had desolated and impoverished his dominions. The president Reulle came to Antwerp to confer with the deputies of the states-general: his terms appeared to moderate, that, after much altercation and punctilious delays, Reulle was told, his master would be permitted to send plenipotentiaries to the Hague, to adjust the preliminaries of a general pacification. This was retaliating the indignities suffered from the French monarch before the peace of Roswick: it was indeed mortifying in excess, to that towering pride which aimed at giving law to all Europe. After tedious negotiations, mutual proposals were made and rejected: the allies demanded more than Lewis, even in the main of his glory, could grant, without flouting his honour, and subduing his natural affection for a grandson. We have already exhibited the particulars in our History of France: sufficient it is to remark in this place, that both sides prepared for the prosecution of the war, after Reulle had notified the impossibility of his master's accepting five of the articles fixed in the preliminaries.

The confederates under Marlborough and Eugene were again victorious in the Netherlands: Villars loft the battle of Malplaquet; but he was formidable in his defeat, and had detained deep with blood the laurels gained by the conquerors.

Upon the Rhine the campaign opened late in the season. The elector of Hanover, dissatisfied with the conduct of the preceding year, predicted the event of this, from the dilatory proceedings of the Germanic body. Scarce a single member of the empire discovered the leaf ashore in the common cause. All were flow in furnishing their contingents, and many refused at all to contribute to the public expense. The beef troops were employed in Flanders, and money was wanting to assemble an army on the Rhine. It was proposed in the diet to borrow; but the college of princes refused their consent both to this measure and to levying new taxes, until all the circles had paid the arrears of their quotas. Under these embarrassments, the elector of Hanover wisely declined accepting the command of an army in want of every necessary, and which must every where be foiled by the enemy's superiority. However, he was at length gained over by the influence of the queen of England, upon which he repaired to the camp about the middle of August. He no sooner

* Barre Hist. d'Allemagne, t. x. sub An. 1708-9.

reviewed
reviewed his forces than he made a motion towards the French lines at Weissenburg, commanded by the maréchal de Harcourt. He had formed a project, which would have proved fatal to the enemy, had it been attended with the success which might reasonably have been expected. It was proposed to pass the Rhine into the Higher Alsace; while count Thann, after crossing the Rhine, should penetrate into Franche Comté, with a view either to reduce that province, or to seize upon the Three Bishoprics, and levy contributions in Champagne and Burgundy. To amuse de Harcourt, the elector propagated a report that he designed attacking his lines at Weissenburg; and the maréchal took the necessary measures of defence, at the same time that he believed something further was intended. As if he had been acquainted with the elector's real design, he detached five squadrons and two battalions to defend the passage of the Rhine towards the Upper Alsace, and the commanding officer was scarce arrived at his post before he received intelligence that the enemy were in motion. In a few days the maréchal Harcourt was surprized with undoubted intelligence that general Merci, at the head of thirteen battalions and twenty-three squadrons, was traversing the territory of Boffl, the Swifs having, contrary to their professed neutrality, granted him a passage. By the twenty-first of August he had entered the Higher Alsace, and advanced as far as the isle of Newburg, between Brifack and Hunningen. The fieur de Roccaux, who commanded the French detachment, immediately abandoned the island, and retired in such good order towards the main army, that Merci did not chuse to hazard an attack. Then the Imperialists, occupying that post, threw a bridge over the Rhine, and marched over eight battalions, leaving the rest of the troops to the defence of the bridge and island. Mean time, count de Bourg advanced with a body of troops beyond the lines, to watch the motions of the Imperialists; and he was reinforced with four battalions and eight squadrons, sent to his assistance by the maréchal. With this force, in all consisting of eighteen squadrons, six battalions, and eight companies of grenadiers, he resolved to give battle to the enemy, which Merci, at the head of nine thousand men, imprudently enough accepted. The armies met between Hermscheidt and Rumersheim, at the distance of a league from the isle of Newburg, and engaged with great vigour for half an hour, when the Imperialists gave way, and left a complete victory to the count de Bourg, with all their baggage, provision, stores, twelve pair of colours, two standards, two pair of kettle-drums, several pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and all count Merci's papers, among which was found the plan concerted by the elector of Hanover 4.

After this unfortunate action, the elector of Hanover retired towards the lines of Ellingen, and relinquished the great object in view; while count Merci, filing off to the Rhine, endeavoured to cover the passes of the Black Forest; though he could not prevent the maréchal from laying under contributions the marquise of Baden, and the bailiages in the neighbourhood of Landau.

In Italy count Thann opposed maréchal Berwick. As to the duke of Savoys, he was so disgusted with the emperor's vaft pretenfions in Italy, which he thought might in time devour all the lefter states, that he refigned the command of the combined army. The Imperialists had taken Annecy, with intention to penetrate into Franche Comté; but the defeat of Merci rendered that post useless. A variety of detachments were made from both armies; but they had the caution not to fall in with each other. At laft maréchal Berwick, with the main army, approached Briançon, with intention to believe it; and Thann, incensed that with a superior army he had gained not a single advantage, advanced to give him battle. All his attempts were foiled; and yet his conduct upon this occasion obtained him great honour. He was opposed by a general of such vaft abilities, that to maintain his ground, and avoid being disgraced, was considerable reputation. He practiced every stratagem to oblige the maréchal to quit the advantageous post he occupied; but in vain: the French army was so judiciously posted as to cover all the frontier, and render perfectly secure the great object of Thann's designs, Dauphine and Provence. In a word, all was directed with so much ability, that this campaign affords the finest lefions in the art of war.

Mean while, the allies had so vigorously prosecuted the war in Flanders, that the archduke's affairs in Spain were wholly neglected. Eugen, as much respected at Vienna as Marlborough was in London, carried all before him in council, and determined the emperor to direct his chief efforts to the fide of the Netherlands, where he commanded the Imperialists in person. Charles complained that he was neglected, in consequence of which his conquests were feized from him, and his influence was daily declining. England, moved by his remontrances, determined however to send succours to Catalonia; but Louis now made fresh proposals of peace by his ambaffador, the marquis de Vergy. He offered to accept some of the conditions he had last year rejected; but though the approaching re-

The history of Germany.

The history of Germany.

otution in the English ministry displayed the pacific intentions of that nation, Josep was still inexcusable. He dispatched the count Zinzendorf to the Hague, to traverse the projects of the French ministers; and he acquitted himself so much address, that the negotiations had the same issue as the preceding. The more the French ambassadors yielded, the more did the allies rile in their demands: every day gave birth to new propositions unfavourable to Lewis. At last, the confederates plainly declared, that, unless the most Christian king would contribute his affiance to dethrone his own grandson, it was impossible the treaty could take effect: and even this hard condition was clogged with retributions, which rendered it next to impracticable. Yet the confederates endeavourd to load the French monarch with the odium of breaking off the conferences:

b they alleged, that he proposed nothing more than to amuse them with negotiations, in order to draw breath, and recover his vigour for resuming hostilities. Nothing could be more unjust; it was Lewis's earnest desire to come to an accommodation upon any terms possible, that were not wholly destructive of his honour and humanity. He was now no longer the same formidable monarch who gave law to Europe at Ryswick.

No sooner were the conferences broke off at Gertrudenberg, than both armies took the field in the Netherlands. Bethune, Aire, St. Vianant, and other towns, yielded to the victorious arms of Eugene and Marlborough; but nothing decisive occurred. The allies had gained four towns, and about fifteen leagues of a fine country; but they lost above twenty thousand men, and their infantry was quite ruined.

c Towards the Rhine no considerable action was performed, not because the parties were too weak to take the field, but because they were pretty equal. Count Merci and Du Bourg exerted all their abilities; the one to regain the reputation he had lost, the other, to maintain the glory he had acquired by the late fortunate action: in a word, the season passed in marches, encampments, and stratagems, none of which produced any real advantage.

With respect to the affairs in Hungary, they were rather more prosperous than the Affairs of Hungary. Neuburg submitted to the Imperialists, after maintaining a blockade of six months: yet all the endeavours of the court of Vienna to bring the malcontents to reason, proved fruitless. The old obstructions to peace still remained; the discontented nobility continued to insist upon the re-establishment of their privileges, of the antient laws, and the liberty of electing their soveraigns, which the emperor could not be induced to grant. Such was the situation of Hungary, while Bavaria was dismembering in favour of the elector-palatine, and his brother the bishop of Augsburg. Other sieges were also bestowed on the bishops of Salzburg and Passau. The count de Scheben, vice-chancellor of the empire, and nephew to the elector of Mentz, was presented with the perpetuity of the district of Reidenburg, in consideration of the bishop of Brixen's being chosen coadjuver of Mentz. All these promotions and donations were made of the emperor's own authority, without consulting the diet, which appeared to him unnecessary, as his father had put the elector of Bavaria under the ban of the empire, without the consent of the Germanic body, and the princes of the empire. The same ceremony he neglected in the disposition of Mirandola to the duke of Modena. This duchy he confiscated, because the duke had appeared in the French army; a measure to which he had been forced in the year 1705, while a minor.

In Italy the campaign passed without effusion of blood; but it was otherwise in Spain, War in Spain where the succours sent by England enabled Charles to gain the decisive victory of Saragosza, which must have infallibly established him in the Spanish throne, had the advantage been properly pursued. But the arrival of the duke de Vendome soon changed the scene, and the consequences of the battle of Villa Victoria were as fatal to Charles as those of Saragosza might have proved to Philip. This single victory, improved by the abilities of Vendome, restored the affairs of Philip, placed him securely in the throne, and raised him from a fugitive prince to a triumphant monarch. The following note to him from Vendome the night succeeding the battle, is memorable. "Sire, I have prepared for you the best and most glorious bed in which you ever slept." This bed was composed of colours and trophies taken from the enemy, in which the king slept for five hours. The revolution in Spain gave the utmost uneasiness to the allies; and a great man told the duke of Hanover, that the union of two crowns in the house of Bourbon was a Gordian knot, which future ages must untie by the sword. The prediction, however, has not been verified in its full meaning, as France has hitherto deduced scarce a single advantage from the felicitation of a prince of the blood to the Spanish monarchy, besides what would naturally have resulted from the situation of both kingdoms, had that event ever happened.

This year the elector of Hanover made an acquisition of the county of Delmenhorst, mortgaged to him by the crown of Denmark. As the money borrowed was not paid at Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
the time appointed, he took possession of the lands, which occasioned some disputes with the Danish monarch. These, however, were more easily decided than the affair of Heilsbeim. For the space of a hundred years the house of Brunswick-Lunenburg proved possession of that bishopric. It was ceded in 1639 to Ferdinand elector of Cologne, on condition that the Protestants should be maintained in the free exercise of their religion. It was afterwards stipulated in the treaty of Weilburg, that the affairs of religion should be placed on the same footing as in the year 1624; in consequence of which, the elector of Mente and the duke of Brunswick drew up a convention, which was ratified in 1652 by Maximilian-Henry, elector of Cologne and bishop of Hildesheim. Here it was stipulated, that Protestants should not, in religious matters, depend on the chancellery or episcopal spiritual court, but carry their complaints before the Protestant consistory. Without regard to the convention, the Protestants were oppressed, and the number of their churches diminished. They were besides compelled to observe the festivals of the Roman catholic calendar, and to bring their complaints before the chancery. The elector of Cologne promised to examine their grievances; but he died. The Protestants remonstrated to his successor to no purpose; upon which they carried their complaints before the chamber of Wester, where they obtained a decree in their favour: but the decree being disregarded in Heilsbeim, they applied to the circle of Lower Saxony, and particularly to the house of Brunswick. As the see of Hildesheim was at that time vacant, the elector of Hanover wrote to the chapter, exhorting them to pay the due regard to the convention of 1643; but his letters producing no effect, he seized upon the revenues of that diocese in the electorate. The canons carried their complaints to the emperor and the diet; but receiving no favourable answer, they promised to redress all the grievances; and upon executing their word, the elector restored their revenues. Such was the issue of an affair which had almost embroiled Germany in a new civil war, on account of religion.

Before we conclude the section, it will be proper to give an abstract of the affairs of the North, as they had considerable influence on the revolutions of the diet, and the circumstances of the empire. The unfortunate battle of Parnawa wrought an entire change in Sweden, Russia, Poland, and Saxony. The hero who had dethroned a king, and thrown all the Protestants of Europe into confusion, was now a fugitive in the Turkish dominions. A few years before he gave law to the emperor, Denmark, and Augsburg king of Poland, while he was feared and courted by the confederates, and the French monarch. Now the elector of Saxony was entering upon measures to recover the crown of Poland, and precipitate the unfortunate Stenius from a throne with the same rapidity as he had been elevated to that dignity by the king of Sweden. Augustus pleaded, that he had signed the treaty of Alt-Ranpfeld by compulsion: he assembled his troops, published circular letters in Poland, and granted a general amnesty to all who had taken arms for his rival. His intention was to join the Russian forces under general Golts, and the Polish army commanded by Simianski, while the paupers to Saxony should be strictly guarded by the militia of the electorate. About the time this juncture was effected, the king of Denmark acceded to the confederacy against Sweden. In consequence, he made an irruption into Schonen, which alarmed the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, obliged him to put the militia in arms, block up all the passes, and take measures for his own defence; his minifter, the baron Fabricius, residing at this very time at the little court maintained by the Swedifh monarch at Bender. Had Pomerania and the duchy of Holstein become the theatre of war, some inconveniencies to the Germanic body were apprehended, which might weaken the emperor’s efforts against Louis XIV. To anticipate danger, his imperial majesty, the princes of the empire, the queen of England, and the states-general, signed a treaty for the security of Holstein and Pomerania. In this treaty appeared one very singular article, inserted at the request of the earl Peter, and Augsburg of Poland, without which, they refused to accede to the measures taken by the allies: it was, that the fourteen thousand Swedish troops, quartered in Pomerania, should not be permitted to return for the defence of their own dominions, or to draw their swords in Pomerania in behalf of their natural sovereign. Nothing could be more insolent than a clause, which already suffocated those prisoners of war; yet the confederates gave this agreement the appellation of a treaty of neutrality, and resolved to raise an army in its support. The project, however, never took effect: it became the subject of every conversation; it occasioned much speculation; but none of the parties adhered to their engagements, and the princes of the North were left at liberty to deplore the unfortunate king of Sweden in what manner they thought proper.

\* Barrs, t. x. p. 575.
\* Id. ibid.
The history of Germany.

C H A P. XXV.

Containing Negotiations for a Peace with France; Revolution in the English Ministry; the Death of the Emperor Joseph; the Disposition of the Germanic Body relative to Peace; the Election of the Archduke to the Imperial Diadem; the Protestantation of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne against their Proscription; the Cession of the Sovereignty of the Netherlands to that Prince; the Emperor Charles prosecutes the War against France; he is deserted by his Allies, and at length, forced to accept of the Terms proposed by Lewis at Rastadt.

In the beginning of the new year, letters addressed to the emperor arrived from Peter the Great and Augustus king of Poland, demanding the execution of the late treaty, as they expected being attacked by the Grand Seignior. Divers councils were held upon this subject; and the whole politics of the court of Vienna were directed to prevent the Turks from entering Hungary, and afflicting the malcontents. It was at length resolved to acquaint the northern monarchs, that the treaty would be executed, as soon as the rebels in Hungary could be reduced to obedience; and that, in the mean time, it answered one very important purpose, that of detaining the Swedish army in Pomerania. From this reply it was apparent, that the war had greatly diminished his strength; a circumstance of which the French monarch did not fail to make his advantage, though he entertained still greater expectations from the approaching revolution in the English ministry. It is well known that Marlborough's influence occasioned the duration of the war; and that his enemies, the Tories, were equally strenuous for peace, as the only means of clipping the wings of that hero, and fettering bounds to his ambition. At length they gained their ends, by an artful application to the passions of the queen; the friends of the British general were turned out of the administration; his power greatly limited; but he was still continued at the head of the army, from an apprehension of alarming the allies, particularly the Dutch, who placed the greatest confidence in the abilities and good fortune of Marlborough.

This great event was succeeded by another no less important to the peace of Europe. The death of the emperor Joseph, who expired at Vienna on the seventeenth of April, gave a new turn to the politics of Christendom (A). It was now obvious, that the balance of power, the object of a bloody war for the space of nine years, would be destroyed, if the archduke annexed to the imperial diadem the Spanish monarchy. This circumstance, together with the continual solicitation of the new ministry, and the general inclinations of her people, impoverished by a long and expensive struggle, determined the queen of England to accommodate matters with France, and, if her allies were obdurate, to strike up a separate pacification.

The emperor's death was announced to the princes of the empire, by circular letters from his mother the empress-dowager; and dispatches were immediately sent to England and Holland, where the imperial ministers laboured to demonstrate, that this event ought to affect no change in the views of the confederates, as it could not have any influence on the equilibrium they were defrius of establishing in the scale of Europe. The arguments advanced in support of this principle, were rather specious than true; yet they were embraced by the king of Portugal, the duke of Savoy, and several princes of the empire, who found their advantage in prolonging the war, and hiring out their forces; indeed, the states-general, the Portuguese, and Visitation Amadeus, hoped to share in the spoils of the Spanish monarchy. This had hitherto maintained them fast in the confedarcy, and induced them now strenuously to labour for its continuance.

As the queen of Great Britain had no such expectations, and had supported the chief expence of the alliance, from regard to the general interest of Europe, she now, from

(A) The emperor Joseph fell a martyr to the smallpox, and the unkindness of his physicians, in the prime of life and vigour of youth. He was crowned king of Hungary in 1689, and three years after he was elected king of the Romans. In 1692 he married the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, by whom he had three children, Leopold-Joseph, his only male issue, dying in his infancy. As to the character of this emperor, it is variously represented; fies gentle, mild and affable than his father Leopold, he possessed fire, spirit, and ambition. Impatient of opposition, he was sanguine, active, enterprising, and indefatigable; he frequently pursed from resentment what he had first undertaken from policy. Never did an emperor of Germany govern with more deft and firm, and the house of Bavaria is an instance of the inflexibility of his temper. His success augmented the pride of his disposition, and added fuel to a fire which had long burnt with violence. In the space of five years he saw Luxembourg subdued, Piedmont evacuated, Naples reduced, the Low Countries, and even the kingdom of Spain, conquered by his own arms and those of his allies. The only reverse of fortune he ever experienced, was subsquent to the battle at Vitoria.
The history of Germany.

Conduct of count Gallas at London.

the same motives, signed preliminaries of a peace with France, which the sent for the approval of her allies. Without hesitation the court of Vienna rejected them, and the count de Gallas, the imperial minister at London, laboured to give the preliminaries an invidious turn, and render them unpopular. In this he was supported by the whole weight of the Whig faction. He carried his resentment so far as to speak disrespectfully of the queen's person, and was, for that reason, forbid the court; upon which he broke out into the bitterest invectives, taxing the queen and ministry with perfidy, and a breach of faith. He accused the latter of corruption, and offered to prove juridically what he advanced; nor did the archduke Charles absolutely condemn the conduct of his ambassa-
dor. He declared he would adhere to the propositions made at Gnadendorf; and in this resolution he was supported by the elector of Hanover, who declared he would never b detach himself from the interests of the house of Austria.

It was otherwise with certain princes of the empire: the king of Prussia was, at this very time, secretly negotiating with Lewis; however, some differences about the conditions broke off the treaty, and determined his Prussian majesty to continue his forces with the combined army. Notwithstanding England had signed the preliminaries, her forces still acted under the duke of Marlborough in the Netherlands, where the confede-
rates reduced Buchain. Prince Eugene had now withdrawn the Austrian forces from the combined army, in order to strike some blow of consequence on the Rhine; but no oppor-
tunity offered, and the feaon was far advanced before his arrival. Besides, the members of the empire had been extremely deficient in advancing their contingencies, and the military chief was quite exhausted. The prince complained in a letter to the elector of Mentz, and he transmitted the writing to the diet at Ratisbon, where it was perused and disregarded. It was universally believed in Germany, that the conduct of England must oblige the house of Austria to listen to proposals; they therefore thought it prudent to withhold their supplies. As to the campaign in Dauphiny, it was equally fruitless in great events as that on the Rhine and in the Netherlands. The duke of Savoy was superior in forces to the enemy; but maréchal Berwick posted his army with so much address, as rendered abortive all the duke's motions and stratagems. In Spain the French king, and Philip his grandson, maintained the superiority gained the preceding campaign; and, indeed, the vacancy in the imperial throne fell out seasonably to save the honour of the archduke, who was in a fair way of being driven out of the Spanish dominions, as the duke of Argyile, commander in chief of the British forces in Portugal, had orders not to enter upon action.

No sooner was the campaign finished, than the princes of the empire redoubled their endeavours to persuade the imperial court into the necessity of terminating a war, which had wholly drained the empire of resources: still, however, the ministry at Vienna proved obstinate, and the empress-regent of the Austrian dominion sent prince Eugene to the court of London, in hopes that the presence of this hero, and the strength of his arguments, might have some weight with the queen, and animate the people against the intended pacification with Lewis. Eugene was received with all the respect due to his merit and equality. He had conferences with the ministry; he was admitted to an audience of the queen; but all his endeavours proved fruitless: the arguments of the court of Vienna were no longer in behalf of the balance of power in Europe: her interest was changed, and so were the maxims of the court of London.

Mean time the elector of Mentz convoked the diet for the election of an emperor, at Frankfurt. Letters were addressed to the electors of Trier, Saxony, Palatine, Bra-
denburg, Bohemia, and Hanover; but those of Bavaria and Cologne were not invited, because of their late proscription. The elector of Saxony certified to the archduke the settling of the diet, and he replied, that he entrusted all his affairs to the empress his mother. That prince had already made application to king Augustus, for his interest in procuring a seat for her ambassadors in the electoral diet, as sovereign of Bohemia; but the was answered, that her powers were insufficient, and the ambassadors instructions must be signed by the archduke. This reply they founded upon a fundamental maxim of the imperial constitution, that the electoral dignity was an office purely masculine, and incapable of descend to the female line; therefore a regent could not exercise the full powers. However, the empress, disappointed in this application, did not despair of succeeding with the electors. She endeavoured especially to gain the elector Palatine, as he owed particular obligations to the emperor Joseph; but here too she failed; for the elector replied, that her request was diametrically opposite to the constitution, which he in a particular manner, as vicar general, was bound to preferre. Perceiving that g

The history of Germany.

The electors were inflexible, the court of Vienna acquainted the archduke of what passed, and he confirmed, as king of Bohemia, the instructions given to the ambassadors.

Now the electors of Cologne and Bavaria hoped for a favourable turn in their affairs, as their proscription was entirely an act of the late emperor, without ever consulting the Germanic body. Many of the princes had resented this exertion of power, and complained that the sentence passed upon them was illegal, and a violation of their privileges. Finding, however, that their names were omitted by the elector of Mentz as arch-chancellor, they entered a protest against the decree, whereby they were proscribed, and the election of the prince chosen king of the Romans. When this protest was published, the elector of Bavaria refused at Namur, in quality of sovereign of the Netherlands, which were ceded by Philip V. on condition that he was placed on the throne of the Spanish monarchy. As to the archbishop of Cologne, he resided at Valenciennes, in a splendor not usual with a fugitive prince, and liberally supported by the court of France. It was believed that large sums of money were employed in gaining over the ministers of the electoral princes; but the event shewed either the falsity of the report, or the misapplication of the money. No regard was paid to the remonstrances of either of the proscribed electors, and they were reduced to the necessity of protesting against all the proceedings of the diet.

The first business of the diet was to examine the powers of the several ambassadors, who represented the absent electors. Then they proceeded to regulate the ceremonial, to obviate the protests of the two proscribed electors, to satisfy the complaints made by the imperial states, concerning the imperial capitulations; and, lastly, to answer the remonstrances sent by the diet at Ratisbon upon the necessity of forming a perpetual capitulation, whereby the privileges and liberties of the Germanic body might be secured and protected against all injustice. This last article had repeatedly been examined at former diets, and the electors had agreed with the other members of the empire upon a perpetual capitulation. However, as it was impossible to provide expressly against all instances in which the emperors might abuse their authority, the electors claimed a right of enlarging, retrenching, or altering the form, as they found necessary according to circumstances. Now the other members of the Germanic body presented certain articles, which they deemed might be inferred; but as the electors would only admit of some of the articles, the other members protested against the whole capitulation. They complained of the conduct of the electors, pretending that they violated the rights of the Germanic constitution, by declaring that the emperor's will, and the consent of the electoral college, were sufficient authority for declaring war, concluding peace, or forming alliances. They admitted, that when the diet sat but a few months, there might happen certain conjunctions, where it would be dangerous to wait for the consent of the states; but this could never be the case, while the diet constantly met, as was now become a necessary part of the constitution. These reasons could not persuade the electors, who unanimously agreed in their former resolution, provided they acted in nothing contrary to the Golden Bull, the treaties of Munster and Osnabrug, and other constitutions of the empire.

Another article which gave great offence was, that the electors had stipulated with the emperor, that their ambassadors should take place in the diet of all the other German princes, a clause which piqued the pride of the ancient families, who looked upon themselves in all respects upon a footing with the electors. To satisfy them this article was explained, the electors declaring that it only respected those persons lately raised to the dignity of princes, who acted in certain employments at the imperial court.

The next business of the diet, was to examine the protests entered by the proscribed electors. Most of the states were of opinion, that the suffrages of the princes would be without effect, and the validity of their proscription left to be determined by the diet at Ratisbon. But the Brandenburg ambassador intimated, that these electors being closely allied to France against the empire, had thereby violated their oath of fidelity, whence they forfeited the right of electors. He even advised that their vacancies might immediately be filled; but this proposal was reputed rash and precipitate.

Charles VI.

They now proceeded to the election of an emperor. It was for some time whispered, that the electoral prince of Poland, who resided with great splendor at Frankfurt, had an eye to the imperial throne. His noble air, obliging address, liberality, generosity, and magnificence, rendered him extremely popular. He was visited by the electors during the session of the diet, and treated with all the distinction due to his high birth.
The history of Germany.

birth and merit. Their conduct strengthened the report, and it was really believed that
the king of Poland his father had already secured the interest of England, Prussia, several
states of the empire, the czar of Muscovy, and the king of Denmark. The eyes of Eu-
rope were all fixed upon this prince, when suddenly appeared that amutation was his
sole motive for residing at Frankfurt. The day of election was fixed, and the archduke
Charles was unanimously chosen emperor and king of the Romans, on the twelfth day of
October. Besides the birth and merit of this young prince, the electoral college had po-
litical reasons for giving him the preference. His powerful hereditary dominions ren-
dered him the most natural protector of the empire, and the strongest barrier against
the attacks of the Turks on the one hand, and of the French king on the other. The
empire, said the archbishop of Mentz, is a wife of high family without a fortune. She
must be maintained at great expense, and only the revenues of the house of Austria
are adequate to the support of the dignity. Already Charles poftessed the kingdoms of
Hungary, Bohemia, the duchies of Austria, Silesia, the provinces of Carinthia, Swabia,
together with the other estates of his family in Germany. It was by no means the intention
of the electoral college to re-unite the Spanish monarchy to the imperial diadem, and its
vaft hereditary possessions, which would have rendered Charles VI. more powerful than
Charles V. who was enabled to aspire at universal monarchy. It was sufficient for their
purposes, that he succeeded to his father's estates and dignities, which would render the
balance pretty equal between the houses of Austria and Bourbon. In fact, if the appre-
hension of either the crown of France and Spain united on the same head, had oc-
curred a bloody war in Europe, what could have been expected from the re-union of the
imperial diadem, the Spanish monarchy, the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, and the vaft
possessions of the Austrian family?

The German body had for ten years supported the claim of the house of Austria to
the Spanish monarchy. Now all were in expectation that the death of the emperor Joseph,
and the elevation of the archduke to the imperial dignity, would pave the way to a ge-
neral pacification, especially as England had withdrawn herself from the alliance. But
Charles had other sentiments: he was governed by an ambitious ministry, who found
his interest in continuing the war, perfuaded him it was for his honour, and animated
him to prosecute his claim to Spain with redoubled vigour. He resigned himself wholly
d to the management of the prince Liechtenstein, and the count Hesbergen, and from their
counsels arose all his objections to peace. In his heart he chimed in with the sen-
timents of the empress-regent, who powerfully seconded the pacific intentions of the
queen of England. But the dictates of his own mind, the respect for his mother, and the
voice of all Germany, were suppressed by motives of ambition, and the lustre of such
a jewel as the Spanish crown, glittering in the eyes of a young monarch. Besides, his
counsellors had so strongly inculcated the legitimacy of his claim, that he believed he
could not renounce it, without injustice to his posterity. This alone appeared a suffi-
cient reason for continuing the war; but he could not flatter himself with successes, without
the liberal assistance of his allies, whose maxims since his accession to the imperial throne
had wholly changed. From the steps already taken by the allies, it was plain they
determined to accommodate matters with Lewis, and take the lead in the negotiations
for peace, in the same manner they had done in the operations for war. Charles wanted
their assistance, but he would not suffer them to be judges of his right. It was with this
view he infifted upon the preliminaries given in at Gertruyenberg, and fought on those
terms the alliance of England and Holland, in support of his claim to the Spanish mo-
 monarchy; while at the same time he wrote to the electors of Mentz, to use his influence
with the diet to prevent their taking any measures contrary to his interest and inten-
tion.

On the first notification of his election, the emperor took ship from Barcelona, and
arrived at the port of Vado, where he stayed on board for several days, expecting the Ge-
ne of Venice would send ambassadors to compliment him on his accession to the imperial diadem
and crown of Spain. In this he was disappointed, and the senate explained to his mini-
isters their motives for refusing him the latter title. At length he landed, and passing
through the territories of the republic without halting, he had an interview with the duke
of Savoy, near Pavia. Here the duke enumerated the services he had performed to the
house of Austria, to the prejudice of his own interest: he conjured the emperor to fulfill
the treaty of 1703, and the imperial decree of 1707, by which Montferrat, Valencia,
Alexandria, and other places, were ceded to the house of Savoy. Charles promised all that
was required, and likewise to add some other places, as soon as he had concluded peace
with France.
The history of Germany.

a. When the conference broke up, Charles set out for Milan, where, according to some writers, he received the first advice of his election. Now he received the congratulations of all the Italian powers, which at last induced the republic of Genoa to compliment him with the title of king of Spain. In his journey to Germany he received the hommage and oaths of the states of the Tyrol; and next day he appointed forty-five councillors, to form different boards at Vienna, for the examination of all important affairs. Finding he was so far advanced on his way to the empire, the electorial college hastened to conclude all the forms previous to his coronation, which they imagined would give weight to his negotiations; and on the nineteenth of December, Charles entered Frankfort.

b. The day after his arrival, he swore to observe the imperial capitulation, in the manner it was proposed by the electors. The diet thought they should, in consequence of the articles they inferred, be referred to all the privileges of which they were deprived by the late emperor; but the manner destroyed the intention of their allegations, as plainly appears by consulting the capitulation (A). Here he promised to promote the felicity and grandeur of the empire; to take no measures for rendering the imperial crown hereditary in his family; to observe, in matters of religion, the ordinance framed at Mecklenburg, the regulations of the diets, and the treaties of Augsburg, Munster, and Osnabrug; to consider the electors as the dearest and most important members of the Germanic body; to consult them, and be directed by their advice, in all affairs of importance; to preserve them in all their rights and privileges; to call upon them at all diets and councils assembled on the affairs of the empire; to raise no troops, erect no fortifications, or demolish no public works, without the consent of the Germanic body; to contract no alliances without the unanimous consent of the electors; to direct all his treaties and connections to the general good of the empire; but to give full liberty to the princes of the empire to form what alliances, and contract such engagements as they thought proper, provided they had no tendency to the prejudice of the emperor, or the Germanic body. In the tenth and eleventh articles it was stipulated, that the emperor should confiscate no estates, should proscribe no members, or feign upon fiefs, but with the concurrence of the Germanic body. He farther engaged to assemble, at least every ten years, a general diet, to which all the princes of the empire might carry their grievances; to leave the imperial chamber the free exercise of its ancient jurisdiction; to refer to all the princes, prelates, and members of the empire, whatever had been violently extorted from them; to admit none but persons of approved probity, and natives of Germany, into the council; and to bellow all the principal employments on high-born subjects of the empire.

c. Besides these, and a variety of other less important articles, it was added, that notwithstanding this capitulation should be perpetual on the side of his imperial majesty, the electorial college should, on proceeding to a new election, be at liberty to make additions and alterations, provided they did not counteract the intentions of the Golden Bull, in any of the articles essential to the Germanic constitution. Moreover, a clause was superadded, that the college should never proceed to the election of another emperor, during the life of the present, except in the following cases:—When the emperor should fix his residence out of Germany, or make too long a stay out of the imperial dominions. In these instances the emperor might be regarded as dead, and the electorial college would be justified in proceeding to a new election.

d. From a number of articles, which we have not specified, it appeared that the electors by no means approved of the conduct of Leopold and Joseph, with respect to France, and the electors of Cologne and Bavaria; that they were desirous of preventing any future evils of the same nature; that they condemned the excessive compliance paid to the will of the two late emperors, to the prejudice of the rights and liberties of the Germanic body; and that they resolved to limit the imperial authority within certain boundaries. On the twenty-ninth of December the ceremony of the coronation was performed with great magnificence, and several gold medals were distributed among the electors, the princes of the empire, and the foreign ambassadors, who attended. Charles then received the homage of the inhabitants of Frankfort, and set out immediately to Vienna.

By this time the queen of England had acquainted her parliament with her pacific intentions, and obtained their consent to the preliminaries. Holland was likewise upon the eve of concluding a separate treaty with France; and Charles saw himself under the necessity of withdrawing his designs on Milan. The capitulation signed by the emperor.

(A) Published at Leipsic in the year 1712, and translated at full length in Barret's History of the Empire. It was another objection to the capitulation, that it was disapproved by divers persons of the Germanic body, who protested against it; and indeed against the proceedings of the diet (1).

(1) Vide supra.
The history of Germany.

The empire of supporting a war against France and Spain, or of accepting the terms offered by Louis. As the disturbances in Hungary necessarily divided his forces, the empress-regent had before his arrival determined to give some satisfaction to the malcontents. The emperor Joseph had, just before his death, appointed conferences at Debrazien; and the Hungarian nobility demanded, as preliminaries, the abolition of the articles of Preßburg, whereby the crown was made hereditary in the house of Austria; the reformation of all the imperial decrees relative to the affairs of Hungary; and full restitution of the liberties, prerogatives, and ancient laws of the kingdom; and security, that the subsequent treaty should be better observed than any of the preceding. It was the advice of the count de Palfi, and all the disinterested honest nobility about the court, that the demands of the Hungarians should be gratified. They represented, that driving the malcontents to despair, was the sure method of obliging them to throw themselves into the arms of the Grand Signior, who would joyfully embrace any conditions. The king of Sweden's complaint of the disre gard paid to the treaty with him was well known; and it was not improbable, if that monarch could obtain an army from the Porte, but he would revenge himself on the empire, by protecting the Hungarians.

Though these arguments were equally just and obvious, they produced no effect. The ministry were actuated by private views of interest: they would lose the immense wealth in prospect, arising from the confiscated estates of the rebels, if matters were accommodated; they therefore inferred, that the concessions required would prove injurious to the emperor's honour; that subjects, who had taken arms against their sovereign, were unworthy of his clemency; that lenity towards rebels would only encourage sedition in the other provinces; that the danger apprehended from the Turks, and king of Sweden, were merely ideal; that these two powers were sufficiently employed in supporting a war against Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Saxony, without searching for more enemies; and, upon the whole, that it would be time enough to treat with the rebels when the instructions of the Turkish ambassador, now arrived at court, should be known.

The agra obtained an audience of prince Eugene. He told him, he was sent to assure the imperial court of the friendship and affection of the Grand Signior; to acquaint the emperor, that his highness had declared war against the czar of Muscovy, for reasons known to the whole world: but that, with respect to the empire, he would scrupulously observe the treaty of Carlowitz. The same he requested of the emperor. No great stress, however, could be laid on such general promises, which afforded sufficicn$. They were intended as a blind to screen some secret designs, as a fair opportunity could not have happened for taking the Hungarians under the protection of the Porte. These were the sentiments of the empress-regent, who laboured, in conjunction with count Palfi, to procure at least a cessation of hostilities. At last, in despite of all the intrigues of the ministry, they carried their point. An amnesty was signed at Zalimar, and afterwards ratified by several of the Hungarian nobility. This treaty imported, that prince Ragotski should have full pardon, and restitution of all his estates, provided, in three weeks, he took an oath of fidelity to the emperor, as king of Hungary; that, if he chose it, he should have liberty to retire to Poland, that religion should be maintained on the footing established by law; that the people should have the liberty of representing their grievances to the diet; and that, if prince Ragotski did not embrace the amnesty within the time limited, all the rest of the nobility should be intitled to the advantages specified in the treaty.

The treaty was signed by count Caroli, without the participation or authority of Ragotski, and the other nobility; they therefore disavowed his conduct by a volumen act, delivered in all the palatinates of Hungary: however, they were unable, for want of troops, to enter upon action, as twenty-two Hungarian regiments had, immediately after signing the treaty, taken an oath of fidelity to the emperor. Several fortresses belonging to Ragotski were surrendered; and Mongatz, after suiting a blockade for six weeks, at length opened her gates to the Imperialists. Ragotski, without money, without troops, friends, or a retreat, wandered a vagrant round Poland for some time; whence he paffed into France, and then to England, to enjoy the bennings of freedom and philosophical secuity. Many of the other Hungarian nobility repaired to the little court at Bender. And in this manner ended the revolt in Hungary, which might have produced fatal consequences to the house of Austria, had the projects of the elector of Bavaria proved less unfortunate.

Barke, ibid. B Forces, fol. iii. Now
Now all the views of the court of Vienna centered in the vigorous prosecution of the war against France. Prince Eugene was the soul of the imperial councils, and peace was equally opposed to his interest and inclinations. His negotiation in England, however, produced nothing. The queen and her minister, the lord Oxford, were inflexibly bent on peace, and the disgrace of the duke of Marlborough. In the conference with lord Oxford, the prince demanded in general, that the queen would not detach herself from the interests of the house of Austria, and her engagements to her allies; and the English minister replied, that her majesty had already furnished her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht with the necessary instructions: that Utrecht, and not London, was the place appointed for adjusting the interests of the empire and Great Britain. By this answer, he thought to embarrass prince Eugene, and prevent his solicitations, though it did not succeed; for he so repeatedly pressed his request, that a conference was granted, and Mr. secretary St. John, afterwards lord viscount Bolingbroke, appointed to canvass the subject with the imperial minister. Eugene demanded that some expedient should be found, by which the emperor might send ambassadors to Utrecht; yet was this contrary to the emperor's former declaration, that he would send no plenipotentiaries to any congress which should be held in that city. Not satisfied with Mr. St. John's answer, he continued to press memorials upon the court, in which he magnified the vast efforts made by the house of Austria in the common cause; notwithstanding, he said, the revolt in Hungary, the constantly maintained great armies in Italy, on the Rhine, in Spain, and the Netherlands: now, being eas'd from the burthen of that civil war, his imperial majesty had given orders for augmenting all his forces, in the places above specified, to an hundred and three thousand effective men, exclusive of garrisons, and the army destined for the defence of Bavaria. He requested her majesty to consider that the feaion was far advanced; that no preparations were made for opening the campaign; that, whether war or peace was preferred, there was not a moment to lose; since, in the latter case, the good disposition of the allies would procure more advantageable terms: and, in the former, early preparations insure success: that the states-general had determined to send to Spain the four battalions promised the preceding year, where the emperor would maintain an army of thirty thousand men; that of the expenses of the Spanish war, amounting this year to four millions of crowns, his imperial majesty was willing to pay a fourth, in order to render the burthen easier to England; that with the vigorous assistance of the maritime powers, the war might be brought to a speedy issue, perhaps during the feision of the congress; the prince concluding his memorial with beseeching Mr. secretary St. John to obtain him a speedy answer.

As prince Eugene found, by the indirect answers of the English ministry, that all his endeavours to prevail on the queen to resume the war would prove fruitless, he took his leave, and set out for the Hague, where he conferred with the pensioner Heinicus, and the chief members of the republic. While he was here, the counts Zinzendorf and Conisburg arrived in quality of plenipotentiaries from his imperial majesty, with whom, and the deputies of the other allies, the prince held a variety of consultations on the operations of the ensuing campaign; or, if peace was the object, what terms should be demanded of Lewis. The emperor required that France should be stripped of all her acquisitions since the treaty of Münster; that she should restore to the duke of Lorraine all that Charles IV. had ceded, and abdive him from the oath of fidelity and homage; that the emperor should be put in possession of the entire Spanish monarchy, except what was granted by treaty to Portugal, and the other allied powers. To this was subjoined, that his imperial majesty would have no objection to treat with the French plenipotentiaries, provided such conditions were offered, as by alteration, addition, and modification, might in the end amount to his demands. While the emperor perilled in the resolution of making these demands the basis of a treaty, it was impossible the negotiations could advance, especially as all the other allies had their particular demands. Those of the Dutch were high; nothing less than the cession of the Spanish Netherlands, and a variety of towns to be yielded in perpetuity. Portugal demanded all those cities, towns, villages, districts, and lands in Europe and America, promised by the emperor Leopold to Peter II. and the entire property of Cape Nord, situated between the river of Amazons and that of Vincent Pingen. The elector of Brandenburg demanded that France would acknowledge him as king of Prussia, cede to him the principality of Orange, with all the lands, chattels, and effects belonging to the house of Chalun-Orange and Chatti-Bein, to which he was legitimate heir. He also insinuated upon the sovereignty of Neuchatel and Veiligen, and the city of Gueldres. The elector of Fries insinuated upon restitution of his capital, and the other towns of which he had been depoysed before and since the treaty of Münster. The elector Palatine desired to be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, and the county of Chamb; to have restitution of the places taken by France during the war. The circles, that all the places ceded by the treaty Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 4 X of
of Munster, and other subsequent treaties, should be restored. The duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the bishop of Paderborn, put in their claims, and all had their particular demands: besides, prince Rogotski and the duke of Lorraine represented how much it was for the interest of all Europe, that they should be restored to their dignities and possessions.

Never, upon any occasion, was beheld such a number of memorials: it appeared as if nothing more was wanting than to ask and obtain; and it may be safely affirmed, that all the several demands seemed calculated rather to prolong the war than to obtain peace, the professed object of their pursuits. The duke of Savoy made large demands; and the queen of Great Britain, though the most inveterate as well as formidable enemy of France, was not without her pretensions, some of which proved extremely irksome to Lewis; particularly the cession she required of cautionary towns in America. Upon the whole, however, France might have complied with every thing required, had the emperor and states-general been less exorbitant in their demands, which had all the appearance of a design to inflit misfortune, and triumph over the low condition to which the grand monarch was reduced. Had they intended to destroy the French monarchy, and divide the spoils, they could not have dictated in a more arbitrary manner; but they ought to have considered, that re-uniting Spain and the Indies to the Austrian dominions was no longer the design of the principal of the allies, who thought the emperor already sufficiently potent; and that now their high demands answered no other purpose than shewing how important England was to the confederacy, and how unequal, without her, they were to extort their pretensions. The Imperial ministers expatiated upon the moderation of the emperor; but in France and England it was said, that no branch of the house of Hapsburg was ever void of ambition. This family had always grasped at power, and, wherever they gained a superiority, exerted it with a high hand; as was visible in the conduct of the late emperor, with respect to the Italian states, and of the present prince's insolent demands. With respect to bestowing the Spanish monarchy on Charles, the danger was evident: as to giving it to Philip, it was only possible. In the former case, the balance of power must necessarily be destroyed; in the latter, it was improbable it ever should, as Philip had now but a distant prospect of ever succeeding to the crown of France. These were the sentiments of the English parliament, when the congress was first opened at Utrecht.

Before the congress had regulated all the formalities, the bishop of Brixhol made a laboured speech, demonstrating the expediency of abridging the negotiations; which was seconded by the abbé Polignac, in that elegant and masterly style for which he was so eminently distinguished. It was proposed to fix the day for concluding the treaty, on the same footing settled before the opening of the congress; but the Dutch deputies desired time to acquaint the states-general with the proposition. A courier was dispatched to the Hague, and their high mightinesses did not appear averde to the proposal, before they had conferred with the imperial minister. Count Zinzendorf assembled at his lodgings all the ambassadors of the empire, to whom he communicated the proposition made by the bishop of Brixhol, and the abbé Polignac. Those who wished to see peace established contended for it without hesitation; but the others opposed it vehemently, under pretence of scrupulously examining the several interests of the allied powers: their real motive was to raise difficulties, which might retard or break off the negotiations. Notwithstanding this, Zinzendorf made a speech in the congress, filled with the strongest assurances of his imperial majesty's sincere intentions to cultivate peace; but contradicted his professions by his demands. In answer to the claims of the emperor, the French monarch offered to oblige his grandson to renounce all pretensions to the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the duchy of Milan, provided the archduke would deft the pretensions to the Spanish monarchy. The other articles implied, that, with respect to the empire, the frontiers on the Rhine should be put in the same condition as before the war; that the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be restored to their domains and honours; and that the most Christian king should resume all the titles he possessed in Germany at the treaty of Ryswick. The plenipotentiaries of the allies sent the French propositions to their several courts; and, upon receiving an answer, count Zinzendorf gave in a memorial, which he called the specific demands of his master, and defined an answer in writing, in hopes of raising some difficulty to the negotiation. Of this the court of Versailles was aware, and therefore adhered to the former propositions, without the trouble of replying to the specific demands. Zinzendorf waited with impatience for the expected answer, and was at last told by the marshal d'Uxelles, that as they had reciprocally exchanged propositions, that was sufficient foundation for entering upon the negotiation, without the formality of written replies.

* Torcy, tom. ii. Barre, tom. x. ibid.*
The history of Germany.

... replies, which would only excite disputes, and spin out the conferences. Zinzendorf, fired at the disappointment, answered, that if the negotiation did not take a more favourable turn, he was determined to withdraw from the congress. He soon kept his word, and had the audacity to draw off with him the other allied plenipotentiaries, but still the French minister adhered to their first resolution. The dispute was of more consequence than it might at first appear. It was the business of Zinzendorf to ensnare and puzzle; plainness and perplexity were equally the interest of Lewis, who had ardently wished for a general pacification. He desired to treat civilly the allies in general; but the emperor and Dutch insisted upon a separate discussion of their several claims.

Meantime the English and French ministers exchanged visits, which gave great offence to Zinzendorf and the Dutch deputies. They held consultations on their side, and omitted nothing in their power to frustrate the effects of the congress. But their final resolution was to push the war with vigour, in hopes of obtaining some signal advantage; which would induce the queen of England to break off her engagements to Lewis, and leave France to her destiny. As for the Dutch, they set no bounds to their pretensions; they left to be determined by the sword. The rigorous rights of conquest they regarded as legitimate, and they resolved to consolidate with their republic whatever they should be able to wrest violently from the French king. With this view they took their measures for opening the campaign. Prince Eugene seconded their designs with all his ability, and made several motions to frustrate the effects of the enemy's activity and superiority. The earl of Albemarle, at the head of the Dutch forces, had orders to burn the vaft magazines formed at Arras; however, he was prevented in his designs by the vigilance of marechal Villars.

Happily for France, the suspension of arms with England was now signed; but as they had agreed to keep the transaction a profound secret until the campaign opened, the queen was under the necessity of joining her forces to the allied army. It was generally believed, that, tired out with the clamours of her allies, and the obstructions to a general peace, she had resolved upon the vigorous prosecution of the war, than which nothing was more remote from her intentions. Eugene, more penetrating and sagacious than the rest, entertained suspicions. He discovered something mysterious in the conduct of the English, and wanted the opportunity of an interview with the duke of Ormond. The allies passed the Scheld, and encamped opposite to the enemy. Eugene held several councils of war, and proposed blending the troops in the British pay with the Austrians; but the English general declared, that he would command in person all the forces entrusted to his care by the queen his mistress. In another council it was proposed to attack M. Villars; but the duke of Ormond produced his orders not to act offensively. This immediately discovered the views of England, and made the imperial and Dutch generals declare they would prosecute the war without the queen's concurrence, and demonstrate to her, that England was of less consequence to the alliance than she imagined. Her majesty, they said, was mistaken, if she proposed setting bounds to their conquests, and dictating their conduct.

In consequence, they undertook the siege of Quenon, which was invested by general Fagel; and two days after the trenches were opened, the duke of Ormond demanded a conference with prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies. Here he acquainted them with his orders to publish a general armistice for two months in his army, and exhorted them to embrace the same measures. They demanded time to transmit the proposal to Vienna and the Hague, and the duke granted eight days for this purpose. During this time, he proposed to the foreign generals in the English pay, to follow the example of his forces, under pain of forfeiting their pay and arrears. They likewise desired time to deliberate on the proposal, and a few days after they separated from the English, declaring their resolution to support the emperor in the prosecution of the war. Only one battalion and four squadrons of the Holstein troops, under general Wales, remained with the duke of Ormond. Their conduct extremely embarrassed the English ministry, who now poured out their reproaches and menaces; Mr. secretary St. John declared, that the queen would regard their refusal as an open rupture; however, they still persisted.

While mutual recriminations passed between the English and the auxiliaries in the pay of Great Britain, the duke of Ormond withdrew his army; and, assured of the evacuation of Dunkirk, took possession of that important town and harbour. The Dutch beheld with jealousy the motion of the English forces towards their frontiers, and they saw no remedy but entering into the same pacific measures. However, the siege of Quenon was pushed with vigour. The besiegers having got possession of the countercarp, were preparing to give the assault, when the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion.

While Quesnoy engaged the 'chief attention of the allies, they sent a detachment of cavalry, accompanied with a great number of volunteers, to make an irruption into the very bowels of France. It is inconceivable the conformation which so considerable a force spread; from the terror that appeared in every countenance, and the panic which seizes all the French nation, one would have imagined that the whole confederate army was at the gates of Paris. After all, this detachment returned without performing any thing memorable; their whole pursuit was plunder, in which they succeeded. Now the allies entered upon more vigorous measures; they invested Landreci, and the direction of the siege was committed to the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, general of the Prussian forces. Thirty-four battalions and thirty squadrons invested the place, while Prince Eugene with the remainder of the army covered the siege, and neglected nothing to insure success. He fortified his camp, and so ranged his forces, that it seemed impossible to relieve the garrison. Villars, on the other hand, was no less vigilant for the protection of a town, the possession of which would open the enemy a passage into Champagne and Picardy. He resolved to force the posts which covered the navigation of the Scarpe and the Sedd, and to attack the enemy's lines at Denain, in which he succeeded by an admirable stratagem, and thereby fixed the return of the epoch of good fortune, after it had long been unpropitious to the arms of Lewis. Whatever merit we must allow Prince Eugene, it was obvious from this single transaction, that he was no longer assisted by the counsels of Marlborough.

M. Villars re-takes all the conquests made by the allies.

Marechal Villars next invested Marchienne, where the enemy had formed their magazines: on his first presenting himself, he summoned the governor to surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, with putting him to the sword. The governor, having four thousand men under his command, despised his menace; but was forced to surrender prisoner of war in the space of four days after the trenches were opened. The loss of Marchienne determined the fate of Landreci; Prince Eugene, deprived of his magazines, and the communication by water with Antwerp and Tournay, was forced to relinquish the enterprise, in a manner that enabled the French general to form enterprizes which otherwise would have been impracticable. Hemptzhe, governor of Douai, hearing of the face of Denain and Marchienne, made no doubt but he would soon be besieged. To make the most vigorous resistance his situation would admit, he recalled all his detachments, and strengthened his garrison with three battalions drawn from Ligny and Bethune. He was invested on the eighth of August; and notwithstanding the most vigorous defence, the number of the garrison, the strength of the place, and the endeavours of Prince Eugene to relieve the besieged, they were forced to surrender by the eighth of September, prisoners of war. Upon these reiterated disgraces Prince Eugene assembled a council of war, where the chief officers advised occupying the plain of Quesvarain, and forming the siege of Mau- berge, in case M. Villars entertained designs against Bouchaine or Quesnoy, in which the Imperialists had formed magazines, to repair the late disaster at Marchienne. This opinion was embraced, and the prince of Hesse detached before, to prepare the way for the army. Villars discovered the intention of the allies, and took measures for anticipating their design. He advanced a large body of troops, who took possession of Quesvarain, before the allies had scarce crossed the Sedd. At the same time he blocked up Quesnoy so closely, as rendered it impossible for Prince Eugene to withdraw his artillery, and great magazines of stores and ammunition. He then invested the place, and kept up so incessant a fire from his batteries, that Iovy, a French refugee, raised to the rank of major-general, and made governor, surrendered upon honourable conditions. Thus fell the imperial artillery and magazines into the hands of the enemy, which produced more real advantage to Villars, than if he had gained a battle.

In every attempt this great general, the pride of the empire, the terror of the Turks, and the favour of Italy, was foiled by the French marshals, who loft no occasion of profiting by his superiority. Besides obliging Prince Eugene to evacuate his camp at Mazlaquet, to retire between the Sambre and the Hainne; besides forcing the garrison of fort Knoes, he now formed the siege of Bouchaine, the reduction of which place had made a considerable addition to the laurels of the victorious Marlborough. It was at this time defended by the celebrated Grevestein, and invested by the marshal in the beginning of October. A fortnight after the trenches were opened it surrendered, notwithstanding the most spirited resistance; and thus Villars recovered all the conquests made by the allies in three successive campaigns. With these expeditions the armies separated, and retired to winter-quarters; upon which Villars, loaded with glory, repaired to court, where he was received with that peculiar regard due to his merit, and to a general who had first fanned the torrent of misfortune, and retrieved the honour of Lewis.

Barre, tom. x. sub Ann.
Prince Eugene set out for the Hague to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign with the Hollanders, and the means of repairing the late disgraces sustained by the allies. He held several conferences with count Zinzendorf on the subject of the Spanish Netherlands, of which the emperor conceived a violent desire of being in possession. This measure the Dutch opposed, because the conquest of these provinces was made chiefly at their expense. They could not, they affirmed, assent to the emperor's pretensions before the barrier granted by the emperors Joseph and Leopold was confirmed to the republic; besides a part of their expenses in the war were paid. They requested the imperial minister to lay their reasons before the emperor, and demonstrate to him that it was his interest to act in concert with the United Provinces, since the least misunderstanding must entail the misfortunes of the preceding campaign, and turn the scale wholly in favour of their common enemy.

The mean time the emperor Charles assumed the title of king of Hungary, dispensing with the formality of an election, which he regarded as a mere ceremony. He thought his coronation sufficient to vest him with all the authority of his predecessors. He used the ceremony with respect to Bohemia, where he did not think even a coronation necessary to the complete investiture of the sovereignty. In the month of April the states of Hungary assembled at Presburg, to deliberate on the oath which should be tendered the new monarch; and here prince Ragotski and count Berrecini entered a protest against the validity of the coronation. The court of Vienna was immediately informed of this proceeding; but Charles, disregarding it, set out for Presburg, where he was solemnly crowned, after he had taken the same oath as the emperor Joseph, and given the strongest promises to preserve the liberties of the people inviolable. The public rejoicings on this occasion did not prevent the business of the diet. In this assembly were discussed the grievances and complaints of the nation under the former government: the deputies, among other articles, demanded, that the crown should not be made hereditary in the female line of the house of Austria, that an irrevocable agreement should pass between the king and the people, which should have all the force of a fundamental law; that the chief employments should be given to the natural-born subjects of the country; and that the confiscated estates, applied by former emperors to gratify the avarice of their ministers, should be restored and annexed to the revenues of the crown of Hungary.

To these demands Charles made vast promises, which he determined never to perform. The Hungarians suspected his sincerity from the readiness with which he complied with all they required; and they expressed their distrust that the court of Vienna would make attempts on their prerogatives. Count Berrecini fomented their jealousy, by reminding them that the ministry of the late emperors arrogated to themselves a power unknown to the states since the foundation of their monarch; that the council at Vienna revered all the forms of justice, and introduced dangerous maxims, such as, that the will of the prince is supreme ab intere, liberty, and life; and that the opportunity now offered for recovering the ancient privileges of the nation, redressing the true political equilibrium between the king's prerogatives and the people's privileges. These arguments produced the desired effects upon some minds: about six hundred Hungarians appeared in arms, in Upper Hungary; upon advice of which the court of Vienna immediately dispatched two regiments against them, to suppress this first act of rebellion and awe the country. Cardinal Sava Zetin, in high esteem even among the Protestants, set out for Presburg, to renew the promises made by the emperor, after which the diet was adjourned.

For carrying on the war against France with greater vigour, the emperor published certain new edicts, which were deemed exceedingly oppressive, in his hereditary dominions. All the proprietors of houses, lands, and other rents, were ordered, in the space of six months, to pay into the treasury one hundredth part of their whole estate, and besides twelve per cent. interest upon the remaining capital. A part of the revenue raised by these taxes was sent to the duke of Württemberg, to put the army under his command on the Rhine, in a respectable posture. While this general was forming a plan for forcing the enemy's lines at Weißenberg, levying contributions, and establishing winter-quarters in Alsace, he was diverted from his purpose by a report that he was to send strong detachments to Flanders, to reinforce the garrisons of Landau and Philippsburg, and repass the Rhine with the remainder of his army. His project had all the appearance of succeeding, and he had made several masterly movements to facilitate it, by perplexing the enemy. M. Harcourt's vigilance, however, was not to be surprised,

* Le Clerc, tom. ii. pag. 156.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 4 Y nor
The history of Germany.

nor his sagacity outwitted: he took all the necessary measures for the defence of his lines, and effectually frustrated all the duke of Wirtzberg's projects.

In Italy the Imperialists were rather more successful, as they got possession of Porto Hercule; but in Spain count Staremburg, though delivered by death of his most formidable enemy, the duke de Vendome, performed nothing considerable. Here Philip, from a certainty that peace must soon ensue, ordered his generals to act offensively; while the French king, on the side of Dauphiny, contented himself with observing the enemy's motions. As for the king of Portugal, he seconded the views of her Britannick majesty, and defined nothing better than the fulfilment of arms offered.

The more to embarrass the imperial councils, the affairs of the North seemed to require their attention, as the king of Denmark had formed the resolution of invading the duchy of Bremen. This obliged Steinbock to demand the execution of the treaty of Ojnaubrag, by which the Germanic body guarantied Pomorania, now threatened by the Pole and Muscovites, and Bremen, to the king of Sweden. General Cronau used other arguments with the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and duke of Wolfenbuttel, to induce them to oppose the lighting up a war on their frontiers. He represented the danger of suffering the Ruffians and Danes to gain a footing in the empire; and pleyed this topic with too much address, that they ordered a body of troops to file towards Staden. Stakeberg, who commanded in this place, distributed the German auxiliaries in the outworks; but scarce had the Danes begun working upon their lines of circumvallation, when the Prussians and Hanoverians evacuated their posts, retired into the territories of Hamburg, and there halted for fresh instructions. In consequence, the Danes after a brisk siege reduced Staden, and the Saxons without resistance entered Pomorania: An offer was made by the czar and king of Poland of giving Steinitz to his Prussian majesty, in consideration of his affixing them with a train of artillery and ammunition, which he refused, though the aim of his policy after appeared, which was to attain the fequestration of Sweden's Pomorania, in hopes soon of acquiring the property. It was from after this that Steinbock, the Swedish general, burnt the rich town of Altena, which was filled with Danish stores of provison and ammunition, and reduced the inhabitants to the most wretched state of misery and distress. Some writers have endeavoured to excuse this action as arming from accident; but it is beyond doubt, that Steinbock demanded heavier contributions than the inhabitants were able to pay; that he gave them notice to remove their effects, and then took this cruel revenge. How far he might be justified by the laws of war for retaliating in this manner the barbarous conduct of his enemies, is what we will not pretend to determine; certain it is, that Altena had taken no part in the confederacy against Sweden; the burghers had been forced by the Danes to suffer their town to be made a magazine. Steinbock's proceeding was undoubtedly very impolitic: all Germany exclaimed against the Swedish barbarity, and the violence done to an imperial city.

It was now apprehended that the troubles in the North might be attended with dangerous consequences to the empire; to prevent which, the princes of the Germanic body assembled at Brunswic, where appeared ambassadors from the emperor, the king of Prussia, the dukes of Hanover and Wolfenbuttel, the bishop of Munster, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. They represented, that in the present situation of affairs they could not provide too diligently for the defence of Lower Germany, and stopping the progress of those violences, the lamentable effects of which had already been felt by the maritime circles. It was then resolved to form an alliance of neutrality, to be ratified by the diet, to levy an army of twenty thousand men, at the expence of the contracting parties; and to give the command of this army to prince Eugene, with orders to take post on the Elbe. It was therefore resolved to oblige the belligerent powers to evacuate the frontiers of Germany in the space of three weeks, and to obtain security for repairing the damages they had committed in several provinces of the empire; or, in case of refusal, to declare them enemies to the Germanic body. It was farther stipulated, that this declaration should be made in the strongest terms to the court of Sweden, and the czar of Muscovy; that the places held in the duchy of Mecklenburg should be abandoned; that the towns in Pomorania and the duchy of Bremen should be sequestered in the hands of the emperor; that the revenues of Bremen should be assigned to his Danzig majesty, after the expenses of sequestration were deducted; that the Swedes should not be suffered to return to Poland; that they should be prevented from garrisoning the towns they possessed in the empire; that they should be compelled to pass the sea, without being molested by the Muscovites, Poles, or Danes; that if either of the contending powers should be defeated, then the imperial army should join the weaker.
The history of Germany.

a weaker party, and maintain the balance equal; but that, if the Swedes were joined by any other power, the imperial army should act against them, without admitting general Steinbock's excuses on account of the king his master's absence; that when the empire was evacuated, if the belligerent powers shewed an inclination for peace, the empire and Germanic body might offer their mediation, and propose a congress at Lubec. Such were the conditions of the treaty signed at Brunswicck in January A.D. 1713.

1713. While the princes of the empire were deliberating on the means of securing the tranquility of the war in Germany, the Swedish general Steinbock was carrying all before him. Without tracing him through operations foreign to our design, it is sufficient, that his progress was so rapid as to oblige the czar to solicit the king of Preussia and elector of Hanover to embrace the league against Sweden. He went in person to the courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he negotiated with so much address as gained some advantage, though he did not succeed in the principal object of his visit to the two German electors. Soon after the king of Preussia died, and the arms of Peter the Great were so successful, that the whole Swedish army surrendered prisoners of war; upon which the Poles and Muscovites returned to Pomerania, while the Danes laid close siege to Torningen, under a pretense that the duke-administrator of Holstein had violated the neutrality. This obliged the young king of Preussia to declare to the Danes, that, if they permitted in persecuting the duke, he would, in conjunction with his allies, take effectual measures for the protection of the house of Gotorp. By withdrawing his troops, he said, his Danish majesty could only live upon a good footing with the princes of the empire. This threat, as spirit shook the resolution of Denmark; and the king immediately wrote to the court of Berlin, that he was ready to terminate his differences with the duke of Holstein. He also confounded, that, during the negotiation, Torningen should, for eight days, be supplied with all manner of provision; and that the emperor should nominate a time and place for the sitting of a congress, for a general pacification among the northern powers. In this manner did the resolutions of the assembly at Brunswicck, and the threat from the king of Preussia, command the respect of his Danish majesty.

c It was otherwise with the czar and king of Poland, who at this time were laying siege to Steatin in Pomerania, defended by general Mayerfield, an officer who joined the fire, the activity of youth, to the experience of forty campaigns. They had begun to batter in breach, when the king of Preussia declared, that he was charged with the fequestration of Pomerania. Augustus of Poland, the king of Denmark, the czar, and the elector of Hanover, all opposed the pretensions of Preussia: they declared they had a just right by treaty to certain places in Pomerania; but the king of Preussia declared, that the fequestration would continue only until a peace was concluded, when Steatin should be restored to Sweden, upon his being reimbursed in the necessary expenses of the fequestration. In a word, he added with so much splendor, that a treaty to this purpose was signed, and all the powers withdrew their forces; though the king of Denmark expressed his dissatisfaction at those arbitrary proceedings, and issued orders for seizing all the vessels that entered the ports of Pomerania, without regard to the flags and pretensions of Poland and Russia. Here too the Prussian monarch acted with his usual address; but with less regard to equity, and the rights of the empire, than he had hitherto demonstrated. He signed a treaty with the Danish minister; the direct tendency of which was to plunder the duke of Holstein, by fequestrating his dominions, until differences were compromised with the ducal family, provided the king of Denmark contented to the fequestration of Pomerania.

While the emperor and the Germanic body were diligent in composing the disturbances in the North, they seemed totally indifferent to the peace of the empire on the other side. The emperor flattered himself that the French monarch, greatly advanced in years, and broken with incessant care, must soon finish his career; and that his death, and the subsequent minority, would produce a revolution in the affairs of his kingdom, favourable to the empire. Hence arose his obstinacy and infurnaceable objections to the propositions offered by Lewis*: On their side, the Dutch seemed rather sedulous to extend the flames of war, than to cherish the blessings of tranquillity. They refused to grant the embassadors of Cologne and Bavaria passports, in which should be recited the titles of their matters, because these princes, they alleged, had lost the rights of electors, in consequence of their proscription. France retaliated, by raising difficulties about acknowledging Charles VI. in quality of head of the empire. He was elected without the consent of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, while at the same time the ambassador of Hanover was admitted into the diet, though his right was disputable. Thee reasons were

* Adq. citat. Vol. t. i. Daniel, t. v. specious;
The history of Germany.

The duke of Savoy accedes to the treaty of Utrecht.

The Dutch follow his example.

Specious; they seemed to prove the election irregular, and to justify the dissent of the French monarch. On other occasions, the conduct of the diet would have scarce been noticed: at a negotiation the parties endeavoured to profit by every circumstance. The court of France hoped, that, by relaxing in this article, they might be able to obtain other advantages in favour of the proscribed electors in her alliance. It was the earnest desire of Lewis to gain over the Dutch; but the artifices of Zinzendorf, and the influence of Eugene, raised a thousand difficulties.

Now, however, the duke of Savoy began to express less attachment to the house of Austria; whether nature or interest operated with him, is not material. At length his eyes were opened; and, tired with a war in which his friends and enemies equally contributed to his ruin, he beheld in a true light his opposition to his own daughter's elevation, only to support a family celebrated for ambition and ingratitude, of both which his own experience furnished him with instances. He resolved therefore to commit his affairs into the hands of the queen of England, who undertook to mediate his peace with Lewis. That prince laboured to procure for him the crown of Sicily, and the reversion of the Spanish monarchy, in default of male issue of the direct line. Mr. St. John, then lord Belingbroke, executed a treaty to this purpose, with that peculiar address which acquired him the reputation of the finest gentleman, and the most refined politician, of his country. In consequence, the queen withdrew her fleet and forces from Portugal and Catalonia; a proceeding which greatly cooled the affections of the Dutch to the house of Austria.

This republic, invariably steady to her interest, perceived that her strength alone, combined to that of the house of Austria, was insufficient to cope with France and Spain. She became more difficult to the proposals of Count Zinzendorf, and plainly indicated an intention of pursuing the footsteps of England, Portugal, and Savoy; for both the last courts acceded to the treaty of Utrecht towards the close of the preceding year. They were possibly confirmed in this resolution by the solemn renunciation of Philip V. of his pretensions to the crown of France, by which was removed all dread of the union of two great monarchies, the apprehension of which had already cost rivers of blood. By a similar act the dukes of Berri and Orleans renounced any right they might have to the Spanish succession. There was now no longer room for clamour against the ambitious designs of Lewis; a circumstance, which, joined to the success of his arms, greatly embarrased the republic. Still, however, there was a party in the provinces, who strongly urged supporting the house of Austria, and prosecution of the war; but the opposite faction gained ground daily. The province of Holland long declared for pacific measures: this operating with the real interests of the provinces in general, and the influence of the queen of England, at length determined the states-general to drop the emperor's alliance, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances and profuse promises of Zinzendorf. The count represented to their high mightinesses, that the emperor being first in dignity and power of all the allies, they ought chiefly to consult him in the article of peace; that it was greatly to be feared the facility with which Tournay was surrendered, was only a trap to disengage the republic from the protection of the house of Austria, in order, one day, to drive them with the more facility out of the Spanish Netherlands. He observed, that, in the war terminated by the peace of Nimague, the emperor and Germanic body had actually ftanchett the republic out of the jaws of inevitable destruction; in grateful return for which, it was now the duty of the provinces to assist in procuring them some equivalent.

To these arguments, enforced with great warmth in the public assembly of the states, Zinzendorf joined intrigue. He caballed with the elector of Hanover and the duke of Marlborough, and endeavoured to gain their influence with the states-general; but all his art could not succeed. He was answered, that England alone was not detached from the alliance, but the courts of Savoy and Portugal likewise; that now was the time to profit by her Britannic majesty's kind intentions to the republic; that though they could not now obtain all the advantages they proposed, yet there was still enough offered to render peace preferable to a war attended with multiplied disgraces; and that, in hesitating to accept the terms, they might in the end be forced to solicit more disadvantageous conditions.

Zinzendorf tried all in his power to animate the Dutch, and raise their defending courage with the hopes of vast succours from the czar of Muscovy, and the kings of Poland and Denmark; but these prospects were too remote to have weight with the republic. She perceived, that, while she waited for northern succours, her provinces might be laid defolate, and her subjects become the victims of ambition and obstinacy: she therefore, at once, determined upon peace under the mediation of England, beginning with signing the barrier and guarantee treaties of succession to the Spanish monarchy.
No sooner had the Dutch seriously resolved on a peace with France, than the negociations of Utrecht assumed a very different aspect. Almost all the clouds raised by jealousy and resentment were immediately diffused. The republic granted the passports before refused to the plenipotentiaries of the two proscribed electors, and the congress was again opened by the most able fet of ministers who ever conducted any negociation. All prattled the utmost refinements of policy; each enforced his master's rights with the most energetic elocution: the abbé Polignac shone in a peculiar manner; and supported, with astonishing fortitude, the fatigue of a tedious negociation, in which the many powers were to be adjusted with his master. The specific demands, as they were called, of the different states of the empire, gave abundance of trouble. All the little German princes insifted upon particular treaties, and a separate discussion of their rights; but the perseverance and ability of the plenipotentiaries triumphed over all difficulties.

Now the deputies of the four associated circles represented to the British ministers, that, by the treaty of Næraling, they had embraced the alliance; that they had fulfilled all their engagements, and fulfilled the enemy's heaviest shocks at their own expense, without demanding subsidies from Great Britain; that, notwithstanding this, her Britannic majesty thought proper to conclude a separate peace, without flippantly a barrier for the circles, or any equivalent for the oppressive expenses of the war; that it would be equally for the glory of the queen, the honour of her ministers, the good of the empire, and of Europe in general, that some reparation should be made; and that they expected this, at least, from the queen's good-nature and equity. However warmly they urged this request, it was but little regarded. France had now obtained her principal aim: she left the empire destitute of allies, and could, in these circumstances, make her own conditions. But to preserve the appearance of moderation, a memorial relative to the affairs of the empire was drawn up, and given to the earl of Peterborough, with a request he would have it presented to his imperial majesty.

When the earl gave in this paper to the emperor, he remarked, that the queen of England had made the utmost efforts to support the house of Austria in Spain, Flanders, Hungary, and Germany. She facilitated herself on having been instrumental in appeasing the disturbances in Hungary, in dispersing the storm that menaced the empire from the North, in affixing to fix the imperial diadem on his head, in procuring him the possession of the Milanese, Naples, and Sardinia, together with several other advantages. He said, that Great Britain, drained of men and money, obliged her majesty to conclude peace; that the conditions were honourable and profitable, and such as his imperial majesty, by accepting, would have added a variety of precious jewels to his crown; that the queen proposed now flippating for his imperial majesty the best terms which circumstances would admit, and procuring for him the cession of those places pofkied by the Spaniards on the frontiers of Tuscany; that the possession of such vast dominions as his imperial majesty enjoyed, could not possibly be secured, except by a solemn treaty, guaranteed by the chief powers in Europe; and that, while the queen had contributed more than any other ally to the advancement of the common cause, in reducing the enemy's ambition within limits, she had room to hope that the confederates would not deny her the glory of giving peace to Christendom, security to every individual, and a just satisfaction of their claims to all the different parties.

Charles refiled the high file in which the English minister spoke of the grandeur of his master: he regarded this as an oblique reflection upon himself, and declared, that he would never suffer the queen of England to prescribe laws to the empire; that his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy were too indisputable for him to renounce his claim, or allow the smallest province to be dismembered from it; that he protected against all treaties made to his prejudice; and that, unless the negociations speedily took a favourable turn, he would recall his plenipotentiaries, oblige the states of the empire to follow his example, and put an end to the congress. The court of Vienna entertained a notion, that the treaty of Utrecht was calculated to ruin the house of Austria; yet all the states of Germany, Protestant and Catholic, so ardently aspired after peace, that the emperor could not destroy their expectations of this blessing, without causing their desertion of his interest. Accordingly, when the imperial reply was related to the French plenipotentiaries, they expressed their uneasiness that Europe was not yet to taste the sweets of liberty: but said, that the emperor's resolution would prove more injurious to himself than to the most Christian king.

In fact, the emperor's menaces did not retard the course of the negociation. After long disputations, it was agreed, that the Imperialists should evacuate Catalonia, and that a

---

4 Vide Barre, Voltaire, Smollett, Torcy, Life of Peterborough, &c.
neutrality would take place for Italy; that an armistice should be published in Catalonia and Italy; and that, on the day of its publication, the Imperialists should surrender Barcelona, or Tarragona, at their option; that all persons belonging to the court at Barcelona should have liberty to carry off their effects; and that the Imperialists, in general, should be transported by sea on board English vessels; that all prisoners on either side should be released; that an amnesty should be published in Spain, and the utmost influence of the queen of England, and the most Christian king, be exerted to persuade Philip to leave the Catalans in the full possession of their liberties.

Nothing could exceed the spirit of the Catalans on this occasion. They knew they could expect no support; yet they ventured, in defiance of liberty, to denounce war against France and Spain. We have elsewhere related the particulars.

The neutrality signed for Italy gave hopes that the emperor would now be disposed to surrender all the acquisitions from the different states, violently made by his two immediate predecessors. Leopold and Joseph had, under colour of the war, feigned upon a great number of cities, which they promised to surrender at a peace; but Charles thought himself not bound by their promissory. The estates held in Italy and Germany were too considerable to be willingly renounced: he must restore Comacchio to the pontiff, Mantua to the family of Guasella, Montferrat to the duke of Savoy, Miranda and the marquisate of Concordia to the legitimate sovereign; and, in Germany, the archbishopric of Cologne and principality of Liege to the prelate-elector, and all the estates of Bavaria to the duke of that name. Justice required, that restitution should be made of all the places we have mentioned; but Lewis thought himself concerned only in what related to his allies. Accordingly he wrote to his ministers at the congress to make the following propositions: that the archbishop-elector of Cologne should be restored to all his estates, effects, dignities, honours, papers, moveables, &c. posseffed by him at the commencement of the war: that the same restitution be made to all his dominion and subjests, who have suffered in consequence of their fidelity and attachment: that all foreign troops shall be withdrawn from the city and citadel of Liege, from the citadel of Huy, and the town of Bonna: that the elector of Bavaria shall in the same manner have restitution made of all his estates and dignities, except the Higher Palatinate, and the rank of first secular elector, which shall remain in the house of Palatine, during the lives of the present elector and prince Charles his brother. Moreover, the king demanded, that the house of Bavaria should have the island of Sardine, to indemnify their losses, during the life of the elector-palatine. He likewise required, that the elector should have an equivalent for his losses, consequent on the infrasion of the treaty of Landau. He contended that the Dutch should have garrisons in Namur, Luxemburg, and Charleroi; but insisted, that if these conditions were not accepted within a limited time, he should be at liberty to revoke or alter them at pleasure. It was further proposed, that the treaty of 1697 should be confirmed, as it determined the frontiers of Germany and France. Here the Rhine formed the barrier, and each party was to possess the towns and fortresses on their own side in the manner they thought proper. Lewis promised to acknowledge the emperor in that quality, and to restore Brijach, with all its dependences to the right of the river, referring for himself all upon the left, including fort Merrier. With respect to the forts round Humingen, and the bridge of Strasburg, a variety of separate articles were insert. To conclude, the king ceded to the emperor the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, except that part already affixed to the duke of Savoy, and the Spanish Netherlands, under certain restrictions.

These propositions were signed by the French plenipotentiaries and the bishop of Brijach, who presented them to the imperial minister. Zinzendorf took the alarm at this project, on seeing the house of Austria stripped of the greater part of the Spanish monarchy: he therefore refused signing the articles. He complained of the presumption of giving law to the emperor; and said, that the hand and seal of the English minister had the appearance of an intention to compel his imperial majesty into their measures. Such violent proceedings deprived him, he alleged, of all possibility to conclude a treaty, though his inclinations strongly led him to a pacification. The English minister returned frequently to the charge; but Zinzendorf was inflexible. His conduct was approved at the court of Vienna, where several councils were held upon the subject of the proposals. As they determined to reject them, they were now to cast about for the means of frustrating the general peace, without declaring their intention of continuing the war. For this purpose a truce was proposed, during which each of the parties should enjoy their conquests, without the emperor's renouncing his claim to the Spanish monarchy; a thought which Charles could not support after the treasure, the labour, and the blood spent in this pursuit.

The project was relished by most princes of the Germanic body. Under the shadow of this truce they hoped to enjoy repose, and rapidly to regain their former vigour; as the emperor must grant all they required, from the necessity of his affairs, and the assistance they
they could afford in the prosecution of his claim to the Spanish succession. Charles on his side had many advantages in view: he flattered himself that, before the expiration of the truce, Lewis would sink under the pressure of old age, leaving his crown to a minor, which could not fail of distracting the affairs of the kingdom: then would be the season for making conquests on the Rhine, the Meuse, and even in Spain. The prospect of the elector of Hanover’s mounting the throne of Great Britain, in case the queen’s death occurred during the cessation of hostilities, was another signal advantage which the emperor figured to himself. In George he doubted not he should find a staunch friend, and a zealous afferter of the imperial dignity, and the rights of the house of Austria: besides, by this truce he should remain in possession of Catalonia, a province the molt inviolably attached to his person and family. Naples, Mantua, Milan, all the Italian dominions, and the two electorates, would remain in his hands, from the revenues of which he should be able to raise a large sum for the prosecution of the war. In a word, the expedition was well imagined; but it supposed the concurrence of all the other powers concerned, many of whom had a direct interest in opposing proposals which would deprive them of great part of their dominions. Upon this rock it split: all were too much attached to their own interest to pay extraordinary a compliment to the emperor. In truth, they all agreed only in the resolution of putting their affairs on the best footing possible, and establishing the general repose of Europe.

In pursuance of this scheme, the Dutch tried their influence with count Zinzendorf: they urged his consent to the French propositions; but he answered, that his instructions were to conclude a truce upon the conditions we have specified. After this declaration he abstained himself from the congress, and the other powers proceeded to the final conclusion of their several treaties, while the imperial minister had recourse to protests, which he lodged in the town-house of Utrecht. At Vienna, the peace was no less contested than the negotiations were at Utrecht. Libels were published against her Britannic majesty, accusing that prince of breach of engagement with the emperor and Germanic body, and violation of the most sacred treaties. Whether the acculation was justly founded, will appear by consulting the treaty, as inferred in our History of France.

A few days after the conclusion of the treaties between France, England, Holland,

D. Savoy, &c. Zinzendorf quitted Utrecht in disgust, and particularly incensed against thequeen of England and the states-general, and leaving count Kirkenau to direct the affairs of the imperial court. To this minister some overtures of accommodation were made; but as he had no instructions, he contented himself with hearkening to them without entering into a negotiation. He held, nevertheless, some conferences with the Bavarian minister, and proposed the marriage of the archduchesses with the electoral prince; by which means the vast possessions of the house of Austria might one day descend to the family of Bavaria; but the Bavarian minister replied, that his master would be satisfied with the restitution of his dominions and dignities by a solemn treaty: finding all hopes of gaining the elector, or obtaining better conditions, vanished, Charles now seriously reflected upon the means of pursuing the war, though the departure of the emperor at this time from Catalonia was looked upon as a most important advantage, because thereby he seemed to renounce his claim to the Spanish monarchy. Steenbergh, however, conducted matters with such dexterity, that the Catalans not only remained firm, but appeared more than ever attached to the house of Austria.

For the more vigorous prosecution of his views, the emperor obtained a million of crowns from the diet at Ratisbon; besides which, he was promised some millions more, to be paid at certain installments. On the twenty-fourth of May Prince Eugene repaired to the camp at Mulberg, behind the lines at Estingen. He reckoned upon an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, instead of which he found only forty thousand,

all the circles having been deficient in their quotas. Couriers were dispatched to Vienna and Ratisbon; and the diet replied, that they had already authorized his imperial majesty to force the circles, by military execution, to comply with their engagements; and that, attentive to the inclinations of the emperor, they had commissioned the elector of Ments to borrow of Christien Kofi, and other bankers, the sum wanted, which might be paid out of the arrears of the contingents, and the other revenues of the circles. Such an obstruction as this, in the very beginning of the emperor’s pursuit, seemed inauspicious. Eugene, and all men of sense and discernment, formed unfavourable prognostics, especially this resolution of borrowing money, upon extremely doubtful security, was opposed by several members of the diet, who thought the renewal of the war contrary to the interest of the Germanic body. They said, that if the issue of the war proved unfortunate, then Suidia and Franconia would fall a prey to the enemy; and if

* LAMBERTI, tom. viii. pag. 68.
it was successful, that instead of adding to the emolument of the empire in general, it would only be strengthening the hands of the emperor, raising the power of the house of Austria, and enabling it to trample on the liberties of the Germanic body.

It was now apparent, that the emperor's only resource was a trial of that authority given him by the diet, to enforce their edicts by military execution; but this he forebore to employ as his own weakness, and increaseth the number of the discontented. Great as these obstructions were, Prince Eugene was not discouraged. After visiting the lines at Ettlingen, he took measures for covering the Palatinate, and all the possible precautions for passing the Rhine; but he was obstructed by M. Villars, who was posted between Philippsburg and Landau, to which he proposed laying siege. His march thither filled the empire with terror, and obliged Eugene to exert his utmost abilities to force the marshal to retire; but in this he could not succeed, except by defeating his army, or cutting off his provisions. The one appeared impossible, and the other would prove tedious, especially as the prince was himself greatly straitened for forage and provision. While he was meditating the means of extricating the empire, Landau surrendered to the French, and they were now preparing to invest Friburg. Already the marshal had feigned to be at Keijerlauter, the fort of Mannheim, and the citadels of Linzeng and Velthein. Eugene perceived that his design was on Friburg, and he endeavoured to cut the lines which covered that important town, in a state of defence. However, the marshal forced the lines, and took the city, after an obstinate resistance. His army, indeed, was so much superior, that he carried all before him, and was enabled to execute whatever he attempted.

The reduction of Friburg cooled the emperor's ardour, and brought him to reflect on his own inferiority, and the impossibility of prosecuting a claim against two powerful monarchies, in which he could rely only upon the genius of his general, unsupported by men or money. Eugene was now permitted to open a negotiation with M. Villars. He accordingly sent him notice that he was charged with full powers to enter upon conferences at the castle of Rauffort. Here the two generals met on the twenty-seventh of November, and exchanged mutual compliments of admiration and esteem. Such was the secrecy observed in this negotiation, that all the politicians in Europe doubted whether it was successful. The conferences opened with fixing the frontiers of the empire and the French monarchy. Prince Eugene demanded restitution of Landau, Philippsburg, and Friburg, without which, he said, the deputies of the states of the empire must be called, which would greatly protract the negotiation. Villars was too delicate again to offer the same propositions made at Ulm; but he was unwilling to part with Landau. Philippsburg and Friburg he freely ceded, but Lewis would restore none of his conquests on this side the river Quexeb. Next they proceeded to the interests of the proscribed electors, both of whom the emperor readily reinstituted in their former dignities and possessions, in hopes of procuring earlier terms in other articles; in which, however, he proved mistaken. It is true, the article of repairing the losses sustained by the electors from the retention of their dominions, took up some time; nor was this point clearly settled before the subsequent treaty on the frontiers of Switzerland. On the sixth of February the plenipotentiaries separated, and then it was universally believed that the conferences were broke off; but before this every thing had been adjuted, except one equivocal expression, respecting a town in Italy, which the ministers left to be determined by the courts of Vienna and Verailles. A few days afterwards the plenipotentiaries again met at Rauffort, and signed the treaty in the manner in which it is inserted in the close of the History of France 6.

In this manner was finished a tedious war, in which all Europe was involved, and the empire in particular, as Germany was the most important scene of action. It had continued almost during the reign of three emperors, all of whom seized this opportunity of extending the prerogatives of the imperial diadem. For some years they dictated laws to Italy; they even became arbitrary in the empire. Two electors had been divested of their dignities, and stripped of their dominions by the sole imperial authority, without consulting the Germanic body, who murmured, without presuming to oppose an act so oppressive and destructive of their liberties. In a word, France may in some respects be deemed the deliverer of the empire; had not Lewis continued the war; had he granted reasonable terms at Ulm, the emperor would have always maintained his superiority, and the privileges of the constitution would have been subjected to the arbitrary decrees of the house of Austria.

THE

GOLDEN BULL:

OR,

Constitution of the Emperor Charles IV.

TOUCHING THE

Elections of Emperors, the Functions of the Electors, and the Succession and Rights of the Princes of the Empire.

Enacted partly at Nuremberg the 10th of January, 1356, and partly at Metz the 25th of December of the same Year.

In the Name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. So be it.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Bohemia; to render the memory of the thing perpetual—

Every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed; and because its princes have made themselves the companions of thieves, God hath spread among them a spirit of stupidity and giddiness, that they may grope along at noon-day, as if they were in the midst of darkness: he hath taken the candlesticks from the place where they stood, that they might be blind, and leaders of the blind. In effect, those who walk in darkness jumble against each other; and it is in division that the blind of understanding commit such wickedness—Say, Pride! how wouldst thou have reigned in Lucifer, hadst thou not called Distention to thine aid? Say, envious Satan! how wouldst thou have expelled Adam from Paradise, if thou hadst not seduced him from that obedience which he owed to his Creator? Say, Discord! how wouldst thou have destroyed the Roman republic, if thou hadst not animated Pompey and Julius to an infinite war against each other? Say, Luxury! how wouldst thou have ruined the Trojans, if thou hadst not separated Helen from her husband?—But thou, Envy! how often hast thou attempted to ruin by division the Christian empire, which God hath founded upon the three cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, as upon an holy and indivisible Trinity; vomiting the old venom of Discord among the seven electors, which are the pillars and seven principal members of the holy empire, by the brightness of whom the holy empire ought to be illuminated as by seven torches, the light of which is reinforced by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit?—Wherefore, being obliged, as well on account of that duty imposed upon us by the imperial dignity with which we are clothed, as in order to maintain our right of elector, in quality of king of Bohemia, to prevent the dangerous consequences which divisions and dissensions may hereafter produce among the electors, of which number we are; we, after having maturely deliberated in our court and solemn assembly at Nuremberg, in presence of all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and other princes, counts, barons, noblemen, gentlemen, and cities, being seated on the imperial throne, clothed in the imperial habits, with the ornaments in our hands, and the crown upon our head, by the fullness of our imperial power have made and published, by this firm and irrevocable edict, the following laws, in order to cultivate union among the electors, establish an unanimous form of election, and block up every road to that detestable division, and the extreme dangers which attend it. Given in the year of our Lord 1356, being the ninth convocation, the tenth day of January, of our reign the tenth, and of our empire the second year.

* The original kept at Frankfort is a kind of register, containing several sheets of parchment without binding or cover. It is pierced through the middle to admit a golden wire, the ends of which are fastened by a seal of gold, about the size of half a crown, which is hollow, one side representing the figure of Charles IV., upon a throne; on the engrave are these words, Carolus IV. Rom. Imp. semper Augustus, Rex Bdomiae. On the reverse is a kind of city gate; and in the middle, Aurea Romana. The character is pretty legible for the time; but this original is not correct. It is carefully preserved in a square wooden box, and called the Golden Bull, on account of the seal and wire, which are of that metal.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 5 A CHAP.
CHAP. I.

How and by whom the Electors are to be conducted to the Place where the King of the Romans is elected.

I. W  e declare and ordain by the present imperial edict, which shall last for ever, of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, that as often as the election of a king of the Romans to be emperor shall happen for the future, and the electors, according to ancient and laudable custom, shall travel to the place of such election, every prince elector shall be obliged, when required, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, through his countries, territories, and places, and even farther if he can, all his co-electors, or their deputies, towards the city appointed for the election, both in going and returning, on pain of perjury, and of losing (though for that time only) the voice and suffrage which he ought to have in the election: he or they who have been negligent or rebellious in this point, being declared to have incurred from that day, the said penalties, without having recourse to any other declaration than the present.

II. W e moreover ordain and command all the other princes who hold fiefs of the holy Roman empire, under whatever denomination, such as counts, barons, fielders, and vassals, noble and not noble, burgheurs, and corporations of boroughs, cities, and all other places of the holy empire, upon the ensuing election of a king of the Romans to be emperor, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, (as already mentioned) through their territories, and elsewhere, as far as lies in their power, every prince elector, or the deputies he shall send to the election, for whom, as well as for himself, he shall have demanded of any of them such safe-conduct: and in case any one shall have the presumption to contravene this present order, he shall likewise incur all the following penalties; to wit, in case of contravention by the princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, fielders, and vassals, perjury and privation of all the fiefs which they hold of the holy Roman empire, as well as of all others whatsoever; together with all the other penalties, of what nature ever they may be: and with regard to corporations and burgheurs, who shall contravene what is ordered above, they shall be reputed perjured, and at the same time deprived of all the rights, liberties, privileges, and favours, which they may have obtained from the holy empire, and incur in their persons and effects, the imperial ban and proscription: wherefore, we now deprive all such of all rights whatsoever; we likewise permit all and every one to fall upon such proscibed delinquents, attack, offend, and outrage them with impunity, without demanding any other permission from the magistrates, or dreading the least punishment from the empire, or from any other whatsoever; forasmuch as the said proscribed delinquents are convicted of the crime of felony against the commonwealth, and even against their own honour and safety, having rashly, as disobedient rebels and traitors, despoiled a thing of importance to the public good.

III. W e likewise ordain and command the citizens of all the towns and corporations, to fell or see fold, to each elector, or his deputies for the election, in going and coming, at a reasonable price, and without fraud, such provisions and other things as shall be found necessary for them and their retinue, on pain of incurring the penalties mentioned above, with regard to the said burgheurs and corporations hereby declared guilty of the same crime.

IV. If any prince, count, baron, fielder, vassal, noble or ignoble, burgheur or corporation, should be so rash as to raise any obstruction or hindrance to, or lay any ambush for the electors, or their deputies, in going to the election of a king of the Romans, or in returning from it, and attack, offend, or disturb them in their own persons, or the persons of their domestics and followers, or even in their equipages, whether they have demanded the ordinary safe conduct, or have not thought proper to demand it, we declare every such person and all his accomplices to have incurred the above specified penalties, according to the quality of the persons as above distinguished.

V. And even though one prince elector should be at enmity, having a difference or proceeds with any one of his colleagues, that quarrel shall not hinder them (if required) from granting the said conduct and escort to the other, or his deputies for the said election, on pain of losing his voice in the election, for that time only, as observed above.

VI. In the same manner, if the other princes, counts, barons, fielders, vassals, nobles or plebeians, burgheurs and corporations, entertain a grudge against one or more electors; or if there is any difference or war between them; they shall, nevertheless, without contradiction or fraud, conduct and escort the prince elector, or princes electors, or his or their deputies, both in going to and returning from the place of election, if they would avoid the penalties with which they are threatened by this edict, and which they will incur so soon as they shall act in contradiction to it.

VII. And
The history of Germany.

VII. And for the greater security and more ample assurance of all those things above-mentioned, we will and ordain, that all and every one of the princes electors, and other princes, counts, barons, nobles, towns, or corporations, to promise by letters, and oblige themselves by oath, to accomplish and perform all those things faithfully and without fraud, and whoever shall refuse to grant this obligation shall incur the aforesaid penalties, to be executed against the recusants according to the condition of each.

VIII. If any prince elector, or other prince holding of the empire, of whatever quality or condition he may be, count, baron, or gentleman, his successeors or heirs, holding fiefs of the holy empire, shall refuse to accomplish, or have the presumption to trespass upon, our decrees and imperial laws above-written, or afterwards to be specified; if he is an elector, his co-electors shall, from thenceforward, exclude him from their society; he shall be deprived of his voice in the election, of his rank, dignity, and right of prince-elector; nor shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the holy empire; and if the same laws be contravened by any other prince or gentleman as aforesaid, neither shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the empire, or of any other person whatsoever; and in the mean time he shall, from thenceforward, incur the personal penalties specified above.

IX. And although we understand and ordain, that all princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, fiders, valets, cities, and corporations, shall be indifferently obliged to furnish the said escort and conduct to each elector or his deputies aforesaid, we nevertheless think proper to affix to each elector a particular escort and conductors, according to the countries and places through which he shall pass, as will be seen more at large in the sequel.

X. First then, the king of Bohemia, arch-cupbearer of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishops of Mentz, the bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, the burgraves of Nuremberg, Hohenlohe, Wurtzheim, Brunick, and Hanau, and by the cities of Nuremberg, Rathebm, and Windeheim.

XI. The archbishop of Cologne, arch-chancellor of the holy empire in Italy, shall be conducted by the archbishops of Mentz and Friers, the count-palatine of the Rhine, the landgrave of Hesse, the counts of Cazzerellebogen, Nassau, Dietz, Isenburg, Weasterburg, Ranckel, Limburg, and Falkenstein, and by the cities of Wetzlar, Gegerharhausen, and Frides.  

XII. The archbishop of Friers, arch-chancellor of the holy empire among the Gauls, and in the kingdom of Arles, shall be conducted by the archbishop of Mentz, the count-palatine of the Rhine, the counts of Spanheim and Veldens, the burgraves and webgravens of Nassau, Isenburg, Weasterburg, Ranckel, Limburg, Dietz, Cazzerellebogen, Epfenstein, and Falkenstein, and the city of Mentz.

XIII. The count-palatine of the Rhine, grand-freward of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishop of Mentz.

XIV. The duke of Saxony, grand-marshal of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and Magdeburg, the bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, the marquis of Mafia, the landgrave of Hesse, the abbeys of Aulden and Hirschfeld, the burgraves of Nuremberg, Hohenlohe, Wurtzheim, Brunick, Hanau, and Falkenstein, as also by the cities of Erford, Malbaufen, Nuremberg, Rathebm, and Windeheim.

XV. And all those who have been named, shall, in like manner, be obliged to conduct the margrave of Brandenburg, arch-chamberlain of the holy empire.

XVI. We moreover will, and expressly ordain, that every prince elector, who would have such safe-conduct and escort, shall give due intimation to those by whom he would be conducted and escorted, specifying the road that he shall take, that they may have time and convenience to prepare the said conduct according to his demand.

XVII. We likewise declare, that the present constitutions touching the said conduct, are to be understood, so as that each of those above-mentioned, or any other, though perhaps not mentioned above, who, in the case aforesaid, may be required to furnish the said conduct and escort, shall be obliged to grant it in his own territories and countries, and even beyond them as far as he can, without fraud, on pain of incurring the penalties above expressed.

XVIII. We likewise command and ordain the archbishop of Mentz for the time being, to send letters patent by couriers, to each of the said princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, his colleagues, to intimate the said election, and express the day and time at which these letters may, in all probability, be delivered to each of the princes.

XIX. These letters shall specify, that in three months after the date mentioned in them, all and each of the princes electors shall repair, in person, to Frankfort upon the Maine, or send thither ambassadors authentically authorized, and furnished with a valid procuration, signed with their own hands, and sealed with their great seal, to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, as future emperor.

XX. Now
The history of Germany.

XX. Now, how and in what form these letters are to be expedited, and the solemnity which is to be invisibly observed on that occasion; together with the form and manner in which the princes electors must draw up and frame their powers, orders, and procurations, for the deputies whom they send to the election, will be more clearly expressed at the end of the present decree; which form, prescribed in that place, we ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, to be every where observed in every circumstance. Again; and in the same light of the death of the emperor or king of the Romans, arrive in the diocese of Mentz, we command and ordain, that, in the space of one month, reckoning from the day on which this advice is received, the archbishop of Mentz shall, by letters patent, make it known to the other princes electors, giving the intimation mentioned above: but if the archbishop should have chance to neglect or delay this intimation, then the other princes electors, of their own free motion, even without being called upon, and in consequence of the fidelity with which they are obliged to assist the holy empire, shall, in three months as above expressed, repair to the said city of Frankfurt, to elect a king of the Romans as future emperor.

XXI. Now, no prince elector, or his ambassadors, shall, at the time of the said election, enter the said city of Frankfurt with more than two hundred horse, among which may be fifty men at arms, or fewer, but never more than that number.

XXII. Any prince elector, thus called and invited to the election, and refusing to come or send his ambassadors with his letters patent, sealed with his own seal, containing a full, free, and intire power to elect a king of the Romans; or being actually come, or having sent ambassadors in his default; if afterwards the same prince, or his said ambassadors, should retire from the place of election before the king of the Romans, as future emperor, be elected, and without having solemnly substituted, and left a lawful proxy to act as above, he shall for that time be deprived of his voice in the election, and of the right he had to vote in it, which he has thus abandoned.

XXIV. We likewise join and command the citizens of Frankfurt, that, by virtue of the oath which we will them to take on the Holy Evangelists for that purpose, they shall protect and defend with all possible care, fidelity, and vigilance, all the princes electors in general, and each of them in particular, together with their domestics, and each of the two hundred horsemen, which they may bring to the said city, against all insult and attacks, in case any dispute or quarrel should happen among them, either for or against us, failing which, they shall incur the penalty of perjury, with the loss of all their rights, liberties, favours, or grants, which they enjoy, or may enjoy from the holy empire, and shall be immediately put in their persons and effects to the imperial ban; and then and there it shall be lawful for any person of his own proper authority, without being obliged to have recourse to a magistrate, to attack with impunity these said citizens, whom in that case, we, by these pretexts, deprive of all right, as traitors, renegades, and rebels to the empire; and those who attack them on this subject, shall have no cause to apprehend the smallest punishment, either from the holy empire or any other quarter.

XXV. Besides, the said citizens of Frankfurt shall not introduce, nor upon any pretence whatever admit, into their city, any stranger, of what quality or condition soever he may be during the whole time employed in the election, except only the princes electors, their deputies or proxies, each of whom may introduce two hundred horse as aforesaid.

XXVI. But if after the entry of the electors, any stranger should be found in the city, or in their presence, the said citizens, in consequence of the oath which they shall have taken for that purpose, by virtue of this decree, upon the Holy Evangelists as above-mentioned, shall be obliged to expel him immediately, and without delay, under the penalties above pronounced.

C H A P. II.

Of the Election of the King of the Romans.

I. NEPT day after the electors or their plenipotentiaries shall have made their entry into the city of Frankfurt, they shall, early in the morning, repair to the church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, cause the mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung, all afflicting at it, that the same Holy Ghost illuminating their hearts, and spreading among them the light of its virtue, they may be strengthened, by its assistance, to chuse for king of the Romans, and future emperor, a just and good man, well qualified for the safeguard of a Christian people.

II. Immediately after mass, all the electors or plenipotentiaries shall approach the altar where the mass hath been celebrated; and there the ecclesiastic princes electors, the gos-
pel of St John, in principis trah verbum, &c. being unfolded before them, shall lay their hands with reverence upon their breasts; and the secular princes electors shall actually touch the said gospel with their hands, at which their whole family shall be present, unarmed.—Then the archbishop of Mentz shall present to them the form of the oath; and he with them, and they or the plenipotentaries with him, shall take the oath in this manner:

III. "I, N. archbishop of Mentz, arch-chancellor of the holy empire in Germany, and prince-elector, swear upon the Holy Evangelists, here placed before me, by the faith which I owe to God and the holy Roman empire, that, according to my best discernment and judgment, with the help of God, I will choose a temporal chief for the Christian people; that is to say, a king of the Romans, future emperor, who shall be worthy of that station, as far as my discernment and judgment enable me to know: and, upon the same faith, I will give my voice and suffrage in the said election, without any bargain, or hope of interest, promise, or reward, or any such things, under whatsoever denomination it may be: to help me, God, and all the saints (B)."

IV. After having taken the oath, in the form and manner aforesaid, the electors, or the ambassadors of those who are absent, shall proceed to the election; and from henceforward they shall not quit the city of Frankfort until they shall have, by a plurality of voices, elected and given to the world, or to the Christian people, a temporal chief; namely, a king of the Romans, future emperor.

V. But if they should delay the accomplishment of the election for thirty successive days, reckoning from the day on which the oath is taken, then, these thirty days being expired, they shall have no other nourishment than bread and water; nor shall they quit the said city until all, or the majority of them, shall have elected a temporal conductor, or chief of the faithful, as aforesaid.

VI. Now, after the electors, or the majority of them, shall have thus chosen him in this place, the election shall hold, and be reputed, as if it had been unanimous, and without contradiction.

VII. And if any one of the electors, or their ambassadors, should be a little late in his arrival at Frankfort, provided he comes before the election is finished, we will, that he shall be admitted to the election, in the situation in which it happens to be at his arrival.

VIII. And as, by an ancient, approved, and laudable custom, all that is above written hath been invariably observed to the present time; we, for that reason, will and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, that, for the future, he who is, in the manner aforesaid, elected king of the Romans, shall, immediately after his election, and before he can meddle with the administration of the other affairs of the empire, confirm and approve, without delay, by his letters and seal, to one and all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, as to the principal members of the empire, all their privileges, letters, rights, liberties, immunities, concessions, ancient customs and dignities, and all that they have obtained and possessed of the empire to the day of his election; and, after being crowned with the imperial crown, he shall confirm all these things anew.

IX. This confirmation shall be executed by the prince elected, to each of the princes electors in particular; first, under the name of king, and afterwards renewed under the title of emperor; and the prince elect shall be bound to maintain, without fraud, and of his own free motion, the said princes in general, and each of them in particular, far from giving them the least trouble or hindrance.

X. Finally, we will and ordain, that, in case three electors, being present, or the ambassadors of those that are absent, should elect a fourth among them, namely, a prince elector, whether present or absent, king of the Romans, the voice of the prince elected, if present, or of his ambassadors, if absent, shall have full force, and augment the number and majority of votes, in the same manner as that of the other princes electors.

(B) Instead of this expression the Protestant electors say, "Help me, God, and his Holy Evangelists."
The history of Germany.

C H A P. III.

Of the Place and Precedence of the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologn, and Triers.

In the name of the holy and indivisive Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Bohemia, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. The union and concord of the venerable and illustrious princes electors, constitute the ornament and glory of the holy Roman empire, the honour of the imperial majesty, and the advantage of the other states of this republic, the sacred edifice of which these princes support, as being the chief pillars, by their piety, which is equal to their prudence. They strengthen the hands of the imperial power; and it may be averred, that the more strait the knot of their mutual friendship is tied, the more abundantly do the Christian people enjoy all the conveniences that attend peace and tranquillity.

II. Therefore, and in order henceforth to prevent the disputes and jealousies that may arise among the venerable archbishops of Mentz, Cologn, and Triers, electoral princes of the holy empire, on account of the precedence or rank which they ought to enjoy in sitting in the imperial and royal assemblies; and that, for the future, they may live with one another in a tranquil state of heart and spirit, and unanimously exert themselves, and employ their whole care, in the affairs and to the advantage of the holy empire, for the conflation of the Christian people; we have, by the deliberation and advice of all the electors, ecclesiastic and secular, decreed and ordained, and we decree and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that the said venerable archbishops shall sit, namely, he of Triers opposite to and facing the emperor; he of Mentz, both in his diocese and province, and even out of his province, if within the extent of his German chancery, (except only in the province of Cologn) shall sit at the emperor's right hand; and the archbishop of Cologn shall likewise, in his province and diocese, and out of his province, through all Italy and France, sit at the right hand of the emperor; and that shall be in all public imperial acts, as well as in judgments, collations, and investitures of siefs, festivals, councils, and all other assemblies, where they deliberate and treat of the honour and advantage of the Roman empire. And we will, that this order of sitting be observed among the said archbishops of Cologn, Triers, and Mentz, and their successors for ever, without any change or contestation.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Princes Electors in common.

I. We likewise ordain, that as often as the emperor or king of the Romans shall be present in the imperial assemblies, either at council, at table, or on any other occasion, with the princes electors, the king of Bohemia, as a crowned and consecrated prince, shall occupy the first place immediately after the archbishop of Mentz or Cologn; that is, either of these, who for the time being, according to the quality of places, and variety of provinces, shall be seated on the right of the emperor or king of the Romans, conformable to the tenor of his privilege: that the count Palatine shall, after him, possess the second place on the same side; that on the left the duke of Saxony shall occupy the first place after the archbishop, who shall be seated on that side of the emperor; and that the marquis of Brandenburg shall place himself by the duke of Saxony.

II. At all times when, and as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, the archbishop of Mentz shall have the power, which he hath had of old, to invite by letters the other princes his colleagues to the election.

III. All these, or such among them as may be able and willing to assist at the said election, being assembled for that purpose, the elector of Mentz, and no other, shall collect the particular votes of his co-electors in the following order.

IV. He shall first ask the opinion of the archbishop of Triers, to whom we declare the first vote belongs, in the same manner as we find it always did belong, to the present time; secondly, of the archbishop of Cologn, to whom belongs the honour and office of placing the first the crown upon the head of the king of the Romans; thirdly, of the king of Bohemia, who takes the precedence in eminence, as the right and merit of his royal dignity among the
The history of Germany.

the secular electors; fourthly, of the count Palatine of the Rhine; fifthly, of the duke of Saxony; and sixthly, of the marquis of Brandenburg. The archbishop of Mentz having in this order collected the suffrages of all the other electors, shall inform the princes his colleagues, disclosing his own intention, and the person to whom he gives his own vote, being by them required to do.

V. We likewise ordain, that, in the ceremony of imperial festivals, the marquis of Brandenburg shall present water to wash the hands of the emperor or king of the Romans; the king of Bohemia shall, for the first time, serve him with drink: which service, however, he shall not be bound to perform with the royal crown upon his head, in conformity with the privileges of his kingdom, unless he chooses to do it of his own free will; the count Palatine of the Rhine shall be obliged to bring in the meat; and the duke of Saxony exercises his office of arch or grand-marshal, as he hath of old been accustomed to do.

C H A P. V.

Of the Right of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and that of the Duke of Saxony.

I. MOREOVER, as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, as hath been said, the illustrious count-palatine of the Rhine, arch-warden of the holy Roman empire, shall be provisor or vicar of the empire, in the quarters of the Rhine, Suabia, and the jurisdiction of Francia, on account of the principality or privilege of the county palatine, with power to administer justice, nominate to ecclesiastic benefices, receive the revenue of the empire, invest with fiefs, and receive faith and homage, on behalf and in the name of the holy empire: all these things, however, shall be received in their time by the king of the Romans, after he is elected, to whom homage and allegiance must be sworn anew, except for the fiefs of princes, and those which are usually bestowed with the standard, the investiture and collation of which we specially refer to the emperor alone, or king of the Romans. At the same time, the count-palatine shall understand that he is expressly forbid to alienate or mortgage any thing belonging to the empire, during the time of his administration or vicariate.

II. AND it is our will, that the illustrious duke of Saxony, arch-marshal of the holy empire, shall enjoy the same right of administration in those places where the Saxen law is observed, in the same manner, and on the same conditions, as those specified above.

III. AND although, by a custom very antiently introduced, the emperor or king of the Romans is obliged to answer, in the causes instituted against him, before the count-palatine of the Rhine, arch-warden, prince elector of the holy empire; the said count-palatine shall not exercise that jurisdiction, except in the imperial court, where the emperor or king of the Romans shall be personally present; and no where else.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Comparison between the Princes Electors, and other common Princes.

WE ordain, that in all ceremonies and assemblies of the imperial court, from this day forward, the princes electors, ecclesiastical and secular, shall invariably keep their places to the right and left, according to the order and form prescribed; and that no other prince, of what condition, dignity, pre-eminence, or quality soever he may be, shall be preferred to them, or any of them, in any action whatsoever that regards the imperial assemblies, either in walking, sitting, or standing upright, with this express condition, that the king of Bohemia shall nominally and invariably have the precedence in one and all the actions and celebrations of the imperial assemblies aforesaid, over every other king, whatever dignity or particular prerogative he may have, and whatever cause or circumstance may have brought him thither.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Succession of the Princes Electors.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Bohemia, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.
The history of Germany.

I. Among the innumerable cares which we daily employ, for putting in a prosperous condition the holy empire, where we preside by the assistance of the Lord, our principal intention is to cultivate and maintain for ever, among the princes electors of the holy empire, a salutary union, concord, and sincere charity, being certain that their councils are the more useful to the Christian world, the more distant they are from all error, the more purely that charity reigns among them, all doubt being banished, and the rights of each being clearly declared and specified.

Certi
tes, it is generally manifest and notorious to all the world, that the illustrious the king of Bohemia, the count-palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg; the first, by virtue of his royalty, and the others, by virtue of their principalities, have a right, vote, and seat, in the election of a king of the Romans, future emperor, with the ecclesiastical princes, their co-electors, with whom they are all reputed, as they are really in effect, true and legitimate princes electors of the holy empire.

II. Nevertheless that, for the future, no cause of scandal or division shall be raised among the sons of those secular princes electors, touching their right, voice, and faculty of election; and that the public weal may not run any risk of being retarded or troubled by dangerous delays, we, by God's assistance, desirous to prevent the dangers that may ensue,

III. DECREE and ordain, of our power and imperial authority, by the present perpetual law, that in case the said secular princes electors, or any of them, should happen to die, the right voice and power of election shall be devolved freely, and without contradiction of any person whatsoever, to his eldest son, being legitimate and laic; and in case the eldest shall be no longer alive, to the eldest son of the eldest, being in like manner of the laity.

IV. And if the said eldest son should die without male issue legitimate, and of the laity, the right, vote, and power of election, shall be devolved, by virtue of the present deed, to his second brother, descended in a direct legitimate paternal line, and afterwards to his son, being of the laity.

V. This succession of the eldest-born and heirs of those princes, shall be perpetually observed with regard to the right, vote, and power aforesaid.

VI. On this condition, however, that if the prince elector, or his eldest son, or his second son of the laity, should die, leaving heirs male legitimate, and of the laity, under age, the eldest brother of the eldest defunct, shall be tutor and administrator of the said minors, until the eldest of them shall have attained the lawful age, which age in a prince elector, we will and ordain to be eighteen years complete; and when the elector shall have attained that age, his tutor or administrator shall be bound to resign to him immediately and entirely, the right, vote, power, and office of elector, and all in general that depends thereon.

VII. And if any one of those principalities should become vacant in behalf of the empire, the emperor or king of the Romans for the time being, may dispose of it, as of a thing lawfully devolved to him and to the holy empire.

VIII. Without prejudice, however, to the privileges, rights, and customs of our kingdom of Bohemia, in what regards the election of a new king in case of vacancy, by virtue of which, the natives of Bohemia may elect a king according to the established custom, and the tenor of the said privileges obtained of the emperors or kings our predecessors, which privileges we have no intention to prejudice by the present imperial sanction; on the contrary, we expressly ordain, that our said kingdom be maintained to them, and that their privileges shall be preferred for ever, according to their form and tenor.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Immunities of the King of Bohemia, and the Inhabitants of the said Kingdom.

I. As the emperors and kings our predecessors, have granted to the illustrious kings of Bohemia, our ancestors and predecessors, as well as to the kingdom and crown of Bohemia, a certain gracious privilege, which hath subsisted in the said kingdom and crown of Bohemia, a certain gracious privilege, which hath subsisted in the said kingdom without interruption, from time immemorial, by a laudable custom indubitably observed during all that time, and prescribed by use without any contradiction or interruption; namely, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vassal, burgher, inhabitant, peasant, or other person of that kingdom, or its appurtenances, of what estate, dignity, pre-
pre-eminence, or condition for ever he may be, shall, for any cause or pretext, by any person whatsoever, be summoned or cited without the kingdom, or before any other tribunal than that of the king of Bohemia, and the judges of his royal court; we, being desirous of renewing and confirming the said grant, use, and privilege, ordain, of our authority and full imperial power, by this perpetual and irrevocable constitution, that if, notwithstanding this privilege, custom, and grant, any prince, baron, noble, vaillant, citizen, peer, or any other person above denominated, shall be cited or summoned to any tribunal without the kingdom, for any cause whatsoever, civil, criminal, or mixed; he shall by no means be bound to appear, or answer at any time, either in person or by proxy; and if this foreign judge, who does not live within the kingdom, whatever authority he may have, shall proceed against him for contempt or non-appearance, even to an interlocutory or definitive judgment, and pronounce one or more sentences in the abovesaid causes and affairs, any manner of way: We, of our authority, and full imperial power, declare all the said citations, orders, proceedings, sentences, and executions whatever, pronounced and fulfilled in consequence, null and of no effect, so as that nothing can be executed or attempted to the prejudice of this privilege.

II. Upon which we expressly add and ordain, by this imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, enacted by the same full power and authority, that, as in the said kingdom of Bohemia, it hath always been observed, from time immemorial, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vaillant, citizen, burgher, peer, or any other inhabitant of the kingdom of Bohemia, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, or condition for ever he may be, shall be permitted to appeal to another tribunal, from any proceedings, interlocutory or definitive sentences, mandates, or judgment of the king of Bohemia, or his judges; or from the execution of the said sentences and judgment given against any of them by the tribunals of the king, the kingdom, and other said judges; and if, notwithstanding this prohibition, appeals are made, they shall be declared null, and the appellants from that time really and actually incur the penalty decreed.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Mines of Gold, Silver, and other Metals.

We ordain by the present perpetual and irrevocable constitution, and of our knowledge declare, that our successors, kings of Bohemia, as also one and all of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, present and to come, may justly and lawfully have and possess all the mines and mines of gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, and lead, and all sorts of other metals; as also the salt-pits already discovered, or that shall afterwards be discovered in our said kingdom, in the same manner as the said princes in their principalities, lands, dominions, and appurtenances, have been accustomed to possess them, without the least exception of their rights: they may also afford retreat to the Jews, and receive for the future, the rights and toll, formerly established in the same manner as heretofore observed, and lawfully practised by our predecessors, the kings of Bohemia of happy memory; and by the princes electors, and their predecessors, according to the antient, laudable, and approved custom, and the course of time immemorial.

C H A P. X.

Of the Coin.

I. WE moreover decree, that the king of Bohemia, who, after us, shall succeed to that kingdom, may, during his reign, coin gold and silver money, in all or any of the places of his kingdom or its dependencies, in the form and manner hitherto observed in the said kingdom, as it hath at all times been lawful for our predecessors, kings of Bohemia, to do, according to their continual possession of that right. We likewise will and ordain, by the present imperial constitution and perpetual favour, that the kings of Bohemia shall be at liberty to buy and acquire of other princes, noblemen, counts, and of any other persons whatever, castles, and hereditary lands, of what nature soever they may be; and receive them by gift or mortgage, on condition that they shall be bound to leave them as they found them, ciefs as ciefs, and freeholds as freeholds, &c. in such a manner, however, as that for the Estates which the kings of Bohemia shall have thus acquired or received, and which they shall have thought fit to unite to the kingdom of

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
The history of Germany.

Bohemia; they shall be obliged to pay the ordinary and accustomed duties which were due from them to the empire:

II. Which present constitution and favour we likewise extend, by virtue of this our present imperial law, to all the princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, and their successors and lawful heirs, upon the terms and conditions prescribed above.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Election of the Princes Electors.

I. WE likewise decree that the courts, barons, nobles, feudatories, vaillants, officers, foders, citizens, burgurers, and all other persons of whatsoever dainty, dignity, and condition, soever they may be, subject to the churches of Cologne, Mentz, and Trier, as they have not, in times past, so neither shall they for the future be cited, drawn, or removed without the territory, town, or limits of the jurisdiction of the said churches and their dependencies, at the instance of any plaintiff whatsoever, nor obliged to appear before any other tribunals and judges, than the ordinary judges of the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, as we find the custom at all times to have been.

II. And if, notwithstanding our present constitution, any one of the subjects of the churches of Trier, Mentz, and Cologne, should be summoned or cited for any cause, civil, criminal, or mixed, or other affair, before some other judge, without the territory, town, or limits of the said churches, or of either of them; the person thus cited shall not be bound to appear or answer; declaring the citation, proceedings, and interlocutory or definitive sentences, given or to be given against him, by such judges without the jurisdiction of the said churches, and all that ensues by execution or other attempt, void and of no effect.

III. To which we expressly add, that the counts, barons, feudatories, nobles, vaillants, officers, foders, citizens, peants, and all other subjects of the said churches, of whatsoever dainty, dignity, or condition they may be, shall not appear from the proceedings, interlocutory or definitive sentences, or mandates, of the said archbishops and their churches, or their officials or secular judges, or from the executions made, or to be made, in consequence, against them, in the jurisdiction of the archbishop or said officials, to any other tribunal whatsoever, provided justice be not denied to the plaintiffs in the tribunals of the said archbishops and their officials; and we forbid all other judges to receive such appeals, which we declare void and of no effect.

IV. But in case that justice shall be denied, we permit all those of the above denominations, to whom justice shall have been denied, to appeal, not indifferentiy to any other ordinary judge or subdelegate, but immediately to the tribunal of the imperial court, and to the judge there presiding, revering and annulling all the proceedings which shall have been carried on elsewhere to the prejudice of this constitution.

V. Which, by virtue of our present imperial law, we likewise extend to the illustrious court-palatine of the Duke, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburg, princes electors, secular or free, and to their successors, heirs, and subjects, in the same form and manner as above.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Assembly of the Princes Electors.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happy days.

Amen.

Charles IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, sempur Augustus, and King of Bohemia, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. Among the different cares that incessantly employ our mind for the good of the public, our imperial highnesses having considered, that the princes electors of the holy empire, who are the solid bases and immovable pillars upon which it stands, cannot conveniently communicate together on account of their being removed at such a distance from one another, we have found it necessary, for the good and safety of the empire, that they should meet often than usual, when, being duly informed of the abuses and disorders which reign in their respective provinces, they may report the circumstances together, and concert means for remediing them by their wholesome counsel and wise precaution.

II. Where-
II. WHEREFORE, in our solemn court held by our highnesses at Nuremberg, with the venerable ecclesiastic princes electors, the illustrious secular princes electors, and several other princes and noblemen, after mature deliberation with the said princes electors, with their advice, and in behalf of the commonwealth, we have thought proper, with the said princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, to decree that, for the future, the said princes electors shall personally assemble once a year, in one of our imperial towns, four weeks successively after the feast of Easter; and that, for the present year, at the same ensuing term, shall be celebrated by us and the said princes, a conference, court, or assembly of that nature, in our imperial city of Metz; and then, on one of the days of the said assembly, we, with their advice, shall nominate the places where they shall meet the following year.

And this present constitution shall continue in force no longer than we and they shall please to observe it; but while it remains in force, we shall take under our protection and safeguard the said princes electors, both in coming to our court, in sojourning in the place, and in returning from it.

III. And that the negotiation and expedition of the common affairs concerning the public reposes, may not be retarded by feasts and entertainments, which are usual on such occasions, we likewise decree, with their unanimous consent, that, during the said assemblies, it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to make any general entertainment for the princes; but plenty of private treats, which bring no hindrance to the expedition of affairs, yet even these in moderation.

CHAP. XIII.
Of the Revocation of the Privileges.

We likewise decree and declare, by this our imperial, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that all the privileges and letters of concession, which we, the emperors or kings of the Romans, our predecessors of glorious memory, may have granted of our proper motion, or in another manner under any terms whatever; or which we, or our successors, emperors or kings, may for the future grant to any person whatever, of what quality, condition, or pre-eminence ever he may be, even to cities, boroughs, or corporations of any places whatever, with regard to rights, favours, immunities, customs, &c. shall not prejudice or derogate from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and feignitories of the princes electors of the holy empire, ecclesiastic and secular, or of any of them, although in the said privileges and letters granted, as said is, in favour of any person or persons of whatever pre-eminence, dignity, or condition he or they may be, or of the said corporations or communities, it should be expressly specified that they cannot be revoked, except this clause of non-revocation should be specially and literally inserted in the body of the said letters; which privileges and letters, so far as they prejudice and derogate in some things from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and feignitories of the said princes electors, or of any of them; we have, of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, revoked and annulled; we revoke and annul, and, by these presents understand and hold them as revoked and annulled.

CHAP. XIV.
Of those who are deprived of their feudal Estates, as being unworthy to hold them.

And as, in several places of the empire, the vassals and feudatories preposterously and maliciously make a verbal renunciation or demission of the fees which they hold of their lords, that they may have room, after the said renunciation, to defy and declare war against them; and, under pretense of open hostility, attack, invade, occupy, and retain the said fees and lands, to the prejudice of the said lords; we decree, by this perpetual constitution, that all such renunciations or renunciations shall be reputed void, if they are not made freely and really, and the renounces put in corporal and real possession of the said fees; so as that those challengers, or fencers of defiance, may never trouble, either by themselves or others, or affront the vassals or fees, and assistance to any one, in order to trouble or disturb them in the benefits or fees they have renounced; we will, that those who do the contrary, and attack their lords in their benefits and fees so renounced, in any manner of way, or trouble or endamage them, or afford counsel, assistance, or favour to those who commit such attempts, shall then, and by so doing, lose the said fees and benefits, be declared infamous, and put to the ban of the empire; be incapable of re-enjoying
joying the said fiefs and benefices, on any pretence whatsoever; or of being invested in them anew, in any manner of way; declaring, that any such concession or investiture, against the present constitution, shall be without effect. Lastly, we decree, that he or they who shall dare to act fraudulently against his or their lord or lords, and attack him or them with premeditated design, without having made the said renunciation, whether the defiance hath or hath not been made, shall, in so doing, incur the said penalties, by virtue of this present faction.

C H A P. XV.

Of Conspiracies, or Combinations.

I. WE likewise disapprove, condemn, and of our certain knowledge declare void, all combinations, conventicles, or illicit societies, detected and forbid by the laws, both within and without the cities, betwixt city and city, individual and individual, or city and individual, on pretence of confangunuity, township, or any other colour whatever; as also all confederacies, covenants, and customs, by such corruption introduced, which any city or person may have already made, or shall presume hereafter to make, whether among themselves or with others, without the authority of the lords whole subjects, officers, or fervants they are, or in whole districts they remain; the said lords not being nominally excepted; in like manner as they have been prohibited and annulled by the sacred laws of the divine emperors our predecessors; excepting, nevertheless, those confederacies and leagues which are known to have been made by princes, cities, and others, for the preservation of the general peace of the provinces and countries between them; which being specially referred by our declaration, we ordain, that they shall remain in full force and vigour, until we shall think proper to decree otherwise.

II. We ordain, that every individual who shall dare, for the future, to make leagues, combinations, and covenants of that sort, against the disposition of this edict, and our antient law published on that subject, besides the penalty mentioned in the said law, shall from thenceforward incur the mark of infamy, and a fine of ten livres of gold; and that every city, which shall in like manner violate our present law, shall also incur the fine of one hundred livres of gold, with the loss and privation of its imperial privileges; one half of which pecuniary mulcts shall be appropriated to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lord of the district, to the prejudice of which the said leagues shall have been made.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Pfalburgers, or People who have forfeited their Freedom.

I. BESIDES, complaint having been often made to us, that certain citizens, and subjects of princes, barons, and others, seeking to shake off the yoke of their original subjection, and even being so rash as to pay no manner of regard to it, have been received citizens of other towns, (a practice frequent in past times) and notwithstanding, continue to reside personally in the dominions, towns, boroughs, and villages of their first lords, whom they presume to abandon by this fraud, pretending to enjoy the liberties of the towns of which by these means they have acquired the freedom, and to be protected by them: which citizens are, in Germany, vulgarly called Pfalburgers: now, as it is not just that any person should profit by guile and fraud, we, with the advice of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, have ordained, and by this present perpetual and irrevocable edict ordain, that the said citizens and subjects, who thus attempt to baffle those to whom they owe subjection, shall not, from this day forwards, in any of the territories, places, or provinces of the holy empire, enjoy, in any shape, the rights and liberties of the towns wherein, by such fraud, they either have been or may be received as freemen; unless they shall really and personally remove themselves into the said towns, where they may acquire an actual settlement, by customary, true, and unfeigned residence, undergoing the usual impositions, and proportion of the customary revenue; otherwife, if any persons have been or shall be received, their reception shall be reputed void; and those received, of what dignity, rank, and condition forever they may be, shall not enjoy, in any case, or on any pretext whatsoever, the rights and liberties of the said cities; and this, notwithstanding whatever rights and privileges may have been obtained, and customs at any time observed, which, to far as they are contrary to this our present law, we, of our certain knowledge, and full imperial power, revoke by these presents, and ordain to be deprived of all force and value.

II. Without
II. Without prejudice, however, to the rights which the princes, noblemen, and others, thus abandoned, have over the persons and effects of their subjects who abandon them in this manner; and as for those who, contrary to the disposition of this our present law, have already presumed, or shall hereafter presume to receive the said citizens and subjects of others, if they do not absolutely fend them back in one month after publication made to them of these presents, we declare, that, as often as they transgress our present law, they shall incur the fine of hundred marks of pure gold; one half of which shall irrecoverably be applied to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lords to whom those who are thus received did belong.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Challenges.

I. We moreover declare, that those who, pretending to have just cause to challenge any one, shall send him a challenge at an improper time, in the places where he hath not his fixed residence, and where he doth not ordinarily dwell, cannot with honour ravage his lands, nor burn his houses, or by any other way hurt his possession (A).

II. And, forasmuch as it is not reasonable that deceit and fraud should be of advantage to any one, we will and ordain, by this present perpetual constitution, that challenges of this kind given, or hereafter to be given, to any noblemen or other persons whatever, with whom the challenger has lived in society, familiarity, or honourable friendship, be of no account; and that it be by no means allowed, under pretext of such challenge, to hurt any one by burning, pillaging, and ravaging, unless the challenge has been proclaimed publicly for three natural days, either to the person himself challenged, or in the place of his ordinary and usual abode, and that proclamation has been testified by sufficient witnesses. We ordain, that whoever dares to challenge and attack any one in the aforesaid manner, shall incur from thenceforward a mark of infamy, as though he had given no challenge, and that he shall be punished as a traitor by every judge, according to the rigour of the laws.

III. We forbid and condemn also, all kinds of unjust wars and quarrels, and likewise burnings, unjust ravages and violences, unlawful and unusual taxes and impositions, as also the extortions usually made for safe-conducts and safe-guards, which people have been obliged by force to accept of, and this under the penalties with which the holy laws ordain the said outrages to be punished.

C H A P. XVIII.

Letters of Intimation.

To you the illustrious and magnificent prince, lord, &c. margrave of Brandenburg, arch-chamberlain of the holy Roman empire, our co-elector, and most dear friend, we intime to you, by these presents, the election of a king of the Romans, which for reasonable causes ought to be made without delay; and we call you according to the duty of our office, and the custom of the said election, that within three following months, counting from such a day, &c. you are to appear personally, or by your ambassadors or proxies, whether one or more, having sufficient charge and commission, at the place appointed by the sacred laws enacted for that purpose; there to consult, treat, and agree with the other princes your and our co-electors, about the election of a king of the Romans, who, by the grace of God, shall be afterwards crowned emperor; and there to abide till the conclusion of that election, and otherwise to act and proceed as it is expressed in the holy laws for that purpose ordained: failing of which, we will finally proceed in it, with the other princes your and our co-electors, according as the authority of the said laws ordains, notwithstanding the absence of you or your ambassadors.

C H A P. XIX.

The Form of Proxy to be given by the Electoral Prince, who shall send his Ambassadors to the Election.

We N. by the grace of God, &c. of the holy empire, &c. make known unto all by these presents, that whereas, for reasonable causes, the election of a king of the Romans ought to be proceeded on without delay, and that we desire earnestly, as bound also by the honour

(A) Another proof of the broad plan in which the empire then was.
and estate of the holy empire, that it be not exposed to any eminent dangers, we having a firm persuasion and sincere confidence in the fidelity, ability, and prudence of our dear and well-beloved such persons, &c. have made, constituted, and appointed them, as we make, constitute, and appoint them with all right, manner, and form, in the fullest and most effectual manner that we are able, our true and lawful proxies and special ambassadors, them or each of them virtually, so that there shall be no distinction of rank among them, but what shall be begun by one, may be finished and properly concluded by another; and this to treat in every thing with the other princes our co-electors, as well ecclesiastic as secular, to assemble with them, and conclude upon the choice of a person properly qualified to be elected king of the Romans; and to affix at the treaties which shall be made upon the election of such a person, and there to treat and deliberate for us in our place, and in our name; as also, in our said name and place, to nominate the same person, and to consent to his being elected king of the Romans, and elevated to the holy empire; and to take, upon our confidence, every oath that shall be necessary, agreeable, and usual, even as far as concerns the things to be after mentioned, or any of those that have been mentioned, to substitute and virtually revoke any other proxy or proxies; and to do all and every thing that shall be necessary and useful to be done, as far as concerns the fore-aid affairs, till the conclusion of the treaties of this nomination, deliberation, and election, or other such similar and equally useful and important matters, although they or any one of them should require a more special commission, or be of greater consequence, or more particular, than those already mentioned; the whole as we could do ourselves, if we were personally present at the negotiations of the said treaties of deliberation, nomination, and future election, having, and willing to have, and firmly promising always to be satisfied with, and to ratify every thing that shall be negotiated, treated, or done, or in any manner ordained in the foreaid affairs, or in any of them, by our foreaid proxies or ambassadors, as also by their subdelegates, or by those that shall be substituted by them, or by any of them.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Union of the Principalities of the Electors, and of the Rights thereto annexed.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, and to the increase of our happiness. So be it.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Bohemia, for the perpetual remembrance of the thing.

As all and every one the principalities, in virtue of which it is known that the secular electoral princes have a right and voice in the election of a king of the Romans, future emperor, are so attached and inseparably united to that right, and to the functions, dignities, and other rights thereto pertaining, and thereupon depending, that the right and voice, the office and dignity, and the other rights belonging to each of the said principalities, cannot fall but to him who publicly poises the principalty, with the land, the vassalages, fiefs, dominions, and their dependencies; we, ordain, by this present imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, that, for the time to come, each of the said principalities shall remain, and be so firmly and indivisibly joined and united with the voice of election, the office, and all other dignities, rights, and appurtenances, concerning the electoral dignity, that whoever shall be peaceable poisseur of one of the said principalities, shall enjoy also the free and peaceable possesssion of the right, voice, office, dignity, and all other appurtenances that concern it, and shall be reputed by every one true and lawful elector; and as such he, and be only, shall have a right to be invited, received, and admitted, with the other princes at all times, and without any opposition to the elections of the kings of the Romans, and to all the transactions which shall concern the honour and welfare of the holy empire; provided that none of the aforesaid things, which are or ought to be insepable, may be at any time divided or separated one from another; or may, in judgment or otherwise, be reclaimed separately, or so declared by sentence in any court of judicature, willing, that all audience be denied to him who shall demand the one without the other; and that if by surprise or otherwise he should obtain it, and that thereupon there should follow any process, judgment, sentence, or any other encroachment, upon our present constitution, the whole, in every circumstance whatever, be of no effect, and actually void.
The history of Germany.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Order of the Procession among the Archbishops.

I. Forasmuch as we have sufficiently explained, in the beginning of our present constitutions, the order of place, whenever the princes electors shall be hereafter obliged to assemble with the emperor or king of the Romans, about which formerly there have been many disputes; we have also judged it expedient to prescribe the order to be observed by them in public processions.

II. For this cause we ordain, by this present imperial and perpetual edict, that as oft as, in the general assemblies, the emperor or king of the Romans shall be present, and the said princes, the emperor, or the king of the Romans, desire to go out in public and in state, and that he orders to be carried before him the imperial ornaments, the archbishop of Trier shall go first and alone before the emperor or the king, in a right and direct line; so that, between the emperor or the king and him, there shall be none but the princes, to whom it belongs to carry the imperial or royal ensigns.

III. But when the emperor or the king shall march, without causing the said ensigns to be carried, then the same archbishop shall go before the emperor or the king in the aforesaid manner, so that there be absolutely none between them, the other two archbishops electors keeping in the said processions, each the place which hath been already assigned him in the feffions, according to the province in which they then shall be.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Order of the Procession of the Electoral Princes, and of those who are to carry the honorary Ensigns.

To declare the rank which the princes electors ought to keep in marching with the emperor, or with the king of the Romans, in public and in state, and of which we have already made mention, we ordain, that every time, during the holding of an imperial diet, the princes electors shall march in procession with the emperor or king of the Romans, in all actions or solemnities whatever, and that they shall there carry the imperial or royal ornaments. The duke of Saxony, carrying the imperial or royal sword, shall march immediately before the emperor, being in the middle between him and the elector of Trier: the said elector of Saxony shall have on his right the count-palatine of the Rhine, who shall carry the globe or imperial apple; and on his left the marquis of Brandenburg, carrying the scepter. All three marching abreast, the king of Bohemia shall immediately follow the emperor or king of the Romans, without any one marching between the emperor or said king and him.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Benedictions of the Archbishops in the Presence of the Emperor.

I. Every time that the solemnity of the mass shall be celebrated before the emperor or the king of the Romans, and the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, or two of them, shall be there present, at the consecration which is said at the beginning of the mass, at the kissing of the gospel, and the blessing preferred after the Agnus Dei; and also at the benedictions which are given at the end of the mass, and at those which are said when sitting down at table, and at the thanks given after the repast, that order shall be observed, which we have thought proper to establish with their advice and consent, which is, that the first shall have that honour the first day; the second, the second day; and the third, the third day.

II. We declare, in this case, that the order of priority or posteriority among the archbishops, ought to be regulated by the order and time of their consecration: and that they may anticipate one another by testimonies of honour and respect, and that their example may oblige the other electors mutually to honour themselves, we desire that he, whom the order about the aforesaid things shall regard as first, shall offer to his colleagues the civility and loving compliment of inviting them to accept of that honour; and, after that, he shall proceed to the aforesaid things, or any one of them.
The history of Germany.

C H A P. XXIV.

The following Laws have been published in the Dist of Metz, on Christmas-day 1376, by Charles IV. Emperor of the Romans, imperator Augustus, King of Bohemia, effifled by all the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire, in presence of the venerable Father in God the Lord Theodorick, Bishop of Alba, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and of Charles, eldest Son of the King of France, illustrious Duke of Normandy, and Dauphin of the Viennois.

I. If any one has entered into any criminal conspiracy, or made oath or promise to engage in any such with princes and gentlemen, or even with private or any other persons whatever, not excepting plebeians, against the life of the reverend and illustrious princes electors of the holy Roman empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, let him perish by the sword, and all his estate be confiscated, as guilty of treason; for they constitute a part of our body, and, in these renencounters, the laws punish the will with the same severity as the crime itself; and though it were but just that the sons of such a patriots should die the same death, because from them the same examples may be apprehended, nevertheless we grant them their lives out of our particular bounty. But our will is, that they shall be deprived of the succession of their mother or grandmother, as likewise of all the effects they might expect by right of inheritance and succession, or by the will of their other relations or friends, to the end that, being ever poor and nececeitious, they may be for ever accompanied by the infamy of their father; that they shall never attain to any honour or dignity, not even to those conferred by the church, but be reduced to such extremity, as that they shall languish in continual indulgence, and thus find their punishment in living, and their relief in dying. Our will is also, that those who shall presume to intercede for such people may be branded with perpetual infamy.

II. With regard to the daughters of those criminals, in what number soever they may be, we ordain, that they shall enjoy the falcidium, or fourth part of the succession of their mother, whether she hath, or hath not, made a will, that they may have a middling subsistence as daughters, rather than an entire advantage in the name of heirs: for, in effect, the sentence ought to be the more moderate with respect to them, as we are persuaded the weakens of their sex will prevent them from committing crimes of that nature.

III. We also declare the emancipations, which such persons may have made of their sons and daughters, since the publication of the present law, null, and of no effect. Likewise, we declare void, and of no account, all settlements of dowry, donations, and all other alienations, which may be made by fraud, or even of right, from the time that they shall have begun first to act in these plots and conspiracies. If women, after having withdrawn their dowry, find themselves in that case that whatever they shall have received of their husbands under the title of donations, they must refer it to their sons, when the term of their possession shall expire; they are to know, that all these things, which, according to law, ought to return to the son, shall be applied to our treasury, except the falcidium, or fourth, which shall be deducted from them for the daughters, and not for the sons.

IV. What we have said of these criminals, and their sons, ought also to be extended to their attendants, accomplices, and servants, and their sons. Nevertheless, if any of the accomplices, touched with a desire of true glory, discovers the conspiracy in its beginning, he shall, for that discovery, receive from us honour and reward: but as to him who shall have been concerned in these conspiracies, and discovers them only very late, yet still before they have been discovered by any other, he shall only be judged to deserve impenalty, and pardon of his crime.

V. We ordain also, that if any outrage committed against the said electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, be discovered, the punishment of that crime may be prosecuted anew, even after the death of the guilty person.

VI. As also, for this crime of treason against the said princes electors, the servants of the accused person may be put to the torture.

VII. We ordain, moreover, by this present imperial edict, and will, that, even after the death of the guilty person, an information may be commenced against him, that, the crime being proved, his memory may be condemned, and his effects confiscated: for, from the time that any one forms the design of a detestable crime, he is from thenceforward in a manner guilty, and tormented in his soul.

VIII. For this reason, from the time that any one is found guilty of such an outrage, we will, that he shall no more have the power to sell, or alienate, or give freedom to his slaves, nor even to demand the payment of his just debts.
The history of Germany.

IX. We ordain likewise, with regard to this, that is to say, for the crime of conspiracy against the electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, the servants of the criminal may be put to the torture.

X. And if any one of these criminals die, during the drawing up of the process, we will that his effects be put into the hands of justice, by reason that it is still uncertain who shall be his heir.

C H A P. XXV.

That the Principalities of the Electors may be preserved intire.

If it is expedient that all principalities be preserved intire, that justice may be strengthened, and that good and faithful subjects may enjoy a perfect repose, and profound peace, it is without comparison much more reasonable, that the great principalities, dominions, honours, and rights of the electoral princes should also remain intire; for where the danger is most to be feared, there the greatest precaution ought to be used, lest the pillars being defective, the whole edifice should fall in ruins.

I. We will then and ordain, by this perpetual imperial edict, that from henceforth, and for ever, the great and magnificent principalities, such as the kingdom of Bohemia, the county-palatine of the Rhine, the dukedom of Saxony, the marquise of Brandenburg, their lands, jurisdictions, homages (A), and vassalages, with their appurtenances and dependencies, cannot be parted, divided, or dismembered in any manner whatever, but shall remain in all time coming, united and preserved intire.

II. That the eldest son succeed thereto, and that all the dominion and all the rights belonging to him alone, provided he be not a lunatic, or have such other great and remarkable defect, as absolutely hinders him from governing; in which case, he being excluded from the succession, we will that the second son be called to it, if there is one in the same line; if not, the eldest of the brothers, or lay relations on the father's side, who shall be found the next heir in the direct and male line (B). Who nevertheless shall be bound to give continual proofs of his goodness and liberality to his other brothers and sisters, contributing to their subsistence, according to his good will, and the extent of his estate, prohibiting him expressly from parting, dividing, or dismembering the principalities, and their appurtenances and dependencies, in any manner whatever.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the Imperial Court, and of its Sessioan.

I. On the day that the emperor or the king of the Romans would solemnly hold his court, the electoral princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, shall assemble for an hour, or thereabouts, at the place of the imperial or royal residence, where, the emperor or the king being clothed in all the imperial ornaments, shall mount on horseback, with all the electoral princes, who shall accompany him to the place prepared for the session, each in the order and manner already prescribed, and invested in the ordinance which regulates the proceedings of the said electoral princes.

II. The arch-chancellor, in whose arch-chancelloriate the imperial court shall be held, shall carry, at the end of a silver rod, all the imperial or royal seals.

III. But the secular electoral princes shall carry the sceptre, the apple, and the sword, in the manner which has been already mentioned.

IV. Some other inferior princes, who shall be deputed by the emperor, and in his choice, shall carry, immediately before the archbishop of Trier, proceeding in his rank, first, the crown of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in the second place that of Milan, which shall never be done but before the emperor, when adorned with the imperial crown.

V. The empress also, or the queen of the Romans, being attired in the habits and ornaments of state, shall go after the emperor or king of the Romans, and also after the king of Bohemia, who immediately follows the emperor; but she shall be at a convenient

(A) This article does not give to the successor of the elector all the effects of the succession indefinitely, as the elector-palatine pretended in the process about the succession of the elector Charles.

(B) There is no regulation made for the succession in the collateral line, and the difficulty is not determined, whether the order of lines, or the proximity of degrees, ought to be followed: a question which has since been often disputed in the empire.
The history of Germany.

distance, and accompanied by her principal officers, and maids of honour, and shall a
proceed thus as far as the place of the feffion.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Functions of the Electoral Princes in the Assemblies where the Emperors or Kings of the Romans solemnly hold their Court.

WE ordain, as oft as the emperor or king of the Romans would solemnly hold his court, and the electoral princes shall be obliged to perform the duties of their office, b that the following order shall be observed.

I. The emperor or king of the Romans being seated in his royal chair, or on the imperial throne, the duke of Saxony shall perform his office in the following manner. There shall be put before the place of the imperial or royal feffion a heap of oats, of such a height as to reach the horse's breast, or the faddle upon which the duke shall be seated; and the duke having in his hands a silver rod, and a measure alof of silver, which together shall weigh twelve marks, and being on horseback, he shall fill the measure with the oats, and shall give it to the first grooms he meets: after which, thrufing the rod among the oats, he shall retire; and his vice-marshall, namely, the count of Papenbeim, approaching, or in his absence the marshal of the court, shall give allowance to plunder the oats.

II. Whenever the emperor or the king of the Romans shall be seated at table, the ecclesiastic electoral princes, that is to say, the archbishops, standing by the table, with the other prelates, shall blef, according to the order before us prescribed. The blef,ing being given, the same archbishops, if they are there present, or even two, or one of them, shall take the imperial or royal seals from the hands of the chancellor of the court; and the archbishop, in whose archchancellerate the court shall be held, going in the middle of the two other archbishops, who shall be upon his right and left, and holding with him the silver rod, to which the seals shall be hung, all three shall carry them thus, and shall place them with respect upon the table, before the emperor or the king: but the emperor or the king shall restore them to the said archbishops again forthwith; and he in whose arch-chancellerate the ceremonies shall be performed, as has been said, shall hang about his neck the greatest seal, and shall carry it thus all the time of dinner, and after, till he has returned to his lodgings, mounted on a horse belonging to the palace. But the rod, which we have spoke of, ought to be of silver, of the weight of twelve marks; and the three archbishops ought each to pay the third, as well of the weight of the silver as of the price of the workmanship. The rod and the seals shall remain with the chancellor of the court, who shall do with them as he pleases; and therefore, as soon as that archbishop, who had the privilege of carrying the great seal about his neck from the palace to his lodgings, as has been said, shall there arrived, he shall fend, by some one of his domestics, to the said chancellor of the imperial court, the said seal upon the same horse; and the archbishop, according to the decorum of his proper dignity, and the friendship which he shall bear to the said chancellor of the court, shall be bound to complement him also with the horse.

III. Then the marquis of Brandenburg shall come on horseback, having in his hands a baof and ewer of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, with water and a fine napkin; when, alighting, he shall present to the lord the emperor, or to the king of the Romans, the water to wash in.

IV. The count-palatine of the Rhine shall enter also on horseback, carrying four dishes of silver full of victuals, each dish of the weight of three marks; and, having dismounted, he shall place the dishes upon the table before the emperor, or king of the Romans.

V. After them shall come the king of Bohemia, chief cup-bearer, being also on horseback, and holding in his hand a cup or goblet of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, covered, and full of wine and water; and, having dismounted, he shall present it to the emperor, or king of the Romans, to drink.

VI. We ordain also, according as it has hitherto been practised, that the secular electoral princes having performed their offices, the vice-chamberlain of Falkenstein should have the horse, the baof, and ewer of the marquis of Brandenburg; the master of the kitchen of Nortemberg the horse and dishes of the count-palatine of the Rhine; the vice-cupbearer of Limburg the horse and goblet of the king of Bohemia; and the vice-marshall of Papenbeim the rod and measure of the duke of Saxony. Provided still, that these officers be personally present at the imperial or royal court, and there performing the duties of their offices; otherwise, and if they be all absent, or any of them, then the ordinary officers
The history of Germany.

a officers of the emperor, or king of the Romans, shall serve instead of the absent, each in his office; and as they shall perform the offices, they shall also enjoy the advantages.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the Imperial and Electoral Tables.

I. T H E imperial or royal table must be placed in such a manner as to be six feet higher, than the other tables of the hall, and the days of the solemn assemblies, none shall sit down at it but the emperor or king of the Romans alone.

II. And also the seat and table of the empress or queen shall be erected at the side, and lower by three feet than that of the emperor or king of the Romans, but higher also by three feet than those of the electors. As to the tables and seats of the electors, they shall be erected all of the same height.

III. Seven tables shall be erected for the seven electors, ecclesiastic and secular, at the bottom of the imperial table, namely, three on the right side, and three on the left, and the seventh directly over against the emperor or king of the Romans, in the same order as we have prescribed in the chapter of the seats and rank of the electoral princes, so that no one of what quality and rank soever, shall place himself at their tables, or in the spaces betwixt them.

IV. None of the said electoral princes, after having performed his office, shall be allowed to go and sit down at the table prepared for him, before all the other electors his colleagues, shall have also performed their offices: but when any one of them, or more, shall have performed theirs, they shall retire nigh the table, and there shall keep themselves on foot, till all the rest having also finished the said duties of their offices, they shall all sit down at the same time, each at his own table.

V. Forasmuch as we find by very certain relations and traditions, so antient, that there is no remembrance of the contrary, that it hath been always happily observed, that the election of a king of the Romans, future emperor, ought to be kept in the city of Frankfort, and the coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle; and that the elected emperor ought to hold his first royal court at Nuremberg: therefore we will, for many reasons, that the same be practiced in time coming, provided there be no lawful hindrance.

VI. As oft as any elector, ecclesiastic or secular, who shall have been called to the imperial court, cannot for some lawful reason go there in person, or that he shall send an ambassador or deputy; that ambassador, of what rank or quality soever, although, in virtue of his power, he ought to be admitted in the place of him he represents, shall not sit down at the table appointed for him that shall have sent him.

Lastly, All the ceremonies of this imperial court being ended, all the scaffolding or building of wood, which shall have been made for the seat, and for the tables of the emperor or king of the Romans, and the electoral princes assembled for these solemn ceremonies, or to give the investiture of fiefs, shall belong to the matter of the household.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the Rights of the Officers, when the Princes do Homage for their Fiefs to the Emperor or King of the Romans.

I. WE ordain by this present imperial edict, that whenever the electoral princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular, shall receive their fiefs, or sovereign rights, from the hands of the emperor or king of the Romans, they shall not be obliged to pay or give any thing to any one. For as the money which is paid under this pretext is due to the officers, and as the electoral princes have the superiority over all the officers of the imperial court, having even in these kinds of offices their deputies established and hired for that purpose by the emperors, it were absurd, that deputies officers should demand money or presents from their superiors, unless the said electoral princes shall have a mind to give them any thing out of their own good will and liberality.

II. But the other princes of the empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, when receiving their fiefs, as we have said, of the emperor or king of the Romans, shall give to the officers of the imperial or royal court, each sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver; unless any one of them can prove his exemption, and make appear, that by an imperial or royal privilege he is dispensed with from paying the said sum, and all the other rights usually paid when the investiture is taken; and it shall be the matter of the household of the emperor
The history of Germany.

peror or king of the Romans, who shall divide the said sum of sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver, in the manner following.

First, he shall take ten marks of it himself: he shall give as much of it to the chancellor of the empire or king of the Romans: to the secretaries, notaries, and directors, three marks; and to him who seals, for the wax and parchment, a quarter, without obliging the chancellor or secretaries to give any thing for it, besides a certificate of the sief received, or of the simple letters of investiture. In like manner, the master of the household shall give, of the said sum, ten marks to the cup-bearer of Limburg, ten to the master of the kitchen of Nortemberg, ten to the vice-marshal of Popenheim, and ten to the vice-chamberlain of Falkenstein, provided they be personally present at these investitures, and there perform the duties of their offices; otherwise and in their absence, the officers of the court of the emperor or king of the Romans, who shall perform the duty of the absent, and shall have had the trouble of it, shall also receive the profit and advantages.

III. But when the prince mounted on horse-back, or on any other beast, shall receive the investiture of his sief from the emperor or king of the Romans, whatever that beast may be it shall belong to the grand marshal, that to say, to the duke of Saxony, if he is present, if not to his vice-marshall of Popenheim, and in his absence to the marshal of the emperor's court.

CHA P. XXX.

Of the Instruction of the Electoral Princes in the Languages.

I. FORASMUCH as the majesty of the holy Roman empire ought to prescribe laws, and command people of different nations, manners, customs, and of different languages, it is reasonable, and the wisest judge it to, that the electoral princes, who are the pillars and key-stones of the empire, be instructed, and have the knowledge of several languages, because, being obliged to ease the emperor in his most important affairs, it is necessary they understand many people, and mutually make themselves understood by many.

II. THEREFORE we ordain, that the sons or heirs of the illustrious princes electors, namely, of the king of Bohemia, of the count-palatine of the Rhine, of the duke of Saxony, and of the marquis of Brandenburg, who probably know the German language, because they ought to have learned it from their infancy, being arrived at the age of seven years, be instructed in the Latin, Italian, and Slavonian languages; so that when they arrive at their fourteenth year, they may be skilful therein, according to the talent that God hath given them; which qualification we judge, not only useful but necessary, because the use of these languages is very common in the empire, for the administration of the most important affairs.

III. We leave, nevertheless, to the option of the fathers the manner of this instruction, so that it shall depend upon them to send their sons or relations, whom they shall judge will probably succeed them in the electorate, to places where they may conveniently learn these languages, or to give them preceptors and young companions in their own houses, by whole instruction and conversation they may be instructed in these languages.
HISTORY of the UNITED PROVINCES, or Republic of HOLLAND.

SECT. I.

Containing a short description of Holland; a character of the people; a view of the different departments of the republican government; of the commerce of the provinces; religion, &c. &c.

A Variety of circumstances conpire in rendering the history of the United Provinces entertaining and instructive. The inhabitants of this country have ever been celebrated for their valour, their perseverance, and love of liberty, which remain unaltered amidst the vicissitudes of time, and the most singular reverses of fortune. The extraordinary revolutions, the complex form of the established government, the opulence, commerce, artificial beauty, and other peculiarities of this country, as well as the industry, frugality, temperance, simplicity, and natural disposition of the people, merit the utmost attention of the politician and philosopher. It is not the province of the historian to enter deeply upon such researches, but our plan requires that we should sketch the outlines of the situation, constitution, and whatever regards the present state of the country, previous to an historical detail.

The United Provinces, or Republic of Holland, consists of the northern part of the Netherlands, bordered to the south by Flanders, Brabant, Flaminia Guelphland, and the duchy of Cleves; on the east, the frontiers extend to the territory of Embden, and the bishopric of Münster, while some portion of the northern flirts, and the whole western coast, are washed by the German ocean; we include not the conquests of the Republic, which are precarious and eventual. The whole country is delightfully watered, and divided by large rivers, fine canals, and extensive lakes, that present a scene exquisitely beautiful and astonishing to the eye of a stranger. From this happy disposition of land and water, Holland derives the utmost commercial advantages: domestic industry is promoted by the facility of carriage, and foreign trade absolutely required from the small proportion of fertile soil, to the number of inhabitants. No part of Europe, of the same extent, contains half the number of beautiful cities, towns, and villages, all distinguished by an air of neatness peculiar to Holland. Every street, we may say every farm, is bordered by a canal; ships and houses are almost everywhere blended together, and half the people seem to live upon the waters. Some inconveniences however attend the natural situation of the provinces. To render the soil fertile, it is usual at certain feasons to open the fluctus, and overflow great part of the country; when the waters are drawn off, heaps of mud and slime remain, which impregnate the air with noxious exhalations, productive of various diseases. This defect in the atmosphere is however considerably corrected by frequent sharp and keen easterly winds, that purify the air, but on account of their suddenness and swiftness prove dangerous to the human constitution. Sir William Temple, an accurate observer, relates, that he has seen a moist hot southern wind instantly yield to chilling eastern blasts, without any intermedlae temperature: in his own words, they succeed like the cold and hot fits of an ague. We may likewise reckon among the inconveniences of Holland, the great obstruction to commerce, from the long and rigorous frosts which entirely shut up the canals; and the extreme flatness of the lands, sunk below the level of the waters, and secured from inundations by vast dykes, kept in repair at a prodigious expense.

As to the manners of the people, like those of every other nation, they are influenced by the climate and the nature of the government. Cold, phlegmatic, uninvetive, and brutal, they prostitute every measure with indefatigable perseverance, and accomplish the most arduous attempts, without a spark of genius, of liberality, or the true spirit of enterprise; by the single virtue of patience they have become proficient in science and the arts. Holland has produced poets, painters, and sculptors; wit of the first class have started up, like grapes in Siberia, contrary to the usual course of nature; but these are phenomena which appear like comets, only once in a century, to excite the astonishment of mankind. In general, every passion, every appetite, except that of gain, seems extinguished;

*Le Clerc, Hist. Pref. 2. Temple on the Netherlands, chap. iii.

MOD, HIST. VOL. XI. 5 F. quarris
The history of the United Provinces,

quarrels are seldom seen, unless occasioned by drunkenness; jealousy is never felt, and love is unknown among Dutchmen. The dulness and insensibility of the Batavians became proverbial among the ancients; their descendants are no less distinguished by the moderns for their want of feeling, of refinement, and of passion. The reader will form a sufficient idea of the national character from a single observation of Sir William Temple. "I have known, says that ingenious writer, a man employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting a globe, and another thirty in the inlaying of a table." In a word, invincible patience, and an invariable attachment to self-interest, are the lineaments that distinguish and mark the character of a Hollander. Spain has had proofs of their courage, France has experienced their arrogance, and Great Britain still bears shameful and unrevenged marks of their avarice and cruelty.

The government of the republic has in it something no less peculiar than the temper of the inhabitants; we can indeed easily trace the latter in the former. Caution and philosophical prudence appear in their tedious deliberations, a fopish regard to freedom in every part of the constitution; composed of even sovereign provinces, each enjoying its own independent privileges, the state may be termed a confederacy, united by one common interest, and founded upon the league formed at Utrecht, to oppose the tyranny and oppression of Philip II. Guelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen, and Frisland, are all separate republics, acknowledging no authority, subordinate to no other power that vested in their particular states; even the provinces are divided into smaller republics. Every city possesth certain sovereign privileges; and in the provincial states resolutions are formed, not by a majority, but concurrence of voices. The provincial states cannot seize an offender, pardon a crime, or frame laws, within the jurisdiction of a city. Every thing relative to itself, and unconnected with the rest of the provinces, is transacted by its own magistrates: for instance, the sovereign authority resides in the senate of each city; the office of senator continues for life, and formerly the members of this supreme court were elected by the freemen and burgesses: now the power of filling vacant places is in the standing senate; whence the government of each city is aristocratical. From this it may be supposed, that the people have absolutely surrendered their privileges; but when we consider the check given to this oligarchy by the annual burgomasters, the small emolument of office, the simplicity required in magistrates, their numerous connections with the body of the people, we shall find that liberty is strictly guarded, while the inconveniences of tumultuous assemblies are avoided. It would be decending to a tedious minuteness to enter upon a description of each particular city-office; sufficient it is, that burgomasters are elected by a majority of voices in the senate; that they preside by turns; that they represent the dignity of the government, and support the honour of the city upon all occasions; that they dispose of all inferior offices, issue out money from the common treasury, for the safety, convenience, and all the expenses of the city. Great trust, dignity, and authority, are annexed to this office; yet the salary scarce amounts to 60l. per annum; nor do the burgomasters affume more state than ordinary citizens in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their domestic conduct.

The provincial states are compoed of deputies chosen by the senate. Here is lodged the sovereign power, and in certain cases an appeal from the city-judicatures. The reader will obtain a clearer idea of the whole, by tracing the regulations of a particular province. In Holland the sovereignty of the province is represented by nineteen deputies, chosen out of the nobility, the senars, and magistrates; the nobles have only one voice, the cities eighteen, according to the number called Stemmen. Amsterdam has but a single voice in the states, and the smallest city in the province enjoys the same prerogative. Though the nobility possesth but one vote in the states, yet is their influence very considerable, having in their hands the vast employments civil and military, the direction of the ecclesiastical revenue, the right of sending deputies to the states-general, and the nomination of a councillor in the two supreme courts of judicature. The votes and sentiments of the nobility are delivered by the pensioner of Holland, who afflicts at all the previous deliberations. Notwithstanding the vast credit of the pensioner’s office, he is but the servant of the province, and takes place behind all the deputies; yet from the perpetual duration of his employment, the seat he holds in the several provincial assemblies, his collecting opinions, digesting resolutions, proposing all subjects of deliberation, and, above all, assuming a power to determine whether any important affair, on which the benefit or prejudice of the state highly depends, shall be concluded by a majority of voices, give the pensioner the utmost consequence in the republic. This is the general scheme of government in all the provinces; but with certain peculiarities in each, for which the reader must consult political writers. There is no certain rule for the sitting of the states in all the provinces; in Holland they assemble at the Hague in the months of February, June, September, and November; in the three-
or Republic of Holland.

A. First sessions all vacancies are filled up, forms renewed, and taxes adjusted; in a word, the general good and regulation of the province is debated: the last sitting is expressly set aside for determining the proportion of charges, to be supported by the province, with respect to the whole republic. On extraordinary occasions, the provincial states are convoked by the commissioned counsellors, or Gezamenlijke Raaden, properly a provincial council of state, composed of a deputy from the nobles, one from each of the chief cities, and one from every three of the lesser towns. This council sits constantly at the Hague, prepares business for the provincial states, and executes their resolutions. The general revenues of the provinces are managed by a chamber of accounts, who, besides this trust, have the absolute direction of the ancient demesnes, without being questioned by the states. A number of inferior regulations and circumstances peculiar to each province take place; but it is our design to exhibit only the general plan of the several departments that compose the republic.

We come now to the union of the seven sovereign provinces, which may aptly be compared to the league of several princes, formed for their mutual security, repose, and defence: each preserves his own sovereignty, while he enters upon certain engagements peculiar to the confederacy; they are united into one body by treaty, but they are separated by their particular privileges: no one has the right of imposing laws, or interfering in the government of another; but he is absolute in what does not respect the league, and within his own jurisdiction. Some politicians have supposed the states general possessed of sovereign authority, because they are composed of deputies from the provinces that form the republic, and receive foreign ambassadors; but it must be considered, that the office of deputy continues but for a limited time, that the periods of their deputation are fixed by the provinces, and that they are incapable of coming to any resolution without consulting their constituents, and receiving their authority: out of the deputies are formed several colleges, the states general, the council of state, and the chamber of accounts, which are to the republic in general, or the union of the seven provinces, what the departments of the same names are to each province. To the states general, the provinces send two or more members at pleasure; by this no variation is made in the determinations of the states, as resolutions are formed upon the votes of the provinces, and not the votes of the deputies. Should a province send twenty deputies, still it possesses but one voice. Almost all the provinces differ in the time limited to their deputies; one sends for a year, another for more, and for other life. Holland sends to the states general one of her nobles, who is perpetual, two deputies from the eight principal towns of the province, one from North Holland, two from the provincial council of state, and the pensioner. Every province prefides in turn for a week, and is represented by the person best qualified among her deputies. This president is seated at the middle of a long table, the greffier or secretary at the bottom; and a foreign ambassador admitted to an audience, takes his place opposite to the president. The greffier, by order of the president, reads all papers, proposes the question, calls the votes; then the president concludes; or should he refuse determining by a plurality, his place is filled up by the president of the ensuing week. In this channel do all common affairs flow; but in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining money, or where the privileges of the provinces are concerned, then each distinct province or member of the union must be consulted, his assent procured, and nothing determined by majority. Never but in one instance has this constitution been infringed. In the year 1668, Sir William Temple was dispatched by Charles II. to form the triple alliance; in executing this commission, the utmost secrecy and dispatch were necessary: had the business passed through the usual forms, the scheme of the alliance would have been frustrated by foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose it. Engaging the voice of one city would have effectually baffled all the schemes of the British minister; but he had the ability and address to powerfully enforce the necessity of expedition, that the states general concluded three treaties, formed and signed instruments in the space of five days, without consulting the provinces, agreeable to the essential laws of their constitution. In this, however, the deputies hazard their lives; for had the provinces disapproved their proceedings, their heads would have been the forfeit.

Another department relative to the general union of the provinces, is the council of state, composed of deputies from each province; here the number deputed is fixed and invariable. Holland sends three; Guelderland, Zeeland, and Utrecht two each; Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, a deputy for each province; the whole council amounting to twelve members. Matters are concluded by the personal, not the provincial voices; and every deputy has his turn in presiding. Formerly the power of assembling the states general resided in this council; it also represented the states general during their recess, executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of their meeting. At the earl of Lelièfer's resignation, the provincial states obtained a power of continuing the states general.
by their constant respective deputies, under pretence of the too great authority residing in the council of state, who, to prolong and augment their own power, seldom convoked the states general. At present the business of the council of state may be reduced to five classes: their deliberations regarding the security, defence, and protection of the state; and the operations of the war: the orders for marching the troops, the regulation of military discipline, the superintendence of the fortifications, magazines, &c. and the administration of the finances, and proportions of the several provinces to support the general expense of government. With respect to the operations of war, the council always confineth with the states general, except when profound secrecy and dispatch are required. The power of the council over the fortifications extends only to those places conquered since the union of Utrecht, and the provinces of Overossel and Guelderland, which are deemed the frontiers; in a word, this council superintends the army, the garrisons, the public revenues, and the contributions raised in the enemy's country. At the close of the year it forms a sketch of the supplies for the current year, which it presents by way of petition to the states general; implying by the name, a request rather than a demand upon the provinces, with which they may either comply or not, as they see reasonable. Besides the deputies, the stadtholder has a seat and vote in this council; but he is excluded the presidency: at present the treasurer-general has a seat, but only a deliberative voice. We need not enter into particulars; enough has been said to point out the nature of this department.

To ease the council of state, and support a part of the load of public business, the chamber of accounts was erected by command of the seven united provinces: its first institution was in the year 1607, it was confirmed in 1622, and considerably extended in 1651. It is composed of two deputies from each province, making in all fourteen. It states and examines the accounts of all the receivers, passes the accounts of the admiralty, and registers the orders of the council of state, with respect to the finances.

We shall conclude our description of the government of the United Provinces, with mentioning one more department of considerable importance; we mean the council of admiralty, in which the absolute direction of naval affairs resides. When the states general, by advice of the council of state, has defined a fleet upon any enterprize, and determined its force and number, all the rest devolves upon the admiralty, which is divided into five departments, or different councils, cemented however by certain bonds of union. The province of Holland enjoys the benefit of three of these courts, Zealand has one, and Friesland another: each is composed of seven deputies, four chosen out of the province where the council resides, and three nominated by the other provinces. Here the admiral, or, in his absence, the vice-admiral presides. Besides the care of equipping fleets, and inflating out money for naval services, the admiralty has a judicative power, taking cognizance of all crimes, frauds, and piracies committed on the high seas; or in the payment or collection of the duties upon merchandize. The revenue arising from commerce is wholly appropriated to the purposes of the navy. One circumstance of a very extraordinary nature, that fully displays the precaution of the government against corruption, or bias from connaiquity, or other attachments, is, that no person related in the third degree, influenced by dependence or obligation, can ever be deputed members of the admiralty. This is an indispensable law, and deemed so essential, that all petitions for its abolition have been constantly rejected. When a deputy is appointed, he must swear before the states general, that he was elected by fair suffrage, without the least exertion of undue influence or corruption, bribes or promises; that he will religiously obey the orders issued out by the states general, in concurrence with the provincial states; in a word, that he will promote, with all his ability, the general good of his country, without favour or attachment to any particular province.

The dignity of the stadtholder, though not essential to the government of the republic, is however so important to its security, upon certain occasions, that it ought not to be omitted in a description of the political machine. This sovereign office would seem to owe its birth to the nature of the government, in which all deliberations are so tedious, as frequently to endanger the state. To remedy this defect, a stadtholder was created in Holland, as formerly a dictator at Rome, to answer present exigencies, and expedite measures. In the long war with Philip II. the infant republic flood in want of a head to support tottering liberty, and oppose the powerful efforts of the house of Austria. William I. prince of Orange, appeared of all men the best calculated to answer the purposes of the republic. He was then governor of three provinces, Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; his ability confounded; his detestation of tyranny, and ardent love of freedom, had rendered him the darling of the people. He had espoused himself to the greatest dangers in the public service; he formed the noblest designs, and executed them with a vigour and intrepidity, that justly entitled him to the character of a patriot, hero, and stadtholder. These qualities, and the necessities
of the state, raised William to the dignity of stadholder, with the following rights and privileges annexed. He was captain-general of the forces of the republic, by sea and land; he disposed of all commissaries in the army and navy; he directed the operations of war, and led the troops in battle; he had a seat, but not a voice, in the states general; he was president of the council of state; but to retrace his authority, and let bounds to the extension of the stadholder’s power, a council was given him, composed of deputies, from the states-general, and the council of state, who attended him into the field, and concerted with him all the operations of the campaign. Such was the origin, and such the authority vested in the stadholder. We shall have occasion to mention further particulars in the course of our narrative: what strange revolutions, tumults, and divisions this dignity produced; how it was abolished by a perpetual edict, and afterwards made hereditary in the illustrious house of Orange.

**Whatever surprize the texture of this constitution, the nature of the country, and the disposition of the people, may excite, we shall find still greater cause of astonishment in the prodigious commercial power and wealth of the United Provinces. Politicians remark, that the most fruitful countries are fed on the richest. The necessaries of life shooting up almost spontaneously, render the toil and labour of the inhabitants unnecessary. This damps the spirit of enterprize, checks that ardour excited by necessity, and renders mankind indolent, because they can live without industry or danger. In the poverty of the United Provinces we shall find the causes of the vast strides they made to opulence and grandeur. The country, in a manner, produces nothing but pasture; at least the produce is very inadequate to the number of inhabitants, and the immense concourse of cities, towns and villages. Of the seven, only three are maritime provinces, and fit for the purposes of commerce. Not a single material for ship building is the growth of the Netherlands; the Dutch are forced to penetrate almost to the frigid zone for the fundamental requisites of navigation. Even the harbours of the United Provinces are incommmodious. The disadvantages of the Texel are well known. At Hoorn, nature has formed a large balcony of water, defended from storms by a variety of little encircling islands; but access is rendered difficult and dangerous by large sand-banks and ridges, that cannot be passed without pilots. The harbour of Flushing, though it has some advantages, is greatly exposed to storms and tempefts. From Poland, and other northern countries, the Dutch, for a long time, drew the necessaries of life. Still they are supported in these by dint of traffic. No country in Europe is so loaded with taxes. Every commodity, every necessary, pays a duty, to support the unavoidable expences of the government. War, the cruellest enemy to industry, has proved friendly to Holland. During a bloody contest, that continued forty years, the republic attained to the highest pitch of grandeur. Under such inauspicious circumstances did this common-wealth launch out in the purfuit of commerce and navigation. The civil wars in France, the troubles in Germany, and the religious persecutions in every part, crowded the Provinces with ingenuous mechanics and artists; because here they might practice the dictates of confidence, and enjoy the fruits of industry, in security and repose. New manufactures were every day erected; and trades, too big for the wealth of individuals, were conducted to advantage by joint stock. The destruction of Antwerp was the greatest advantage to Holland; it opened markets, before wholly engrossed by that opulent city. When Philip II. came into possession of Portugal, he prohibited the inhabitants from trading with his rebellious subjects of the United Provinces. This, instead of anwering the king’s design, proved highly beneficial to the republic. It gave spore to her industry, and forced her to attempt a trade directly with the East Indies. The India commerce was put into the hands of a company, and managed with so much prudence, industry, and oeconomy, that, in the space of fix years, a capital of fix hundred thousand pounds was increased to fix millions sterling, after clearing all charges and expences. After this, the company rose with inconceivable rapidity for a number of years; and though the profits have been long diminished, yet, in point of wealth, dominion, and real power, the Dutch East-India company is now infinitely beyond any other commercial establishment, and a potent state of itself, taken independant of the republic of the United Provinces. The governor general of Batavia has the court, the state, splendor, and appointments of a sovereign prince. He makes war and peace at pleasure; can assemble an army, upon the shortest notice, of thirty thousand men; and equip a fleet of fifty men of war, without building a single vessel. The success of the fisheries, of the Levant trade, begun under the auspices of Henry V. of France, and of the East-India company, gave birth to a company for conducting the trade to the West-Indies; which set out with an unexpected tide of fortune, and would have ascended by continued progress, had not the large dividends made, the eager pursuit of conquest, and the neglect of the regular course of traffic, ruined that commerce. The Dutch

---

The history of the United Provinces,

were driven out of the Brest, whence the Portuguese drew such immense treasures. Still, however, the West India company is possessed of several important settlements in Africa, of some valuable islands in the West-Indies, of the profitable establishment at Surinam, and of several late-established factories on the continent of South America. We have elsewhere treated of largely of the Dutch East-India commerce, that to add would be to render it prolix. Upon the whole, next to that of Great-Britain, the trade of the United Provinces is certainly the greatest; and that of the India company alone equal in value to half the commerce of Europe. As to the present low condition of Holland, as a maritime power, her temporizing, shuffling, and supine indolence, we shall advance no conjectures. We take up the pen as historians, not as professed political writers.

To conclude this sketch of the present state of the United Provinces, we shall subjoin a few remarks on religion, the remote cause of the grandeur of the republic. The restraint on conscience, the establishment of the inquisition, and the bloody persecution of heretics, excited the revolt of the Provinces, in the reign of Philip II. The reformists were unanimous only in denying the papal supremacy, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition to that of scripture. In a variety of other circumstances they differed, particularly with respect to discipline. Every leading doctor formed a sect; and religious sectaries became as numerous in Germany, France, and the Netherlands, as scholars of rival schools had ever been in Greece. All were equally obnoxious to the apostolic fee, and the professors of the popish doctrines. They were stigmatized with the name of heretics, persecuted by the sword in this world, and damned to eternal perdition in the next. This indiscriminate persecution of the schismatics and reformists seems to have first suggested the idea of a toleration of conscience in the Seven Provinces. The multitudes of sectaries from Germany and France, that had taken refuge in the Netherlands, before the persecution commenced in this quarter, and the necessity of exerting every means to oppose the tyranny of Philip, after the arrival of the duke of Austria, in quality of governor, rendered an union of all the different sects, for their mutual defence, almost unavoidable. Accordingly, at the union of the Seven Provinces, by the treaty signed at Utrecht, every province was left at liberty to regulate the affairs of religion in the manner most conducive to her interest; but with this express proviso, that no man should be oppressed on account of his particular tenets, and that all should remain free and unrestrained in points of conscience. It is true, the superiority in point of numbers, of the Calvinists and Lutherans, procured an act, in the year 1583, declaring the evangelical religion the public belief, and enjoining that this only should be professed in the Seven Provinces; but policy has induced the government to wink at infractions of this ordinance; to favour no curious inquiries into the faith of any man; to offer no violence to conscience; and to afford the protection of the laws to every industrious subject, whose opinions break not out in expressions and actions prejudicial to society. The Roman catholic religion alone is excepted from this common protection; while Jews, Anabaptists, Arminians, Brownists, and Familists, are allowed the exercise of their several doctrines. At Amsterdam every sect known in Europe, almost in the whole world, hath its public meetings. The Calvinists however compose the body of the people. They are professed by all the authorized churches in the dominions of the republic, and their clergy alone are maintained by the public, by certain salaries paid them by the state, without tyrants, lands, or contributions on the people. Thus, freedom of sentiment has rendered the country populous, and softened all that theological acrimony and rancour that disturbs the tranquility of other nations, poisons society, and produces effects the most opposite to the dictates of true religion. Ambition and faction are here divested from concealing their feticious designs and fiendish views under the cloak of religion. In Holland, the difference of religion makes none in affectation; Jews and Christians live in the strictest ties of amity; they argue without resentment, they differ without enmity, and they agree without confederaency; all from the freedom of the constitution, and the coldness of the passions. All are citizens associated by the bands of society and government, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of arts, industry, and genius; and equal freedom of sentiment, speculation, and inquiry. Whoever requires more, may be justly suspected of secret designs, arising from other motives than religion; or, at the best, he must be deemed unreasonable and narrow-minded. 1

1 BASHAGE, cap. xxxix. TEMPLE, chap. v.

S E C T.
Containing the antient state of the Seven United Provinces. The revolutions which first reduced them under the dominion of the house of Burgundy, and afterwards of the house of Austria, &c. &c.

For many ages the Low Countries have been the theatre of war, and scene of bloody battles. No soil in Europe has been so drenched with human gore, owing partly to the obstinate valour of the inhabitants, but chiefly to the ambition of the neighbouring princes. The natives of the country now composing the republic, ever aspired at liberty and military glory; the one they regarded as essential to the security of the other. Julius Caesar, having experienced the valour of the Batavians, employed them successfully against the Gauls; they everywhere routed and dispersed that ferocious and warlike people. The Batavian cavalry bore the highest reputation, and the infantry fought with the same ardour, discipline, and intrepidity in the marshes and waters, as upon firm land: even the Romans dreaded their resentment. They became the body-guards of the emperors, who repose equal confidence in their fidelity and courage;Gaio dimissed them from this trust, but with marks of favour and esteem. In all important expeditions, in every dangerous enterprise, where obstinate boldness was required, the Batavians were selected, as troops already sufficiently approved. They generally composed the forlorn hope of the Roman army, sustained the first shock of the enemy, and made the first attack with an impetuosity peculiar to themselves. Vitellius was so sensible that the fate of the empire depended on the Batavian cohorts, that, apprehensive of irritating them, he released their general, who had been confined for high crimes and misdemeanours. They were exempt from tributes and imposts, in consequence of bearing the honourable title of allies to the empire. Afterwards they obtained the appellation of the friends and brethren of the Romans; but this was particularly applicable to the inhabitants of Betuwe, an island formed by the Rhine, Vechel, or Waal. The government of this province seems to have been monarchical; and it is conjectured, that Claudius Civilis is descended from their kings; Civilis, that hero whose patriotic eloquence roused the Batavians to throw off the Roman subjection; whose courage obtained many victories over the Roman general Cerialis; and whose valour shone more conspicuous and bright in adversity, after he had been defeated by the German legion. We know little more of the ancient history of the Batavians, than that the fierce and warlike spirit of the people obliged the Romans to maintain strong garrisons on the banks of the Rhine; that they revolted against Constantine; that they performed signal services to Theodosius in Britain; and that, with the rest of the empire, they fell under the power of the Franks; were governed by Charlemagne, and his descendants, until, upon the decline of that house, the great lords and officers of the crown, taking advantage of the weaknesses of the reigning princes, rendered their governments hereditary in their families (A).

After the fall of Charlemagne's empire, the provinces of the Netherlands experienced frequent revolutions. Sometimes they were distinct and independent on each other; at other times they were united in one monarchy under the same prince. Some provinces had their kings, some were under the government of dukes, and others of counts. Frieland might be termed a kingdom; Brabant and Guelderland, dukedoms; and Holland and Flanders, counties, or earldoms. Utrecht was a bishopric, the prelates of which became generals and sovereigns, wielding the sword and sceptre oftener than the crozier. We shall exhibit such an imperfect sketch of the government of the Provinces under the period we are mentioning, as history authorities.

Formerly the frontiers of the province of Holland were more confined than at present. The Frisians encroached upon one quarter, and the bishop of Utrecht on the other. Possibly the provinces of Holland and Groningen were not at that time separated by that immense bay called the Zuider-Zee. All that tract of land, now overflowed by the sea, might formerly have consisted of low, swampy marshes. This is the conjecture of Sir William Temple; and it seems corroborated by observation, and the great number of islands and sand-banks that block up the passage into the bay. However this may be, we have the testimony of John of Leyden, that Holland contained only four cities, Dordrecht, Haar-

(A) For the ancient history of the Batavians, and other inhabitants of the Netherlands, the reader may consult the 14th, 15th, and 16th volumes of our Ancient History. We have pretended to exhibit no more than a few striking features, to render the Modern History more complete and uniform.

* Tacit. Hist. lib. vi. ‡ Sueton. in Galb. ‡ Tacit. lib. viii. ‡ Herodot, ad ann. 1047.
The history of the United Provinces,

A. D. 866.

The history of the United Provinces,

A. D. 1047.

A. D. 1652.

The history of the United Provinces,

A. D. 866.

The history of the United Provinces,

A. D. 1047.

The history of the United Provinces,

A. D. 1652.

The history of the United Provinces,
It is mentioned, in honour of Guelderland, that it was the last province to receive the
Roman yoke, and the first that suffered liberty, upon the decline of the empire. Charlemagne
bestowed extraordinary privileges on Nimwegen, the capital of the province. In the reign of
Charles the Bald, the people elected Otto du Pont their chief, and the government continued
many years in his family. It passed from father to son, and would seem to be hereditary,
but, in fact, it was elective. The people called the governors tutors, implying, that they
elected them for their defence and security. By marriage, the government of Guelderland
devolved on Otto, count Nassau, who was approved and confirmed by the pope. In his ad-
ministration, Guelderland was erected into an earldom, by the emperor Henry III. By his
son Gerhard, the county of Zutphen was annexed to Guelderland; but whether by marriage,
purchase, or conquest, is not precisely determined. Henry Nassau, earl of Guelderland and
Zutphen, extended his dominions, and performed signal services in Italy, to the emperor
Frederick. This prince died in 1162, and was so well esteemed, that the people immediately
elected his son Gerhard II. The whole of Gerhard's life was employed in waging war with
the bishop of Utrecht. He entailed the county on his brother Otto, who succeeded him;
but the crusade, at that time preached up in the Low Countries, healed up the breach, and
reconciled the count and bishop. Gerhard III, who succeeded his father Otto, is distin-
guished only for encouraging monks, and building monasteries. His son Otto the Crooked,
after fulfilling the strangest reverses of fortune, and living for some time in captivity, raised
Guelderland to a powerful, opulent, and respectable province. Arnhem, Gojach, Bunnin, Hert-
den, and other towns that lay open and exposed, he surrounded with walls, and strength-
ened by fortifications, conferring upon them a variety of privileges. After mortgaging
the city of Nimwegen for twenty thousand marks of silver to William king of the Romans, he
attacked and reduced it, annexing this capital of the ancient Batavians to Guelderland.
Towards the close of his life, he was chosen guardian to Florence V. earl of Holland. The
guardianship was disputed with him, but he defeated his enemies in a bloody sea-fight, be-
fore Dyestad, carried his point, and soon after expired.

His son Renaud was in hopes of enlarging his dominions, by the addition of Lim-
burg. With this view, he married a daughter of the duke of Limburg; but the duchy
was not annexed to Guelderland till the death of her brother Henry. It was disputed
with the duke of Brabant, a bloody battle ensued, Renaud gained his ends, but he was
soon after imprisoned by his ambitious son, and retained a captive for the last six years
of his life. While his father lived, Renaud furnished the Red, assumed no other title than
that of son to the earl of Guelderland. His marriage into the house of Mecelin produced a
war with the duke of Brabant, who claimed some part of what Renaud deemed his wife's
fortune. The duke was defeated, and to the glory of a victory, Renaud had the additional
honour of erecting Guelderland into a duchy, by an edict of the emperor Louis of Bavaria.
This mark of the emperor's esteem had almost proved fatal to Renaud. During his
attendance at Frankfurt, his dominions were invaded by the combined forces of Liège and
Brabant. He flew to the relief of his subjects, met, defeated, and dispersed the enemy. In
a word, this prince, so highly celebrated for his valour, clemency, and justice, raised Guel-
derland to the utmost power the province ever attained only to be sunk the lower by the
contention among his children.

The younger aspired at succeeding his father, the elder maintained his birthright, and
both made preparations for deciding the dispute by the sword. Renaud the Great, the eld-
er, fortified himself in Tiel, while Edward, the younger, assembled an army at Nimwegen.
The nobility and people took different sides; Edward was victorious; he took his brother
prisoner, kept him two years confined, defeated the duke of Brabant, and was afterwards
slain in a mutiny of his own officers. His death fet Renaud at liberty, and restored
him to his right, which he lived but few months to enjoy.

Both the brothers dying without issue, the confusion of the province was augmented.
Their two sires disputed the succession; the people were divided. The lords of Eckesen
supported the pretensions of Margaret, the elder sister; and the Bouchorp faction, always
zealous for the younger branch, supported William, duke of Juliers, and son of Mary, the
younger sister. This civil war was brought to an issue only by the death of Margaret, by
which the claim of the young duke remained undisputed. William distinguished his valour
in several wars with the duke of Brabant, in all which he proved victorious. His domi-
nions fell to his brother Renaud, who made war on the earl of Holland, fought the bloody
battle of Gorcum, and died without issue.

By Renaud's death, the duchy of Guelderland passed out of the house of Juliers into that
of Egmond. A daughter of William, duke of Juliers, and grand daughter of Mary, her
mother, was married to the lord of Egmond. Her portion cosfilled the duchy of Gue-

The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 692.

A.D. 699.

Ancient history of Zealand.

Ancient history of the province of Utrecht.

With respect to the ancient history of Zealand, writers differ widely; some affecting that Lecois le Debonaire presented the islands that compose this province to the earls of Holland, provided he would protect them against the Germans; others, on the contrary, affirming, that the emperor Henry invested Baldwin, earl of Flanders, in the title of Walcheren, and all its dependencies, One writer in particular agrees to both affirmations, and adds, that the earls of Holland and Flanders were long engaged in the war for the property of Zealand. Certain it is, that the earls of Holland had the sovereignty of this province at a very early period; that the two provinces were always united under the same governors, and that they had the same stadtholder, when the defection of the Netherlands produced the union of Utrecht. As we have already exhibited a sketch of the ancient history of Holland, it would be unnecessary to dwell upon that of a province connected with it in interest, laws, government, and sovereignty.

The province of Utrecht has experienced four different forms of government: first it was dependent on the kings and dukes of Friesland; next the government became ecclesiastical; or, in other words, the sovereigns were bishops, who extended their dominion over several of the adjacent countries. Charles V. effected the third revolution, by diverting the bishops of their temporal sovereignty, and rendering himself absolute master of the liberties and privileges of the province. The laft change of government happened at the general union of the seven provinces, to oppose Philip II. While Utrecht was independent on Friesland, it necessarily felt the revolutions which were ever changing the situation of that warlike province. Pepin Herijfal first afforded the liberty of Utrecht, and recovered its independency; as he proposed fixing the sovereignty in his family, he omitted nothing that could engage the clergy in his interest. With this view, he not only assembled a kind of ecclesiastical council, but determined to reform the old custom of governing the province by statutes, in which the bishops and clergy should have voices: the happy influence of this institution shewed how wisely it had been projected; it continued under Charles Magne and his successors; and to the provincial statute of Utrecht is the world obliged for that excellent collection of the ancient laws of the Franks. Pepin Herijfal was not satisfied with diffusing happiness through every part of his own dominions; his soul aspired after a more universal benevolence; he dispatched missionaries to convert the idolatrous inhabitants of Friesland to Christianity. Willibrord was sent to preach the gospel among these barbarians; Utrecht was erected into an episcopal see by pope Sergius, in favour of Willibrord, and he became the first bishop. Charles Martel conferred many additional privileges on the infant bishopric; he endowed it with lands, and trely gave away what cost him little more than the trouble of framing the necessary charter. These were indeed happy times for the church; when the whole of piety confin'd to liberality to the clergy, and the most profane could purchase future felicity by founding a convent, or adding a few acres to the ecclesiastical domain.

The first bishops of Utrecht laboured assiduously in the vineyard of salvation; their industry and zeal were whetted by the ambition of extending their jurisdiction. As Christianity spread itself over the neighbouring country, so did the authority of the bishops, who made subjection the test of the sincerity of their converts: in a word, the superstitious generality of the people, so encreased the power of the bishop of Utrecht, that in a short time he became a powerful temporal prince, able to make head against the ears of Holland, the most formidable of the surrounding powers, and even the emperor himself. About the close of the tenth century, a descent of the Normans, the pelts of Europe, almost wholly destroyed the city and province of Utrecht; nothing sacred or profane escaped their fury; churches, housetops, and cornfields were set on fire; the city was burnt to ashes, and the cathedral reduced to a heap of ruins; but Baldric, who had great interest with the emperor Otto, soon rebuilt the episcopal city, and procured such immunities as rendered it the capital of Holland, if we may credit some old verses inscribed on the wall of the church of St. Martin at Utrecht. Baldric was the first bishop who coined money by authority. * A.D. 995.  

ADELBOLD, counsellor of state to the emperor Henry II. being elected bishop of Utrecht, carried his pretensions farther than any of his predecessors. Some historians allege, that he was the first bishop who made use of the sword to extend his power; but this is certainly a mistake, as we find the bishops engaged in bloody wars at a much earlier period. He maintained a long dispute with the earl of Holland, which they decided by the sword; and was afterwards engaged in a war with the earl of Guelderland. Adelbold's example was copied by his successors, who made equal use of spiritual and temporal weapons to extend their authority. Jealous of their ecclesiastical rights, they became warriors, and compelled where they could not inspire respect: sometimes they were supported by the emperor, but often opposed, their pride giving offence to the imperial authority: it frequently happened that the rigid exertion of their spiritual power, excited revolts among their own subjects; and the election of bishops was seldom unattended with bloodshed. The neighbouring states interfered; the competitors were supported by the ears of Holland and dukes of Guelderland; so that the sword rather than the votes of the canons generally confirmed the bishops.  

As it is not our intention to give a regular succeffion of the bishops of Utrecht, we shall think it sufficient to mention the peculiarities that distinguished this dignity. What right those prelates had to temporal authority, will appear from the following observations. Utrecht was originally detached from Frieland, to be erected into an episcopal see: the bishops, by extending their authority over the surrounding towns and cities, came to be obeyed as sovereigns; they were elected by the city and chapter, and, after taking possession of the episcopal throne, acknowledged and obeyed as temporal sovereigns. All seditions, tumults, and revolts among the people, were punished as rebellions against the lawful authority. The bishop's jurisdiction extended beyond his own province. Woerdern, a city properly belonging to Holland, had long been the subject of contention between the bishops and earls. Bodegraven had likewise occasioned wars between the bishops of Utrecht and earls of Holland; and although the latter possessed certain castles at Dordrecht, where they often resided, yet the bishops claimed a temporal authority over half the island. To the time of Henry of Bavaria, the episcopal jurisdiction extended over Overijssel, and the greater part of Frieland. Henry sold the sovereignty to Charles V. and in the instrument of sale are reckoned the towns of Zell, Dipsheim, Coeverde, Oldemuzel, and the territory of Drenthe.  

Several changes in the magistracy of Utrecht happened under William de Neffas: that prelate became the most illustrious of his age, though his parentage was unknown, and his ignorance so extraordinary, that the pope refused him a bull, at a period when no great portion of learning was required to qualify for a bishopric. William was engaged in continual disputes with his neighbours, and with his own subjects; at last, their rebellion became so general, that they banished the nobility, who had sided with the bishop, changed the form of government, and lodged the legislative power in the people; artificers and mechanics were divided into companies, each of which had a vote in the election of magistrates. The new magistrates regulated the affairs of the city, changed the seal and the arms in defiance of the bishop, who was at last compelled to renounce his dignity.  

William of Mecluin was the first of the succeeding prelates who attempted to restore the episcopal authority; his efforts were bold, but unsuccessful: the magistrates of Utrecht, seconded by the Hollanders, made him prisoner. He broke out of confinement, fled to Rome, levied an army, and waged war against his subjects: often vigorous, sometimes vanquished, he fell at last in battle; leaving the magistrates and people in the full possession of their liberties, and the supreme authority. His successor, less enterprising and ambitious, 

* Debruin Guiscardini, p. 199.
tious, prudently confirmed the privileges of the magistrates, granting them charters to that effect, which he had scarce signed, when he suddenly expired. The succeeding bishops made a handle of this extraordinary event, as if it had been a judgment from heaven to avenge the impious of surrendering the rights of the church. They endeavoured to recover the authority of which they were unjustly divested; long struggles ensued, and the people, whenever they found themselves unable to resist, called in the assistance of some neighbouring power. David, the natural son of Philip duke of Burgundy, was so violently opposed by the magistrates, that he abdicated the episcopal throne. Frederic prince of Baden being elected bishop, he retired to Ments, unable to support the fidelious humour of his subjects; Maximilian, to whom he was allied, opposed his legitimacy, and prevailed on him to return to Utrecht: he might have lived in peace, had not his ambition and avarice again obliged the people to revolt. Philip, the half-bred son of Philip of Burgundy, was next elected: as this prince had always been bred at court, where he had learned only the arts of war and politics, he found himself greatly embarrassed with the ecclesiastical dignity. In his spiritual capacity Philip acquired no great reputation; he therefore pursued the maxims of a temporal prince, rendered himself respectable by his prudence, and formidable by his valor: the troops of France and Guelderland experienced his ability in the field. Erasmus highly extols this prelate; but his amours drew upon him the cenfures of the church.

Hitherto the bishops of Utrecht were the friends and allies of the imperial crown; Charles V. wanted an opportunity of appropriating the sovereignty to himself; and succeeded in the following manner: Henry, son of the count palatine of Bavaria, was preferred to a great number of other competitors, and elected bishop of Utrecht by a great majority; he was hardly established in his new dignity, when he cited the senate and magistrates of Amsterdam before his tribunal, for permitting clandestine marriages. Instead of obeying the prelate’s summons, the Hollanders preferred their complaints to Charles V. as earl of Holland. That prince annulled the bishop’s sentence, and removed the excommunication denounced against the senate; declaring both were unjust, arbitrary, and contrary to the privileges of the city. His ambition did not stop here; he encroached on the liberties of Utrecht, and so excited the resentment of the people, that one day they flung the gates and denied him entrance. The prelates raised an army, the magistrates called in the forces of Guelderland, a bloody war commenced, and the country was depopulated by the episcopal forces, who destroyed all before them with fire and sword: he soon, however, was unable to support his army; the troops mutinied for want of pay, and the bishop applied to the emperor for money. Charles, like a true politician, seized this opportunity of accomplishing his design: he furnished the sum required, on condition that the bishop ceded to him the sovereignty of Utrecht and its dependencies. The first treaty was signed at Schoonbooven; but the magistrates and people, incensed at the bishop’s dishonourable proceedings, contrary to their liberties, deposed him, elected another, and resolved to defend their privileges against all the power of the empire. In the short war that ensued, the province was cruelly harassed, but the spirit of the people was invincible: at length, some persons attached to the emperor and the deposed prelate, privately introduced a body of imperial forces into the city, the bishop returned, and made his public entrance, and three days after proposed to the clergy and council the necessity of yielding to the emperor, and making entire cession of the sovereignty to a prince able to protect them, and who would undoubtedly obtain by force what they now had an opportunity of granting as a favour. Warm debates arose in the assembly, but to little purpose, as the town was already in the possession of the Imperialists. At length, all agreed in signing an instrument, whereby the sovereignty was perpetually vested in the house of Austria.  

Some years after Charles V. united the province to Holstein and Zealand. An instrument was drawn up, whereby the provinces were to be governed by the stadholder, cemented so stringently as never to be separated by marriage, sale, bargain or engagement, and united so intricately, that the same laws should take place in all; criminals banished from one province should not be screened in another; in a word, it was proposed, that the government, money, customs, and laws, should be the same in Holland, Utrecht, and Zealand; each however, referring its own peculiar rights, exclusive of the general union. This plan of union could not, however, for a long time be rendered complete, or fully executed; it was nevertheless renewed in 1584. The other provinces were alarmed at the contingency; but such arguments were urged as quieted their apprehensions; and the union at last became general among the seven provinces.

No people on earth were more passionately enamoured of liberty, or more obstinate in the defence of freedom, than the inhabitants of Frieland. The fortune, the military skill,
or Republic of Holland.

a the power of the Romans however prevailed. Drusus attacked them in every quarter with such irresistible impetuosity, that they were forced to submit to the Roman empire. At the death of this general they revolted, massacred all the Romans in the province, defeated the army sent against them under Apronius, and again gloriously recovered their liberty, after having lived forty years in subjection. Complaints were carried to the emperor Nero, that the Frisians had not only abjured his sovereignty, but seized upon certain land belonging to the empire, and allotted for the maintenance of the Roman troops. The ambassadors of the province boldly appeared at court, averted to the emperor's face, that no nation exceeded the Frisians in equity and valour; protested their desire of living in amity with the Romans; but not in subjection; and concluded with demanding a place in Pompey's theatre, to which they understood they had a right as ambassadors.

b For a long series of years the Frislanders enjoyed their liberty; but most historians relate, that on the decline of the Roman empire, they fell under the dominion of the Franks. Adalgis, who is considered as the first Christian king of Frisland, refused to pay the Frankish homage; a war ensued, and Pepin was forced to give battle to Radbod, the succeeding monarch, who pursued the independent system of his father. Radbod was defeated, but his valour procured him Pepin's esteem, whose daughter he married. This harmony was of short duration; Charles Martel returned with a numerous army, gave battle to Radbod, and was completely overthrown, with prodigious slaughter; Charles left the Frislanders unmolested, while he had other busines in hand; but as soon as he was at liberty, he determined to wipe off the late dishonour. He invaded the province with a formidable squadron and numerous army, fought divers bloody battles, and at last so far subdued the spirit of the inhabitants, that they consented to acknowledge his superiority, but not his sovereignty: the former expression was equivocal; the latter would be a plain confession that they were subdued. Under Charlemagne the province was absolutely conquered, the Frislanders agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty pounds of silver annually. It was the policy of Charlemagne to govern the province by counts or lieutenants: Frisland was assigned to the direction of a governor, with the title of Patratus or Podefald. Forteman the Great was the first person invested with this title and employment; he presided at courts of justice, representing the emperor's person, and executed all the orders of the imperial court. The great services performed by Forteman and the Frislanders, against the Saxons, so won upon Charlemagne that he exempted the province from every mark of servitude, declared it free, and left the inhabitants to fix upon what plan of government they thought proper. They made no alteration, but continued Forteman for his life in the government.

c The administration of Ludigman, the second podestaif, was less fortunate. In his time the province was invaded by the Normans, and after the defeat of the Frislanders wholly destroyed; those barbarians sparing no sex, age, or condition. Haarman, the fourth podestaif, was in the same manner infested by the Danes, enemies no less cruel than the Normans. Sigfrid, their king, exalted the most depotic tyranny; but the valour of Haarman rescued the Frislanders, expelled the Danes, and flew their king. Galem, the next podestaif, took every precaution to secure his coasts against those swarms of barbarians infesting annually out of the northern kingdoms. All his endeavours could not, however, prevent great numbers from settling in the country, where their descendants continued for a term of years.

William, earl of Holland, and king of the Romans, bestowed many valuable privileges on the Frislanders. He hoped, by gaining their affections, he should obtain the sovereignty of the province; but the podestaif Sierdama, supported by a numerous body of the people, declared, they would never betray their country to oblige an emperor; and to convince William of their resolution, they struck a medal, on the reverse of which was this motto in Latin, "Liberty prevails over gold!" This was construed as an affront by William.

d He led his army twice into the province, and was slain in the second expedition.

Marten was one of the most warlike of the podestaifs. He drove away the foreigners, who came in hosts to invade the province, defeated the Hollanders, burned the town of Eckhuys, the inhabitants of which made a descent on Frisland, and laid all the surrounding territory desolate. Many of the noble families, now flourishing in the provinces, are directly descended from this hero. After his death, the election of a successor produced two violent factions, called Skirrakings and Wadbeers, which for a number of years filled the country with confusion and discord. Invingen, his successor, maintained his post with the utmost difficulty. Besides the domestic troubles, he had to sustain a foreign war against Albert of Bavaria, who entered the province at the head of a numerous army, upon some provocation. Invingen endeavoured, on account of the superiority of the enemy, to keep the Frislanders within their camp; but their impetuosity would submit to no restraint. They marched into the open field, fought with the utmost obstinacy, nor yielded victory.
The history of the United Provinces,

before almost their whole army was cut in pieces. Albert, leaving garrisons in the other towns, retired; and to low were the Fryslanders reduced, that several persons refused to accept the dignity of podestat. It is probable, that the violence of the two factions rendered the office equally fatiguing, unprofitable, and dangerous. To please both parties, and in some measure clothe these wounds that brought the state to the last gap, two podestats were elected, one out of each faction. This expedient did not answer expectation; the people ranged themselves under the banners of the different podestats, and fought with all the acrimony of invertebrate enemies. Ambition had begun the quarrel, and now habitual animosity continued it; for all real cause of diffusion was removed by the division and partition of the supreme power. The parties were gratified with all they could require; but they could not be satisfied with blood until they had extirpated each other, and ruined their country. In what manner this province became subject to the empire we know not, but a declaration of Sigismund's, declaring it unalienable, and imposing a tribute, renders the fact undoubtedly. Probable it is, that the weaker faction betrayed the emperor's protection, and, as an equivalent, surrendered their privileges.

A long war between Joan of Bascaria, and Philip the Good, of Burgundy, ended in the reduction of Friesland, which passed into the house of Bourbon. Afterwards the province became subject to the house of Austria, but never recovered its liberty until the revolt in the Netherlands gave birth to the republic of the United Provinces.

With respect to the ancient inhabitants of Overijssel, there are various opinions among the learned. To avoid critical disquisitions, we shall exhibit what which to us seems founded upon the best authority. All agree that the province was first peopled by a nation called Saliants; but as several different nations bore this name, the difficulty is, to ascertain which of them first migrated into Overijssel. Writers distinuguish the river Ijssel into old and new; the former was called Sala, and the latter was the Fossa Drusiana, or communication opened by Drusus between the Rbine and the Ijssel, lower down than their first confluence. On the banks of the Old Ijssel, or Sala, lived a people called, from the name of the river, Salaamans. In their neighbourhood were the Sicambri, and both were separated from the Romans by the river. Annianus Marcellinus mentions their frequent irritations, their warlike humour, the battles they fought with Julian, the services they afterwards afforded him, and the regard he expressed for this nation. Tacitus describes their situation and manners to us with a great deal of expressiveness, that we can entertain no doubt of their having been the inhabitants of that country we now call Overijssel, which extends along the banks of the Ijssel. To strengthen our conjecture, that part of the province bordering upon the river is still called Salands, or the land of the Saliants (B). And the river itself, which waters the province, was for many ages called the Sala.

The manners and government of the ancient inhabitants of Overijssel are admirably painted by Tacitus. They had a general, to whom they committed the conduct of the army. He held the title of king, but he was chosen by the people, and his authority was limited to narrow limits. The whole legislative power was in the people, and a part of the executive, particularly what regarded punishments. All public affairs were canvassed in general assemblies of the cities, or rather of the clans. Here a priest affixed, whose province it was to preside over solemn order and decorum. Each of the chiefs delivered his sentiments, and was favourably heard, in proportion to his reputation for eloquence, military value, or patriot virtue. Shouts, cries, and the rattling of arms, notified the approbation of the assembly. Among the Saliants were three kinds of punishments. Petty criminals were mulcted a horse, cow, or some other animal, which makes their code widely different from the Salique law, where fines were always paid in specie. Traitors were hanged on the nearest tree, and infamous persons thrown into the sea, or flitted in mud; and as to quarrels and differences, they were usually decided by single combat. It is absurd to derive the Salique law, so celebrated in France, from the customs of the inhabitants of Overijssel. Probability is strongly against this etymology, which cannot indeed be supported by a single argument besides the affinity of names. Several excellent writers have made it appear, that the Salique law is nothing more than an abridgment of the code of law in use among the Franks.

CHARLEMAGNE introduced great changes into the government of Overijssel, which he conquered, while the king and army were engaged in France. Counts were created governors, to administer justice in the king's name. They were to be affixed by an officer,

---

(a) Writers mention a people called Saliants, towards Lorraine, between the Rhine and Moselle. Livy speaks of a nation of this name in Province Modern authors allude, that some officers of the imperial court had the name of Saliants. "Majores armus aut Salia." From one or other of these, they pretend to deduce the origin of the Salique law, or that regulation by which the female line is excluded from succeeding to the crown in France. It would be entering upon dry and tedious criticism, to follow authors that this subject; what we have said is all that can be afforded with probability.
or Republic of Holland.

a termd Sicilians, without whom no act of the governor's was valid or legal. In the division of the empire, between Charles the Bald, and Louis of Bavaria, Overeyssel and the other provinces were adjudged to Louis; but he was forced to support his right by continual wars with the emperor Lutharius, which defoliated the country. Next Overeyssel became subject to the bishops of Ulrech, more oppressive and a-bitary sovereigns than either the emperor, or house of Bavaria. This indeed was a power they assumed, but what the people never acknowledged, and which they only exercised when their fortune in war happened to prevail. Barmalp was the first bishop who rendered his dominion universal over that province; and he indeed governed it with all the rigour of an ecclesiastical, ambitious of power, and inoffensive in the possession. He, however, admitted the imperial sovereignty, as appears by his making application to Henry III. to confirm him in his jurisdiction. In a word, the intrigue, the capacity, and policy of this prelate, raised him to the sovereignty of Overeyssel; for as to the emperor's confirmation, it was a mere empty compliment, made with intention to quiet alarms, and lull the jealousy Henry might entertain of the growing power of the see of Ulrech. At length, however, the inhabitants perceiving the aspiring views of the bishops, determined to fet bounds to their authority. The most natural barrier of liberty that occurred, was, restoring the power of the states, an ancient form of government in all the provinces, and long neglected in Overeyssel, under the kings, counts, and bishops. Whether this resolution met with opposition we know not. Probably the bishops dreaded disapproving their real design, by obstructing a measure so wholesome, so equitable and constitutional. The executive power still remained with them, but the legislative was lodged in the states, and the sovereigns, united in council. The bishops abused even this remnant of their authority. By the permission given them of wielding the sword, they engaged the province in perpetual wars; and though they were generally victorious, yet their conquests served only to depopulate and impoverish the country. Holland, Guelderland, and Friesland, experienced the weight of their arms, but the province almost sunk under the burthen of taxes, and the ravages consequent on a perpetual course of war. Frequently the people, who deduced no benefit from the most brilliant victories, opposed the march of the army, and when they found the bishops engaged in bloody wars, flood spectacles of the event, and regulated their conduct accordingly. This cautious conduct of the states proves their inclination to throw off their subjection to the bishops, and likewise their inability, until those prelates were weakened by the violence of their conflicts, the number of their battles, and the extent of their conquests, which it required a constant standing force to maintain.

But, besides the states, there was another check on the ambition ofthose warlike ecclesiastics. The lords or barons of the province, many of whom were powerful, and all absolute within their jurisdiction, frequently armed their vassals, entered into a confederacy, and violently opposed the bishops. Bloody battles were fought, but the fortune of the barons prevailing, animosity and the desire of revenge stimulated them to solicit the protection of the empire, to admit the imperial troops into their strong towns, and to reduce the power of the bishops, by acknowledging a sovereignty more absolute and despotic, because it was more potent and able to enforce subjection. Even the first effects of this resolution proved fatal. The imperial troops, at first introduced, not being sufficient wholly to expel the ecclesiastical army, plundered and destroyed the country, under pretence of defending the privileges of the people. The neighbouring states took advantage of the ruinous condition of Overeyssel. They made terrible irritations, and fully revenged the defeats and disgraces sustained from the spirited conduct of the bishops. At last the province experienced a sudden and extraordinary revolution, owing to the prodigality of John III. bishop of Ulrech, raised to the episcopal throne by one of those bold strokes which the popes sometimes hazard to display their power, and procure a confession of their sovereignty. The situation of the empire had obliged the emperor to neglect the affairs of Overeyssel, the episcopal see was vacant, and the chapter, in which always resided the right of election, raised the lord of Bronkhorst to this dignity. However, the pope thought proper to declare this election void, appointing a creature of his own, the secretary of the French king, afterwards known by the name of John III. The profusion and dissipation of the new prelate soon encumbered him with such an enormous load of debts, as rendered it necessary to mortgage a great part of his territories. He found means to involve the province in his d thefts; and, to extricate themselves, the states were forced to dispose of several sefts, which greatly retracted their extent of dominion. Zeeland, Twente, and Vollenhove, were sold to the duke of Guelderland, and earl of Holland. John, however, paying the last tribute to nature, Frederic Blakenbeymen was elevated to the episcopal throne, and soon redeemed by his penury and avarice what John had sold to answer the purposes of profligacy. In particular, he recovered the castle and appenage of Vollenhove, in which he spent the last days of

---

guicci. defl. p. 158. rev., hilt. lib. g. *rev., hilt. lib. v. sylvan. p. 28. guicciard, de

rit. p. 151.
The history of the United Provinces.

A.D. 1412. his life. The parsimony of Blankenheynen would seem to have restored in some measure the power of the bishops. The wealth of the episcopal fee gave it influence, enabled the prelates to extend their views, and to build and garrison forts and castles, to restrain the in- 

fuits of neighbouring states, and to over-awe the attempts of the people to recover their liberty. In this manner Florence fortified Hardenberg, which he made the place of his resi- 

dence in Overijssel. But all these precautions could not hinder the people from revolting against David of Burgundy, natural son of Philip the Good, who was elected bishop of Utrecht. The inhabitants of Overijssel threw off the yoke, refused to acknowledge him, dis- 

regarded all his spiritual denunciations, and prepared to refit his temporal power. They even had the boldness to accuse the pope of corruption, and affirm that he had been in- 

fluenced by the duke of Burgundy's money to confirm the election. Philip, incensed at the 

affront offered to his son, poured his troops into Overijssel, over-run the country with three great armies, and laid siege to Deventer. After a siege of nine weeks, the duke of Cleves offered his mediation, obliged Philip to relinquish the siege, and the province to acknow- 

ledge the bishop. David held the dignity for forty years, and died in the year 1497. Nothing extraordinary happened from this time, until the province passed into the house of 

Autria, Charles V. taking possession, in consequence of the cession made to him of the diocese of Utrecht. His son Philip II. was acknowledged in 1534; the inhabitants swore fidelity to him, but he did not long keep possession. The rebellion broke out in the Netherlands, the tide of faction became strong, and Overijssel followed the current of popular humour, entered into the desigus of Utrecht, and formed a part of the republic of the United Provinces.

Some writers ascribe great antiquity to the province of Groningen, deducing the name from some of the most renowned Trojan warriors. Such assertions are founded in imagina- 

tion, and merit no consideration. But a learned antiquarian of that country proves irre- 

fragably, that Groningen is the citadel built by the Roman general Corbulio, to secure the obe- 

dience of the Frislanders, or at least restrain their irregularities into the Roman territori- 

es. This allegation is confirmed by a great number of ingenious remarks on the route of 

Germanicus, when he marched against the Cherusci, and particularly by the conformity between the governments of Groningen and of ancient Rome. In the former we find a fea-

nate, invested with sovereign authority, consuls, praetors, censores, and ædiles, and, oc- 

casionally, a dictator. Several of the laws appear to be founded directly on the Twelve Tables; and yet, after all, there are scarce any monuments of the Roman power remaining. From these circumstances we must infer, that Groningen was originally a Roman colony, which, towards the decline of the empire, raised itself to independency. It became afterwards subject to the bishops of Utrecht, though we are not particularly informed of the steps by which these prelates acquired the sovereignty. In the eleventh century, Gronin-


gen was a flourishing city, had a very extensive territory, but was nevertheless dependent on the see of Utrecht. The inhabitants revolted against Godfrey the bishop; he laid siege to the city; it was valiantly defended against Godfrey and the earl of Holland, and at length relieved by the emperor's interposition, who reconciled the bishop and the citizens. In this war Groningen lost a great part of its territory. The city afterwards became the sub-

ject of contention between the see of Utrecht and the earls of Holland. Each pretended a right, and the emperor claimed to himself the power of acting in quality of umpire, as feu-

dal lord. Some time after Groningen flourished exceedingly, grew so wealthy and power-

ful, that, like Rome, the city aspired at the conquest of the neighbouring provinces, espe-

cially of Frisia. Albert of Saxony was sent by the emperor Maximilian to check the de-

signs formed by the Grans, for so the inhabitants of Groningen were called. The emperor propounded reducing Frisia under his own obedience, and thought it could not be more commodiously effected than by protecting the provinces against the ambitious views of the Grans. A war ensued; Albert laid siege to Groningen, and the citizens repelled all his at-

tacks with the utmost valour and magnanimity. After suffering extreme hardships, they en-

tered into a treaty with the bishop of Utrecht, whereby they contented that a judge should be nominated by the prelate, to preside in the city, but under the direction of the magistrates, and with this proviso, that the city should be left in the full possession of liberty. Under the protection of the bishop they hoped to escape the Imperial yoke; however, when it was pro- 

posed that they should restore to the emperor their conquests in Frisia, the Grans boldly declared, they would rather hazard all than evacuate what had been purchased with their blood. The congress broke up, and the war was renewed with Albert of Saxony, whom they defeated. Albert died of chagrin, and left his disgrace to be renewed by his sons, Henry and George, who attacked the Grans with great violence and impetuosity. Gro-

ningen applied for aid to the duke of Gueldersland; but the consequence was, that, after a tedious and ruinous war, the city was surrendered to the emperor Charles V.
As to the Ommelands, or country surrounding Groningen, it formerly composed a sovereignty independent of the city. That quarter called the Fivelingo was governed by consuls, generally chosen out of the principal inhabitants. On the decline of the state, the confinal dignity dwindled into the office of Eelbevin, or magistrate of justice. Several civil wars were lighted up by the ambition of certain families to obtain the confuulthip; and this might possibly be the reason why the dignity declined. The people found it necessary to revindicate the authority of that supreme magistrate, in order to restrain the ambition of competitors, induced by the elevation in which it placed them, to aspire at the office. In the year 1280, a war broke out among the candidates for the confuulthip, that almost terminated in the destruction of the country. Houses were burned, fields destroyed, old men, women, and children massacred with the most savage barbarity, and unrelenting animosity.

One circumstance shews, that part of the Ommelands was subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Utrecht. Ludolphus, one of the bishops, laid the whole territory of Fivelingo under a severe interdict, for having expelled certain persons proscribed for the violent death of a clergyman. But the Ommelanders long refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the bishops of Utrecht, after they were possest of the supreme authority of Groningen. Nothing shews more clearly that they were an independent, free people of a late period. This farther appears from the frequent wars carried on between them and the city. In the year 1232, the cantons, if we may so express it, of Fivelingo and Drenthe, united against the city of Groningen, and formed an alliance offensive and defensive. They were indeed defeated in every engagement, owing to a new kind of arms used by the Gruns, but still they maintained the war with great obstinacy. It ended, however, greatly to the disadvantage of the Ommelanders, most of their chiefs being carried prisoners to Groningen, or slain in the field of battle. Another war broke out in 1252, in which they fully revenged the disgrace of the preceding rupture. A mortality appeared among the cattle of Frijeland, which made the Gruns raise the duties upon all merchandise, and particularly cattle, sent to their markets by the Ommelanders. The inhabitants of Fivelingo, shocked at their oppression, and the barbarous disposition of profiting by the misfortunes of their neighbours, formed an alliance with the other cantons, raised an army, and laid siege to Groningen. So spirited were the endeavours of the allies, that Groningen was forced to capitulate, content to have her walls demolished, and all the forts and outworks raised. We shall close this account with observing, that the cantons were independent of each other, and only united by interest. Each had its own army, laws, and political maxims. They made war upon each other, and shewed every other prerogative of sovereignty. The differences of individuals became frequently the occasio of a war between the cantons, and nothing was more common than to see the whole country laid desolate for the most trifling circumstance. It was this want of union that at last brought the Ommelands under the dominion of Groningen, a more firm and compact body. This much, we apprehend, will be sufficient to convey an idea of the ancient history of the United Provinces. The detail was too minute for an ancient history; yet is it a necessary introduction to the account we propose giving of the origin, rise, and progress of the republic of Holland.

SECT. III.

Of the origin of the dissenters in the Netherlands, and the first seeds of the rebellion that began to appear in the year 1566 and 1567.

The Netherlands came into the possession of the house of Austria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian. Upon the emperor's resignation, with the whimical design of ascending the papal throne, the Seventeen Provinces devolved, by right, on don John, prince of Spain. This prince died young, and left a son who did not long survive his father. Philip le Beau was the next heir by the death of these two princes, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of Joan of Aragon, his spouse. He mounted the Cæsarian throne in the year 1505, and died the year following, leaving his son Charles V. a minor, under the tutelage of Lewis XII. of France. Charles ascended the imperial throne by election, he succeeded to the kingdoms of Spain and Naples by inheritance in right of his mother, and to the Netherlands, as nearest heir to his grandfather. At his accession several of the provinces, now composing the republic of Holland, claimed a kind of indeterminacy; but the policy, power, and warlike disposition of Charles soon reduced them under his obedience. When he resigned the imperial diadem into the hands

---

of his son, the Low Countries were in a most flourishing condition; at least that part now termed the Spanish Netherlands. Philip could reckon in this small portion of his vast dominions above three hundred and fifty cities enclosed by walls, and fix thousand-three hundred towns, all considerable, wealthy, and commercial. The number of the inhabitants was prodigious for the extent of the country. The Flemings were remarkable for their skill in navigation, their affluence in commerce, and valour in war. Under the mild government of the house of Burgundy they became excellent artisans and rich merchants; during the warlike reign of Charles they were made foldiers, or rather they improved those military talents already arrived at considerable perfection by the perpetual ruptures among themselves, and disputes with their neighbours. This was the situation of the Netherlands when Philip came to possession. That prince was supposed perfectly to understand the art of reigning. He was master of vast talents, and could give peace or war to Europe without stirring from his cabinet. The Flemings had approved their loyalty to his predecessors; and yet, by a strange fatality, by the influence of supposition, and from a certain haughtiness of conduct, and arbitrary maxims which he adopted, Philip lost the affections of the Flemings, and a great part of his dominions. No period of history is more striking than this, and no war more important than the revolution which placed seven small provinces in a state of independency, in despite of the utmost efforts of the most powerful monarch in Europe. It is remarkable, that only the poorer and less populous provinces recovered their freedom; and that, in consequence of their liberty, they rose to an unparalleled height of grandeur and affluence, amidst all the horrors of a war, the most tedious, ruinous and oppressive that can be imagined. Roused more by despair, than well grounded hopes, and feebly assisted by the neighbouring powers, they encountered the most celebrated generals of Christendom, backed by the veterans of the Spanish monarchy, supplied with the money, and directed by the counsels of the richest, the most politic, and ambitious monarch of the age. The princes of the house of Nassau, who were the soul of the provinces, and the genuine affluence of liberty, were too inconsiderable to maintain armies above a single campaign; yet did their detestations of the Spanish nation, their love of liberty, their perseverance and courage, enable them to surmount every difficulty, excite a spirit of freedom throughout all the Netherlands, and form leagues, which, though of short duration, contributed however to the great design of effecting a revolution, and throwing off the galling yoke of servitude and subjection. In a word, the great grandson of William I, prince of Orange, became, in a little more than a century, the arbiter of Europe, and the chief bulwark against the aspiring views of the house of Bourbon, of that very monarchy by which his predecessor was proscrib’d.  

The different characters of Charles V. and Philip were soon perceived by the nobility of the Netherlands, and this circumstance offered the first caufe of chagrin. Charles was a warrior, he always appeared at the head of his own armies; whereas Philip embroiled Europe, governed states, and commanded armies by orders issued from his cabinet. The former was courteous, affable, and free of access; the son, grave, austere, and harsh in his manners. The one accommodated himself to the disposition and humour of the different nations under his government; the other was altogether a Spaniard, and discovered a partiality for that nation, which could not but prove disgusting to his other subjects. Spaniards engrossed the royal favour, they alone enjoyed Philip’s confidence; to them all places of trust and profit were given; and the nobility of the Netherlands were excluded from a share in the government of their own country; at least, the places they enjoyed were of an inferior nature, and themselves subjected to the contempt and caprice of foreigners. 

To these caufes of discontent were superadded others on the score of religion; than which nothing more universally influences the human mind. The doctrines of Luther were already established in Germany; those of Calvin had taken deep root in France. The persecutions carried on against the reformits of both were of the utmost benefit to England and the Netherlands. The vast commerce of the latter required an acception of inhabitants, and the fugitives were joyfully received, without inquiry made into their religious opinions. The natural inconstancy of the human mind renders it fond of novelty; new doctrines, the most absurd, spread sometimes with inconceivable rapidity; but those of Luther and Calvin were adopted in the provinces with unusual credit, because they were congenial to liberty. Charles V. had published rigorous edicts against the Lutherans; and it is confidently reported, that in the Austrian dominions no less than a hundred thousand persons perished under the rod of persecution; but, instead of diminishing the reformits, their number was every day increased. Mary queen of Hungary, fitter to the emperor, and governor of the Low Countries, obviated the progress of the contageon; the endeavoured

1 Mod. Univ. Hist. tom. xxi. b. xix.
often the emperor, and invited him into the Low Countries, to behold with his own eyes how persecution began hereby. Charles prudently dropt his severity; but Philip proved inflexible. The more narrowly to watch over the reformists, an inquisition, similar to those of Spain and Italy, was established: nothing could be more odious to the Flemings than this detestable tribunal, which they loaded with just executions, not doubting but their lives and liberties would soon become the victims of its tyranny and cruelty. The people in general were not more incensed at the establishment of the inquisition, than the clergy were at his erecting a number of new bishopolies, under pretence that the present dioceses were too large for the bishops to have an eye over their whole flocks. To maintain these new dignities, it was necessary to suppress several abbeys, and affix their revenues to the bishop. Thus the abbots, instead of possessing the first place in the assembly of the states, were forced to yield the precedence to the bishops, and content themselves with an inferior station. Instead of three dioceses, the provinces now saw themselves encumbered with no less than seventeen; of which three were arch-bishoprics, that of Mechlin being given to cardinal Granvile with the dignity and authority of primate. The inferior clergy exclaimed against this proceeding, as an usurpation of the rights of the church; the nobility called it an innovation dangerous to their liberty, by introducing so many new members into the great council; and the people murmured at this additional restraint on liberty and conscience, by making such a number of spiritual dependents on the king and the apostolic see. In short, persons of all ranks and degrees cried out against the inquisition and the new bishoprics, as a direct breach of the king's oath. But of all the discontented party, only two particularly distinguished themselves by their birth, their capacity, their alliances, services, friends, and employments: these were William of Nassau prince of Orange, governor of Utrecht, Holland, and Zealand; and count of Egmond, governor of Flanders and Artois, who drew upon them the eyes of all Europe. The former was born in Germany, of protestant parents; but having entered young into the service of Mary queen of Hungary, and afterwards into that of Charles V. he conformed to the religion of the court, became a great favourite of the emperor's, and received the most substantial marks of his confidence and friendship. Count Egmond was a native of the Netherlands, and enjoyed the most considerable posts, honours, and distinctions civil and military. He gained great reputation at the famous battle of St. Quintin, and commanded in chief when the victory at Gravelin was obtained. These two persons, very opposite in their characters, were equally esteemed and beloved. William of Nassau's genius was better adapted to the cabinet than the field; he was prudent, penetrating, popular, and pliable; his eloquence was specious, and his discernment happy in unravelling the most mysterious intrigues and negociations. On the contrary, Egmond was a warrior, free in his speech, open in his conduct, familiar in his behaviour to the soldiers; but too sincere and honest for a courtier. He publicly expressed his resentment against the late severe edicts, the establishment of the inquisition, and the regulations made in the church; while the prince of Orange, then a hostage in France for the execution of the peace of Cambray, discovered the design formed by Henry II. and king Philip, of exterminating the protestants, and gave notice of it to his friends in the Netherlands.

We have already seen cause sufficient for discontent, but the public murmuring grew louder, when Philip's intention of fixing his residence in Spain was known, when it was seen that he put the government of the Netherlands into the hands of the duchefs of Parma his natural sister, assisted by the counsels of Granvile, a detested ecclesiastic; that a demand of money was made for the support of the foreign troops, with which the provinces were oppressed; and that Granvile, in the king's name, had, at the general assembly of the states, in a particular manner recommended the persecution of the protestants, and made work for the inquisition. Before the king's departure the states respectfully petitioned that the foreign troops might be withdrawn; Philip thence perceived that his designs were frustrated: he pretended to approve of the request; but, instead of complying, he resolved to prevaricate, by appointing the prince of Orange and count Egmond to the command of three thousand Spaniards; troops left in the country: both however refused the employment, as unconstitutional; but the truth is, they aspired at the government of the Netherlands, and were chagrined at the disappointment. What above all gave umbrage to the nobility, was the elevation of cardinal Granvile, in whose hands the chief direction of affairs were placed. they could not with temper behold the superiority of a person of obscure birth, an ambitious crafty churchman, and furious zealot. Three councils were established at Brussels, one to preside over the laws and courts of justice; a second to direct

---

every thing respecting peace or war; and the third to manage the revenues: but the duches of Parma was particularly ordered to confute Gravelle in every matter, and place her chief confidence in that prelate.

A. D. 1560.

Remonstrances made to the chief of Parma, and to the king.

The duches no sooner arrived at Brussels to enter upon the government, than complaints poured in upon her from the ecclesiastics, against the proposed establishment of new bishoprics. She endeavoured to appease them with soothing expression, refused introducing the new bishop at Antwerp; but said, that the king’s orders must be executed in all the other provinces. The people exclaimed against the inquisition already beginning to exerise its tyranny. The prince of Orange and count Egmond blamed the cardinal, by whole advice it was erected. This prelate had likewise incurred the displeasure of Philip de Montmorency, count Horn, for having obstructed his promotion to the government of Guelderland. They carried their grievances to the governor, and the prince of Orange strenuously insisted upon assembling the states general, to apply proper remedies to those disorders, which must infallibly destroy the constitution, and overturn the government. Gravelle opposed this proposition with violence; which determined the prince of Orange, count Egmond, and count Horn, to write to the king, that the only possible means of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, was by removing the cardinal, whose influence rendered him odious to the people. They promised, if their request was granted, to support the crown, the governorate, and the established religion, with all their power and influence. Philip long deferred returning an answer to this letter; at last he replied, that it was not usual with him to remove his ministers, without suffering them to give an account of their conduct. He added, that he should be glad to have a more explicit account of the transgressions in the Low Countries, he invited either of the noblemen to Spain for that purpose, and assured them of a favourable reception. An answer so general and unsatisfactory, obliged the prince, Egmond, and Horn, to write again in a more pressing strain, and acquaint the king, that they could not with honour affix at the council, while they were exposed to the insults of the cardinal. Philip’s answer was so gracious, that they were encouraged to pass such affronts and mortifications on Gravelle, as obliged him to retire to Spain; a conduct which the king never forgave.

A. D. 1563.

Cardinal Gravelle resigns.

A. D. 1564.

The decrees of the council of Trent published.

Cardinal Gravelle’s resignation did not produce the expected effect. Viglius and count Barlaimont, two of his creatures, were admitted into the council of state. They possessed the governorate’s confidence; and trod exactly in the cardinal’s footsteps. They pushed on the inquisition to perfections, flatteredized the principal nobility as disaffected heretics, and broke out in the most ungodly zeal for the catholic religion. Their violence appeared so unseemly, that one of Philip’s ministers represented to him the danger of a general revolt of the provinces, unless the rigour and severity of the inquisition were mitigated; to which that prince replied, “He had rather be without subjects, than be a king of heretics.” Agreeable to these sentiments, he published the decrees of the council of Trent, all his dominions, ordering they should especially be enforced in the Low Countries, notwithstanding they were diametrically opposed to the rights and liberties of the provinces. It is said, the prince of Orange gave offence by the remonstrances he made on this head; it is certain, that the proposal for involving the council of state with the whole power, and abolishing the two other councils, in which Viglius and Barlaimont had great influence, met with violent opposition. The divisions produced in the council by this motion, the difficulty of establishing the decrees of the council of Trent, and the bold spirit of the people, who had rid all out of the hands of the inquisition; certain persons condemned to be burnt for hereby, greatly disturbed and embarrased the dutches of Parma. She approved of the scheme suggested in council of sending count Egmond into Spain, to inform Philip of the state of affairs; but the prince of Orange remarked, that it was of the utmost confluence the count should have clear and explicit instructions; by which he was thought to point at Viglius, nominated to attend the ambassador. Egmond f was well received, the king remitted the rigour of the edicts and of the inquisition; all tumults and discontent were appeased, the prince of Orange and his friends were consulted by the governorate in the conduct of affairs; and the, in return, was obeyed and honoured. The prince of Orange, however, entertained suspicions about the sincerity of this change in the king’s disposition; and even declared publicly, that Egmond was either over-reached by the policy, or bribed by the money of the court of Spain.

A. D. 1565.

A projekt for extinguishing the pretensions.

The prince’s conjectures, with respect to the latter, were too well founded; in the beginning of the following year, the queen-mother of France, and her son Charles IX, had a conference with Isabella queen of Spain; at Bayonne; the duke of Alava asfitted, and it was pretended that this interview had no other object than a tender expostulation of love between the mother and her children; though it was shrewdly suspected, that the extri-
pation of the protestants of France and the Netherlands was here concerted. The prince of Orange made the first discovery, which was afterwards confirmed by an acknowledgment, that religion formed a part of the subject of the conference; and by the king's letters to the duchess of Parma, disclaiming the interpretations put on his instructions to count Egmond; ordering that the decrees of the council of Trent, and the imperial edicts, should be strictly observed; that the utmost assistance of the civil power should be given to the inquisition; and that all heretics should be put to death without remission. After- nament and dread first appeared in every face, upon the publication of the edicts; rage succeeded, written libels were published, bold speeches uttered, and dangerous cabals formed against the government. The public indignation was increased by the terrible spectacles every day presented by the inquisition, of men perishing in the flames on account of religion. The contumacy of the sufferers strongly moved the passions of the beholders, weakened the opinion of their guilt, heightened the detestation of the punishers, and inspired them with sentiments of revenge. Open mutinies of the citizens in several towns appeared, the prisons were forced, and the unhappy convicts rescued out of the hands of the executioner. A confederacy of the nobility was formed, never to suffer the inquisition in the Netherlands, under the force of edicts, visitas, commotions, or any other shape or denomination this terrible tribunal should assume, as being contrary to all laws sacred and profane, and the most arbitrary, execrable, and iniquitous species of tyranny ever devised or invented by human genius, fruitful in wicked expedients. The confederacy became general, and was subscribed by a multitude of catholics as well as protestants; by nobles and burghers, merchants, tradesmen, and peasants. So unexpected and formidable a show of resistance disconcerted the duchess of Parma; she found that all resolutions of force and rigor would be unsafe for the government, now too weak to enforce them by the weight of authority. The confederates, headed by Henry de Brederode, descended from the old earls of Holland, and much respected in the country, went in a body to Bruges, and in bold terms petitioned the governor to abolish the inquisition, and recall the edicts against liberty of conscience. It was disputed in the council of state whether they should be admitted to an audience; but their numbers were so formidable, as to render a denial hazardous. The duchess used every possible means to appease the confederates; but they insisted to peremptorily on the terms of the petition, that she was forced to dismiss them with an absolute promise they should be granted; for which purpose she immediately employed all her interest with the king. In the mean time, strict injunctions were laid on the inquisition, not to pervert in their perdition of hereby. Sir William Temple alleges, that Philip, in consequence of the governante's remonstrances, granted all that was required, but too late; all other historians affirm, that he was inflexible, and the duchess could procure no better conditions than that the heretics should henceforth be hanged instead of being burned. Even this appeared a concession unworthy of the king; the royal name was theretore forbid to be used.

Before the confederates proceeded to extremities, they sent deputies to Madrid, but, according to Bentivoglio, they were refused admittance into the king's presence. It appears however, from circumstances, that they found means of representing to the king and council, that the disturbances in the Low Countries arose from the detestation in which people of all degrees held the inquisition. Their remonstrances produced no other effect than a kind of promise couched in equivocal terms; and it was soon perceived that the governante had express orders to refuse her leverity, and punith with the utmost rigour every deviation from the established religion. Irritated with this conduct, the people broke out into open acts of rebellion; in several towns of Flanders, Holland, and Utrecht, the mobs assembled, destroyed the churches, pulled down images, beat the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand irregularities, the effects of barbarous rage and brutish relentlessness: all however the nobility and more wealthy inhabitants kept themselves within bounds. They were unsatisfied with the government, but they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Many of them united their councils and forces with those of the governante, to suppress the sedition and turbulent humour of the people. The prince of Orange and count Egmond were the chief instruments of the revolt that ensued. Their moderation, authority, and the veneration in which they were held, operated so powerfully, that had the government made but reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have again been restored, and the affections of the Flemings regained.

The submission of the people served only to augment the security of the government. A new oath of allegiance was now administered by the governante, and all persons obliged

---

3. 5 L.
to swear they would regard as traitors and enemies to their country, all whom the king a
should think proper to proscribe. Egmont, and great numbers of the nobility, took the oath; but the prince of Orange refused to alter the usual form required by the laws of
his country. He said it would be unnatural in him to swear the destruction of his wife
and family who were protestants, and of consequence in the number of the proscribed.
In the mean time, a commission was made by the government, which was neglected. The
persecution went on with redoubled violence; the fury of the inquisition seemed enraged by
the short suspension of their authority. Thousands of wretches groaned under the extremity
of torture, and breathed their last in bitter execrations poured out on the authors of
their misfortunes. Troops were levied to support their diabolical tyranny, and the re-
solution was taken at court to send the duke of Alva with ten thousand veterans to put in
the hand last to the miseries of the people, and the despotism of the court. Upon advice
of this final resolution, the prince of Orange, count Broderode, count Hoogstrade, followed
by great numbers of the nobility and people, retired into Germany, apprehending they
could not remain in safety under a government supported by violence and the sword. 5

Had Philip now granted a general amnesty, it is more than probable he might have
still commanded the respect of the people; but it appears that he was not satisfied with
enjoying his possessions in tranquility; he must punish his headstrong subjects with the
lots of their privileges. The duke of Alva, with the troops detailed for the Netherlands,
embarked at Barcelona on the 20th of May. The army was composed of the best Spanish
and Italian soldiers, commanded by the most experienced officers which the wars of Charles
V. and Philip II. had bred up in Europe. Thence on their arrival were joined by two thou-
sand Germans raised by the duchies of Parma during the late commotions. Such a force,
under fo renowned a general as the duke of Alva, a man haughty, morose, severe and
cruel in his disposition, could not but terrify the inhabitants, who beheld, the vast pre-
parations with astonishment, submision, and despair. From the character of Alva, the
princes of Parma foreknew that he would assume the chief authority, though his com-
mission extended no further than the supreme command of the army. She endeavoured
but too late to divert the king's intention of sending an army into the Netherlands, affir-
ing him that all was now in perfect tranquility, the heretics either in custody or banish-
ment, and sufficient garrisons in all the towns. She represented the outrage offered by
the presence of such a military force to the privileges of the provinces; but Philip, who
regarded these privileges as chimeras, purgéd his resolution.

On the duke's arrival at Brussels, the governante received him civilly, and told him that
if the prince of Orange and the lords of his party were treated with lenity, the was per-
suaded they would continue firm in their loyalty; but such measures were not agreeable
to the proud Spaniard. He immediately made public the powers vested in him by the
king, whence it appeared that the authority of the governante was greatly retracted.

Alva had not only the command of the troops, but the presidency of the councils of state,
justice, and the finances. He had the right of punishing or pardoning crimes, and of
rewarding all who had faithfully served the king. In a word, he was chief in every thing,
civil and military, and the duches of Parma was reduced to a mere cypher. He began
his government with removing the edicts against the reformists, and exerting the full
power of the inquisition. Instead of the ordinary judges, Alva established a council of
twelve, to take cognizance of the late tumults, and punish with the utmost rigour all
who were suspected on account of their religion. The cruelty of this tribunal soon gained
the appellation of the bloody council. One Vergas a Spanish lawyer, was set up at the
head of this iniquitous council, and it became a proverbial expression in Spain, that the
gangrene in the Low Countries required the keen knife of Vergas. To this extraordinary board
was committed the care of mortifying at pleasure the rights and privileges of the province.

It annihilated the authority of the council of state, which never afterwards met but in the
duke's chamber. All who had petitioned petitions, requesting that the severity of the re-
ligious edicts might be mitigated, were treated as traitors. Those who, from the necessity
of the times, had connived at the protestant assembilages, were regarded and punished as
heretics. But blood alone was not the object of this tribunal; it confiscated the estates of
every one, convicted of any tendency to schism, or of showing the least favour to the
reformists. Part was appropriated to the crown, the greater portion went into the pocket of
the duke of Alva, and was assigned as a reward for the barbarity of the judges. The
towns in vain lamented the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, and the
Knights of the Golden Fleece of the privileges of their order. Their murmurs were
muttered only in whispers; the terror of the new council seemed for a time to have de-
prived them of the spirit of retaliation. Multitudes of people retired out of the province

* Id. ibid, Grot. lib. i. p. 29. 5 Auct. sep. clar. ibid.
or Republic of Holland.

a into places of security; and the duchy of Parma was at length forced to acquaint the king, that above an hundred thousand persons had, in a few days, withdrawn with their effects and money; that the country would be quite depopulated, and that as a governorate would then be unnecessary, the beggar leave to reign before the should have the mortification and disgrace of being left alone in the Netherlands. Her request was readily granted, and the whole power given to the duke of Alva, with the same titles and badges of authority the princes enjoyed.

One of the duke's first exertions of the supreme authority was the imprisonment of the counts of Egmond and Horn. The prince of Orange, his brother count Lewis of Nassau, the counts of Hoeghstrate, Breda, Guylenberg, Bruderode, and others, were cited to appear in six weeks; but they refused to acknowledge the authority of the citation, which determined the duke of Alva to condemn them as guilty of treason. Not contented with these proceedings against the nobility, he heightened, if possible, his cruelty to the people. Several protestants condemned of attending their religious meetings, were dragged by horses, with their hands tied behind, to the place of execution, where they ended their lives in the most excruciating tortures. The declarations of the inquisitor-general of Spain, and the king's edicts, confirmed and approved all that had been done by the duke of Alva; whence it appears, that his barbarity was not entirely the result of his own inhumanity, but of the instructions of a merciless and proud prince, set at too great a distance from his subjects to feel their misfortunes. In a word, the king was inflexible in his determinations to root out hereby, and deprive the provinces of their privileges; Alva was the cruel minister of his purposes. The new army was fierce, brave, and insolent, desiring nothing so much as a civil war, in which they might enrich and distinguish themselves; the people were enraged, but overawed and unheeded; all was seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, blood, horror, and despair; punishments executed, and meditated revenge. Egmond and Horn, without regard to their quality, to their merit in the services performed to the king and his father, were publicly beheaded at Brussells, with marks of ignominy more cruel than death. The execution of Egmond, and the confiscation of the prince of Orange's estate, the two greatest favourites of the people, broke all patience. They now called aloud for revenge, invited the prince of Orange into their country, and seemed to lose all dread of the veteran troops of Spain in the desire of recovering their liberty.

In the mean time the prince of Orange, and his brother Lewis of Nassau, were labouring to form alliances among the protestant princes in Germany. He made use of every argument that could influence the understanding or move the pallions; he obtained promises, but could raise only a handful of soldiers. He published several manifestos, which appeared so strong and unanswerable to the emperor Maximilian, that he voluntarily sent an ambassador to Spain, exhorting the king to treat his subjects in the Netherlands with less rigour. The amiable was haughtily received, Philip continued his persecutions, and the prince of Orange his preparations to enter into the Lower Countries. It was thought advisable to divide the Spanish forces, by making excursions on every side. A detachment of Germans, in the service of the prince, attempted to penetrate into Brabant, and surprised Egmond, but were defeated by a corps detached against them by the duke of Alva. Another party, chiefly French, were preparing to push into Artois, on the side of Picardy, when their officers were arrested by order of Charles IX. Lewis of Nassau was at first more successful in Friesland, of which count d'Aremburg was governor. His design was to gain possession of Groningen, but he was opposed by the count at the head of a body of Spanish forces. Lewis encamped in an advantageous post; but the Spanish soldiers, who despised his raw and undisciplined army, attacked him contrary to the opinion of the count. They were defeated, and d'Aremburg, with above six hundred soldiers, was killed. In this action fell Adolphus of Nassau, the greatest loss which the reformists sustained. Count Mogen was immediately dispatched to Groningen, to collect the scattered remains of the Spanish army; and his vigilance prevented Lewis of Nassau from drawing any important consequences from his victory.

The duke of Alva was greatly chagrined at this first check to his power, and resolved to march in person to revenge the insult. A general muster of his army was made in every part, and he appeared to formidable, that the counts of Nassau and Hoeghstrate were forced to retire to the banks of the river Ens, where they posted themselves in a situation which would have proved impregnable, had not the duke of Alva's expedition prevented their cutting down the dykes, and the scarcity of money excited a mutiny in their army. Thus labouring under insurmountable difficulties, they were attacked and easily defeated by the duke, who put to the sword all who fell into his hands. The whole

---

fantry were cut in pieces, the cavalry were faved by the conduct of count Schaeuenberg, a count Lewis escaped in a small fishing-boat, and the baggage and artillery were taken by the enemy, whose loss was very inconsiderable.

All this while the prince of Orange was moving towards the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 28,000 men, which he had levied upon his credit. After passing the Rhine and Meuse, and raising contributions in Aix-la-Chapelle, he defeated a party of the Spaniards at Nijmegen. From thence he sent a defiance to the duke of Alva at Maestricht; but the duke ordered the trumpeter to be hanged, and returned no answer. The prince's superiority obliged him to act defensively; the loss of a battle he was fain to be attended with the loss of the Netherlands, and the scarcity of money he knew must soon disperse the prince's army. He contented himself with defending the passages of the Meuse, but the prince found means to elude all his endeavours. Had he, upon crossing the river, suddenly attacked the duke, it is probable he might have succeeded; but the soldiers being wet and fatigued, he halted a night to refresh them, gave the enemy time to recollect themselves, and even to fortify their camp, as rendered an attempt extremely hazardous. It was obvious that the prince intended to penetrate into Brabant. The reduction of any towns in this province would have greatly forwarded his affairs, and the duke of Alva took all due precautions to obstruct his progress. He fortified Tillemont, Louvain, and Bruges, and considerably augmented their garrisons, at the same time that he cut off all provisions, and extremely harrassed the prince's army. He baffled the prince's design of seizing upon Tongres, but could not prevent his receiving succours and refreshment at St. Truiden; and gaining the frontiers of Brabant. Here several skirmishes, but nothing decisive, passed between the armies. While they lay encamped at no great distance, the prince, on receiving advice that the prince of Conde had sent him a body of 4000 auxiliary foot and 500 horse, advanced towards Jodoigne to effect a junction. In crossing the Geete, his rear was attacked by Alva, and after an obstinate conflict totally defeated and dispersed. This check, and the death of count Hoogstrate, mortally wounded in the action, damped the ardour of his soldiers; they deserted in crowds, and he was prevented by this and a variety of other circumstances, from establishing winter-quarters in the Low Countries. In the end, he was forced to disband his army, and return into France, whence he afterwards returned to Germany.

Now was the duke of Alva at full liberty to act at pleasure. After entering Brugges in triumph, he cau'ted diligent search to be made after all who had been afflicting the prince of Orange. He destroyed the prisoners taken in the last campaign by the sword, the halter, by fire, and by water; his success only increased his insolence and cruelty. He now projected nothing less than the whole extinction of the reformed religion, by means the most barbarous and inhuman; of enflaving the provinces, by erecting citadels in all the towns and cities, and of rendering himself despotic and arbitrary. He began with building a strong citadel in Amsterdam. The city in vain represented its privileges, and the prejudice which commerce must suffer from a military government. But the duke was deaf to all except pecuniary arguments; the gunpowder of money was given him, and the project laid aside. The duke's insatiable vanity irritated the people more than his cruelty or avarice.

He ordered his statue to be erected in the citadel, built at Antwerp, to enlave this populous, rich, and commercial city. Here he was figured treading upon the necks of two smaller statues that represented the two elates of the Low Countries. So public an insult created universal discontent, and roused a spirit of revenge in the people, which soon received additional fuel. The duke demanded larger supplies for the support and reward of his victorious troops than ever had been granted. Assembling the statues at Brugges, he required the hundredth part of every man's estate should be immediately secured to the government, to answer the present occasions; and that for the future, a tenth of all the merchandise, and a twentieth part of all immovable, should be annually levied as a standing revenue. Fear obliged the states, after a feint reluctance, to grant the first. Whatever inconveniences might attend the payment of so large a sum, as the hundredth part of the whole wealth of the Netherlands, yet it was but temporary; whereas the annual tax on trade and estates would be a perpetual intolerable burden, to which they resolutely never to submit. Upon the duke's pressing, they petitioned the king by deputies, but obtained no redress. The duke employed promises and threats to enforce his demands, but the states remained fixed and unalterable. Incensed at their refusal, he sent the regiment of Lombardy, and several companies of Spanish foot, to live at free quarters in the province of Utrecht. He altered the names of tythes and twentieths, for other terms less odious; but the people were not to be gulled out of their property by so thin a varnish. The year was drawn out in disputes, altercation, menaces, promisses, and supplications; but nothing was concluded, the duke was inflexible, and the provinces were determined.

---

*Le Clerc, lib. i. p. 17. 4 Groti. lib. ii. p. 57. 5 Id. p. 53. Le Clerc, lib. i. Temple, p. 29.*
In this situation of affairs, admiral Coligni advised the prince of Orange to fit out a squadron of privateers to cruise on the Spaniards and Flemish merchants, seize upon the supplies of money lent to the Netherlands, and thereby raise a fund for the support and maintenance of an army. The difficulty of the reformists, who had but few resources from private contributions, was the greatest difficulty they had to encounter. In hopes of remedying this evil, the prince approved of the project, and a squadron was equipped under Adriaen de Burtges, Lancelot de Broderode, Albert d' Egmond, and several more of the prince's adherents. In a short time they took an infinity of merchant-men, and even defeated some of the king's squadrons; but as no regular plan for saving the profits was concerted, they greatly annoyed the Spanish commerce, but contributed little to forward the designs formed by the prince of Orange. This foal of privateers went by the name of Guex, or see-beggar, their number daily increased, and they became the terror of Spain and the Netherlands. However excusable the first design of the prince of Orange might have been, certain it is, that an improper use was made of the commissions he granted. The captains of ships paid no regard to flags; their sole aim was the acquisition of wealth, in which pursuit friends and enemies were plundered without distinction. Commerce was entirely ruined, and their depredations were no less pernicious to their country, than the despotism and cruelty of the duke of Alva.  

To the calamities consequent on the licentiousness of the Guex, was added another, to which the maritime provinces of the Netherlands are perpetually exposed. Terrible floods broke in, overturned the dykes, and overflowed the lands, sweeping before them their houses and cattle. The Catholics attributed the misfortune to the vengeance of the saints, for the indignity lately put on their images by heretics; and the protestants, with just as much reason, called it a judgment from heaven, on the oppression, the tyranny, and the barbarity of the court of Spain, and her infernal ministers.

All the last year the prince of Orange was making preparations for levying an army, to oppose the violent measures of the duke of Alva, and rescue his country from impending destruction. His agents were employed in all the provinces to raise subscriptions of money. The same methods were still continued in Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. The latter province was considerably over-awed by the strong citadel, and numerous forces; but an infinity of evils, to which the tyranny of the government exposed it, attached the inclinations of the inhabitants more strongly to the prince of Orange.

While the country was impoverished and ruined by the late exorbitant tax of a hundredth penny, by the dreadful inundation, by the licentiousness of the privateers, and other misfortunes, the duke of Alva, impatient of farther delay, ordered the edict concerning the rythe on merchandise, and twentieth penny on immovable, to be published at Bruges. The people refuse to pay, the soldiers levy by force, trademen shut up their shops, the peasants forebear the markets, and the utmost scarcity prevails in the cities. Terrified with these appearances, the states offer to pay a subsidy of two millions of florins; but nothing would satisfy the enraged duke but the tax, in the manner he proposed. In Bruges the drum beat to arms, and orders were issued immediately to hang up all who refused compliance. The officers and guards were preparing to execute the inhuman mandate, when the surrender of the Briel, in the island of Poorn, at the entrance of the Maas, to the Guex, Lausey, who commanded the Orange squadron, made a defeat on the


As the reader may be curious to know the origin of the term Guex, and further particulars relating to the people called by that name, the following short account may prove entertaining. When Broderode delivered his petition against the inquisition to the duchess of Parma, his attendants, appearing mean in their clothes and apparel, were called in derision by the courtiers Guex, or beggars. The name was soon after applied to the whole party, and comprehended all who differed from the doctrines of the church of Rome. The cruelty of Alva and the inquisition had forced them to retire, in multitudes, out of the provinces. Many of the poorer, and more destitute, had fled into the woods, lived by rapine and plunder, and upon the prince of Orange's first defeat fell from their holds and fastenings, doing incredible mischief to the Spaniards and the duke's forces. When the scheme was faggetted by admiral Coligni, of raising money by croyzes upon the Spaniards, the Guex embarked in the enterprise, composed the body of the freemen, and were the most implacable enemies of the duke of Alva and the whole Spanish nation. First they were commanded by the count St. Mark, and maintained tolerable order. They sheltered, watered, and fold their prizes in creeks and small harbours of England, the prohibited by queen Elizabeth, then at peace with king Philip; sometimes in the rivers, creeks, and ports of Friesland. In time they confined themselves not to Spanish captures only, but seized upon the shipping of all nations, giving for a reason, that they were excluded as enemies from their ports. In their defeat on the Briel, they carried the town by assault, openly professed the reformed religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the Spanish government, and laid the foundation of the revolt that immediately ensued in several towns of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, where the Spanish garrisons were expelled, the oaths of fidelity to Philip revoked, and allegiance was sworn to the prince of Orange (1).
The history of the United Provinces,

island with forty ships, destroyed the churches, broke the images, and executed the priests, but offered no violence to the other inhabitants.

However unimportant the conquest of so inconsiderable a place might appear, it alarmed the duke of Alva, and produced the most extravagant rejoicings in Brussels. The duke regarded it as the harbinger of further opposition; he dropped his taxes and executions for the present, and diligently applied himself to suppress the growing spirit of rebellion. He withdrew the garrison from Brussels, and detached it under the command of Maximilian Henricus Boffa, against the Guex. This officer, endeavouring to force Brux, was defeated by the Orange faction, and forced to retire with loss to the island of Beyerland. Trifling as this victory might seem, it served to animate the depressed spirits of the enemies to the government. The prince of Orange, sensible of the advantage ofpossessing this island, exhorted the nobility of his party to fortify and garrison it; his orders were obeyed, by which means he soon became master of Delfshaven, a town situated on the opposite banks of the Maas. It appeared in Boffa's retreat, how unpopular the duke of Alva was in every part of the country. Dordrecht, at first its gates against him. Rotterdam refused to admit his troops; but Boffa obtaining permission that they should pass through in separate small divisions, seized the gates, and began a general massacre of the inhabitants. Four hundred souls perished by the sword, the town was pillaged, the women ravished, and every possible act of barbarity and inhumanity committed. Retribution was soon made by the enemy. Alva had detached Ossorio d'Angulo with a body of forces to secure Flushing, a considerable port in Zeeland, and to erect a citadel. The inhabitants denied Ossorio admission, shut their gates, and seized Pescano, a famous engineer, who had come to measure the ground where the citadel was to be erected. Apprehending that attempts would be made to force them to submission, they petitioned Lumeij, admiral of the Guex, for assistance; and he furnished them with two hundred men, under the command of captain Treflong. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the Spanish engineer was hanged, and an unsuccessful attempt made to force the citizens of Middleburg, the capital of the island of Walcheren. Not dispirited by this disappointment, the Zealanders audaciously prosecuted their cruises upon the Spaniards, and obtained so much wealth as purchased large force of arms and ammunition at Antwerp. Joined by great numbers of English and Scotch adventurers, they ventured to attack the duke of Medina Celi, sent with a strong squadron to succeed the duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. Such was the fury and impetuosity of their onset, that the duke was completely defeated, a great number of his ships were taken, and a booty, amounting to near a million of livres, was carried off by the Zealanders.

Neglecting the marine was not the least of the errors committed during the duke of Alva's administration. This he now endeavoured to repair, ordering a squadron of ships to be equipped at Amsterdam, to bridle the insolence of Lumeij and the Zealanders, while he busied himself in raising an army to oppose the prince of Orange and Louis de Nassau, who were making great preparations in Germany and France. To augment the army in the field, he had draughted most of the garrisons. By this means the prince's friends gained possession of North Holland; and Louis de Nassau was proposing a scheme to reduce Mont, with the inhabitants of which he held a secret correspondence. The design succeeded, which emboldened most of the cities and towns in Holland to declare against the government. The count de Bergues gained over several cities in Overisel, Guelderland, and Friesland. In a word, the revolt became so general, that the duke of Alva soon found he could not long resist the torrent. He now, when too late, published an edict to appease the people, setting forth, that he would consent to remit the most oppressive taxes, if the states could suggest any other means of raising the necessary supplies. He convoked the states-general to meet at the Hague, but his orders were now disregarded; and the states, in contempt of his authority, assembled at Dordrecht, and invited deputies from the prince of Orange, the nobility, and the towns that had declared against the governor. Here money was raised to enable the prince of Orange to begin his march. His forces amounted to fifteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse. He had promised to advance three months pay, and was enabled to perform his engagements, by the liberality and public spirit of the states-general and the cities. Several regulations respecting the future support and government of the army, were made on this occasion, and their proportions of the public expence assigned to the several provinces and cities. It was farther resolved, that nothing of importance should be transacted without the privy and consent of the prince of Orange, and that the prince on his part, should not negotiate a peace with the king or his lieutenants, contrary to the sentiments of the states. In a word, the prince showed the adieux with which he could manage and direct the people. Without the name of sovereign of the provinces under his government, he possessed the authority. He precluded all military opera-
tions by sea and land; made and dispoled of offices at pleasure; assembled the states; and published all ordinances and regulations, relative to the present state of affairs, without restraint. However, he conducted matters with the utmost delicacy, and used his power with great moderation, to avoid giving offence to the free spirit of the Hollanders. The popish religion was banished from the churches, and the princes of that persuasion were, with great caution, admitted into public employments. Not only the king's revenue and church-tithes were appropriated to the public service, but the estates of those who remained firm in their loyalty. In short, the most vigorous measures were taken for stifling the tyranny of Spain, and those persons who had refused the tythes to the government, voluntarily subscribed their all to support a party formed in defence of liberty.

While the states-general were employed in ways and means to maintain an army, the prince of Orange advanced to Ruermunde, which he took by assault, on the refusal of the city to supply him with necessaries. From thence he marched to Brabant, and raised heavy contributions. He took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde, and could not restrain the excesses of the soldiers, who pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, and committed other shocking barbarities. Next he approached to Mons, besieged the duke of Alva, with design, if possible, to engage him to give battle. The duke baffled all his endeavours to force him, and carried Mons by capitulation; but such was the popularity of the cause, and the prince of Orange, that the whole Spanish dominion, lately so insolent and exulting, was ready to expire in the Netherlands, had it not been revised by the massacre of the protestants in Paris.

While the fate of Mons was depending, the states of Holland met at Haarlem, to deliberate on the defence of the province and the prosecution of the war. Amsterdam was in the enemy's hands, which greatly obstructed all their measures. It was therefore determined to besiege it, and the enterprise was committed to Lumeij, chief of the Guesux. After putting the states to considerable expense, the project miscarried through Lumeij's misconduct. Water was his element, but his vanity led him to display his abilities as a land-officer. He made regular approaches, and was foiled in every attempt.

The reduction of Mons, and the depression of spirits consequent on the massacre at Paris, obliged the prince of Orange to retire to Holland, and encouraged Alva to invect Dendermonde, Oudenarde, and Mechlin. The latter, being in no condition to resist, opened its gates; but the Spanish folktude chose to scale the walls, to give an air of assault to the enterprise, and countenance to the horrid barbarities intended. Protestants and catholics were massacred without distinction, the priests were not sacred, virginity was deflowered, and infants violated before the eyes of their bleeding parents. The town was pillaged, and the booty estimated at four hundred thousand florins. All the other towns were evacuated by the garrisons, and loaded with heavy impositions by Alva. As to the prince, he had now removed the seat of war into the province of Holland; only this province and Zeeland remained firm to their engagements; the rest, overwhelmed with conformation, capitulated on the best terms they could procure from the government. However, the country being strong by its nature and situation among the waters, and more so by a fierce, rough, and sturdy people, proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the Roman story of being the obstinate defenders of liberty, unemulated by trade and luxury, and the most implacable enemies of Spanish tyranny, it was determined to make the most vigorous resistance. Frederic de Toledo was dispatched by Alva to begin the operations in Holland. He had already reduced Zutphen and Gelderland, and, flushed with success, appeared before Waarden, which he summoned to admit a garrison. The burghers replied, that they were intrusted by the king with the defence of the place, and could not receive a military force without violence to their privileges and engagements. They soon had reason to repent their firmness; the town was taken by purse, and all the burghers, assembled in the great church to take the oaths of fidelity to the king, wantonly butchered. Infants, old men, women, and the sick, were all put to the sword without pity or remorse; and of all the barbarities hitherto committed, this was the most horrible. It was imagined that the terror inspired by such instances of severity, would reduce the people to obedience, and shake the obstinacy of the other towns. The contrary effects were produced; rage and despair took possession of every breast, and all determined to suffer the last extremities, rather than submit to so cruel a tyranny.

Having finitely the failure of the enterprise to Amsterdam, to deliberate with the officers of the army about the siege of Haarlem. Here it was determined, before they proceeded to extremities, that the city of Amsterdam should write to the magistrates, exhorting them, in the most pathetic terms, to submit, rather than incur the punishment inflicted on Waarden. The council of Haarlem met to take this letter into consideration. Some were for soliciting an immediate reinforcement from the prince of Orange; and others, who appre-
The history of the United Provinces,

hended the prince was too weak to afford the necessary relief, were for making the best terms possible with the king. Those of the latter opinion were the magistrates. Accordingly, without consulting the burgurers, deputies were despatched to Frederic to treat on terms of amicable intercourse. In their absence, Ripharda, a part of Friesland, strongly attached to the prince of Orange and the cause of liberty, assembled the chief burgurers, and so armed them against the Spaniards, that they resolved to stand a siege, and suffer all the horrors of war, rather than submit. They sent to the prince of Orange to acquaint him with their determination, and to implore assistance. Four companies of Germans were detached to reinforce the garrison of Haarlem; and the deputies, on their return, were seized as traitors to their country, sent to the prince of Orange, and by his order beheaded. Frederic was prepared to compel the burgurers to submission. On the 9th of December, he invested the town, after carrying Sarendam fort by assault, with great loss and slaughter of his soldiers. A variety of errors were committed in the attack, in the defence, and manner of succouring Haarlem. The assailants and defendants had equally shewn themselves ignorant of the art of war, and incapable in their retentment. Obscurity supplied the place of military knowledge; every difficulty was surmounted by dint of perseverance; and both sides sustained, with unparalleled constancy, the most extreme hardships. Hunger and fatigue harried the besieged; cold and sicknels pinched and destroyed the besiegers. Not the rigours of the severest winter could oblige them to relinquish the enterprise; *Ava* determined to punish the burgurers of Haarlem at the expence of half his army. The prince of Orange used every expedient to relieve the town, but all his attempts were frustrated by untoward accidents, and the vigilance of the Spaniards. At last, quite spent with fatigue, despairing of relief, weakened with loaves, and totally exhausted of provisions and ammunition, the burgurers of Haarlem surrendered upon more favourable terms than they could well expect. A few only of the most obstinate were executed, the rest were pardoned on taking an oath of fidelity, and paying an acknowledgment of fifteen thousand florins (B).

During the siege of Haarlem, the Zealander were performing glorious achievements by sea, and gaining victories over the Spaniards naval armaments. All the efforts of the governor of Antwerp could not prevent their carrying off a great number of ships out of the river; but to revenge the insult, and relieve Middelburg and Rammukins, blocked up by the Zealanders, he equipped a squadron, gave battle to Wertz, the Zealander admiral, and was defeated. After repairing and augmenting his fleet, he again set sail with sixty large vessels, encountered a squadron of Zealander much inferior in strength, and met with his former fortune. Most of his ships were sunk or taken; but he found means to pull into Middelburg, with the broken remains of his squadron, to the great joy of the garrison, now reduced by the scarcity of provisions to the last extremity. D'Avila's disgrace did not end here for, on his return to Antwerp, he was a third time attacked and defeated, with considerable loss, by Wertz, who thus repaired the disappointment of an unsuccessful attempt made on Tolten (C).

Soon after the reduction of Haarlem, *Ava*, perceiving that his severity answered no other purpose than irritating the people more against the Spaniards government, published a proclamation, couched in terms so soothing as afforded room for suspecting their sincerity; inviting the Hollander to accept of his majesty's gracious pardon, to lay down their arms, rely on the king's generosily, and submit to his mercy. He gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost leniency would be shewn to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion; but the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, nor to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor, who had shewn themselves inflexible, implacable, perfidious, and inhuman. They now reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bid defiance to fortune. The Spaniards were preparing to invade Alemarn, and the Hollander put every means in practice to resist them. Eight months was due to the garrison, who began to mutiny; but contributions were raised, which silenced their clamours. Frederic of Toledo, with sixteen thousand men, fat down before a town fortified by no regular works, and defended only by three hundred burgurers, and eight hundred soldiers, in extreme want of provisions, and without the prospect of relief. Soon, the governor, despairing of being able to sustain a siege, wrote to the prince of Orange, that a place destitute of troops, provisions, ammunition, money, and every necessary, ought to be evacuated, and the few soldiers in garrison, and the burgurers, saved from falling into

---

(A) Sir William Temple affirms, that four hundred burgurers were put to death in cold blood, in contempt of the capitulation (1) but it appears from other writers (2), that the articles were honourably enough observed, and fewer persons executed than might be expected from the resentment of an insent and cruel conqueror.

---

or Republic of Holland.

413

the hands of the enemy. But the prince of Orange fo animated them by a letter, penned in his persuasive and irresistible manner, that, to a man, the townsfolk, governor, and soldiery, determined to sacrifice their lives, and spill the last drop of their blood in the breach. Perseverance had made the Zealander matter of Rammekens, contrary to all hope and probability; the same virtue, the prince observed, might save Alcnar, a town of the utmost consequence to the cause of liberty. What particularly inspired the defenders with courage, was the prince’s good fortune in surprising Gertrudenburg. Frederic pushed the siege with great vigour. He ordered the inhabitants of Haarlem to work in the trenches, and fulfill the first fire of their friends and countrymen. On the 18th of September, a battery of twenty pieces of heavy cannon began to play with unremitting fury, a breach was soon effected, the assault given, and repulsed, with vigour, though prolonged by the bulk of the Spanish army. From a Spanish officer taken, the garrison were informed, that Alva had given orders to retire, in case he failed in the third assault; but if he succeeded, to put all to the sword. Their courage was whetted by this account, and preparations were cheerfully made for withstanding the utmost efforts. Frederic was foiled in every attempt; the assailants were driven from the breach with prodigious slaughter; the Spanish soldiers refused to mount the walls; the rainy season came on, and rendered the roads impracticable; in a word, the siege was raised, and the town relieved, contrary to expectation, but to the exceeding joy of the prince of Orange, and great mortification of Alva.

This advantage was attended with another of less importance, but which equally served to inspire the Hollander. The duke of Alva’s grand fleet, equipped with great labour and expense, was defeated by the Zealander. Though the action did not prove decisive, it greatly chagrined the duke, as Boffa, one of his best officers, was taken prisoner, and his fleet afterwards afraid to look the enemy in the face. The year, and the government of Alva, concluded with a meeting of the states of those provinces subject to Spain. Here they deliberated on the means of continuing the war, read, and disregarded a remonstrance sent by the prince of Orange, complaining of the violence of the duke, demanding the free exercise of their religion for his party, retribution of the rights and privileges of the provinces, and that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. On the second of December, the duke of Alva quitted the Low Countries, with his son, Frederic of Toledo; and don Lewis de Requesnes, appointed to succeed him, began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at Antwerp; a popular act that would have produced happy consequences, had not the court of Spain been infatuated with notions of despotism and blind superstition.

SECT. IV.

Containing the government of Requesnes; the siege of Leyden; the other various operations of the war; the confederacy of the Provinces, and other particulars until the assassination of the prince of Orange, in 1684, under the government of the duke of Parma.

THE popularity of the new governor did not long continue. His instructions were to push the war with vigour, and the mutual animosity of the combatants could not but render it bloody and cruel. The first advantage appeared on the side of the prince of Orange. Middleburg, after a tedious siege and blockade, surrendered. An infinity of expedients were practised in vain for its relief. The obstinacy of the Zealander was invincible; they became masters of this capital, and with it of the island of Walcheren.

Lewis of Nassau was now arrived with a considerable body of forces, to assist his brother the prince of Orange. To prevent their junction Requesnes opposed the flower of his army. He passed the Meuse, surprised Lewis near a village called Nook, defeated his army, and left the three princes, Lewis, Henry, and Christopher, dead on the field of battle, but dedicated no other consequence from to signal a victory, than frustrating the proposed junction of the brothers. Writers differ widely in their relations of this transaction. Some attribute the calamity to the indolence and security of Lewis, while others impute it wholly to the mutinous spirit of his troops, who loudly demanded their arrears, at the very time they were attacked by the enemy. In this particular, the Spanish general was not much more fortunate. Scarce had the Spaniards obtained the victory, when the soldiers formed a mutiny on the most regular and well-concerted plan, deposing all their officers, appointing others, establishing a fort of community, and vetting one of their number with the chief authority.

a Meurs. lib. iv. p. 259.  
b Grot. Amm. lib. ii. p. 45.  
d Reidan. lib. i. p. 16.  
e Grot. lib. ii. p. 43.  
g XI.  
h 5 N

A.D. 1574. Requesnes succeeds to the government.

Lewis of Nassau defeated and slain.
The history of the United Provinces,

authority. D’Avila, who then commanded the army, used every means to appease the soldiers, but they were inflexible; complaining that their officers had all the honour and emoluments of the war, while their portion was only the fatigue and danger. The mutineers passed the Meru, proceeded to Antwerp, were received and joined by the Spanish garrison in the citadel, and at length pacified with a gratuity of four hundred thousand livres, railed by the city, to prevent being pillaged. The anxiety and dread occasioned from this tumult was augmented by another victory obtained by the Zealanders over a Spanish squadron of forty ships, under the conduct of Adolpbus Hemphes, most of which were taken or destroyed.

It was now found that the reduction of the provinces would be a work of time, expense, and hazard; Philips therefore was compelled to use arbitrary measures: by his orders a proclamation was issued at Brussels, granting a free pardon to those who had affixed their names to the Protestant religious assemblies, taken up arms, and otherwise violated the laws; but with an exception of the prince of Orange, and proviso, that all admitted into the king’s favour, and partaking of his clemency, should produce an attestation of their having solemnly renounced hereby. So limited an act of grace could produce no effect: it was unanimously rejected by the Hollanders, and preparations were made for obtaining better conditions, or wholly recovering their liberty. In vindication of their conduct they published a counter-proclamation, shewing the intention of the former to be injudicious, and declaring their own views to be no other than to obtain the common rights of mankind, defend the liberties of the provinces, and abolish tyranny and cruel oppression. They sent remonstrances to all the powers in Europe, particularly bewailing their situation, and crying that aid and assistance due by humanity; but their chief applications were made to England, France, and the Protestant states of the empire. Requesnes perceiving that nothing could be expected from the king’s proclamation, resolved upon the most memorable event of the year, the siege of Leyden. The prince of Orange had given repeated orders for providing the garrison with all the necessaries of a siege; imagining the governor would bend his chief efforts against the town; but they were by a strange fatality neglected, and the inhabitants forced to live under the pressure of a thousand wants and inconveniences, during the moat-obstinate, bloody, and cruel siege the Netherlands had yet beheld. Valdes, who commanded the Spanish army, offered the most advantageous conditions; but the burghers and little garrison were deaf to all terms, except those of freedom and independency: they relied on their courage, the justice of their cause, and their perseverance in the paths of liberty, for their defence; and indeed their efforts were prodigious, the result of necessity and despair. The whole surrounding country was laid under water by opening the sluices, and Leyden almost overwhelmed in the inundation necessary to its defence. Cut off from all succours, except what they received by boats forcing their way through the enemy, they combated every difficulty, and refilled famine, disease, and a powerful enemy, with incredible constancy. It would indeed be impossible to describe the miseries they suffered, reduced at last to live upon the dead carcasses of their fellow-citizens: all their efforts would have been vain, had not providence visibly interposed: a violent south-west wind drove the inundation with such fury against the works of the besiegers, that fearing his army would be swallowed up in the waves, Valdes relinquished the enterprise, drew off his army, and exposed himself to a furious fury of the besiegers, by which five hundred of his men perished. Thus was Leyden moft unexpectedly relieved, and the Spanish forces after undergoing extreme fatigue and hardships, losing the flower of their army, waiting their treasure, and those precious moments, which in so critical a juncture were irredeemable. This disappointment drew on Valdes the contempt of his troops; they superceded him, and again proclaimed their old commander: a mutiny ensued, they were clamorous for their pay, anarchy and confusion reigned through the whole; they marched to Utrecht, declaring they would serve masters who would put the juft value upon their merit; they demanded entrance into the city, but met with a different reception than they had done at Maasbracht. f Barlamont commanded, declared them rebels and traitors to their king, gave free liberty to the people to massacre them wherever they were found, and took the most rigorous measures to conquer that mutinous spirit which broke out on every occasion. The rebels attempted to set fire to the gates, but they were repulsed, and their leader slain; upon which they capitulated, were received into favour, and sent to winter-quarters in Brabant.

Next year commenced with some fruitless efforts made by the emperor to heal the breach and quiet the disturbances in the Low Countries. Negotiations were for several weeks carried on, but neither side would recede enough to come to any conclusion; and the emperor, tired out with vain hopes that his mediation might accommodate the differences, at last renounced the attempt in despair. Some persons indeed imagined, that the ambition of the prince of Orange was the chief obstruction to the success of the conferences at Breda. Certain it is, that both parties were too violently inflamed to listen to reasonable

---

414

a Requesnes publishes a proclamation.

b Leyden besieged.

c The siege is raised.

d Den Haag.

e Cond. mun. of the Spanish soldiers.

f A.D. 1595. f Congress at Breda.

---

Id. ibid.

Le Clerc, lib. iii. p. 42.
or Republic of Holland.

a terms: Philip demanded too much, and the prince yielded too little; both were in hopes that the issue of another campaign would be so favourable as to procure better terms, and both were disappointed, as the prospect of an accommodation was then rather more distant.

Requesfes commenced hostilities with the siege of Baren, which he took by assault, the garrison retiring to the citadel. Hierges, governor of Holland, gave the town up to be plundered by the Spanish soldiers. The citadel wanted no necessary of defence; but Voge-fang the chief officer accepted of conditions, marched out with the honours of war, and was arrested by order of the states of Holland, but shortly after dismissed. Next the Spanish general appeared before Oude-water, a place untenable from the circumstances of its situation.

The garrison, however, made an obstinate defence, were at last stormed and put to the sword. The town was set on fire, and all except a few churches and convents laid in ashes. Schoonbouen was the next object of Hierges' military ambition. It was surrounded only by a flight wall, and defended by a few companies of French and German infantry, placed there rather to retard the enemy than withstand a siege. The fieur de la Garde was sent by the prince of Orange to the relief of the garrison; and he arrived, after breaking through their works, just as the place was on the point of capitulating. So slender a reinforcement could only retard the fate of Schoonbouen; a breach of three hundred yards wide was made in the walls, and the Spanish general preparing to give the assault, when la Garde seeing that further resistance would be fruitless, submitted upon honourable conditions. Some other trivial successe attended the arms of the Spanish general; after which he invested Weerden, but finding the siege would be attended with difficulties, he converted it into a blockade, and was at last obliged to abandon the enterprise, after spending several months before the place, and losing a great part of his army by a vigorous rally on the 24th of June 1576. In the mean time Madragon reduced the island of Finart, standing east of Zealand, and performed several actions that raised up the credit of the Spanish arms.

Still however the prince of Orange maintained his superiority at sea, by which he frequently reduced the enemy to great difficulties. Philip was sensible that the conquest of the provinces could not be effected while the Zealanders and Hollanders failed from port to port with impunity, relieved the towns besieged by his army, and blocked up those held by the king's forces. To overthrow this last hope of the enemy, he gave orders that the whole force of Requesfes should be applied in reducing the principal sea-ports in Zealand, foreseeing that the enemy's naval strength must of consequence be ruined. Hierges was directed to keep no greater number of forces in Holland than was absolutely necessary, and a prodigious number of vessels were equipped to be assembling in the meditated conquest. The Zealanders saw the design, and, determined to frustrate it, attacked the Spanish squadron, the great part of which they destroyed on the rocks and in the harbours. Requesfes laboured to repair this loss, and execute the royal mandate. A great number of light vessels were again got in readiness. Three thousand men were transported to Tolh, with a view of attacking the little island of Schoonen, which would greatly facilitate the attempt on Waltheren, and the command of the fleet and five hundred land-forces was given to d'Avila. It was concerted to pass by a ford at low water: the Zealanders perceived them approaching, drew up their vessels in a line, and poured out volleys of great and small shot on the enemy, embaffed at the same time with the depth of the water, the weight of their arms and wet cloths. A firm footing on the dry land being at length established, the Zealanders, whose element was the water, every whose gave way, leaving the Spaniards the possession of the open country, and liberty to pursue the conquests of the towns. Ziriczae was blockaded, the severity of the winter preventing its being besieged in form, and Madragon took every precaution that it should not be succoured; while the prince of Orange used every expedient to throw in a reinforcement and provisions. After sustaining great hardships and extreme want, the garrison at length surrendered, and by that means gave promising hopes to the Spaniards they might succeed in the reduction of Holland. It was the loss of Ziriczae that first suggested the design of conferring the provinces of Zealand and Holland upon some protestant prince who should be able to protect them against the tyranny of Philip. This affair was not talked of vaguely, but debated and approved in the states of Holland. The offer was certainly made to queen Elizabeth of England; but she for political reasons declined it. Necessity even obliged the states to negotiate with the French court, and listen to terms offered by the duke of Anjou. The treaty came to nothing, but the prince of Orange gained by it the advantage of establishing a mart at Calais for the disposal of the prizes made by the Gueux.

On the other hand, Philip, though greatly superior in power, was intolerably distressed for money; above 40,000,000 of crowns were due to the Spanish and Genoese merchants, and
the interest still unpaid now amounted to as much as the capital. The war had besides cost a greater sum in specie from Spain and the Indies, which, with the immense losses occasioned by the flagration of trade in the Netherlands, had quite exhausted the treasury. Large arrears were due to the troops, they were every day mutinying, and some broke out into actual rebellion, doing incredible mischief in the open country, and laying the weaker towns under contribution. To remedy these evils, Requesnes demanded a supply of the provinces, and they answered him, by requiring restitution of their privileges, and diminution of the Spanish troops. Flanders in particular paid the desired subsidy, by ballancing it against half the damages the province sustained from the maficud of the governors, and the wars wantonly and unnecessarily excited. While this affair was in agitation, Requesnes died of an ardent fever; the council of state took upon them the administration, and the prince of Orange seized the opportunity of the confusion that ensued to lay the first foundation of the Pacification of Ghent, by which his affairs were considerably retrieved, and the greatest blow given to the court of Spain she had yet sustained. All now was anomaly in the Low Countries. The garrison of Ziriczei mutinied for want of pay, and to appease them the council of state lent a hundred thousand livres, upon which the Wallon regiments under Madragos seized, after expelling the Spanish soldiers, wounding and murdering their officers. This did not unite the Spanish mutineers among themselves; they turned out the few remaining officers, made new appointments, and being joined by the garrison of Liége, marched to the number of two thousand men towards the capital, committed horrible outrages, overwhelmed the inhabitants of Brussels with consternation; and on the 26th of July seized upon Alba, confined the principal burgheers, and hanged up a king’s officer. The most favourable conditions were offered by the council of state, in order to appease the tumult, and provisions were sent to the mutineers. This created suspicion in the inhabitants of Brussels, that the meeting was excited by the connivance of the council, with a view of ruining the provinces without incurring the resentment and odium consequent upon any appearance of legal oppression. They arrested the council, declared the Spaniards rebels, and took measures in concert with the other cities and provinces for expelling foreigners out of the Netherlands. A confederacy to this purpose was formed between the provinces of Hainaut, Artois, and Flanders, to which all the rest except Luxembourg acceded; and don John of Austria, who had entered the Low Countries in quality of governor and successor to Requesnes, was obliged to keep aloof, and live in obscurity in Luxembourg, until the form should subside.¹

The prince of Orange was all this while profiting by these commotions. He had long laboured to have the states-general convoked, and he now saw them not only assembled, but preparing to make head against the Spaniards, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, arising from accidents which all his penetration and sagacity could not foresee. United in councils against the common enemy, every measure was taken for reducing the citadels of Ghent, Antwerp, and Maestricht, the chief places in the hands of the Spaniards, and that must chiefly contribute to their expulsion. Ghent citadel was taken on the 27th of November, by the affiance of a strong reinforcement of troops and artillery sent by the prince of Orange. At Antwerp the states of Brabant were less successful. The citadel was vigorously attacked, but the mutineers at Alba, entering the citadel to assist their countrymen, a holy war was made, the foreigners were driven from their ramparts; great part of the town was consumed by fire, and the rest pillaged for three days with every kind of insole and brutality, at a time when Antwerp was the most flourishing and populous city in the Netherlands, and indeed among the most wealthy in Europe.² It is affirmed that the treasure carried off amounted to four millions, besides an infinity of rich merchandise. This terrible calamity united papists and protestants without distinction in a confederacy, and co-operated with the measures of the prince of Orange to form the pacification of Ghent, which was a confederacy of all the provinces to expel foreign soldiery, to restore the ancient form of government, to refer matters of religion to the several states of the provinces, for ever to unite the other fifteen provinces in the same common interest with Holland, Zeeland, and the prince of Orange, to renew the commerce and amity between them, to assemble the states in the manner practised under the houses of Burgundy and Charles V. to suspend all the rigorous edicts of the duke of Alva on the subject of religion, until the states-general should take the matter into consideration, to release mutually all the natives made prisoners without ransom, and to restore all things upon the same footing as before the war, and the tyrannical government of the duke of Alva.³

The states-general began with soliciting aid from the queen of England. Their ambassador had a gracious reception, and Elizabeth advanced them 20,000 l. sterling, on condition the French should not be invited into the Netherlands, that they would accept

---

¹ Le Clerc, p. 52, 53, 44. Musteren, p. 125. ² Vide Pref. ³ Le Clerc, p. 55.
or Republic of Holland.

... of reasonable terms of accommodation offered, and that the loan should be repaid the ensuing year. Bentivoglio alleges, that the queen stipulated, that they should make no innovations in religion without the consent of Philip, and several other articles not very consistent with her future conduct, and the character of a Protestant sovereign of a Protestant kingdom. Next a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon with don John, upon his assurances that every reasonable request of the provinces should be granted. On the 27th of December, deputies were sent with proposals to don John to disband the foreign troops; but he desired to know what security the states would give for their allegiance after the departure of the Spanish forces, and remonstrated against the unreasonableness of disarming the king, while his rebellious subjects were in arms, and ready to seize the first opportunity of defeating their obedience. He likewise demanded security with respect to religion; and insisted so warmly on this head, that it was obvious he had no inclination to part with the Spanish army before the provinces of Zeeland and Holland embraced the Catholic religion. After much altercation, necessity at length obliged don John to grant all that was required, to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and disband the Spanish army. He had the king's authority for his proceedings, the treaty was proclaimed at Brussels and Antwerp on the 17th of February, and don John immediately acknowledged governor and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; in a word, the Low Countries would again have become the most flourishing and important of the Spanish dominions, had not the ambition of don John, the false policy and delinquency of Philip, or some such cause, a third time lighted up the torch of discord, and excited a civil war, never to be appeased but by the total extinction of the Spanish sovereignty over the seven provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Groningen, Gelderland, Friesland, and Overijssel.

After the departure of the foreign troops, when liberty began to draw breath, while commerce was again lifting its head, and the arts of peace distributing their blessings, don John gave umbrage by the great number of Spaniards retained in his court, the confidence he reposed in his Spaniards servants, the intimacy he chiefly contracted with those persons who appeared dissatisfied with all the measures concerted since the death of Requesens; by demanding the same honours paid to princes of the blood vexted with his authority; and the fame guard and respect by assuming a power over the officers of the army, and claiming the title and power of captain-general; by interfering in the civil promotions depending on the states; and by insisting, that if the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, did not immediately agree to every particular of the late treaty, called the perpetual edict, all communication with them should be broken off, and they forced into reason by dint of arms. It must be observed, that when the edict was communicated to the states of Holland and Zeeland, they made the following objections by the advice of the prince of Orange. That the states general had not established the right of assembling this sovereign tribunal in the persons originally invested with that power by the constitution; that they had authorized an infraction of their privileges, by not procuring the release of count Bare, who had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country; that the pacification of Ghent was confirmed only under such limitations as subjected it to what constructions and interpretations the king thought proper; that the Spanish troops were suffered to carry off the immense wealth they acquired by the ruin and destruction of the Netherlands, and the city of Antwerp in particular; that no stipulation was made in favour of those dispossessed of their estates; that no mention was made of demolishing the forts, and that they had thrown but little complaisance to the queen of England, and the court of France, notwithstanding they had in many instances testified their regard for the Netherlands. They added, that it were to be wished they had seen all these articles performed before don John was admitted into his government, and that every man had previously been put in possession of his estate and effects, as well in the Low Countries, as in the duchy of Burgundy; an article that in particular respected the prince of Orange, dispossessed since the first disturbances of large possessions in Burgundy and Brabant. For these reasons the states and the prince rejected the edict, though they consented to all the articles that did not contradict those specified. Don John was strenuous in urging that violent measures might be used to force them to submission. He wrote to the king in cypher, prefiguring him to this method as the only expedient. The letter fell into the hands of Henry IV., who transmitted it to the prince of Orange. His secretary Esiovoce was next sent to Spain under pretence of soliciting money for the payment of the German forces; but in reality to represent the necessity of violent measures, and communicate the plan projected by don John. Impatient for the return of Esiovoce, he meditated quitting the country, and actually conferred his friends Barlaamont and Manvelt upon the subject. At last, under pretence of compli-

* P. I. lib. x. p. 2. 1.  
* Bentiv. lib. x. ibid.
The history of the United Provinces,

menting Margaret queen of Navarre on her journey to the Space, he left Brussel, and seized upon the citadel of Namur; a conduct which he endeavoured to justify by the necessity he was under of returning to a place of security, while he saw all around him in commotion, and the flames of war and rebellion ready to break out. He sent his apology to the states, desiring they would disarm the governor and burgesses of Brussel, closely attached to the prince of Orange. The states invited him to return, promising they would punish with the utmost severity all convicted of any desigins against his person; but he not only refused, but endeavoured to corrupt the German forces, and by their means to gain possession of Antwerp. In a word, from intercepted letters, from the seizing of Namur, the attempts on Antwerp, the tampering with the German soldiers, the seditious altercation with the states general, and the march of the Spanish army towards the Netherlands, it incontrovertibly appears that don John was the aggressor; that he was encouraged by Philip, and that though the states of Holland and Zeeland refused to sign the perpetual edict, yet they and the prince of Orange were desirous of preserving the public tranquillity even upon the terms of the edict.

When it was known that the Spanish forces were assembling in Namur and Luxembourg, the states invited the prince of Orange to Breda, where he was joyfully received, and accompanied to Antwerp and Brussel by strong guards, who voluntarily offered themselves for his protection. Here he was chosen governor of Brabant, which had no particular governor of the province, being under the immediate direction of don John, in quality of the king's lieutenant. At the same time a council of state was formed, which should have the general government of the provinces, and to this the prince was appointed president. He was indeed esteemed not only the principal personage in the confederacy, but the defender of liberty, and the parent of the Netherlands. His high reputation incurred the jealousy of the other nobility, particularly of the duke d'Archie, the head of an ancient family, the governor of Flanders, and a nobleman of great property and influence. He became the leader of a faction opposed to the prince of Orange; agreed however with him in the defection of tyranny and defence of freedom, but differed not only in point of religion and sentiments with respect to the court of Spain, but of personal interest. In short, he was the prince's rival, and finding his weight inferior, he was determined to invite the archduke Matthias, brother to the emperor, to the government of the Low Countries. A message was privately sent to that prince, who, dissatisfied with the little consequence he had at the imperial court, accepted the proposal, quitted Prague in the night, and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the great astonishment of the states. Contrary to expectation, the prince of Orange espoused the archduke's interest in opposition to the duke of Anjou, and perfused several cities to besow upon him the government, but on condition that he himself should be appointed his lieutenant. Bentivoglio, with the true cafuility of an Italian prelate, affigns a variety of subtle causes for the prince's conduct, which probably never had existence but in that writer's own imagination. It must, however, be acknowledged, that they are specious and refined, perfectly consistent with the character of the prince; but perhaps too speculative for practice, and too far-fetched for so preening a conjuncture.

The duke d'Archie now changed his battery; he laboured to dissever the provinces from coming into the measures of the prince of Orange; affirming, that ambition, and not the love of liberty, made him oppose the Spanish government; he made his public entry into Ghent, escorted by a great number of horse and foot; he gained great numbers of the nobility, obtained from the council of state very extensive powers, with respect to the government of Flanders; and after taking upon him the authority of governor, gained the affections of the people, by declaring that he was come to restore their privileges, and demolish the citadel of Ghent, which had long given umbrage. However, in the midst of all this popularity, he was arrested in Ghent by one Ribove, who raised a sedition among the populace, but released six days after at the intercession of the prince of Orange; a conduct that refuted all the calumnies propagated against him, and proved that the public good was the guiding star which directed him to so many great and glorious actions, amidst the utmost perils of his present reputation. Archie was prevailed on by the states of Flanders to publish a declaration, promising he would entirely forget and forgive the injury his honour sustained by his imprisonment. To this declaration, his pride made him give the air of a pardon. His expression gave offence, and that air of authority he assumed was a proof of his ambition. All his influence however could not procure the release of the other prisoners made in Ghent, particularly of Champigno, who was accused of having drawn up an incendiary paper, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the provinces, and levelled in particular at the prince of Orange, whom they wanted to supercede, by substituting Archie in his employments. It would be impossible to recite the
views, designs, and opinions of parties and individuals, who contributed to the public confusion; they were infinitely contradictory, and frequently absurd. Sufficient it is, that the prince of Orange and duke d’Arcoût were rivals, who should raise the archduke Matthisias to the dignity of governor-general, in order to hold the power in their own hands: both were enemies to tyranny, but the latter better disposed to the Spanish government, and strenuous supporter of the popish religion.

It was judged necessary by the states and the prince of Orange, that the archduke should be maintained agreeable to his quality, until he could be installed in his authority; accordingly the prince, attended by the burgurers in arms, went to meet him at Antwerp. Immediately after the states general published a proclamation, declaring don John an enemy to the country he was bound to protect; and all his adherents were ordered to quit him, under pain of being declared rebels. A clover union was formed between the catholic and protestant provinces, by which the pacification of Ghent was confirmed, and the parties engaged mutually to support their privileges. Next an ambaßy was sent to queen Elizabeth, to solicit the assistance of the English nation, and engage the queen in an alliance. On the 11th of December the states resolved to install the archduke in the dignity of governor-general of the provinces, and a deputation was sent to him with the articles that were to regulate his authority and administration. As the governor was a stranger, supported uniformly of the laws and privileges of the country, the prince of Orange was appointed his lieutenant, whose integrity and ability were acknowledged.

Though the archduke was fettered and confined by tighter bonds than any preceding governor, he accepted the charge, and signed the conditions, set out for Brussels on the 18th of January, and was every where received in the quality he assumed. Don John sent bitter reproaches to the states, but his letters were neglected, and laid aside without a reply; they wrote however to the king, apologizing for their conduct, and attributing it to the necessity of the times, and the maladministration of don John: the same excuses were made to the emperor, without whose permission the archduke had accepted the government, but in vain; for neither of the princes could be persuaded that the states ought to confer or the duke to accept without leave or direct appointment of Philip and the emperor. In Spain councils were daily held upon the affairs of the Low Countries; it was at length determined to act vigorously, as the only means of saving those provinces either from claiming their independency, or throwing themselves into the arms of some foreign prince. The troops were ordered to be assembled in Naples and Milan, levies were made in Burgundy and Luxembourg, and a resolution was taken of supporting don John with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy. To oppose the vital preparations, the states concluded a treaty with the queen of England, whereby that prince stipulated to advance them 100,000sterling, to assist the provinces with 5000 foot, and 1000 horse; on condition that the loan was repaid with interest in eight months, that certain towns were ceded to her in security, that the states should defray the expense of transporting the troops, and take them into their pay while they acted in their service. It is said, that the ambassadors would have preferred an equivalent in money to the English troops; that they hinted the matter to the queen, and found she was offended. The treaty however was afterwards broke by the queen, under pretence that the French would harbour sulliptions of her having designs upon the Netherlands, and would for that reason unite their forces with Spain to oppose her attempts. Instead of the English troops, the queen proposed sending John Casimir count palatine with 3000 foot and 3000 horse, refusing to pay the money stipulated into the states contented. This scheme had before been suggested in the states general, but opposed, as it would render the reformists too powerful; which instead was the great objection to the English forces.

Before this treaty was concluded, don John was joined by the expected army under the conduct of Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, the most intrepid, vigorous, expert, and renowned officer in the service of Philip. The troops consisted of 16000 foot, and 2000 horse, all chofen veterans; many of whom had often triumphed under the duke of Alva. Don John declared war on the 25th of January, and though the winter was severe, determined to commence hostilities, and push the advantages he obtained from a greatly superior army. The states were irrelucious, and slow in their preparations; William of Orange had made the most spirited remonstrances, and insisted on the necessity of an offensive war; but so tedious were the deliberations of to unwieldy a body, clogged with numberless constitutional embarrassments, that nothing was executed. A body indeed of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse was cantonned in the neighbourhood of Namur; but all the chief officers were at Brussels, and only the sieur de Coigny marechal de Camp, and colonel Balfour, a Scotchman, with the troops. Thrice don John proposed attacking; Coigny and

Le Clerc, lib. iii. p. 64.  
Don John deposed.  
Preparations for war.  
A.D. 1572.  
Treaty with queen Elizabeth.  
Success of Don John.  
Balfour
The history of the United Provinces,

Balfour suspected his design, and prepared for a retreat; the cavalry were placed in the rear to cover the infantry in their march, and don Joao hearing they were in motion, hasted to occupy certain advantageous poits. He fell upon the army of the states, broke their disposition, and forced them to seek shelter in a tumultuous manner under the cannon of Gembiers: the town was summoned, and it submitted at discretion; while the fugitive army was dispersed in parties round the country. Louvain surrendered to Gonzaga, and Bovines was reduced by Hierges. Sicheb made an obstinate resistance, but was at length forced and taken by the prince of Parma, all the garrison being put to the sword, except the governor, who valiantly defended himself in an untenable citadel; for which, on his submission, he was unjustly and cruelly hanged. Dieph, Acket, Tillemont, and Lewen, surrendered without exchanging a shot; but Neveu gloriously fought a long siege, and at last obtained honourable conditions. Don Joao would have inverted Brussel, where the archduke and prince of Orange resided; but dreading the difficulty of the enterprise, he contented himself with securing the passes to Italy and the empire, by the reduction of Limburg and Philipville.

While don Joao was pursuing his conquests with rapidity, the states made an acquisition, that more than compensated all their losses; it was the city of Amsterdam, which, blocked up for several months by sea and land, at last concluded a treaty with the friends of the house of Orange, whereby it was stipulated that the protestants should hold their religious meetings without the walls, and be permitted a cemetery and burying-ground within; that the garrison should be disbanded, and 600 men, commanded by the burgesses, levied for the defence of the city; that all persons banished on the score of religion should be recalled; that Amsterdam should enjoy all its ancient privileges; and that all vacancies in public employment should be filled without distinction by those who either did or did not incur the penalty of banishment on account of party connexions. This capitulation was soon broken, the catholic magistrates were driven out of the city, attended by the priests and popish clergy of every denomination; the images and idols of superstition were pulled down, and only the reformed clergy suffered to preach publicly.

These transactions were succeeded by the arrival of baron de Stelle, with letters and instructions from king Philip. His first proposal was to reanimate don Joao; but finding the spirits of the people too violently enflamed to admit of such conditions, the baron artfully altered his battery, desired that the duke of Parma might be accepted in quality of governor, without troops, or any other security than the promises of the states, and the person of the prince of Orange, who was required as a hostage; but this proposition was entirely rejected. Don Joao or the prince of Parma would not be received upon any conditions; and the states positively insisted as a preliminary to any treaty, that the government should be left in the hands of the archduke, assisted by the prince of Orange. The emperor sent ambassadors with instructions to the same purpose; but he met with no better success.

Negotiations proving abortive, both sides prepared to enforce their pretensions by the sword. The states, sensible that the misfortunes and losses in the winter arose from the irrefutable and tedious deliberations of the provincial states, vested the archduke, the council of state, and the prince of Orange, with a power of levying what number of troops they should think necessary, and disposing them in the manner most advantageous to the public, without referring to the states in every particular: they only recommended that they would proportion the expenses to the revenue, which at that time amounted only to 600,000 livres. About this time a revolution, greatly beneficial to the common cause, was effected in Guijeldern; Joao of Nassau, brother to the prince of Orange, was appointed governor of that province; upon entering on the administration, count Joao perceived that the whole conduct of affairs was in the hands of persons strongly affected to king Philip and the catholic religion. Most of the cities professed popery; and the count, who had swore to the pacification of Ghent, was restrained from attempting any change in religion. The face of affairs however took a sudden turn; Joao acquired great popularity, and soon discovered that foreigners were the leading persons. His artifice and policy stimulated the people against them; they were deprived of their seats in the provincial states, and turned out of their offices in the government of the cities. Thus Nassau obtained the chief direction, and was able to co-operate with the measures planned by his brother. Another revolution happened in Groningen, of which Jasper de Rolis fleur de Billy was governor. Billy was by birth a Portuguese, by religion a catholic, and consequently a dependent on the court of Spain; he refused to accede to the union of the provinces, and the states general found it necessary to send to him Francis Martin Stelle, with proposals for signing the pacification

or Republic of Holland.

of Gste. Billy supposing that the deputy's real design was to excite a revolt in the province, put him to the torture to extort confession; after having first wounded him with his own hand. The deputy bid defiance to pain; he bore the most excruciating tortures with firmness, and having a surgeon to dress his wound to enable him to undergo a second trial, he communicated somethings in the Greek language, which the surgeon soon made public: in consequence the mob assembled, rescued Stella, declared for the pacification of Gste, and obliged Billy to quit his government. The change of councils in these two provinces was of the utmost service to the confederacy, and would have enabled the Protestants to have encountered the whole power of Spain, had not division broke their strength, divided their councils, and distracted their affairs.

b The great number of provincials invited into the Netherlands, in consequence of the advice of the queen of England, gave umbrage to the catholics: this was a circumstance on which they had not bestowed sufficient reflection; but the prince of Orange forewore the effects, and opposed the resolution so warmly, that Elizabeth took offence. He even became solicited by several zealous provincials, who did not aver that the desire of preferring unanimity among the provinces was the sole principle of William's conduct. The Walloon provinces, violently attached to the church of Rome, had in fact entertained suspicions, that a project was concerted between the queen of England, the prince of Orange, and prince Casmir, for establishing the protestant religion while the inhabitants of Gste, and the Protestant provinces taxed William with discovering a bias for poverty. Thus his conduct was censured by both parties, and that moderation which breathed nothing but true patriotism, became obnoxious to those who had equally at heart the good of their country. France had long made overtures from the duke of Anjou, which the Walloons now insisted should be taken into consideration. The state, upon the assurances of Henry III. that nothing contrary to the privileges of the province was intended, gratified the request of the Walloons, after consulting whether it would be agreeable. In truth, the appearance of the duke of Anjou, who was sent to the Netherlands merely to be removed from the court, was no way formidable; on the contrary, his army consisted of starved undisciplined wretches, intent only upon plunder and rags: the duke approached Monts, and on the 13th of August a treaty was concluded between him and the states-general, fluctuating, that he should advance with 10,000 foot and 2000 horses, to be maintained for three months at the expense of the states; that if the war should not within that time be finished, he should continue 5000 foot and 500 horse in his own pay, in consideration of which he should be declared defender of the liberties of the Netherlands; that he should enter into an alliance with the queen of England, duke Casmir, and the other friends and supporters of the provinces; that his forces should be joined to those of the states, and himself declared commander in chief, or in his absence the lieutenant of the states; that Tinspur, Bawoits, and Landrecy, should be given him as cautionary towns; and that his troops should have liberty to make conquests in Burgundy and Luxembourg, provided they did not thereby neglect or retard the common cause. Upon the whole, by this treaty the duke got nothing but the empty title of defender of the liberties of the Netherlands; all that was solid depended on the success of the war, and the pleasure of the states.

c

d

While the confederates were forming alliances, healing their divisions, and making preparations, don John of Austria resolved to attack their camp, entrenched at Rimenant, a village between Mechlin and Arcoer. This Dutch army consisted of 8000 foot, 2000 horse, and some companies of English and Scotch auxiliaries. The duke of Parma, lieutenant-general of the Spaniards, propounded drawing this body out of the entrenchments by skirmishes, and then attacking them in the open plain. Battled in this design, he attacked a post defended by the British auxiliaries, but was warmly received, and obliged to retreat with the loss of 800 men. Count Beija, general of the Flemings, filed off towards Namur, determined to act on the defensive until he should be joined by prince Casmir or the duke of Anjou. A solemn ambaß was sent to the latter, requesting he would with all expedition march to the assistance of the Flemings. Anjou began his rout; but instead of pursuing it, he halted to secure a retreat, invested Binche, took it by assault, and used the garrison with so much humanity as induced Mauvege to surrender without exchanging blows. Gyfnoi and Landrecy, however refusing to receive the French troops, proposed the duke should have Mechlin and some other towns, as an equivalent. Anjou was preparing to join the Flemish army, when he received advice, that Casmir, instead of procuring to attack don John, had turned off to Gste, there to receive the pay due to his army. Upon this he halted, and sent to know of the council of state, whether Casmir acted by their instructions. His army murmured, deferred, and complained grievously of the inhospitality of the Flemings; disputes in short rose so high, that it was plain the duke of Anjou was


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 5 P rather
rather the rival of Casmir than the protector of the Low Countries. The states laboured to reconcile the princes, and persuade them to act with unanimity for the common cause. In the mean time don John died, some imagine of chagrin, others affirm of poison, and the whole power came into the hands of a more able soldier and statesman, the duke of Parma.

No advantage was deduced from the death of the Spanish governor; the vigour, the prudence, the uncommon diligence of Parma kept all quiet in his army; while the confederates, greatly superior in strength, including the forces of Casmir, the duke of Argen, and the Flemings, were prevented from action, by disputes, contentions, and rivalship. Casmir entered the provinces with 7000 horse and 8000 foot, a force greatly superior to what had been fluctuated. Suspicion seized the minds of the zealous catholics, and even the prince of Orange and the states remonstrated against this proceeding. The one was sensible it would destroy the necessary harmony, and the others thought it indicated ambition and design. Casmir made his excuses, and was proceeding to Ghent, the burghers of which had promised to pay his army if he would assist them against the Walloons, their declared enemies. The council of state and William of Orange had already denied them all aid, as having openly violated the pacification of Ghent; but Casmir, in great want of money, was ballancing whether he should not accept the proposal. From this he was prevented by the necessity of going to the court of London, to concert matters with Elizabeth.

In his absence all was mutiny and disorder in his army; they disbanded in parties round the country, the cavalry were surrounded by the duke of Parma, and would have been all cut in pieces or made prisoners, had they not conformed to return home, on his granting passports. Argen's army was much in the same condition, and equally useless to the confederates. William of Orange perceiving that little confidence was to be placed in mercenary allies, and less in the unanimity of provinces rent by faction, different in religion, and divided by ambition, political maxims, and private interest, formed the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of which he was governor, and cementing them with those more contiguous, in which the protestant interest prevailed. Such an alliance was subject to infinitely fewer difficulties than attended the more general one of uniting all the provinces; it was in fact the only measure that could be proposed with safety, and it was prosecuted with that alacrity and address for which William was deservedly celebrated.

On the 23d of January deputes from the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelders, met at Utrecht, and signed the alliance ever since known by the name of the Union of Utrecht, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned by the appellation of the United Provinces. This treaty of alliance was founded upon the infract of the pacification of Ghent, solemnly acceded to by Philip, and the late invasion of several towns in Guelderland. It was not hereby intended to divide the seven provinces from the other ten, or to renounce the pacification of Ghent; its object was to preserve the liberty fluctuated in that pacification, by more rigorous operations, and united councils. The chief articles of this union are the following.

The seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, never to be separated or divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement; referring to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes. In all disputes arising between either of the provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators. They shall assist each other with life and fortune against every foreign attack upon any particular province, whether to establish sovereignty, the catholic religion, arbitrary measures, or whatever else may appear inconsistent with the liberties of the provinces, and the intention of the alliance. All frontier towns belonging to the United Provinces shall, if old, be fortified at the expense of the provinces; if new, at the joint expense of the union. The public imposts and duties shall be fixed for three months to the highest bidder, and employed with the king's taxes in the public service.

No province, city, or member of the union shall contract an alliance with any foreign prince or power, without the concurrence of all the other members. Foreign powers shall be admitted into the alliance, only by consent of all the contracting parties. As to religion, the provinces of Holland and Zealand shall act in that particular as they think advisable; the rest shall adhere to the purport of the edict published by the archduke Matthias, which prescribed that no man should be oppressed on the account of conscience. All the inhabitants, from the age of eighteen to sixty, shall be trained and disciplined to war. Peace and war shall be declared by the unanimous voice of all the provinces; other matters that concern the internal policy shall be regulated by a majority. The states shall be held in the usual constitutional manner, and coinage shall be deferred to future determination.

Finally, the parties agree, that the interpretation of these articles shall remain in the states general; but in case of their failing to decide, in the stadholder.

---


In
or Republic of Holland.

In this grand alliance, sketched out by the prince of Orange, may easily be discerned the judicious steady hand of the master and true patriot. It was so universally approved, that in a short time the cities of Ghent, Nimeguen, Artheim, Leewarden, Veul, Zype, Asswerp, Breda, Bruges, with several other towns, noblemen, and persons of distinction, embraced and signed the union. Thus the foundation of a commonwealth was laid, but in fluctuating and uncertain state of affairs, when men were actuated by different passions, views, and interests; intimidated by the great strength of the Spanish monarchy, and supported chiefly by a zealous adherence to liberty, and firm resolution to perish in defence of freedom. The first coin struck after this alliance is expressive of the situation of the infant republic (a).

It was expected, that the important object of this alliance would have attracted the attention of the Walloons, and indeed of all the catholic inhabitants of the Netherlands; it in fact did so, but in a different manner from what was imagined. The Walloons not only refused to accede to the union, but they made the strongest remonstrances to the states-general upon the danger, impropriety, and illegality of such a confederation. It appears from Strada and Bentiveglia, that the duke of Parma was at the bottom of their intrigues. He stimulated and promoted their measures, inspiring them with a jealousy of the protestant designs on the catholic religion. In the end, he contracted an alliance with them, and thereby confirmed by his own example the legality and necessity of the union of Utrecht. Immediately they began levying an army, but still kept up appearances with the confederate provinces, though it was obvious that hostilities must soon commence. To prevent the effusion of blood, the emperor, as mediator, set on foot another negotiation; but Philip, would allow no reasonable terms of accommodation, and gave no security for liberty and religion. Instead of granting equitable conditions, he laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the union, made him extraordinary proposals, offered to restore him to all his estates, indemnify his losses, raise him to the height of power, and give him the first place in his election and favour. But William was too wise to rely on the promises of a king, who had thrown himself perjurious; too firm to be moved by danger; and too public-spirited to relinquish the interests of his country for his own private emolument. He determined to share the fate of the United Provinces, to fulfil his engagements, and the hopes conceived of his conduct.

In the mean time great disorders arose in Ghent. The inhabitants, finding that the Walloons refused all proposals of agreement, began after their violence against the catholics. Their example was followed at Owenearde and Dendermonde, and to such excess did they push their zeal, that the presence of the prince of Orange was necessary to restore the tranquillity of Ghent in particular. On the prince's arrival he found everything in confusion, the convents and churches pillaged by the soldiers, the houses and effects of the catholic priests sold at public markets; and Imbise, who arrogated to himself a kind of despotic power, laying an undue restraint on the election of magistrates, imprisoning all those who opposed his usurpation. The prince soon put a stop to these arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings; Imbise was forced to abdicate, the magistrates were chosen according to the laws, and the catholics restored to the full possession of their estates; an instance of justice which, however, could not procure William the confidence of the catholic faction, who esteemed the man, while they detested the heretic. An attempt was made by the Walloons to frustrate the city; but it was frustrated by the prince's vigilance and prudence.

While the prince of Orange was busied in conciliating factions, forming alliances, and strengthening the union, the duke of Parma was taking measures to disconcert his projects, and reduce the provinces to the king's obedience. He dispatched Gonzaga and Mandraze with eight thousand men to lay siege to Maasfen. The town was taken by assault; the governor hanged, and forty-five of the chief inhabitants were tortured to death, for having valiantly defended themselves, and faithfully discharged their duty. It is said the duke of Parma disapproved this bloody proceeding, so inconsistent indeed with the character of a hero. After some farther inconsiderable advantages obtained in the neighbourhood of Ravesmond, the king's army intrenched Antwerp, where the archduke and the prince of Orange then resided. The states infantry was intrenched near Borgerhout, a post attacked without succour by the duke of Parma, after a brisk skirmishing of two hours between the armies. La Noue, however, the general of the states army, not conning to expose himself to continual alarms from the enemy's cavalry, retired under the cannon of Antwerp.

On La Noue's retreat, the duke of Parma inveigled Monsbrux. The siege began on the 8th of March, and continued, without remission, to the 29th of June. This defence was deemed very extraordinary, as the fortifications were in bad order, the garrison slender, and the garrison slender, and

---

(a) Here was represented a ship labouring amidst the waves, unshaken by storms, with this motto, In ter, facta quanti facto renunt. Vide Le Clerc, tom. iii. Sir William Temple, chap. i. p. 54. and
and the place but poorly provided with the necessaries of a siege. To one Sebastiaun Tappin the whole glory was due. He was a native of Lorraine, an engineer by profession, a protestant, a brave and alert soldier, whose indefatigable vigilance railed continual obstructions to the duke's approaches. The garrison had sustained frequent assaults, and made divers bloody fallies, by which they were so much weakened, fatigued, and exhausted, that during a parley the town was surprised, and a great many soldiers put to the sword; but Tappin was favor'd by favour of the duke of Parma, who gave strict orders that he should have quarter. For three days Maxncricht was a scene of the utmost devastation and horror, the Spanish soldiers committing every excess and enormity, in defiance of all the endeavours of the general to restrain their licentiousness, and maintain discipline; tired with pillage and slaughter, they sat down loaded with booty, but not satiated with blood. With such diligence did the duke apply himself to this siege, that, unable to support the fatigue, he was seized with a fever, which had near proved fatal. His situation inspired the enemy with freth courage. They ventured to appear in the field; they reduced Aslo, and some other places of little confluence, but could not prevent the loss of Menin, taken by assault; though it was soon after retaken by the prince of Orange. In Brabant the states likewise obtained some advantages, though of two unimportant a nature to merit attention. The truth is, all the United Provinces were in a deplorable situation, and their trifling succours were owing entirely to accident, or the duke of Parman's illness. Several provinces contributed nothing to the common caufe; others furnished but a small proportion of the taxes agreed upon at the union. The army had large arrears due, and lived at difference in a manner more oppressive to the people than taxes to the amount of their regular pay. The people clamoured against the states, they threw the blame of the officers for relaxing in point of discipline; and the officers reprimanded, alledging, that the fault was in the states, who failed in performing their engagements to the army. All was in confusion; but as no person would acknowledge his error, there appeared little hopes of amendment. In a word, nothing besides the same distress in the Spanish army could have prevented the duke of Parma from reducing the revolted provinces to accept any terms he should think fit to prescribe. He was equally in want of money, and his late treaty with the Walloons required that he should dismiss all his foreign troops in the space of six weeks after the publication of the treaty. His situation indeed was so deplorable, that he requested leave to resign his command, and retire with the foreign soldiers to Italy; but the court of Spain had too much confidence in his ability to entrust so important a charge to another. In this state of affairs the animosity of the parties remained, without the power of frowning their resentment. The states were resolute, but unable to defend their liberties. Philip was determined, but too weak, to be despotic. They mutually published bitter remonstrances, but their strength would seem to have evaporated in revilings.

At last the prince of Orange renewed the treaty with the duke of Anjou. It was hoped that a brother of the king of France would introduce an alteration in their circumstances, more favourable than could be expected from the government of the archduke, unsupported by the emperor and the empire. The queen of England was again offered the sovereignty, but she declined it for political reasons. The duke of Anjou was, however, opposed by a great number of the reformers, who could never reconcile themselves to the son of Catherine de Medicis; an ambitious, intriguing woman, doomed to indelible infamy, by the flame the bore in the horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris. All arguments to remove their prejudices were vain. Anjou was a Roman catholic, and that alone was sufficient to render him detestable. The prince of Orange urged the necessity of receiving the prince. Theologians and civilians allowed that it was lawful to have recourse in extremity to a papaist, but the people continued obstinate. This determined the prince of Orange to have recourse to the states-general, to whom he sent a long remonstrance, pointing out the causes why the confederacy did not produce the intended effect, and exhorting them to reconsider the affair respecting the duke of Anjou. He laid before them a scheme for the operations of the future campaign, the forces requisite to push their projects with success, and the means of supporting the troops. He proposed that the oath administered to the troops should be changed, alleging, as the cause of their licentiousness, that having only sworn fidelity to the king, they thought themselves at liberty to oppress his subjects in open war against Philip. In consequence, the states-general referred the prince's remonstrances to the provincial states and cities; and, after long deliberations, and warm debates, it was at length determined to call in the duke of Anjou, as the only resource in so great a calamity. The influence of the prince of Orange, the confidence the people repose in his ability and integrity, and the weight of his arguments, contributed chiefly to this resolution. Accordingly the year began with a solemn treaty, whereby the United Pro-

A. D. 1580. The duke of Anjou elected sovereign of the Netherlands.

\[\text{\textit{Bestius}, p. 2. lib. i. p. 19. \textit{Grot}, lib. iii.}\]
or Republic of Holland.

a vincens renounced their allegiance to Philip, and acknowledged Francis Hercules de Valois, duke of Alençon and Anjou, for their sovereign. The treaty consisted of twenty-seven articles, of which this we have mentioned was the chief. Deputies were sent to the duke of Anjou, to explain the articles, and congratulate him on his accession. As to the archduke Matthias, finding himself unsupported by the emperor, the empire, and the numerous friends whom he expected would have joined him on his elevation, he expressed no resentment at the conduct of the provinces, which with great moderation he attributed to necessity. He only demanded to know their intention with respect to his own person; and the states made their apology, by representing the situation of their affairs, affuring him of their esteem, permitting him to reside in the Netherlands as long as he thought convenient, and highly applauding the prudence and equity of his conduct during his administration (B).

When the king of Spain was informed of this open defection of the provinces, he attributed the whole to the prince of Orange, and proceeded directly to proscribe him; he conscripted his estate, upbraided him with ingratitude, and flamed his character with ignominy. He even promised a reward of 25,000 crowns to whoever should bring him the prince of Orange dead or alive, the fame to his heirs in case the attempter perished in the enterprise; and he declared all those proscribed, their estates conscripted, their honours and dignities abolished, who adhered to William a month after the publication of this edict. The prince of Orange did not silently pass over this proscription; he employed one Villiers a Frenchman, to refute the edict: his answer was well received, and is recorded by historians as a proof of the spirit, the equity, the prudence, and the moderation of the prince. However, when it was proposed to the states for their opinion, with a request they would publish it in their own name, they declined it, assigning for a reason, that it contained some facts too little known to be credited, and perhaps too much acrimony and resentment against a prince whose power they still dreaded. With these recriminations ended the transactions of the year.

The following year was ushered in with great commotions at Bruges, excited by one Ruyservelt a monk, who was strongly attached to king Philip. This man by preaching, declaiming, and haranguing, endeavoured to enflame the minds of the people against the late measures, and to stir them up to revolt against the new administration. Mobs assembled in the streets with a view of admitting the Spanish troops, but they were dispers'd by the governor and garrison. Finding that the monks in general were concerned in a conspiracy against the magistrates, the governor ordered their churches to be shut up, their most valuable images and religious ornaments to be fold, and themselves banished the city. Soon after these commotions were settled, the duke of Parma projected an enterprise against Flyshing. Certain Zealanders were corrupted to betray their country; but they took the duke's money, and apprized the prince of Orange of the design, by which means it was defeated. In Brabant the states contented themselves with maintaining their ground, without aspiring at new acquisitions. The garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom, Vlissinghe, and Willembroek, mutinied for their arrears, but they were appeased by the payment of a part of their demands. As to the duke of Parma, though he was in great want of money, and therefore unable to undertake any considerable enterprise, yet he had this advantage over the states, that he could suffer the soldiery of the garrison to live at free quarters upon the burghers, a liberty on which the others did not presume, from an apprehension of irritating those spirits to be gained only byloeoting, cajoling and moderation. Count Maffoul was detached by the duke with a body of forces to attack Nivelle, an enterprise in which he succeeded with little difficulty; while Condé was recovered with equal facility by the duke of Parma in person. On the other hand, Harpensee surprized the citadel of Breda, defended only by a very slender garrison, and soon reduced the city. This officer's next attempt was on Grootenbergen, but it failed.

During these petty hostilities, the states, after long deliberations at the Hague, published an edict, excluding king Philip from any sovereignty, right, or authority over the Netherlands. This writing appeared on the 26th of July, under the title of The abdication of Philip king of Spain. It was extremely well drawn up, stated in the strongest

---

The prince of Orange proscribed.

The state renounce their allegiance to Philip. The states resolve.

---


(B) As to the provinces of Holland and Zealand, they were left wholly in the hands of the prince of Orange, whose power as stadholder was in no respect limited by the duke's sovereignty. After all, Grotius affirms, that the duke's authority was merely nominal, that the real power devolved on the prince of Orange, whose name, however, was used in all public acts only in a subaltern capacity. It was apparent indeed to the French, that William concealed ambitious views under the cloak of patriotism, but it was not convenient to discover their sentiments (1).

The history of the United Provinces,

manner the mutual privileges of the king and people, proved that the allegiance of the latter was void by the breach of contract on the side of the former, enumerated the oppressive and tyrannical acts of his government, set aside his authority for the most cogent reasons, forbid money to be coined in his name, and took every other step towards independence. It was in vain for Philip to remonstrate; he knew the states were to be convinced only by the sword; to this therefore he appealed. The duke of Parma blocked up Cambray fo close, that the garrison was reduced to the extremity of living upon horses, dogs, and cats, though they still refused to capitulate, in hopes of being succoured. At length the duke of Anjou assembled a body of 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and approached Cambray. The vicount de Turenne and count Vependois undertook to force themselves, with a body of men, but they were surrounded and taken prisoners by the Spaniards. This difficult appointment did not discourage the duke of Anjou: he still pressed forward with intention to attack the Spaniards; but the duke of Parma, not caring to hazard a battle, deferred his works, and retired to Bouchain. As soon as the duke of Anjou entered the city, he took an oath to govern it according to its ancient laws, and to preserve the citizens in the full possession of all their liberties. He was now pressed by the states and the prince of Orange to march directly into Flanders; he endeavoured to comply, but his army composed chiefly of volunteers, was so weakened by defection, that the design was laid aside.

It was about this time that the duke of Anjou resumed the notion of addressing Elizabeth queen of England, and proposing marriage to a princess too fond of indepedency to be shackled with the authority of a husband. The prince, not deterrated by the ill success of his former negotiation, determined upon a voyage to England; an excursion which proved equally unsuccessful to himself and unfortunate to the United Provinces. He was magnificently entertained, led into a persuasion that all would succeed according to his wishes, and at length tired out with tedious expectation. In his absence, Sir Gustave was reduced by the prince of Espanet. This general directed his march towards Dunkirk, with intention to join the French forces. The duke of Parma, who had notice of his motion, repaired to seize the opportunity of investing Tournay. He began his approaches, and was vigorously received by that garrison, inspired by the courage of the princess Maria d'Espanet, niece of count Horn, so cruelly beheaded by the duke of Alava. The town was stormed in breach by the duke of Parma, who supported the affilliates in person, received a wound, and had the mortification to see his Spaniards thrown headlong from the walls. The duke of Anjou repeatedly promised succours, but either forgot or could not perform his engagements; the latter indeed is the most probable, as he was certainly a dupe to the superior policy of Elizabeth, who had not yet declared openly in favour of the states. In the end, despairing of relief, harrassed with perpetual watching, and weakened by llosses, the garrison capitulated on the 29th of November. The conditions were honourable, and the princesses d'Espanet in particular was received with particular marks of distinction by the duke of Parma, who highly esteemed the heroic qualities of this amazone. This advantage was succeeded by another obtained by the Spaniels general Verdugo, over the confederate army in Friesland, commanded by general Norris, and William-Lewis of Nassau, a young prince of great expectation. It appears from the Spaniels account, that Norris was attacked in a defile, where he could not draw out his troops in batailla, that he was put in confusion, and defeated with great loss. On the other hand, the Dutch writers allege, that he attacked the enemy, but being inferior in cavalry, retreated in good order, with scarce any loss.

The next year began with a spectacle very unequal in the Netherlands, the public entry of a soveraign elected by the people. The duke of Anjou setting fail from England on the 8th day of February, arrived on the 10th at Flushing, where he was received by the princes of Orange and d'Espanet. Next day they set out for Antwerp with a magnificent retinue, and went up the Scheld attended by fifty barges. His reception at Antwerp was splendid, beyond any thing ever seen in the provinces; they even exceeded the preparations made for Philip himself on his being appointed to the government in the Netherlands by Charles V. his father. A theatre was erected before the walls of the citadel, in which was placed a chair of state, covered with cloth of gold. There the duke was seated, and the conditions read to him, upon which he was received as duke of Brabant. When he had sworn to observe the articles, he was clothed with the ducal robe, and his head adorned with the ducal coronet by the prince of Orange, who said, "I will pin it in such a manner that it will never be easily shaken;" an expression which at that time was taken for a happy omen, though it soon proved fallacious.

While the states of Brabant were employed in festivity and mirth, an action that would have proved fatal to the provinces was on the point of execution at Antwerp. A Bifan merchant named Gasper Anafris had contrived a project to redeem his shattered fortune by

or Republic of Holland.

427

the death of the prince of Orange. He corrupted one of his domestics by the promise of half the reward, to strike the blow. The assassin entered the citadel, and as the prince was passing after dinner into another room, discharged a pistol, and dangerously wounded him behind the ear. The prince was stunned with the force of the ball, and before he recovered the assassin was killed by his attendants, which prevented for a time the absolute discovery of the plot, though it afterwards appeared from circumstances. It was traced that he had confided the secret to a Dominican named Antonius Tunnemeron, receiving from the wicked priest abolition, and a promise of eternal reward. Tunnemeron was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his limbs being fixed up on the walls of the citadel at Antwerp. Nothing could more fully prove the importance of William's life, than the rejoicing of the Spaniards, in a false report of his death, and of the confederates as soon as it was fully confirmed that his life was in no danger. It was, perhaps, not very prudent in the prince of Parma to write circumlocutory letters to the cities on the pretension that the prince of Orange was no more; since it afforded suspicion that he was not ignorant of the conspiracy. Finding the report groundless of the prince's death, Parma determined to begin hostilities. Oudenarde was invested and closely besieged from the 8th of April to the 23rd of July. The brave defence made by the garrison, gave the duke of Anjou sufficient time to come to the relief of the town, had his army been sufficiently strong for the enterprise; but he had not yet received the expected reinforcement from France, and was under the necessity of containing himself with the handful of Alder, by way of retaliation. His infantry was encamped, and under the command of Count de Rochfort, before the walls of Ghent. Here the count was attacked by the duke of Parma, who after an obstinate conflict was forced to retire, without being able to bring on a general engagement.

On the 1st of July a conspiracy against the duke of Anjou, the prince ofOrange, and d'Effrées, was happily discovered at Bruges. The accomplices of the plot were seized and tortured, upon which they declared that they were expressly employed by the duke of Parma. It is probable that the duke must have received positive orders to this effect from the court of Spain; for so base and little a revenge was totally inconsiderate with the generous and heroic qualities of that warrior. For the remainder of the campaign, the chief operations confined in the surprising of inconsiderable places: both sides were unable to take the field with dignity or advantage for want of troops and money. The duke of Parma had a great number of battles in the Netherlands; but they were necessarily employed in garrisoning those towns to the inhabitants of which were expelled; and the states were prevented from augmenting their army, because no settled provision was made for their maintenance. The king's chief army in the field did not exceed 4000 men, and yet it was superior to the confederate forces. It was now the great aim of the duke of Parma to obtain the consent of the Walloons, that the Spanish forces might return into the Netherlands; he gained so much upon the affections of the people that they readily came into his sentiments; but the nobility still opposed him, from the apprehension that their own services would then be of less consequence. The nobility, however, were forced to yield to the clamours of the people and the king's command, who gave orders that 5000 Spaniards and 4000 Italians should immediately begin their march for Flanders. Such an accession to the enemy's strength required the utmost vigilance and activity on the side of the confederates, who immediately engaged in their service 4000 Swiss infantry, and a body of French cavalry, under the conduct of prince David, and Arnaud de Biron. But as the auxiliaries of either party arrived before it was late in the season, they were put into winter-quarters, in order to commence operations with vigour in the spring. The taking of Envooy by surprize, and some other spirited actions, prepossessed the people strongly in favour of the duke of Anjou, and inspired them with hopes, that, with his brother's assistance, he would soon oblige the Spaniards to evacuate the Netherlands. But these expectations were frustrated by the apparent colonel in which Henry III. promoted the duke's interest. Both princes were indeed of too indolent and easy a disposition to employ much exertion on public affairs, which they left entirely to the management of their favourites and minions. It was owing equally to jealousy and inactivity, that Henry feebly assisted his brother; if the duke succeeded in his enterprise, the king foresaw he would become independent; if he failed, he must fall back on a dependence on the crown. This determined Henry to steer a middle course, to feed him with hopes, and supply him with succours just sufficient to prevent his sinking, but very inadequate to what was necessary to induce success. It would indeed be an unpopular measure entirely to abandon the duke of Anjou, who would probably gain a strong party in the kingdom from the cruelty of the uage, and the pusillanimity of Henry. On the other hand, the duke, who had figured to himself on his arrival in the Netherlands, all the power and pom of deposition, finding that he was now destitute of money, forces, and councils, abandoned himself to

A. D. 1583.

Spanish troops again admitted into the Netherlands.

The history of the United Provinces,

the direction and admonitions of the young people about him, whose views in coming to Flanders was to enrich themselves at the expense of the Flemings. They were perpetually throwing out complaints of the ingratitude of the states, which served only to irritate the people and alienate their affections from the new government. In a short time, he entirely lost the confidence of the people, by means of his pernicious counsellors, who advised him to feitze with the French forces on Newport, Dismuye, Offen, Bruges, Dendermond, Alofs, Vilvoorde, Antwerp, and the several towns and cities round which the French and Flemish troops were quartered. By gaining the entire possession of these places, it was weakly imagined, he might render himself arbitrary, and fix the states in dependence upon the French interest. The project was executed with success at Dunkirk, St. Vinaux, Dismuye, and Vilvoorde, but it failed at Antwerp and other places. The duke took it upon himself to gain possession of Antwerp; but the vigilance of the prince of Orange, and the courage of the burgheers, defeated the attempt, and obliged the French to retire, with the loss of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners. He afterwards endeavoured to apologize for his conduct, which he attributed to accident; and the states not daring to exasperate a prince in possession of so many of their towns, seemed to give credit to his excuses, while they determined narrowly to watch his conduct.

As soon as these transactions were known in France and England, Henry and Elizabeth offered their mediation to appease the difference, and reconcile the duke to the states. Elizabeth advised him to dismiss the counsellors of this measure, as well as the officers employed in the execution, as the only step that could possibly regain the affections and confidence of the people. The states would do nothing without consulting their great leader the prince of Orange, whose sentiments upon this subject they demanded. William's answer was such as might increase the high opinion of his foresight, prudence, and penetration, the some have supposed that it was dictated by ambition. In the present circumstances of affairs, only one of these methods can be chosen, either to make peace with the king of Spain, to reconcile themselves with the duke of Anjou, or to defend their liberties with the native forces, without having recourse to foreign powers. As to the first, it was impracticable without renouncing all the advantages proposed by the war, and receiving worse conditions than had been proposed by the duke d'Alva. It was, he said, no difficult matter to heal the breach between the states and the duke of Anjou; but in doing this, they were again exposed to the same danger from which they lately had been so providentially delivered. With respect to the remaining alternative, that of defending their liberties by national troops, it would, he said, be much the most desirable, were it possible; but he feared, that neither the chiefs were unanimous, the provinces rich, and the people numerous enough to rely upon their endeavours. Upon the whole, however, he recommended this last course, provided any degree of harmony of counsellors could be established, and that all the provinces would resolve to act up to their engagements. But he submitted his sentiments to the judgment of the states, declaring, that he would be wholly governed by their opinion. Many persons imagined that he sought to increase the public distraction in the strongest manner in which he stated the difficulties consequent on every possible measure. It is not improbable, that the states were likewise of this opinion, from the resolution they formed of being reconciled to the duke of Anjou.

After the prince's answer was fully examined, and the remonstrances of Belliere the French ambassador, in favour of the duke of Anjou, heard, the states nominated deputies to confer with the duke. They had no expectation of assistance from Germany, the queen of England was sparing of her promises, money, and forces; but Henry III. not only engaged to afford them liberally if they would accommodate matters with his brother, but threatened in case of refusal to throw himself in the opposite scale. These menaces, and the desire that the duke would attempt the relief of Endove, now beleaguered near three months, hastened the negociation. It was agreed that the French prisoners at Antwerp should be released, that the effects of the Flemish merchants seized in France, and the towns of Vilvoorde, Dendermond, and Vinno, should be restored; that the duke's army should take the field, and every thing be placed on the same footing as before the attempt on the liberty of the provinces; Endove in the mean time surrendered for want of provisions; and the marquis of Biran, at the head of the French army, retaliated upon the Spaniards, by surprizing the castles of Viersfel and Weud, the latter of which was defended by a strong garrison. Viersfel however was soon after retaken by the count Mansfeld. To stop the progress of Biran, the duke of Parma marched against him with all his forces, attacked him near Bergen op Zoom, and defeated him, with the loss of 500 men. In this action Biran was wounded; but historians differ widely in particulars. After this advantage the Spaniards general laid siege to Hirentaals, but relinquished it on advice that the duke of Anjou, disgruntled at the late defeat,
or Republic of Holland.

a and the tedious deliberations of the states, had retired into France, leaving the fieur de Chamois with a slender garrison in Dunkirk. As this town was an object of more importance than Hirentals, he resolved to invest it with all his forces; his operations were so vigorously pushed, that Chamois, after several brisk sallies, was obliged to surrender. He was no sooner in the possession of this port, than he equipped a great number of armed vessels to cruize upon the Zealanders, restrain their enormities, and make reprisals. To the reduction of Dunkirk succeeded the submission of Farnes and Newport, then of St. Vincent, Dixmude, and Menin.

b The rapidity of the prince of Parma's conquests rendered more apparent the effects of the dissensions in the states, the want of unanimity, and of a head to direct their councils. Of all men the prince of Orange, who was perfectly acquainted with the humour of the people, and the flate of affairs, was the fittest to preside, but jealously obstructed his promotion. That prince had now by a fourth marriage formed a strong interest with the protestants of France, having espoused Louise de Coligny, daughter to the famous admiral Coligny. His life was every day in danger, upon account of the services he had done the provinces; he was firmly attached to liberty; but his ambition, which, however he restrained, and artfully concealed, was dreaded to such a degree, that though all acknowledged his superior capacity, few ever thought of raising him to the supreme government.

c The duke of Anjou's retreat was of the utmost service to the duke of Parma, who artfully fomented the division in the provinces, and every day strengthened his army by desertions from the enemy, not of individuals but of whole cities and garrisons. On the 5th of March he received deputies from Ghent. The fidgetious and tumultuous spirit of the inhabitants had forced the prince of Orange to quit the city, and abandon that rebellious people to their fate; upon which they defied to be restored to the favour of king Philip, promising him the utmost loyalty and fidelity, provided their privileges were secured. These however were only the trappings of a party: the greater part of the citizens remained attached to the states, and being seasonably supported by a body of troops from Brussel and Antwerp, suppreessed the Spanish faction, just as it was upon the point of delivering up the city to the duke of Parma.

d Amidst these confusions the duke d'Anjou died in France, and soon after the prince of Orange was affianced at Delph, by one Balthazar Gerrard or Guion, a person who had before served his highness with fidelity and zeal. He was at that time employed by the prince to carry letters into France, and had received money to bear his expenses, with which he purchased pistols to murder his benefactor. At the criminal's examination, it appeared that he had long meditated this bloody action, and was confirmed in his resolution by the jefuits and catholic priests; he even affirmed on the rack that the duke of Parma was privy to the design, who promised he should have the reward: upon the whole, Gerrard seems to have been an enthusiast, and his crime the result rather of insanity, than any concerted scheme, malicious or interested intention. His punishment however, respecting only the action; it was cruel beyond measure, shocking to humanity, and a striking instance of the vehement party-spirit of the times; not of the justice of the judges, or the attachment of the people to the prince of Orange*

S E C T. III.

Containing an account of the state of Affairs consequent of the death of the Prince of Orange, the stadtholdership of Prince Maurice, and the government of the Earl of Leicester, with other particulars.

f The United Provinces were now deprived of their chief hope; William was the soul of the union; though he found it frequently impossible to govern the passions of the multitude; his vigilance, address, penetration, eloquence, liberality, and prudence, had hitherto preserved their liberty; but his ambition, boldness, cunning, and intrigue, had involved them in a maze of politicks, out of which it required his superior capacity to extricate the Netherlands. A general gloom and despondency appeared in every face; confusion and anarchy now reigned in the councils of the confederates. The provinces of Zealand and Holland alone endeavoured to repair the los; and shew their gratitude to William, by electing his son Maurice their stadtholder and captain general by sea and land. Maurice was at that time eighteen years of age; but such rays of genius shone forth in his character, as approved him worthy of the honours conferred. Such was the

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.

---

*A. D. 1584.*

Commotions in Ghent.
The history of the United Provinces,

youth opposed to the duke of Parma, the most renowned general of the age. It was imagined in Spain, that the death of William would deprive the confederates, not only of counsel, but of courage, longer to reft the power of Philip; but as soon as the first emotions of terror and grief were subsided, it produced very contrary effects. Revenge took place of despair, and the horror of the affazination, universally attributed to the intrigues of Philip, so irritated the people, that they determined to prosecute the war with such vigour and constancy, as required the exertion of all the duke of Parma's abilities. For a time indeed their efforts were feeble, because they were ill directed; but Zealand and Holland having led the way, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overyssel followed the example; chusing governors strongly attached to the cause of liberty, and to the memory of the prince of Orange. Now they united themselves more closely; they came to a resolution, that if any article of the treaty of Utrecht had been broken or neglected, henceforward strictly to obverse it, to remove difficulties, duly to furnish the several quotas, to permit only the public exercise of the evangelical religion, and to exert their utmost efforts to reft the tyranny of Philip, and revenge the affazination of their great deliverer the prince of Orange.

While the provinces were taking the most vigorous measures for their mutual defence, the Spaniards general was preparing to pul the advantage he expected from the disorder consequent on the death of William of Orange. Antwerp, notwithstanding its losses in the beginning of the troubles, was still the most wealthy city of the Netherlands; this city had long been the object of the duke of Parma's designs, but the enterprise was attended with such difficulties as obliged him until now to defer it. He once proposed laying siege to Antwerp, immediately after the removal of Maerlant, and he now resumed the project, in hopes that the confusion in the provinces would prevent their sending the required succours; to succeed, it was necessary to cut off the communication of the city with Holland, with Ghent, and all the places above and below Antwerp on the river Scheld. With this view he laid siege to Liefenboaek and Tilto, places of the utmost consequence to the commerce and security of the city: both were obstinately defended, and the siege of the latter railed after it had been carried on for three months with incredible fatigue, industry, and expence; however, the duke of Parma gained possession of several other pofts on the river, where he built forts, and greatly annoyed the shipping and trade of Antwerp. He next laid siege to Dendermonde, in order to cut off the communication between Ghent and Antwerp, in which he succeeded by the reduction of the town. His next attempt was on Ypres; this place he took by assault, and thereby put a stop to the intercourse between Antwerp and Brussels. Finding this method of hemming in the city tedious and ineffectual, while an opening to the mouth of the river remained, he proposed in council, that a fortified bridge should be built across the Scheld, and defended by strong forts and outworks at both extremities. At first this proposition was received as whimsical and idle by the members of the council, but on the duke's explaining his design, with applause: while he was procuring the proper materials for his design, the inhabitants of Ghent, terrified with the preparations, and affured that his next attempt would be directed against their city, resolved to deprave his wrath by their submission. Deputies were accordingly sent to the duke of Parma; and it was agreed on the 17th of September, that Ghent should receive a Spanish garrison, on condition the city should be preferred in all its privileges.

After this acquisition the duke returned to his main object, the reduction of Antwerp; he began with collecting great quantities of wood at Callo and fort St. Philip, where he intended the bridge should be erected; but his project was for a time retarded by the Antwerpers, who broke down the dykes, overflowed the whole country, and swept off with the inundation all the duke's magazines. Not discouraged by this accident, he applied himself diligently to repair the loss, and, by way of carrying off the waters, cut a canal from Steken to Callo, a work of prodigious labour and expense. It was performed with the utmost diligence, and executed with expedition scarce credible. Next he set to work upon the bridge, and finished, without interruption from the Zealanders or Antwerpers, in seven months, that stupendous monument of his genius, which was to determine the fate of Antwerp. Private interest, even when all was at stake, prevented the Antwerpers from executing a scheme which would have infallibly baffled all the duke's endeavours, and effectually have destroyed the fruits of his labour. AldaMZode the governor proposed building a fort on Couwen-ray dyke, to secure that important post, and breaking down the dyke, after the duke of Parma's bridge should be near finished; but his sentiments were violently opposed by certain citizens, who apprehended their lands and villas would be destroyed by the inundation: this unseasonable opposition, with the inexcusable
or Republic of Holland.

431

A fable negligence of the magistrates, who, depending upon a free intercourse by means of the river, deferred laying in corn, because the markets happened to be high, occasioned the loss of the city, and was a flagrant proof that William of Orange no longer directed their councils. However, in defiance of all the duke of Parma’s precautions, the Zealanders found means to throw in a convoy of corn; but the citizens knowing they would not run the hazard of carrying it back, so cheapened the price that bold traders refused ever again bringing their goods to so bad a market. Thus, through avarice, intolence, and insensibility, did the Antwerpers see their ruin daily approaching, without seeming to observe it. They did not apprehend the consequence of quietly permitting the duke to finish the bridge, until it was too late to repair the error, and they began to suffer by famines; then they pressured the Zealanders to attempt their relief by attacking the bridge; but the reception those mariners had left met with, was no inducement to run fresh hazards; however, by order of the states, Treffong the admiral of Zeeland was preparing to make the attempt. A squadron was appointed; but he deferred the enterprise under so many pretences, that he was superseded, and the command given to Hobenha and Jefiert Naffau, who immediately attacked Lijfsenhouw, with so much spirit and resolution, that it surrendered on the first summons. They next fell upon St. Antonio fort, which, together with several other posts, they took; but they neglected building a fort on a post they seized near Callo. The duke of Parma perceived their oversight; he forced the post, and then had it fortified.

b But as all the endeavours of the Zealander fleet could procure no relief to Antwerp, the governor and magistrates began to deliberate by what means they could now destroy the bridge, which they might have prevented the duke from ever completing. Seafarably Ginebelli, a Mantuan engineer, offered his services, undertaking at a certain expense to blow the whole work into the air: the expense was the main objection entertained by those pensive merchants, but this obstacle was at last surmounted by necessity; Ginebelli was provided with two large vessels, a number of small boats, the powder, combustibles, and all the other materials he required; he formed the two large vessels into fire-ships, set them adrift with the stream, and deceived the enemy by means of false fires lighted up in the fleet of small boats. The train of one of the fire-ships was consumed before the time expected, and the blew up with a terrible explosion, but little damage to the bridge; the other was more successful, carrying off all the outworks, setting fire to the whole bridge; and burying above 500 soldiers in the ruins it made, among whom were the marquis de Reiblais, the earl Billy, and several Spanish officers of distinction: however, the terror which this dreadful stratagem of war occasioned, exceeded the damage; the fire was soon extinguished, and the bridge again repaired by the diligence of the duke: avarice deterred the Antwerpers from repeating the experiment; they continued nevertheless in conjunction with the Zealanders to attack and harass the enemy; but finding themselves baffled in every attempt, and reduced to the greatest extremities, they eagerly thought of making their peace with Spain.

c Deputies were accordingly sent to the duke of Parma, a treaty was concluded, and king Philip’s sovereignty again acknowledged in Antwerp. It is affirmed that the city of Amsterdam had obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of this commercial city, hoping to profit by the fate of her flourishing rival. It was not doubted but the protestants would forsake it as soon as it fell into the hands of an arbitrary catholic prince. The conjecture was fulfilled, whole families retiring with their effects to Amsterdam.

While Antwerp was besieged, it was universally believed, that the fate of the provinces depended on the fortune of that city; yet such was the confusion among the confederates, that only feeble attempts were made for its relief. Now the terror inspired by the duke’s conquests determined the states general to send a solemn deputation to the queen of England, offering her the sovereignty of the provinces upon certain conditions. This Elizabeth refused; but she concluded a treaty with the states, whereby she engaged powerfully to assist them with men and money, upon having the towns of Brill, Fliushing, and Ramkern, put into her hands in security of future payment. All this time Elizabeth and king Philip preferred little more than the appearance of peace; the latter was fomenting the insurrection in Ireland, while the former lent a hand to the foundation of a new commonwealth forming in the Netherlands. The addition of the kingdom of Portugal to his valet monarchy, rendered Philip more haughty and uncontrollable, without much enlarging his power: he now thought himself a match for all Europe, though he had not yet subdued his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries; and accordingly he embroiled himself with the crown of France and England, by penetrating the league, and receiving the invasion of Ireland from the apostle fice. Elizabeth engaged by treaty to succour the provinces with

The History of the United Provinces,

5000 foot and 1300 horse, under the command of an English general; to pay those troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed when peace should be re-established; and to accept of the three towns mentioned in security of payment. The treaty farther imported, that the English governors of the cautionary towns should have no authority over the inhabitants; that the towns should be restored to the states on the repayment of the money; that the English general and two other persons nominated by the queen of England should have seats in the states general; that neither peace nor war should be made without the mutual consent of the contracting parties; that in case of her equiping a fleet for the services of the provinces, the states should back it with an equal force, the whole to be commanded by the English admiral; finally, that the ports and harbours of both countries should be open to the subjects of each nation. The treaty was but no sooner signed, than the Brille was delivered into the hands of Sir Thomas Cecil; Sir Philip Sidney took possession of Flushing and Ramakeins, in quality of governor; and the earl of Leicester was appointed general of the English auxiliaries. Immediately succeeded a manifesto in vindication of the queen's conduct, dwelling on her reasons for afflicting the oppressed inhabitants of the Low Countries; here she alleged, that the alliance between England and the Netherlands related to the mutual welfare of both countries, rather than to any personal animosity between the sovereigns; her majesty therefore thought herself at liberty to succour the injured subjects, without declaring war against the king. She complained of the conduct of the Spanish minister Mendosa, who had endeavoured to excite factions, and stir up rebellion among her popish subjects: she enumerated the many profilers the c had made of mediating a peace between the king and her good allies in the Netherlands; she taxed Philip with a design of invading England, with having sent powerful supplies of money to the rebels in Ireland; and lastly, to anticipate the king's vengeance, she equipped a squadron of twenty ships, detached under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, to infest the Spanish settlements in the West Indies 4.

On the earl of Leicester's arrival in Holland, he was received with the utmost respect and veneration; the confederates had conceived great hopes of his abilities, they constituted him governor-general of the provinces, and before he had exhibited any proof of his valour or conduct, vested him with a power almost dictatorial, which he soon abused by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. His authority was in a manner unlimited, not only in respect to the conduct of the war, but in civil affairs and the finances. The confederates lavished honours upon the favourite chiefly to engage Elizabeth in their interest; and the queen penetrating their design, was by no means pleased with their extraordinary indulgence to her minion. Some attribute her resentment to jealousy, others with more probability to policy, which required that she should not too deeply involve herself in the quarrel between Philip and his subjects. It was soon perceived, that the confidence of the states was misplaced. Leicester not only shewed his incapacity to direct military operations, by permitting the duke of Parma to proceed in a rapid course of conquests; but he assumed the air of a sovereign prince, twayed arbitrarily in the Netherlands, and expressed a contempt of the queen of England's authority; a princes whose ill-judged favour had raised him to the height of ambition. They had suffered him to nominate a counsellor of state for each province, to change the great seal, and quarter his own arms with those of the states; but all this was insufficient to gratify the earl's ambition. Actuated by a kind of fatality, and intoxicated with his elevation, he refuted the instructions of the states, filled up all vacant places, coined base nobles for palls for double their intrinsic value, erected a new court of exchequer, filled the colleges of the admiralty with his unqualified favourites, opposed the levying German auxiliaries, excited the people to rise against the magistrates, introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion.

Before Leicester had betrayed his incapacity, Elizabeth demonstrated to the states on his extraordinary elevation, without her knowledge or consent, notwithstanding she had publicly declared her intention was only to afflict her oppressed neighbours, not to feize on the sovereignty of the provinces; she now required that they would revoke those honours conferred to wantonly, not that she meant to deft their interest, but to maintain her own honour. The states submissively apologized for their conduct, and declared it was the farthest from their intention to offend her majesty; but finding that a governor-general was necessary to preserve unanimity, they had preferred a subject of England to any other. They had put the word absolute in the act only to distinguish him from some temporary governors, and to give weight to his dignity. They concluded with requestting her majesty, that she would not suffer upon a revocation, which they apprehended would be attended with confusion, and the most fatal consequences. This letter was accompa-

or Republic of Holland.

LEICESTER began his government with restoring military discipline, for regulating which he published some good ordinances. Had he kept to this plan, his administration would have been happy, and his person beloved; but he immediately proceeded to pass certain decrees relative to commerce, that were justly deemed very arbitrary, oppressive, and injurious to the country. He prohibited all kinds of warlike stores, provisions, or other merchandise, to be sold not only to the enemies of the state and their allies, but to neutral powers; by which means trade sustained considerable damage, he even prohibited all intercourse either by exchange or otherwise with Spain, France, and the northern powers, under penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods. The adviser of this measure was James Reginald, a person before odious to the people; and to enforce it, Reginald, in contempt of the council of state, procured an extraordinary commission to proceed with rigour against those who should be guilty of a trepail on the decree: by this commission he was empowered to examine the books and papers of merchants, contrary to the ancient rights and privileges of the commercial inhabitants of the Netherlands. Leicester likewise demanded, that all foreign traders should have passports from him, by which he pretended he could greatly augment the revenue: certain it is, that he levied great sums by those oppressive measures; but no part was applied to the public service.

While the earl was busied in rendering his government odious, and destructive to the people who had just promoted him to the pinnacle of human grandeur, the duke of Parma was pushing the operations of the campaign. Count Manfolds was ordered to block up the town of Grave on the Maas, and to throw a bridge across the river, to prevent the entrance of the supplies. He built four forts upon the river, which he strongly garrisoned, and completed the bridge in the manner directed; though the garrison of Grave used every expedient to obstruct his operations. Leicester sent orders to Hobenlo and Norris, the general of the English infantry, to attempt the relief of the town; they immediately seized on the fort and town of Buttemburgh, but were driven from that post by Manfolds, while they were preparing to entrench themselves; being afterwards reinforced, they attacked the Spaniards with such vigour as obliged them to retreat; however, the duke of Parma's arrival prevented their succouring Grave: he now turned the blockade into a siege, and carried on his approach so rapidly, that the governor surrendered before a breach was made, or the garrison in the leaf flinted for provisions. Pursuing his successes, the duke of Parma led his army against Venlo, higher up the Maas, invested the town, and obliged the garrison in two days to capitulate, at the intreaty of the bishop of Cologne; he attacked Wilna, the garrison of which place had pillaged the country, and obstructed all convoys of provision; and by the impetuosity of the assault, forced the governor to submission. Next he reduced Miers, Alphen, and the castle of Gruno; after which he invested Birk, but was forced to relinquish the enterprise; Morgan an English officer having thrown himself with 1000 men into the town.

To stop the duke of Parma's progress, Leicester detached prince Maurice and Sir Philip Sidney with 2000 men into Flanders; they surprized the little town of Asel on the 17th of July, but failed in an enterprise formed against Graveline: at last, Leicester determined to take the field in person; he ordered the army to move to Guelderland, and, accompanied by the princes of the house of Nassau, and all the general officers, English, German, and Flemings, he arrived at Arnhem on the 6th of September; finding his strength inferior to the enemy's, he contented himself with reducing Dussburgh upon the Rhine, and blocking up Zutphen, into which the duke of Parma threw supplies at pleasure. It was in attacking one of these convoys that the brave, generous, gallant, and amiable Sir Philip Sidney lost his life. After taking all the outworks, and building little forts round the town to restrain the excursions of the garrison, who levied heavy contributions on the neighbouring country, Leicester cantoned his army in winter-quarters, without effecting any thing worthy of the public expectation.

During this recce from hostilities, the earl of Leicester would seem to have made it his whole study to render himself odious. He put into all vacant offices persons of the most obnoxious to the people; and, among others, one York an Englishman, who had deserted from the confederates to the duke of Parma, served for two years in the Spanish army, and now defected it to obtain preferment from the English general. The states remonstrated against the promotion of a person, who had so often betrayed his trust; but Leicester, without regarding them, poured down his favours upon a man whose sole talent consisted in a servile adulation and compliance with the humour of his patron. The

* METSERN. lib. xiii.  1 LE CLERG, lib. iv.  2 REIDAN. Ann. lib. vi.  GROT. lib. iv.  3 Id. ibid.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.  5 S government
government of Deventer became another cause of altercation between the governor and the states. That truth was conferred upon another Englishman, whose character was equally liable to censure. Besides, the right of appointing belonged to the earl of Mors, as governor of Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overfield; but Leisefter, without attending to his prerogative, or to the murmurs of the people, vindicated his own conduct, and refused to relinquish the interest of his dependent. Happily for the provinces, he was called to attend the English parliament. On his departure, the states exhorted him to use his influence with the queen to accept of the sovereignty of the Netherlands; he promised to exert his utmost endeavours, but at the same time was too much enamoured of power to have any intention to perform his engagements. While he refixed at Flushing, waiting for a fair wind, he seduced the garrison of Verto, a place belonging to prince Maurice, perverting the soldiers that they owed no allegiance but to the queen of England and her governor. The same attempt was made on several other garrisons, in all which it is impossible to conceive Leisefter could have any other object in view, than to render himself detestable to the very people whose affections he sought by every means to conciliate. On his arrival in England, he wrote to the states, demanding payment of 480,000 livres, due in arrears to the army. Their answer was, that the supplies raised, if managed with economy, were more than sufficient to answer every purpose of the government. Some altercation arose, which was followed by a long catalogue of grievances, transmitted from the states to queen Elizabeth. This produced mutual recriminations, which enflamed both sides to a degree of animosity.

Now was the season for the duke of Parma to reap the advantage of these contentions. He made several motions, in order to perplex the confederates, and cover his designs. At last it appeared that he meditated the conquest of Flanders, by first reducing Ostend and Slays. The former was savaged by a fleet on the reinforcement of seven hundred English; but Slays was inveighed in despite of the utmost endeavours of prince Maurice and Hohenlo, who tried every expedient to divert the duke from this enterprise. As the place was badly provided, the governor sent repeatedly to Flushing for supplies; but the Spaniards had so closely blocked up all the avenues that it was impossible to throw in a convoy. The garrison, however, determined to make a vigorous defence. They withstood several assaults, and always displayed the most obstinate courage. Slays had been now six weeks besieged; at the time of Leisefter, by the queen's mediation, returned to his government. On his arrival at Flushing, it was determined in a council of war to succour the place by sea. A detachment of five thousand foot and six hundred horse were ordered to make a diversion in favour of the fleet, but the project was frustrated by the narrowness of the channel, which would not admit the shipping. Leisefter was blamed for not attacking the duke of Parma's trenches, and to his want of courage the public voice ascribed the loss of Slays, which, after sustaining numbers of hardships during a brave defence of two months, at last surrendered, when the garrison had expended all their provision and ammunition. The duke of Parma entertained so high an opinion of the conduct of the governor, Arnaud de Groenweldt, and of the courage of the garrison, that he voluntarily granted them all military honours, their baggage, and lighted matches. His conquest indeed was dearly purchased; he lost in the siege seven general officers, and near four thousand soldiers.

The reduction of Slays renewed the clamour against the earl of Leisefter's administration. Out of compliment to the queen, he was again received by the provinces, but the reconciliation was not cordial. Had he however acted with proper spirit and prudence, he might have regained the esteem and affections of the people. He determined otherwise, and proceeded upon his old plan, of introducing discord, confusion and anarchy. He renewed his complaints against the states, prince Maurice, and Hohenlo. They answered; he replied in terms full of passion and resentment, in which he left all regard to decorum. Hohenlo was, in particular, the object of his detestation, merely because he strenuously vindicated the privileges of his country, and discharged the duty of an able, bold, and faithful officer. He had this year performed considerable services in Brabant; but he was accused by Leisefter of disobedience, because he had not joined the main army with his detachment, at a time when it was not possible, without sacrificing the public interest. Hohenlo published a very spirited and sensible answer, in which he fully vindicated his own conduct, and obliquely hinted at the weaknesses and absurdity of Leisefter's measures. A long paper-altercation passed likewise between the states of Holland and the governor-general. Nothing can be more matterly than all the remonstrances published on this occasion by the states; they fully explain the privileges of the provinces, and the prerogative of the governor-general; vindicate their own conduct, without throwing blame on the queen of England;

1 Le Clerc, lib. iv. Grot. ibid. 2 Meteren, lib. xiv.
or Republic of Holland.

England; and artfully distinguishes between the misconduct of the queen’s lieutenant, and her majesty’s own intentions. In a word, though Leisler was killed at every weapon, such was the unsteadiness of the people, and address of his faction, that even the provincial states were divided in opinion; some blaming, while others highly applauded his conduct. The magistrates of Utrecht, and the clergy of Holland and Zealand strongly espoused his interests, and bitterly reflected on the states of Holland, whole opposition arose, they said, from a jealous, capricious, and turbulent humour. Even the magistrates of several towns in Holland, blamed the states, especially those of Dordrecht, who appeared to have solely enlisted themselves in the earl’s faction. In the midst of these contents Leisler imprudently gave colour to the accusations of his enemies, by forming a project to seize upon Leyden. The plan was concerted with one Cofino da Pascarengis, an Italian banker; it was discovered by accident, and fully detected by the confession of the banker and his accomplices, on the rack. Killigrew, who was of the council of state for Elizabeth, interceded for the criminals, and boldly affirmed, in their vindication, that they had acted by orders from the governor-general. This alone was sufficient testimony against Leisler; but the states not chusing to irritate and inflame the public discontents, wisely suppressed their sentiments.

When the winter approached, lord Leisler was recalled, either for the defence of England, threatened with a Spanish invasion, or to prevent his falling into further errors in the Netherlands. The Dutch writers all agree, that the queen was so well satisfied of his misconduct, pride, and ambition, that she dreaded the consequences to her favourite, of suffering him longer to hold the reins of government, which he had hitherto directed with so little prudence and ability. Before he quitted the Low Countries, he sent an apology to the states of Holland, for not bidding them a personal farewell; he exaggerated the services he had done the provinces, gently reproached the states for having traversed all his mesures, to which he attributed the failure of every enterprise; admonished them to a different behaviour; and promised upon these conditions to use his utmost influence with the queen in their behalf. On his arrival in England, though he was well received by Elizabeth, and appointed to the command of an army encamped at Tilbury, yet he was divested of his government. Leisler apprehending he should be arraigned before the council, had the address by his submission to procure the queen’s pardon, and a stop to all proceedings touching his conduct in the Low Countries. However, his enemies were so powerful, and the remonstrances sent over by the states so evincive and undeniable, that nothing but the vast preparations in Spain to invade England, which turned the whole attention of the ministry to the security of the nation, could screen him from a public trial. Among other articles of accusation transmitted by the states, it appeared that the earl had formed a design to apprehend, and put to death John Olden Barneveldt, and thirteen other strenuous opposers of his arbitrary measures; to seize Dort, Enckhuysen, Leyden, and other places; in a word, to render himself despotic, and establishe a kind of military government in the United Provinces.

By orders from the court of Spain, the duke of Parma, since the reduction of Slessis, was forced to drop all thoughts of purifying his advantages in the Netherlands, in order to afloat with his whole power the enterpize concerted against England. Here was a fair opportunity for the confederates to redeem their looses, had they not been divided by factions, and poorly supplied with money, ammunition, and provision, from England. The penurious disposition of Elizabeth would seem in this instance to have suppressed the dictates of prudence and found policy. Spain had great confidence in the duke of Parma’s afﬁnity in carrying on the grand expedition. That general had assembled thirty thousand men to be transported into England, in four hundred flat-bottomed boats, under the convoy of a squadron of twenty ships of war; yet did Elizabeth use no expedient to divert his intention, by enabling the confederated provinces to engage him at home. All hostilities cease on both sides until the miscarriage of the most formidable scheme ever planned for the conquest of England. It is not within our province to relate the circumstances which contributed to the defeat of the Spanish armada; sufﬁcient is it, that providence seemed to co-operate with the intrepidity of lord Effingham, the English admiral, to baffle the designs, and mortify the pride of Philip. His fleet was ﬁrst dispersed in a hard gale, afterwards roughly handled by the English, and at last shattered, destroyed, and wholly ruined, in a terrible storm, off the coast of Scotland. Seventeen ships, having ﬁve thousand land-forces on board, were cast away on the Hebrides and coast of Ireland; some were wrecked on the rocks of Norway, and many perished by fire, or were swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, of one hundred and thirty great ships, which set sail from the ports of Spain, manned with twenty thousand soldiers and nine thousand seamen,
The history of the United Provinces,

and mounting two thousand three hundred and sixty pieces of fine cannon, only fifty-three ever returned, and the in a miserable, shattered condition.

While Philip and Elizabeth were making the utmost preparations, the one for attacking, the other for defending England, they both endeavoured to gain time by amusing each other with a negotiation. It was the business of Philip to procrastinate matters until he should be able to strike, and of Elizabeth, until her affairs should be in a posture to ward off the blow. The king sent the duke of Parma a commission to treat with the English envoys; accordingly they repaired to Ostend, and the conferences were opened at Bourbourg, notwithstanding the estates of the Netherlands had refused to content with the treaty. It was proposed by the English, that liberty of conscience should be granted for two years to the reformed; but neither the duke of Parma, nor the estates, would hearken to this proposition. A truce was made in the next place demanded by the commissaries, and rejected by the duke. Then they required that the ancient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy should be renewed; that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Low Countries; that the people should be secured in their liberties; and that the money lent the estates by queen Elizabeth should be repaid by the king of Spain. A variety of debates arose upon these articles, and it was obvious that the whole design of the conference was to retard measures until the armada should enter the channel. It no sooner appeared than the negotiations were broke off, and the English commissioners dismissed with a safe-conduct to Calais.

As soon as the defeat of the grand expedition was known in the Netherlands, the duke of Parma turned his attention to the affairs of his government. He now determined to repair the losses sustained from his late inactivity, by persecuting the most vigorous measures. The marquis de Rentes and Charles Mansfelds, were sent with a strong detachment to reduce the Isle of Tolen, separated by a canal from Brabant. By this he meant to facilitate his approaches against Bergen-op-Zoom. The bravery of colonel count Solmes frustrated the attempt on the island. He repulsed the Spaniards in two vigorous attacks, but could not prevent the duke from forming the siege. Bergen-op-Zoom was invested on the 24th of September. It was defended by lord Willoughby, general of the English forces, and an English garrison, with fo much spirit and intrepidity, that after divers efforts and stragglings of war, the duke was forced to relinquish the enterprise. Chagrin and disappointment having impaired the duke of Parma's health, and the seamen becoming rigorous, he put his army into winter-quarters.

On the 14th of September died the earl of Leicester, to the great joy of the states of Holland, who now at length conceived hopes that they might be able to crush his faction, and introduce harmony among those provinces so long torn by civil disputes, while they were maintaining a war against the most powerful potentate of Europe. Immediately the towns which, in consequence of his protection, had withdrawn their allegiance from the states, returned to their duty. The garrison of Gertrydenberg alone stood out; they first mutinied, then revolted against the states, and at last threw themselves into the arms of the duke of Parma, after committing shocking outrages, under pretence that they had sworn only to obey the queen and Leicester. Willoughby and the English are blamed by Dutch historians for their conduct in this transaction. The year concluded with the siege of Wachtendonk, an enterprise formed by count Peter Ernst Mansfelds, contrary to the opinion of Verduyn, and the most experienced generals in the Spanish army, and indeed of the duke of Parma himself. The place was strong and well provided; the seaport was rigorous, and the Spanish soldiery reluctant, and averse to the undertaking; but Mansfeld's success was a full vindication of his conduct. The garrison surrendered on the 20th of December, after the town had almost been laid wholly in ashes by a ruinous bombardment. Some writers allege that Mansfeld used only ignited bullets, with which he set fire to the place, and terrified the garrison into submission.

In the beginning of the year this general puffed into the Isle of Bommel, where he reduced several forts, but failed in his principal aim, that of seizing the capital by surprise. While he was thus employed, prince Maurice, count Solmes, and Hobenko, uniting their forces, attacked and retook Heusden in flight of the Spanish army. From this time we may date the decline of Philip's affairs. His best officer the duke of Parma was in a bad state of health, his soldiers became mutinous for their pay, and his finances were exhausted by the immense expences of the armada, and the destruction of his commerce and rich plate fleet. Jealously likewise arose between the duke of Parma and the Spaniards, who even had the presumption to tax that great general with the miscarriage of the grand expedition, and of the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. One John Mora, a Spaniard, wrote letters of com-

or Republic of Holland.

a. The English, in which manner he hithe bene invihe against the duke: thes letters were intercepted by prince Maurice, decyhered, and sent to the duke of Parma. In consequence Ricardot was dispatched to Madrid, to vindicate the duke, and Mora being invited to dinner was poisioned: an action, that leaves an indelible stain on the character of the duke of Parma.

While the duke was drinking the waters of the Spaw, the marquis of Warembe, the Spanish governor in Gueldersland, projected a scheme for reducing the whole province, and began the execution with surprizing the castle of Bleimbeck. He then resolved to lay siege to Rhinberg, but was anticipated by a strong reinforcement thrown in by general Schenk. Besides reinforcing Rhinberg, this active officer cut off a regiment of Spaniards in Friseland, but unfortunately perished in an unsuccessful attempt on Nimuegen. Warembe, after Schenk's death, renewed his design on Rhinberg, but constant supplies were thrown in by lord Falkenstein and Sir Francis Vere, who commanded a body of 2000 English infantry. The marquis resolved to attack the English. He sent a strong detachment to that purpose; but the Spaniards met with so warm a reception, that they retired in disorder, with the loss of 900 men and ten standards. Notwithstanding this advantage, the stakes suffered Rhinberg to fall into the hands of the enemy, because they found it expensive and hazardous to cover with an army a place so distant from their frontiers. The loss of Rhinberg however was balanced by divers successes in Greningen, where prince Maurice foiled the Spanish general Verdugo in every attempt. Notwithstanding he had not an army sufficient to perform any signal exploit, or considerable enterprize, the Batavian prince exhibited sufficient proofs of his superior military talents and towering genius. One very important blow was given to the power of Spain in the Netherland by the reduction of Breda. This city and Gantvendenberg were the keys of Brabant, and the loss of the latter had wholly excluded the confederates from that province. A project was laid for surprizing Breda, and it succeeded. The matter of a trading vessel, which was permitted to supply the Spaniards general with necessaries, took on board about sixty Dutch soldiers, and concealed them so artfully under planks and boards, so that this vessel was visited in the usual manner by the officers on guard, without discovery. In the night, the concealed party seized upon the city-gates, and being opposed by Hobenlo, who lay with a body of troops at a little distance from the town, gained possession without hardly striking a blow. By order of the duke of Parma, the commanding Spanish officer was put to death for neglect of duty, cowardice, and remissness. He afterwards took every possible method to recover Breda. Manveliut was detached with a feebly body of troops to attack Nordam, a fort on the canal, by which the city was supplied with necessaries; but he was so warmly received by Matthias Hall, a Fleming, who commanded, that he retired precipitately, leaving 600 dead before the fort. All he could effect was to build a fort opposite to Nordam, to restrain the garrison; after which he invested Breda. Prince Maurice immediately took the field to protect a town of such confluence. He marched straight to Nimuegen, and by his operations persuaded the duke of Parma that he intended besieging the town; upon which Manveliut was orderéd to relieve Breda, and succour Nimuegen, a town of still infinitely greater moment. In defiance of Manveliut's endeavours, prince Maurice erected the forteress of Kotszemborg, to cut off the trade of Nimuegen, and facilitate any future attempts to reduce the city.

Though the naval power of the states was greatly augmented, and their commerce carried to a higher degree, they could not restrain the pernicious prizes of the Dunkirk privateers, which swarmed in all the neighbouring seas, to the immediate damage of traffic. The Zeelander equipped several squadrons of small vessels; but these being found insufficient to restrain the pirates, grown bold by success, it necessarily became a national concern. The different colleges of the admiralty stationed a number of ships in such a manner as to block up the port of Dunkirk, by which means numbers of privateers loaded with booty fell into their hands before they could enter the harbour, and others were prevented from putting to sea. We have, in a former volume, largely expatiated on the origin and progress of the Dutch commerce, which took its rise from their profitable voyages to the East-Indies, and the ruin of Antwerp, it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon it in this place. Sufficient it is, that the provinces were now enabled to furnish their contingencies towards the public expense, to act offensively, and maintain greater armies, than they had ever before sent into the field. They even sent supplies of men and money, to support Henry IV. against the league and the king of Spain, whence they deduced the advantage of making a powerful diversion from the Netherland.

Breda taken by the confederates.

Naval affairs.

A.D. 1592.


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
The history of the United Provinces,

About this time, the duke of Parma received orders to hasten to the assistance of the duke of Mayence, defeated by Henry IV. with the greater part of the Spanish army in the Low Countries. The duke immediately perceived that the loss of the Netherlands would be the consequence; but his orders being absolute, he directed his march with 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, to the frontiers of France, leaving Count Mansfeld to conduct the war against the United Provinces. This general was too weak to keep the field, or to prevent prince Maurice from razing and destroying all the Spanish forts on the frontiers of the provinces. The confederates resolving to make the most of the opportunity, attacked and reduced the fort of Blanenburg. This enterprise was conducted by Norris, governor of Ostend, for the queen of England. The garrison, retreating to another fort in the Dunes, vigorously assaulted this fortress, took it, and put the garrison to the sword.

On the 29th of April the garrison of Breda surprised the castle of Turnhout, one of the largest villages of Brabant; and on the 9th of May they gained possession of Winderloos, a place extremely convenient for keeping the province under contribution. As soon as the seafan was sufficiently advanced to afford forage for the cavalry, the states sent an army of 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, into the field, under the conduct of prince Maurice, lately made governor of Gueldeland, and by thus directing the affairs of three of the most considerable provinces of the union, roused to great influence and authority. By this time the duke of Parma was returned, after having acquired laurels in a defensive war against Henry IV. by relieving Paris. Maurice made some movements which raised apprehensions in the duke for Grefravenberg, imagining his design was upon that city; but the prince turned suddenly towards the territory of Veluwe, and presented himself before Zutphen; after having the good fortune to seize by a stratagem upon some of the outworks, he then regularly invested the place, and pursued his operations with so much rapidity, that the garrison capitulated on condition that they should have a safe-conduct to Deventer. The Spanish garrison no sooner entered this last place, than Maurice was close at their heels, laid siege to Deventer, and took it after a short resistance. It was defended by Herman de Horst, being the prince's own cousin-german, who had served Philip with great fidelity, and would now have considerably retarded the progress of the confederate army, had he not received a wound in the face, by which he was confined. From Deventer the prince directed his route to Groningen, with design to invest that city; but on receiving advice that the garrison was strongly reinforced and well supplied, he filed off towards Delft, which together with some neighbouring forts he reduced, and thereby extremely incommoded the city of Groningen.

As the duke of Parma's army did not exceed 5000 foot, and 2000 horse, he dreaded the extension of Maurice's conquests, and that Nimwegen would be the next object of his operations. To prevent this he determined to attack Knoefenberg, and thereby to throw unfavourable obstructions in the way of the confederates. After seizing some forts in the higher Gueldeland, he made a feint as if he intended to fall upon fort Schenk, and then suddenly passing the Vaal, invested Knoefenberg on the 13th of July. The artillery of this fort totally destroyed the works on the opposite side of Nimwegen, and the garrison had more the command of the river than the city itself. It was of great importance to Maurice to maintain this advantage; he was therefore watchful of the motions of the Spanish army, and superseded the duke's design which he had so artfully concealed. Before the duke of Parma approached, he had directed Count Solms powerfully to reinforce the garrison, and supply the fort with every necessary. He then followed with his army nearly equal to that of the enemy, and encamped at a short distance from the duke of Parma's trenches. The Spaniards carried on the siege with vigour, but every inch of ground they gained lost a multitude of lives. Frequent skirmishes passed between the two armies, in one of which Nicholl, captain of the horse-guards, and 400 troopers, were made prisoners. Very reasonably for the duke of Parma's reputation, he received an order to repair with all expedition to France, leaving only troops sufficient for a defence war in the Netherlands. He immediately complied with the royal mandate, and accordingly raised the siege, and covered his retreat with so much address, that he crossed the Vaal without furnishing the enemy with an opportunity of falling upon his rear. This was his last campaign in the Netherlands, where his long services had deservedly acquired him the reputation of an able, vigilant, and faithful general, though numberless attempts were made by envious Spaniards to blast his character. Before he quitted the Low Countries, he endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants of Nimwegen to admit a reinforcement of Spanish soldiers; but the magistrates not chufing to be saddled with foreign pensioners, took upon themselves the defence of the city.

or Republic of Holland.

Prince Maurice, satisfied with seeing Knotenbergh relieved, and the Spanish army weakened by the detachments sent off to France, passed to Gelderland, without, however, relinquishing his designs on Nimygen. In the middle of September, he marched with 4000 foot, and 800 horse, into the territory of Was, and laid siege to Hulst. On the 19th the place was invested; the batteries began to play on the 23rd, and by the 25th the garrison capitulated. The same terms were granted as to the other conquered places; that is, the inhabitants were permitted their own religion, but the magistrates were not professed. Count Solms was appointed governor of the town and adjacent territory. As soon as transports could be provided, Maurice embarked a strong body of horse and foot, alarmed the whole coast of Flanders, spread a report that he proposed besieging Dunkirk or Newport, then debarked his troops, and appeared unexpectedly before Nimygen. He began with forming a bridge of boats across the river, to prevent the town's being supplied, then erected batteries, and all at once battered the walls with sixty-five pieces of heavy cannon. First, however, he summoned the magistrates; but they answered, "that as the prince was a young man, he ought to consider Nimygen as a coy virgin, whose favours were only to be gained by gallantry and affluence." They soon, however, changed their tone, beat a parley, and desired to capitulate. The effects of the red hot balls poured into the city, terrified them into submission. All the conditions imposed by Maurice were accepted, only they refused to embrace the reformed religion, but consented to a liberty of conscience; and that the magistrates should be appointed by the prince, a right which he preferred during the course of the war. Six companies of foot and two troops of horse were left in garrison, after which Maurice put his army into winter-quarters in Overijssel and Friesland.

So glorious and successful a campaign highly elated the spirits of the people, and raised the young prince to the height of popularity and fame. Since his father's death, the United Provinces had experienced nothing but disappointment and misfortune. They were everywhere defeated, divided among themselves, impoverished, dispirited, and on the point of despair. The alliance of England contributed only to augment their misery, it rendered them dependent on the queen, and her insolent, capricious, and arbitrary lieutenant, whose sole aim was to establish despotic sway, by fomenting the civil discord of the provinces, and forming a powerful faction. It is true, the English forces performed considerable services in the three last campaigns; but these were more than weighed down by the inconveniences consequent on Leicester's mal-administration. Now the Dutch saw their frontier extended by prince Maurice, and the whole country secured by rivers, and covered by fortified towns, with the greatest probability of driving the Spaniards in another campaign out of Friesland.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the transactions in the Low Countries, during the administration of the Spanish governors Mansveldt, Erneft, and Fuentes, to the arrival of the arch-duke Albert.

The year 1592 was ushered in by some abortive efforts of the emperor Rudolph to establish peace. The minds of both parties were still too much heated to admit of equitable propositions; and the point of religion, upon which so many conferences split, was now an insurmountable obstruction. In a word, Philip, harassed as he was with the war maintained in France, required too much, and the United Provinces, infolent with their late successes, would grant too little. Hostilities accordingly commenced, and prince Maurice taking the field in the month of May, fell down before Steinwyck, a strong town on the frontiers of Overijssel. It was the 13th of June before the batteries were opened, when they began to play with unremitting fury. The garrison made a brave defence, and prince Maurice received a wound from a mucket-ball, which, however, did not retard the progress of the siege. Observing that his heavy cannon produced no effect, he sprung a mine on the third of July, which made a practicable breach. He then prepared to form the town; but the general not caring to hazard the consequences of an assault, capitulated upon honourable conditions. In this siege the prince lost about 700 soldiers, and the garrison more than half that number. Several defectors were excepted in the articles, surrended, and immediately hanged. From Steinwyck, Maurice proceeded to Okarjeb in the territory of Twente, which he reduced before the close of the month. Then he invested Corvoorden, a strongly fortified town in the district of Drente. Before any progress was made in the siege, the Spanish general Verdugo, having been strongly reinforced

\[\text{Bentivog, p. 3, lib. i, p. 5.}\]
The history of the United Provinces,

by the duke of Parma, marched to Oldenzael, with intention to reliefe Corsesla, defend
ed by the fame Harenberg lately mentioned. The prince with 200 men went to recon-
noitre the enemy, and had the good fortune to intercept a letter from Verdugo to the gover-
nor, acquainting him, that he proposed raising the siege, by attacking Hobend's quarters early next morning, and desiring him to seconde his attack by a vigorous fall. Maurice
took his measures, he was attacked in the manner expected, but received the enemy with
such vigour, that they retreated in great confusion, leaving behind 400 dead, and an
equal number of prisoners. Despairing of relief, the governor capitulated, and surrender-
ed himself a second time to his cousin upon humane conditions. After repairing the
fortifications, the prince led his army into Guelderland, where, dividing his troops, he can-
tioned them in winter quarters. This season the duke of Parma attended the Spaniards, but his
bad state of health prevented his taking any share in the government; and indeed the
untimely clamours of the Spaniards against his conduct, obliged him to write prefently to
the king to permit him to retir; but Philip had resolved to use his services another cam-
paign in France.

A. D. 1547.

Count Manfeldt had for these two campaigns the direction of affairs in the Netherlands,
as deputy to the duke of Parma, but circumstances obliged him to leave the execution to
the count de Fuentes, don Egino de Ibarra, and Verdugo. To gain the entire confidence of
the Flemish nobility, Philip promoted him to the government of the Ten Provinces that
continued in their allegiance. The duke d'Arcot was made particular governor of Flanders,
the prince de Chimaor de Hainault, and the count d'Harenberg of Artois. The council of war,
however, which enjoyed extensive privileges, rendered the provinces dependent on the ge-
eral of the army and governor. It was wholly composed of Spaniards, and the chief au-
thority of the council was vested in Fuentes and Ibarra. They were strictly enjoined by the
king to be extremely frugal of the public money, and to reform the abuses of the revenue
complained of under the administration of the duke of Parma. However, to give credit
to the new government, the army was paid the arrears due, without which it was impos-
sible to suppress those mutinies and tumults which had been the greatest prejudice to the af-
airs of Spain in the Netherlands. The count de Fuentes immediately proposed several alte-
rations, which produced divisions in the council of war. They were abjectly necessary,
but contrary to the interest of several of the members. Others indeed appeared rigid, tho'
they palled into an act without opposition. On the fifth of January, Manfeldt published an
eidict, prohibiting contributions to be paid to the enemy, or safe-conducts accepted,
under the penalty of death, and military execution. The nobility and clergy fearing their lands
pillaged without the possibility of redress, loudly demanded a revocation of this cruel edict.

To counteract the effect of Manfeldt's ordinance, the flates of the United Provinces pub-
lished a declaration on the 17th of February, taxing the Spaniards with cruelty, exhorting the
inhabitants of the Netherlands without distinction to join with them against their cruel op-
pressors, and granting them to the first of April to change their sentiments and conduct,
after which time they would give no quarters to prisoners, or those who refused to pay the
fiscalized contributions. To enforce their declaration, count Philip de Nassau was sent
with a strong detachment to levy contributions in the province of Luxemburg. His soldiers
committed shocking ravages, and the count Bolemaire retaliated upon the frontiers of the
Seven Provinces. The situation of the people was deplorable, death prefenting itself, and
all the horrors of war, which ever way they turned, whatsoever revolution they formed.
If they complied with the edict of the states, they were subject to legal punishment; if
they refused, to military execution. At the same time, the soldiers of the Spanish army
mutinied against a decree, which intitled them to no quarter after they had discharged their
duty in the field and garrison, notwithstanding their defeat might be the consequence of the
ignorance of their commander.

While matters were in this state of confusion, prince Maurice invested Gertruydenberg,
from which he had cut off all convoys of provisions and ammunition during the preceding
season. His approaches were considerably retarded by the marshy situation of the place,
and by the vigour of the garrison, which confided of a thousand veterans well inured to
action, hardships, and fatigue. To prevent the enemy's throwing in succours before his
works were compleated, the prince drew lines of circumvallation, such as for strength had
never before appeared in the Netherlands, mounted at proper distances with more than an
hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, the expence, labour, and genius, bestowed on these
lines were wonderful, the camp being plentifully supplied with provisions by the canal,
guarded with intrenchments equal to the fortifications of a city, and the industrious pean-
tant pursuing his rural occupations in the midst of war, with the same security as in the
most profound peace. From this it appears, that the lines took in a considerable compass
of ground, which Gronius estimates, by calling the walls three hours walking round. Soon


after
or Republic of Holland.

a after this prodigious work was finished, a messenger, sent from the governor to solicit succours from count Manfeldt, was taken. The prince ordered him to be carried round the lines, and then dismissed with the governor’s letter, to report what he had seen to the count. This would have effectually deterred Manfeldt from attempting the relief of Gertruydenberg at so imminent a risk; but the council of war imagined it would be shameful to suffer a barrier so important to be lost without making extraordinary efforts. They were determined to stop the draughts ordered for France, in order to reinforce the army so powerfully, as to put the success of a battle beyond doubt. Accordingly the army, amounting to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, was assembled at Tournon. With this force, Manfeldt approached the lines, which he found were strong and regular beyond expectation.

b He erected batteries against prince Maurice’s quarter, as if he had been carrying on a regular siege; but finding provisions failing, he removed to the opposite quarter commanded by Hobenko. Here he employed himself in filling up the ditches and canals, in battering the lines, and making regular approaches; while Maurice, with a handful of men, was repelling his efforts, advancing his works towards the town, battering in breach, and at the same time forming lines of contravallation to secure him against the fall of the garrison. The art of war, as then known, was exhausted between the fruitful genius of the prince, and the long experience of Manfeldt, grown hoary in military service; when at length the garrison capitulated, after having lost their best officers. Before a parley was beat, Manfeldt, by a latter, acquainted the garrison, that he intended to decamp, and desired they would not be disheartened, for he would attempt their relief by another method. The messenger was taken, but prince Maurice suffered him to enter the town. Manfeldt’s resolution determined the commanding officer to demand terms; he obtained honourable conditions, and the articles were signed on the 29th of June, after a siege of three months.

Thus ended the siege of Gertruydenberg, the most remarkable in the war; in which the besiegers were themselves besieged by a greatly superior army, commanded by one of the best officers in the Spanish service. The surrender of the town was announced to Manfeldt by a general discharge of the artillery on the lines and ramparts, upon which he immediately broke up his camp, and retired, greatly chagrined, towards the isle of Bonneval, with design to attack Crevecœur. In this he was frustrated by the diligence of the garrison, and activity of Maurice; the one laid the country under water, and the other marched with such expedition, that he was entangled on the only accessible eminence near the town, before the arrival of the Spanish army. Manfeldt, after expressing his astonishment at the rapidity of the prince’s manoeuvres, retired, highly disgruntled at having been thus foiled by a body, sending strong detachments to Verdugo in Friesland.

d The prince’s next exploit was to break off the communication between Germany and Groningen, by erecting a fort at the passage Bourtange. This he effected, in defiance of the utmost efforts of Verdugo, and leaving five companies of foot for its defence, he retired, Verdugo, being powerfully reinforced by Manfeldt, attacked Fort Bourtange, but was forced by the vigour of the garrison, and scarcity of provisions, to relinquish the enterprise for one which, if successful, would be more decisive. This was to surprize Maurice in his camp. He was greatly superior in strength, and marched with such silence and diligence, that he did not doubt finding the prince unprepared; but on his arrival he perceived the confederate army under arms, an intrenchment began the night before almost finished, and every other measure taken to baffle his project. Upon this he began to skirmish with the out-parties, in hopes of drawing Maurice out of his intrenchments; but on finding him too cautious, retired under cover of the night, and sent his troops into winter-quarters. The operations of the year ended with an abortive attempt made by Maurice to surprize Bruges, and another of Manfeldt’s equally unsuccessful, to penetrate into Zeeland.

e PHILIP had now conferred the government of the Netherlands upon the archduke Ernst, in hopes that a German would be more acceptable to the Flemings, than their Spanish or Italian governors. On the 30th of January, Ernest made his public entry into Brussel, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, and great demonstrations of joy. The United Provinces were terrified that the war would now be renewed with redoubled vigour. It was reported that the new governor had made powerful levies in Germany, and was fully determined to subdue the whole Netherlands, and terminate a war tedious, expensive, and vexatious to Philip. These fears, however, were soon quieted by certain advice, that the levies could not even pass in review for want of pay, and that most of them were already defeated. It was likewise a favourable circumstance to the confederates, that Ernst being a foreigner, unacquainted with the laws and customs of the country, must devote the conduct of affairs upon others; which would pro-

f PHILIP had now conferred the government of the Netherlands upon the archduke Ernst, in hopes that a German would be more acceptable to the Flemings, than their Spanish or Italian governors. On the 30th of January, Ernest made his public entry into Brussel, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and was welcomed with loud acclamations, and great demonstrations of joy. The United Provinces were terrified that the war would now be renewed with redoubled vigour. It was reported that the new governor had made powerful levies in Germany, and was fully determined to subdue the whole Netherlands, and terminate a war tedious, expensive, and vexatious to Philip. These fears, however, were soon quieted by certain advice, that the levies could not even pass in review for want of pay, and that most of them were already defeated. It was likewise a favourable circumstance to the confederates, that Ernst being a foreigner, unacquainted with the laws and customs of the country, must devote the conduct of affairs upon others; which would pro-

---

A. D. 1595. The archduke Ernest made governour of the Netherlands.

---

The history of the United Provinces,

probably breed diffuseness, and excite jealousy among the enemy. Their conjecture was well founded. The very first measure entered upon by the archduke incurred the displeasure of the Spaniards. He found means to convey a letter to the states-general, in which, after pathetically enumerating the calamities of war, and the distresses of the provinces, he earnestly exhorted them to think of peace, and propose such terms of accommodation, as might reasonably offer, and press upon the king. In this particular he acted with honour and integrity; but it was imprudent in the first step of his administration to give umbrage to the Spaniards, whose interest it was to continue the war. They held all the lucrative places, had the whole management of the revenue, and acquired immense fortunes by a war that exhausted the treasures of Spain, and brought the Netherlands on the verge of destruction. The letter was well received, but answered in a manner that shewed the states were determined to hazard all rather than submit to any terms to the tyrant who had so long endeavoured to subvert their liberties. This negotiation was scarce finished, when a conspiracy against the life of prince Maurice was detected. One Michael de Remichen, a monk, was seduced by the count Barlaimont, and other noblemen, to make the attempt, and instructed in the manner. He was feigned, and executed at the Hague. Soon after, a second conspiracy of the same nature was discovered, and the criminal hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was publicly avowed, and confirmed by the testimony of the respective criminals, that the archduke was privy to this attempt, that it was planned by Ibarra, and debated in the duke’s own cabinet-council. This rendered him extremely odious to the confederates, and wiped out all remembrance of the kindred formerly intended by his letter. It indeed persuaded the Protestants that he was a hypocrite, who concealed the darkest designs under the cloak of friendship. Both parties soon came to despise him, on discovering that he was a weak, diffusive prince, directed by minions, and governed by women.

While the public were forming various conjectures on the character of the new governor, Verdugo, in the depth of winter, assembled part of his army, and closely blocked up Ceeveeren. But the obstinacy of the garrison exhausted his patience, and obliged him to withdraw the blockade. The garrison of Groningen was likewise defeated in an attempt to surprize fort Delfzul. Nor was prince Maurice more fortunate in the enterprises formed against Bolduc and Maasbracht, one of which miscarried by accident, the other through the misconduct of his officers. But the great object was the reduction of Groningen, to effect which the states made numerous levies in Germany. Count Solmers happily conducted these new troops to the prince’s camp, amidst all the schemes and ambuscades laid in their way by Verdugo. Maurice immediately put his army in motion, and on the 20th of March invested Groningen with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse. The garrison was summoned, and they returned a resolute answer; upon which the prince opened his batteries, mounted with sixty pieces of batteries cannon. The attack and defence were equally vigorous. The besiegers set the town on fire with red-hot bullets, but this produced no effect on the garrison. As the former advanced their works, the latter multiplied their sallies, and fought with desperate fury. Maurice at last sprung a mine, by which he gained the ravelin. This gave the first shock to the constancy of the besieged, particularly of the burghers, who dreaded an assault. The field however would have flouted the conquest, but the clamours of the townspeople prevailed, a parley was demanded, and articles of capitulation were signed the 24th of July. William of Nassau was appointed governor, with five companies of foot, to support his authority, and maintain the right he affirmed of chusing the magistrates. Six companies more were quartered in the suburbs, the great extent of the city rendering an extraordinary garrison necessary.

While Maurice was pursuing his conquests, the utmost confusion appeared in the Spanish army under Verdugo, whole regiments refusing to act, to acknowledge military discipline, and even menacing the life of their general, unless their pay was advanced. The wretched inhabitants were the chief sufferers in all those tumults; they were pillaged without remorse, and their effects seized as legal plunder. Two Spanish regiments of foot revolted in Pictardy, where they committed the most terrible disorders. Two thousand foot, and one thousand Italian and Spanish horse, feigned on Stehem in Brabant, demanded their pay, and acted as if they had been due to them from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. No sooner was one mutiny appeased, than another appeared; the archduke’s authority was defiled, and the mutineers at length became so formidable, that they threatened the city of Brugge, and the subjection of the Spanish government in the Netherlands. Apprehending that force might be used to reduce them to obedience, they tampered with prince Maurice, and demanded to know if he would afford them a retreat and protection. Indolent as the archduke was, he dreaded the consequences of this last overturn, and assembled a considerable body of troops appeared by the advance of their pay, and ordered don Lewis to

* Le Clerc, lib. v.  
* Meteren, lib. xvi. p. 357.
or Republic of Holland.

a de Velasco to march against the rebels. They had built some forts, which Velasco attacked with such impetuosity as obliged the besieged to withdraw, unite themselves in a body, and take shelter in the territory of Languefraat, in the neighbourhood of Gouda, where they were protected by the confederate army and garrisons. Though the mutineers would not consent to enter into the service of the states, the prince found it his interest to keep up the division, by which the Spanish army was weakened. The rebels were no expense to the United Provinces, for they supported themselves by excursions into the Spanish Netherlands, in which they were assisted by a body of confederate cavalry. Notwithstanding this desertion, the diligence of the council of war assembled an army of eleven thousand men, with which the archduke blocked up Cambray, held by Balugny, who had hitherto preferred a strict neutrality. This measure produced no other effect than obliging Balugny to declare for the confederates. The governor of Cambray made incursions into the Spanish territories, carrying terror and desolation to the gates of Arras and Valenciennes. In return, the archduke laid waste not only the districts round Cambray, but the frontiers of France, which produced a letter from Henry IV. to the cities of Hainaut and Artois, complaining of the outrage, and threatening retribution, unless the Spanish troops were immediately withdrawn. The letter was sent to the archduke, who referred the contents to the assembly.

When the assembly met at Brugge, the French monarch's letter made but a small part of their business. Disputes and contentions arose between the Flemings and Spaniards. The duke d'Arcot refused appearing at the first meeting, because the count de Fuentes, a Spaniard, was to have a superior seat at the board. The archduke opened the congress with a long speech, in Spanish, recommending pacific measures; or that was found impracticable, exerting the assembly to use their utmost efforts in terminating the war by the sword. Next day the same topics were repeated in French, and approved by the clergy, and a great number of moderate persons. On the contrary, Arcot, though he had firmly adhered to the king, highly refigured the influence of foreigners. He said that his majesty's loyal Flemings subjects were a sufficient defence of his authority; that the provinces had been ruined by the avarice of foreigners, who found their interest in fomenting a civil war; and diligently supplied with fuel the fire of discord, lighted by their misconduct. He asked what the Spaniards would have done, had Philip been hedged round at Madrid with Flemings counsellors, who should exclude natives from the royal person, from all places of trust, influence, and profit? The Netherlands, he said, were subject to Philip, not to Spain. Charles V. had thought them worthy of the imperial residence; he did not convert them into pastures to fatten starved and emaciated Spaniards. He then raised into invectives against the conduct of Fuentes; and concluded with affirming, that peace could never be restored to the provinces until foreigners were withdrawn, and the privileges of the people committed to those who were willing to prefer the country, by nature, duty, and interest. Arcot's speech highly offended the Spaniards, but it was well received by the rest of the assembly. The archduke then proposed three questions: Whether peace was to be absolutely necessary as to be obtained on conditions contrary to the king's inclination? Whether terms which had been refused to the rebels should be now granted? and, Whether the fame ends could not be attained by other means? To this all the Flemings unanimously answered, that peace was necessary, honourable, and very possible; in a word, that it was the best and most practicable measure. Ernšt then broke up the assembly, with an assurance that he would lay their sentiments before the king, and enforce them so strongly, that he had no doubts about the success; however, it appeared by his intercepted letter to Philip, that he was endeavouring to demonstrate to that prince the impossibility of restoring the tranquillity of the provinces, except by the sword: sentiments, probably, dictated by the Spanish council.

All this time not the smallest regard was paid to the king of France's letter; it was not even mentioned to the assembly. Henry IV. therefore published a declaration of war against Philip; and the archduke then wrote to the frontiers, provinces, to prepare for their own defence. There could not be a more glaring instance of the absurdity of the Spanish councils, than involving the kingdom so unnecessarily in a war with a powerful and spirited monarch, forced now by private interest into an alliance with the United Provinces. Mutual preparations were making; the king of Spain published a counter-declaration at Brugge; the forces of the states joined the duke of Beuillon at Luxembourg, and in the mean time the archduke Ernšt yielded up his last breath, appointing the count de Fuentes to the government of the Netherlands. Fuentes was approved by the king, and vested with the same authority as count Mansfield enjoyed. Still, however, the government apparently continued in the hands of the council of state, though the count, by commanding the army and finances, possessed great authority. His promotion was highly displeasing to the


natives,
The history of the United Provinces,
	natives, and the first act of his government heightened their averseion. Under pre-
tence of quelling a tumult of German soldiers in Brusselles, he fled the city with a nu-
merous Spanish garrison; the burgheers complained; the operations in the field suffered;
but Fuentes was headstrong and immovable. The late mutinies were not yet appeased,
and the great scarcity of corn excited other tumults. All degrees of men in the Spanish
Netherlands now more ardently than ever wished for peace, but the prospect was at a great
distance. Conferences were set on foot with prince Maurice, and rendered fruitless by the
intrigues of Fuentes and the Spaniards. Indeed such terms were demanded by the states,
as Philip was not yet sufficiently humbled to grant.

As soon as the negociations of peace were broken off, prince Maurice, though extremely
weakened by the strong reinforcements sent to the duke of Bouillon, took the field, as if he intended to fall upon Bolduc; and Fuentes opposed Madragon to him, then about eighty years of age. After various feints, Maurice appeared before Grel, in the territory of Zutphen, in hopes of reducing the place in a few days, on intelligence that the garrison
was ill provided. He was carrying on his approaches, when Madragon appeared with 11,000
foot and 1000 horse, and obliged him to relinquish the enterprise: some conqient ma-
nœuvres produced a skirmish between the cavalry of both armies, in which Philip of Nof-
seau was wounded, and the confederates worsted. Maurice next made a fruitless attempt
to surprize Muri, after which both armies retired into quarters 1.

After the affair of Brusselles, Fuentes determined so to regulate his conduct, that the
Flemings should be forced to etceem, if they could not be induced to love his person. He
now unexpectedly renewed the negociations with prince Maurice, possibly to amuse both
the Flemings and the states, but was new-modelling the army, as if he doubted the sus-
cess of the conference. Though he failed in the design of a general peace, he managed
matters with such adroitness, that the Italian and Spanish mutineers, protected by the prince,
returned to their duty: he had numerous forces in the field. Vilaforo, confable of Caste,
was at the head of an army in Burgundy; Waromben commanded another army in Artois
and Picardy, a third was opposed under Madragon to prince Maurice, and a fourth acted
in Luxemburg under the direction of Veragu. It was not the diligence of Fuentes alone the
states had to combat; greater difficulties arose on the side of their allies. Queen Elib-
izabeb loudly complained of the strict union entered into with Henry IV, yet had this mo-


dandard compelled them into the alliance by threatening to make peace with Spain, and suf-
fer Philip to employ his whole strength in the Netherlands. The policy of the queen di-
rected that the states should not fall under the dominion of Philip, and yet she could not
bear to see them independent. The vaft commercial schemes planned about this time in
Holland, and the successful expeditions of certain merchants to the East Indies, excited her
jealousy; the bold and enterprising genius of the French monarch likewise gave her um-
brage; she had refused that prince four regiments, though the city of Nevers engaged to
pay the subsidy; but the willingly conferred that her troops should garrison Dieppe, Bow-
logne, and Calais; an offer of friendship which Henry was too penetrating to accept 2. She
sent her ambassador Thomas Bodley, to complain to the states of their fending succours to
France, while they were themselves supported by the English forces. The states pleaded
the necessity of making a diversion to keep the whole weight of Spain from falling upon
the provinces. Not satisfied with this answer, the ambassador demanded repayment of the
money lent by the queen to the provinces in their difficulties, though the treaty im-
PORTED that the money should not be reimbursed before the conclusion of the war. Bod-
ley, to enforce his demands, added menaces, and hinted that her majesty would take such
measures as would prove very disagreeable to the states, in case of refusal. It was not
the business of the United Provinces to come to a rupture with England: they therefore
endeavoured to appease her majesty; they besought her to reflect on the conjuncture of
affairs; they pleaded inability, exaggerated their losses at Sea, the inundation of their
country, and the great expense incurred in equipping a fleet to join her navy against the
Spaniards. In fact, however, the Dutch were grown rich by the war; the queen therefore
could not admit their excuses, alleging, that if they could supply the king of France with
money, they could not fully be at a loss for the means to pay their just debts: the taxed
them with ingratitude, and again reminded them of their deplorable situation when they
generously took them under her protection. The Dutch might justly have retorted, that
the assistance granted proceeded more from a sense of her own interest, than from motives
of generosity and compassion; but they chose to temporise, to depreciate the queen’s wrath
by submission, and obtain a reprieve, by furnishing her with a fleet of twenty-four men
of war, appointed to join the English squadron defined upon an enterprise against the g
Spaniards.

1 Id. ibid.
or Republic of Holland.

In the midst of these altercations, king Philip appointed the cardinal archduke Albert to the government of the Low Countries: the design was well laid, and more deeply founded than was at first imagined. Born to vast possessions, and still valuer designs, Philip, after a long dream of ambition and universal monarchy, was now opepresed with disappointment, broken with age and infirmity, and dis tempted in mind by continual care and solicitude. Hitherto had he sacrificed his health, his ease, and all the pleasures of life, to vain glory and empty projects; but now his thoughts were turned towards obtaining that rest and quiet which he never suffered the world or himself to experience. His designs on France and England had terminated in events the most contrary to those he proposed; and instead of subsiding the spirit of rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, he saw himself disposed of seven provinces, obliged to hold the reit upon the uncertain tenure of a destructive war; by his obstinate ambition he had given birth to a powerful republic, whose grandeur should be reared on the ruins of his dominions. His pride, however, disdained the thoughts of proposing peace to his revolted subjects in his own name; yet he wished for the means of accomplishing that end, without prejudice to his honour: he resolved therefore to commit this important business to cardinal Albert, intending, that if he could subordinate the provinces, he should govern them as Spanish dominions; if that was in vain attempted, he should, by a marriage with the infant Clara Isabella Eugenia, receive the Netherlands in dowry, become their prince, and with this provision only, that they should revert to the Spanish monarchy in case the infant died without issue. The king had reason to believe, that the birth and manners of Albert, a German born, the affable sweet disposition of Isabella, and the presence of a native prince might contribute more to subdue the stubborn people, than the force and vigour of his former measures; at the worst, the cardinal could make peace, without affecting the grandeur, or derogating from the dignity of the Spanish monarchy, should he find arms inefficient. In pursuit of this resolution, Philip made the utmost preparations for war, though his intentions were altogether pacific; every thing was reasonably expected from the administration of Albert, who had passed twenty-six years in pain highly afflicted, and governed Portugal in quality of vicerey, with great approbation. Before he quitted Spain, he procured the liberty of Philipp William de Nassau, prince of Orange, and eldest son of the late prince William of Orange, after he had lived twenty-eight years in a kind of captivity: not was this sufficient, he prevailed on the king to restore him to his titles, states, and honours; persuaded that this act would prove grateful to the United Provinces, and useful to the royal cause, as the prince had been from his infancy bred in the rigid principles of popery. Philip of Orange accompanied Albert in his voyage to Italy, and was by him sent to the court of Rome, where he was received with the utmost respect. As soon as the states general of the United Provinces had certain advice of what was transacted, they sent an embassy to the prince, congratulating him on his deliverance, professing the utmost esteem for his father's memory, and affection for his family; but at the same time lamenting his change of principles, from which the Spaniards boasted they should derive great advantages. They persuaded themselves, that a prince of the family of Nassau, the son and representative of William of Orange, that strenuous asserter of freedom, would never swerve from the cause of liberty, and those maxims which rendered the memory of his heroic parent immortal. They admonished his highness to defer his intention of returning to his native country, to a more favourable opportunity, and until such passports as were necessary to his safety could be obtained. This message the prince answered by a letter, couched in the most obliging terms, professing his sincere regard for the provinces, and offering the strongest assurances that his whole endeavours should be directed to obtain for them a just and honourable peace. Such was the situation of affairs at the time cardinal Albert was appointed to the government °(A).

= Bentivog. p. 3. lib. iv. p. 95.

(A) Though we have in a former volume given an explicit detail of the rise, origin, and progress of the Dutch East India company, which gave birth to the wealth and grandeur of the republic, we cannot avoid mentioning their present naval strength, in the midst of a bloody ruinous war, in which they were so long and deeply engaged. Grotius affirms, that the provinces of Holland and Zealand alone sent yearly 70,000 sailors to sea, and were then the most formidable naval power in Europe (1). This year they built 200 ships, in which number our author probably includes small craft and coasting vessels. During the course of the war with Spain, not less than 400 ships went annually to Lisbon, Cadiz, St. Lucar, and other ports of Spain and Portugal (2); at which illicit commerce the king connived, knowing it to be necessary to his subjects, tho' disadvantageous to his enemies. The reciprocal necessity of both states obliged them mutually to tolerate and even cultivate their traffic, under the disguise of the ships hoisting foreign colours. In consequence however of a remonstrance sent to Philip this year by the ministers of France, naut and Artois he seized upon all the Dutch ships trading to the king's ports; a Dutch squadron in conjunction with the English navy, was de-

(1) Grotius Hist. lib. 4.


Moo. Hist. Vol. XI.

5 X
The history of the United Provinces,

S E C T. V.

Containing the administration of cardinal Albert; the death of Philip II. and of queen Elizabeth; with other particulars.

A.D. 1596.

Cardinal Albert dispatching matters in Italy, quitted Turin on the 20th of September 1595, and arrived in Luxemburg on the 29th of January following; thence he proceeded to Namur, in order to assemble the troops, and make preparations for pushing vigorously the war with France, which was the first object of his politics. Here he was congratulated by crowds of the nobility, and the count de Fuentes waited upon the cardinal to surrender his trust, and give him the necessary information concerning the state of the country.

Henry IV. in the mean time was busied in prosecuting the war; he chased the Spaniards out of Burgundy, forced the duke de Mayenne to sue for an accommodation, and now besieged le Ferre, a strong town in Picardy, which he reduced under his obedience. The cardinal however retaliated by invading Calais, and obliged the garrison to surrender; it was immediately after this success, that, by advice of the Spanish provinces, he formed the resolution of laying siege to Offend, then garrisoned by English forces; but deferred the enterprise as impracticable so late in the season, in order to bethow his whole attention on the reduction of Hulst. Count Solmes commanded the garrison, he took every precaution to render the cardinal’s approach difficult. To draw off the attention of prince Maurice from his principal object, the cardinal made a feint as if his design was on Bruges; this obliged the prince to send part of the garrison to succour that city, upon which Albert made a sudden turning, and fell down before the former; the surrounding marshes and canals greatly obstructed his operations, and fort Nassau still kept open a communication between the besieged and the provinces; the artillery on both sides played with fury, and the garrison made frequent vigorous sallies; but some failure in the execution of prince Maurice’s orders obliged them on the 17th of August to capitulate on conditions extremely honourable. In this siege the cardinal lost 3000 men, among whom was the famous sieur de Rhoen, mareschal of the league, known in the French historians by the name of Christian Chavigny. Though count Solmes had made spirited efforts in defence of Hulst, the province of Zealand was incensed to see a place, the fortifications of which had cost some millions of livres, lost in so short a time; in reparation he was deprived of his regiment; but the states general judging more favourably of his conduct, received him again into their service. Some writers allege, that he had orders from prince Maurice not to stand an assault, but to preserve the garrison for more important services; and it is certain, that the prince greatly wished a reinforcement, his inferiority on account of the detachments sent to France, and numerous body of troops now on the Spanish expedition under the earl of Essex, at keeping the field, and facing the cardinal, who had 30,000 men at the siege of Hulst.

In the spring of this year a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the queen of England and the French king, to which all princes and states were invited to accede. The United Provinces were highly delighted with an alliance which permitted them to link themselves more closely to Henry, without giving umbrage to Elizabeth. Accordingly, in the month of November, they signed a treaty with that monarch, whereby they agreed to pay him the sum of 450,000 florins for the maintenance of 4000 foot to be employed in France, unless Philip should attack the United Provinces. In return, the king granted the states very extraordinary commercial privileges; among others, that their subjects should be exempted form the rights of Avasins, as they are called, whereby the goods of foreign merchants dying in France, became the king’s property.

It was now that the English and Dutch fleets, under the lord Charles Howard admiral of England, and the earl of Essex general of the combined land-forces, set sail from Plymouth, and anchored on the west side of the island of Cadiz. The Spanish ships of war retiring into the Pantal, were vigorously attacked; the engagement lasted from break of day till noon, when the enemy perceiving their galleons miserably shattered, and their men slaughtered, resolved to set their vessels on fire, and run them on shore. Here the destruction was terrible, but three ships were saved, and taken by the English. Immediately after this success, the earl of Essex disembarked with 800 men at the Pantal, and advanced

---

* Meyer, ibid.  
* Meyer, lib. xviii. fol. 399.  

Hoving the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, adhering in the reduction of that city, undermining the Portuguese commerce in the East Indies, ruining their settle-
or Republic of Holland.

ing briskly against a body of Spaniards, forced them to retreat to Cadiz, and pursued them so closely, that the inhabitants were in too much confusion to reflect on the proper measures for their defence. The English burst open the gates, entered the city, and after a short skirmish in the streets, obliged the garrison to retire to the castle; where they soon capitulated. In the mean time Sir Walter Raleigh had orders to burn the merchant ships that had taken shelter in port Real. Two millions of ducats were offered for their ransom; which the English admiral rejecting, he began setting them on fire, though the duke of Medina Sidonia found means to save great part of their cargoes. This expedition was a severe blow to Spain: besides the loss sustained by the merchantmen, the king lost two galleons, thirteen ships of war, twenty-four vessels laden with merchandise for the Indies; in a word, to the amount of twenty millions of ducatooons. Cadiz was pillaged and burnt, and the combined fleet put again to sea, loaded with rich booty, though the expedition might have turned out to much greater advantage, had it been judiciously conducted. The Dutch writers mention an obliging letter sent by queen Elizabeth to John de l'Envoorde, thanking him for his gallant behaviour, and alcribing great part of the success to the bravery of the Hollanders; but in this particular all the English historians are silent.

During the winter, the states, by means of the city of Breda and other openings, laid A.D. 1597: heavy contributions on Brabant; the inhabitants implored the affiance of cardinal Albert, and he detached the count de Vareux to their relief. Prince Maurice formed the design of surprizing the count; but failing in this, he attacked him in his retreat, and pulled the enterprise with such success, that he obtained a complete victory, with the loss only of 700 men. In this action, fought near Tournon, the enemy left 1,200 dead upon the field, 300 pair of colours, their military cheet, and other trophies of war. Such an advantage was necessary to raise the spirits of the confederates, after the late glorious campaign of the cardinal. The next day Tournon surrendered, after which the prince again put his troops in garrison; as for Maurice, he went to the Hague, where his trophies were deposited as a monument of his past victory gained in the open field; for hitherto all his successes consisted in reducing and defending towns (A).

The cardinal now turned his whole thoughts to the augmentation of his army, and making new levies; but the treasury of Spain was so exhausted, that this was a matter of difficulty. Philip was in a manner already bankrupt, he having publicly declared his inability to pay even the interest of the immense sums borrowed of foreign bankers and Spaniard merchants. He was forced to flog the court of justice against those merchants become bankrupts by their loans to the court; and this, instead of mending, entirely destroyed his credit. Albert however stirred himself so effectually, that he was able to bring a considerable army into the field, though not before it was late in the season. Considerable efforts were made on the side of France; Dourlen was taken by the count de Fuentes, and Amiens surprized by the fugitives of prince Maurice, Hants. To revenge himself, the French monarch invaded Arras, and performed incredible service to the United Provinces, by engaging the whole attention of the cardinal to the relief of that city. Maurice did not let slip the opportunity; he hired with all possible expedition to assemble his army, crossed the Rhine, took the castle of Lichten, and then fell upon Meurs, which surrendered on the 3d of September; on the 8th he again crossed the Rhine, and inveterate Groel, defended by a numerous garrison; notwithstanding the brave defence of the besieged, Maurice pushed his operations with such rapidity, as obliged the place to surrender by the 26th of September; upon receiving honourable conditions. The town of Bresfort, situated among bogs and fens, was the next object of the prince's plan of operations; this place he scarce inveigled when the burghers retreated precipitately to the citadel; which was likewise reduced by the 12th of October. After an incredible swift course of conquests, after having in a few days abandoned Emschied, Oldenbeel, and Otmarjen, to receive his garrison's, Maurice sat down with his army before Linghen, which he compleatly inveigled by the 28th of October; count Frederick de Beren commanded a numerous and resolute garrison. Dives brisk fallies were made without effect; Maurice's sagacity forewarned and prepared for every event, and the besieged were by the middle of November reduced to the greatest extremities and the necessity of capitulating; upon which the prince put his army in quarters, and was received by the states with all those honours which his great services merited. In this campaign Maurice placed great confidence in the abilities of a celebrated mathematician, one Simon Stevin, to whose skill in the attack, and defence of fortified places some writers attribute the celebrity of the prince's conquests; but Maurice had discovered profound knowledge in this branch of the military art long before Stevin was employed.

(A) Prince Maurice is reported to have gained this victory by means of his cavalry, whom he armed with earless instead of lance: he was likewise the first general who introduced pilolets among the confederate horse, if we may credit Mitten, p. 458. lib. xix.

Broken
The history of the United Provinces,

Broken with age, and chagrined by disappointment, Philip endeavoured to engage the emperor, and the diet, to use their influence with the United Provinces, to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. He could not, however, support the thought of renouncing his sovereignty over a country which had cost him more blood and treasure than all his other wars; and nothing would content the states but their being acknowledged a free people. For this they had fought, and sustained an incredible variety of hardships; now to relinquish it, would be to surrender the fruits of all their toil and labour. They had already experienced that all the negotiations proved abortive, because neither side would yield what was an essential article of peace: they perceived Philip's insincerity, from the frequent attempts made to surprise them unguarded, at the time when the forwardness of the negotiations had lulled the states into security. However, they received Nussel, the imperial ambassador, who arrived in the month of August at the Hague, with letters from the emperor, and divers German princes. Christien IV. of Denmark likewise offered his mediation, and promised he would be guarantee for the security of the protestant religion; but the states replied to both ambassadors, that all the conditions hitherto proposed by Spain were insidious and oppressive, tending to divide the provinces, weaken the alliance, extinguish that liberty of conscience they had hitherto enjoyed, and treacherously wrested from them their liberty; at the same time they assured the ambassadors, that if proper security of the rights and privileges of the provinces could be obtained, nothing could be a more desirable object than the establishment of the public tranquillity, the blessings of which were almost forgot and unknown in the Netherlands. It was certainly not the interest of the Northern powers, to augment the power of Spain; but they were deceived by Philip, and cozened into a belief, that the obstinacy of the states alone prevented an accommodation. Sigismund, king of Poland, was prevailed on to send an ambassador to England, with a view of detaching the queen from the states general. Sweden had likewise made some overtures towards mediating a peace; but the states opened the eyes of these powers, and plainly demonstrated to them that the catholic king would never consent to such terms as they were determined only to accept. As for Elizabeth, the treated the Philip ambassador, who affumed extraordinary airs, with the highest contempt, and disdained him disguised at her spirited treatment. Thus the decision of all differences was again committed to the sword, though it was imagined that Philip's design of marrying his daughter, the infanta, to Albert, and giving him the Netherlands for a portion, would prove so agreeable to the states, as greatly to facilitate the king's pacific intentions. Time was indeed when the provinces would have rejoiced at this event, and accepted of any terms founded upon this basis. Now they had been so long engaged in the cause of absolute freedom, that subjection to any master would be irksome. We shall see how, after farther noble efforts and glorious struggles, they obtained their end, and the full scope of their ambition; first by a truce concluded in 1609, whereby the king of Spain acknowledged the freedom of the United Provinces; and afterwards by the peace of Westphalia, in which they were acknowledged a sovereign state, the court of Spain renouncing all pretensions to sovereignty over the seven United Provinces.

While Philip was trying every expedient to engage the mediation of the empire and northern powers, he was making prodigious offers to Henry IV. of France, in order to detach so powerful a monarch from the confederacy with England and Holland. France was quite spent and exhausted with war; Henry was equally desirous of peace as Philip, but he could not with honour receive proposals without communicating them to the queen of England and the United States. The fleur de Buenvol was dispatched with letters to the states general, acquainting them of the advantageous terms offered by Philip, of the situation of the kingdom, and of the king's resolution to act in concert with his allies. It was obvious, however, from the pathetic description Henry drew of the deplorable state of his affairs, that he meditated an accommodation with Spain. The states therefore used all their address to prevent this measure, which would enable Philip to employ his whole force in the Netherlands. They told the ambassador, that the fortunate issue of the last campaign would enable them to prosecute the war with double vigour and advantage; that Philip desired peace with France only until he could oppress and subdue his subjects in the Netherlands; that when he had obtained this great object, he would, agreeable to his constant system of policy, turn his arms against Henry, and with more success, as the conquest of the Netherlands would enable him to maintain 100,000 men without touching the Spanish revenue. They concluded with beseeching his majesty, to accept of no conditions until they had first consulted Elizabeth, their common ally. Buenvol replied in the most obliging terms, assuring the states of the king's inviolable friendship; but Henry was too much a politician to let slip this opportunity of recovering his towns in...
or Republic of Holland.

Pisany, and restoring the blessings of peace to his subjects. Pope Clement VIII. laboured with indefatigable pains to conciliate the courts of France and Spain, and he sent upon that commission his legate, the Most Serene Alexander de Mediciis, the most expert diplomat of Italy. He came to Vervins, and was there met by the Spanish and French ambassadors. No remonstrances from the states could retard a treaty upon which Henry had already resolved. The greatest obstruc
tions which that prince had encountered, were raised by Philip. His kingdom was torn with faction, and ruined with the expenses of an oppressive war. To enjoy the felicity of governing obedient subjects, peace with Spain was essentially nece-
sary. He was urged by his most faithful servitors, and particularly by Gabriel d'Este, who prefixed it as the only measure which could firmly establish him in the throne. Bu-
ticoglio indeed ascribes the whole to the influence of Clement and his legate; but had not Henry found a reconciliation with Philip attended with the greatest advantages to himself and his people, it is probable he would never have suffered himself to be moved by all the addresses and arguments of the pope and the cardinal de Medicis.

The states of Holland, alarmed at the congress of Vervins, immediately dispatched Justus Nassau, admiral of Zeeland, and John Olden-Barnaveldt, to throw off every possible impediment in the course of the approaching pacification. They proceeded to Nancy, and laid their instructions before Henry, who, receiving them politely, replied, that he apprehended peace was more distant than he could wish: he must insist upon restitution of Blaveet and Calais, and he feared Philip would have no inclination to part with those towns, in which case the war would be undoubtedly continued. Peace, he said, was necessary to his kingdom; but they might depend it should be such as would turn out to the confusion of his enemies. Elizabeth laboured in the same cause with the states general. Her ambassadors had a conference at Nancy with the chancellor of France, and the dukes of Epernon and Bonillon, about the means of establishing a general peace, which the queen was ready to accept in concert with the states: but the Dutch ambassadors replied, that their instructions were limited to demonstrate the necessity and advantage of continuing the war; a proposition which would scarce admit of negation, with respect to Holland. The English ambassadors acceded to this opinion, the scheme for a general pacification was relinquished; but the treaty between France and Spain took place on the 2d of May.

Elizabeth and the states exclaimed against the conduct of the French king; but that wife prince, soon convinced the latter, that he had not renounced their interest by restoring peace to his own subjects. On the contrary, they shall find the court of Spain complaining loudly of the sums of money he remitted to Holland, which remonstrances Henry answered, by saying, That he did not affix the states, but he was paying his debts.

The treaty of Vervins was no sooner signed, than Justus Nassau and Olden-Barnaveldt quitted the French court, and set out for England, to concert a plan of operations for the farther prosecution of war. Here they were civilly received, but treated at the same time with great freedom by Elizabeth. That princes told them frankly, that he had liberally assisted the United Provinces with her money, but never met with any returns of gratitude. No attempt was made to reimburse her expenses, notwithstanding the commercial wealth of the states, and her necessities, entirely occasioned by her complicity for their sufferings. This had involved her in a war with Spain, at the very time when the difficulties in Ireland, and intrigues in Scotland, greatly embarrased her affairs. In consequence of her rupture with Philip, her subjects were cut off from all intercourse with Spain, to the great detriment of trade; it was therefore now incumbent upon her to lift up the catholic king's proposals, which, however, she promised never to accept, without first acquitting the states general. After all, the Dutch envoys easily perceived from the temper of the public, that the English would shew no aversion to the continuance of the war, provided the states would break off all traffic with Spain, reimburse the queen's ex-
penses, and take upon themselves a more reasonable proportion of the burden. At that time the English councils were divided into two parties, headed by lord Burleigh, treasurer, and the earl of Essex. The frugal disposition of the former inclined him to a peace with Spain; the ambition and martial genius of the latter made him favour the opposite sys-
tem, in which alone glory could be acquired. Warm debates arose, and the most poignant sarcasms were levelled against Holland. It was said that the states, under the mask of religion and liberty, had destroyed the former, by permitting every faith besides the Roman catholics; the latter, by converting freedom into licentiousness; that they fought entirely for their own interest, and artfully threw the weight of their caule upon the shoulders of their allies; that they committed the most intolerable frauds, with respect to the pay of the English forces, extorting from them a double price for every kind of provision; that they traded to a vast extent with Spain, and grew wealthy amidst all the

A. D. 1598. The states send ambassadors to England.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} Bentivog. p. 5. lib.xvii. p. 102.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{5} Grot. lib. vii. p. 281.}\]
The history of the United Provinces,

horrors of a war, ruinous to their allies, and particularly to England; that in all pecuniary transactions with England they adulterated the coin, reconceived the English money, and made payments to them in bale money, greatly below standard; that they had monopolized all the trade of Europe and the Indies; excluding their greatest benefactors from those markets in which the Dutch were lately but interlopers. Such were the affronts, many of them found on truth, thrown out by the partizans of Burleigh, and the advocates for a peace with Spain. On the other hand, the power, the policy, the perfidy of Philip, were urged as reasons for continuing the war, until the wings of his soaring ambition should be sufficiently clipped. It was affirmed, that no lasting treaty could be concluded with a monarch who broke through all moral obligations; to gratify his lust of power, and feed oats at defiance to satiate his resentment; that if the queen abandoned the states general, and suffered Spain to gain possession of Brill and Flushing, she would at the same time lose the sums lent to the states, and bring dishonour on the kingdom; that if Spain once re-established her power in the Netherlands, she would then become a more formidable antagonist than ever to England; that if an offensive war carried on in the Low Countries, or the coasts of Spain and Portugal, was found expensive, her majesty might easily and advantageously direct her operations against the Spanish colonies in America, the reduction of which would more than compensate the expenses of the armament; lastly, it was asserted that the United Provinces, and particularly those of Holland and Zealand, were the strongest barriers of England against the attempts of the Spanish monarch. Had Cecil lived, the issue of this dispute might possibly have been different; his death immediately turned the scale in favour of the opposite party, and produced a renewal of the treaty with the states, which was signed at London the twenty-sixth day of August. The articles were, that the states should repay the queen, at stated intalments, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; that they should maintain at their expense the English garrisons in Brill and Flushing; that they should levy troops in England, to be commanded by English officers, and paid by the states; that, in case of any attempts to invade England, the states would immediately fend to the assistance of that kingdom a body of five thousand foot, and an equal number of horse; that the number of ships and the strength of squadrons, equipped in the common cause, should be equal; that the queen's claim to the money due from the provinces of Brabant and Flanders, to Palociini, should remain entire, as a depot for her yearly expenses of twenty-five thousand pounds. These were the measures taken for vigorously supporting the war, and restifing the power of Philip, now at liberty to point his whole strength against the provinces.

In the mean time, the councils of this prince were fluctuating and unsteady: that depth of policy and refined understanding, for which he was formerly celebrated, were clouded with disappointment, weakened by inimrity, and entangled in embarransments. It had long been debated, whether the infanta and the Netherlands should not be given to the archduke Albert, as the best method of preserving those provinces, and extirpating Philip out of a labyrinth of difficulties; but great inconveniences attended this measure, in case Isabella should ever succeed, as was not improbable, to the Spanish monarchy. When the affair was proposed to the council, the count de Fuentes opposed it with a variety of specious arguments. The marquis de Caelo Roderigo answered the reasoning of Fuentes, and declared with equal warmth in favour of the measure, insisting that the dismemberment of the Netherlands from the monarchy would produce a variety of advantages, and particularly a great saving of blood and treasure. Philip was himself of the same sentiments, and declared for them the more readily, as they were approved of by a majority of the council. He considered that France was ascending by vast paces to a great height of power; that the union of the crowns of England and Scotland would, under the successor of Elizabeth, render Great Britain formidable; and that those kingdoms, by keeping alive the sparks of rebellion in the Netherlands, might perpetually harass, disturb, and embroil the Spanish monarchy. He likewise dreaded left the Flemings should carry their conquests into the Indies, and was in hopes that the provinces, placed under a prince of the house of Austria, would content themselves with a free trade with Spain, without equipping fleets for long and dangerous voyages at so vast an expense. He was not aware that a spirit of liberty, of commerce and enterprise, was now excited, which it would be impossible to extinguish. What affected the king most, according to Bentivoglio, was the loss the church would suffer, by permitting the free use of the protestant religion. It was falsely supposing, that the provinces wanted nothing more than to be subject to a prince of the house of Austria; they had now to long tasted liberty, though embittered with war and bloodshed, that no terms would have induced them to renounce what was purchased at the price of many battles. Philip, however, not doubting their submission would follow, the contract of


marriage
or Republic of Holland.

A marriage between Isabella and his nephew the archduke Albert, made out and signed; the articles of which were, that the should enjoy for her portion the Netherlands and provinces of Burgundy and Charleroi; that the male heirs should succeed, and in case of failure the females; that provided one daughter only survived of this marriage, the should marry the king of Spain; that the archduke should oblige his subjects to cease trading to the Indies, and refl. satisfied with a free intercourse with the Spaniard dominions in Europe, &c.

To execute this treaty, the cardinal Albert quitted the Netherlands, and proceeded with all expedition to the court of Madrid. His absence was suddenly perceived by the French; the garrisons of the towns in Picardy, which by the treaty were to be restored to the French monarch, demanded large sums of money before they would evacuate the places they possessed. The example was followed by the garrisons of Ghent, Antwerp and Cambray, who demanded their arrears, and threatened to throw off all subjection. This sedulous humour was propagated like a contagious disease among all the troops, every man expressing his unwillingness to serve a court too needy and profane to regard the wants of the soldiers, who were fighting her battles, and shedding their blood for her security. At length supplies of money arrived, and the mutinies were appeased.

Before the archduke left his government, he appointed a successor, and nominated his brother the cardinal Andrea of Austria to that dignity. He likewise quitted the ecclesiastical habit, and resigned the archbishopric of Toledo, referring only a pension, payable out of the revenues of the see, of 3000 ducatons. Before his arrival at Madrid, Philip was in extremities, and exceedingly impatient to see the marriage concluded before he took leave of all sublunary enjoyments. A variety of relations retarded the archduke; and before he could reach the court, the king had breathed his last (A). Philip’s will, however, was punctually executed, the marriage was solemnized, and the ceremony performed by pope Clement, by means of proxies sent to Ferrara, where his holiness at that time resided.

The contract of marriage had no sooner been signed by the late king, than Albert passed the necessary forms of taking possession of his sovereignty; previous to his journey to Spain. He likewise wrote a letter to the states of Holland, Zeeland, and their allies, acquainting them with the king’s having resigned the Low Countries in favour of his daughter, and requesting that they would no longer refuse submision to their natural prince, who would undertake to govern with the utmost lenity, indulgence, and affection. This letter was endorsed by another from Philip prince of Orange to his brother Maurice; but no reply was made to either.

About this time 4000 Spanish recruits arrived in Flanders, to complete the old corps broken and diminished in the last campaign. With this reinforcement, the king’s army consisted of 7000 Spanish infantry, 3000 Italian, 2000 Burgundian, 1000 Irish, and 7000 German and Flemish foot, with the cavalry, amounting to 15,000 men complete. After the archduke’s departure, the admiral of Arragon was placed at the head of this army, to which the states were unable to oppose an equal force. Paffing the Menis at Raeren, Mendoza took possession of Orsafs, an open town belonging to the duchy of Cleves. As the place was of considerable importance, the admiral ordered a citadel to be built, erecting likewise a strong fort at Waflam. Prince Maurice having notice of the fate of Orsafs, quitted the Hague to put himself at the head of the army quartered about Arnhem. In the month of September he marched to Goudre Weert, to watch the enemy’s motions, and while he lay encamped here, the admiral reduced the strongholds of Alphen and Broek. Thence he proceeded to Rhinberg, an unfortified town, subject to the elector of Cologne, but guarded by a body of the confederate forces. In his way thither, he seized the castle of Barlis, and then cannonaded Rhinberg with such fury, that the garrison immediately surrendered. Maurice was too weak to oppose the enemy in the field; he was obliged to content himself with fortifying his camp, and reinforcing the garrisons of the places most likely to attract the admiral’s attention; but he entertained hopes that the scarcity of money and provitions would excite mutinies in the Spanish army before the winter, and effectually stop Mendoza’s operations. In this, however, he was disappointed, the admiral having found means to support his troops by contributions raised on these towns, which desired to be exempted from garrisons. Having made himself master of Rheeze, Emmen, Dort-lein, and other places, he placed his troops in quarters, the heavy rains rendering it impossible to keep the field longer. The inhabitants of Wetpork and Cleves loudly complained of the oppression of maintaining the Spanish forces; they sent remonstrances to the cardinal Andrea, but were not redressed.

(A) The particulars of the life and death of this prince, whose ambition, policy and genius for intrigue, had, for a series of years, embroiled all Europe, may be seen in a former volume of this work.

While
The history of the United Provinces,

While the admiral lay before Dantzick, prince Maurice apprehending his next effort would be pointed against Delfzijl, a place of more consequence, fortified all the posts by which it was accessible, and encamped before the walls, in a strong situation, until the advanced feason removed all danger. During the whole winter skirmishes passed between the troops; but they were too inconsiderable to merit regard. Thus ended the campaign, in which the vigilance, activity, and address of Maurice, prevented Mendoza, with a greatly superior army, from obtaining any important advantage.

About the close of the year a fleet arrived from the East Indies, which disappointed the expectations of the proprietors and the publick, the profits having been scarce sufficient to defray the expenses of the voyage. This did not, however, check that spirit of enterprise now so general and ardent in Holland. A new society subscribed large sums, and eight new ships were equipped for the same voyage. Numbers of individuals embarked in attempts to make new discoveries, and open fresh sources of commerce. Voyages were made to the remote quarters of the globe, where the Dutch flag was unknown, and one Baltazar Munckton, a Zealander, fitted out at his own expense, not only two ships to India, but a squadron of five large vessels, to establish colonies in the islands of St. Thomas and the continent of Africa. At first his project was attended with all possible success, the Portugese of St. Thomas joyfully accepted the proffers of an advantageous trade, a mutual oath was taken to exclude all other nations; but the Portugese soon renounced their engagement, drove the Zealanders out of the island, and ruined the whole scheme, which had greatly raised Baltazar's reputation. This year was particularly fruitful in bold expeditions. Certain merchants of Rotterdam equipped four ships, which they sent through the straights of Magellan to California, with intention to discover a passage to Japan and China, and return by the Cape of Good Hope, after having encompassed the globe. In a word, such was the avidity and spirit of this people, that no less than thirty large ships were sent by the provinces of Holland and Zeeland to the East and West Indies, while they at the same time were establishing a Levant trade by means of the French ambassadour at Constantinople, and prosecuting their fisheries with great diligence. The trade indeed was considerably disturbed by the swarms of privateers that issued from Calais, still garrisoned by the Spaniards. This was an affair of so much importance as to require the attention of the legislature. The states general assembled to deliberate upon the means of securing the navigation of the provinces; but they could come to no other resolution, than that the general officers of the marine should, in their turns, cruise upon the privateers, and block up the harbour of Calais. The year concluded with a rich capture made by a small squadron equipped by prince Maurice. Four Spanish merchants, richly laden, were taken before they got out of sight of Calais. We have mentioned these naval transactions, to shew how affluently the Dutch cultivated commerce, in the midst of an oppressive war, which would otherwise have proved intolerable.

SECT. VI.

Containing the operations of the subsequent campaigns; the arrival of the archduke and Infabella in the Low Countries; the victory obtained by the confederates at Newport; with other particulars, to the death of queen Elizabeth, in 1603.

The arrogance of the Spanish troops quartered in the empire caused violent commotions, particularly in the districts of Cleves and Westphalia. They committed the most horrible outrages; entering, without distinction, and plundering neutral cities, to compensate their deficiency of pay. All the peasantries detested their usual employment, and sought protection in the fortified towns; industry was wholly laid aside, and every confrequent misery introduced. Sensible that their little effects would fall into the hands of the enemy, the peasantries indemnified themselves by plundering the seats of the nobility, resolved to obviate the prospects they forebore from the neglect of agriculture. The Spanish soldiery were in the mean while over-running the bishopric of Munster, the archbishopric of Cologne, the counties of Bentheim, the duchies of Juliers and Berg; in a word, all the country from the Meuse to the Rhine, where they seized upon all the towns, and collected so rich a booty, that private men remitted large sums to Antwerp. Their avidity was accompanied with the utmost riot and most diabolical luxury. Unacquainted to affluence, they spent it in profusion, in drunkenness, incontinence, and abandoned mirth; endeavouring at the same time to repair their fluctuating fortune by the most cruel extortions, putting all those afflicted of concealing their wealth to the torture. All were surprised that the Germans, so jealous of their liberty, should have permitted those violations on the
or Republic of Holland.

laws of nations to pass unpunished. Repeated assemblies were held by the princes of the empire, but nothing was determined. Only the count of Oldenburgh, the bishops of Bremen and Osnabrug, and John of Naffau, had the courage to repel by force the insults of the Spaniards. The assemblies wrote several pathetic letters to the cardinal Andrea; but that prelate, unable to advance the arrears of the soldiers, was forced to wink at their excesses, and disregard the remonstrances of the assembly. The emperor sent Neufiti, a member of his privy council, to regulate the affairs of the duchy of Cleve, but he returned without having executed his instructions. Mendoza treated the inhabitants with great contempt, and he publicly expressed his detestation of the protestant princes of the empire, boasting that the Almighty had sent him as a scourge to punish them. Incensed at this conduct, the emperor published a decree, ordering Mendoza and the Spaniards immediately to quit the imperial dominions, a similar injunction being at the same time transmitted to the confederate forces. In substance the edicts differed in nothing; but that to Mendoza was couched in terms more bitter and poignant. Both were enjoined to make immediate preparation, to release all the prisoners made in the imperial dominions, to abstain from future violation of the laws of nations, under penalty of incurring the emperor’s wrath, and feeling the weight of his displeasure.

MENDOZA paid little regard to impotent menaces; a few days after the decree was put into his hands, he seized upon Calcar, a town in the duchy of Juliers, and obliged the inhabitants to receive a Spanish garrison. He carried his indignation against the Lutherans to so high a pitch of enthusiasm, that he wrote to the bishop of Paderborn to purge his see of heretics, or expect suddenly a Spanish army in his diocese, which would at his expence perform the episcopal duty. Once more the German princes met to apply effectual remedies to an evil grown altogether insupportable: hither the cardinal Andrea and Mendoza sent their commissioners; Delrio and Bedeutz were pitched on to execute this important businesse; but the latter fell into the hands of a body of confederate cavalry, and was threatened with being treated as a spy. Delrio acquitted himself with so much dexterity, that after throwing a variety of embarrassments in the way, after procrastinating the resolutions of the assembly, and detaining the princes for months to hear encomiums on the equity and moderation of the catholic king, the congress at last broke up without coming to any determination, although all were convinced, and secretly felt the injuries sustained.

As to the states they lent no deputies to attend the businesse of the assembly, justly supposing the time would be employed in fruitless altercation. Thus, after a decree of the aulic council had passed, declaring those enemies who should longer remain in the empire, after repeated congresses were held to avenge the insults upon the imperial dignity; the Spaniards proceeded in their usual course, and maintained garrisons in five towns upon the Rhine.

In the winter prince Maurice surprised Emmerec, and thereby opened a path to disturb the enemy in winter-quarters. It was partly the policy of the states to remove the seat of war into the empire, hoping thereby to engage the imperial council and the injured princes of the empire to take arms against the Spaniards; but they did not long maintain their poft at Emmerec, it was retaken with little opposition by the Spaniards. Upon this, prince Maurice formed a design against Zemner, in which he succeeded: as the reason for opening the campaign was now approaching, the states determined to enable prince Maurice to act with vigour; new levies were ordered to be made: to support which expense, the provinces of Holland and Zeeland granted a new duty upon merchandize, and a tax upon moveable effects, donations, and legacies; premiums and six per cent. were likewise given to those who lent money to the government, and all persons exempted from taxes for a certain number of years upon subscribing a thousand livres. To these measures all the other provinces, except Groningen, acceded.

CARDINAL Andrea, to counteract the vigorous measures of the states, published a declaration in the name of the infant Iabella, reproaching the states with having abused the indulgence of the late king, who permitted them to trade with his Spanish subjects, offered them the most reasonable terms of peace, gave three archdukes for their governors, dismembered the monarchy to gratify their caprice, and was now repaid with ingratitude, and a determined resolution to continue in their rebellion. They were accused of seducing the people, by persuading them that their riches and commerce would increase by war. That this was true, might be attributed to the affection of the king for unworthy subjects, whom he hoped to reclaim by his lenity. These measures proving fruitless, the infant and the king of Spain prohibited, under the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of goods, all communication between the United Provinces and the kingdom of Spain, or the Spanish Netherlands. The infant, in particular, forbid the smallest intercourse between her subjects and the United Provinces, withdrawing all permissions and passports which had hitherto


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 5 Z
been granted for that purpose. One month only was allowed to merchants to settle their affairs, after which the prince resolved to push the war with vigour, unless the provinces accepted the terms of peace proposed by her father, which she now again offered. A counter-declaration was published by the flates, and the sole effect of the cardinal's edict was to stimulate the provinces to a more affidious application to foreign commerce, and to give birth to that India company, which, in a short time, raised the republic to the highest pitch of grandeur.

Immediately after the publication of the edict passed by the states general, a fleet was ordered to be equipped to cruise upon the Spaniards, and the land levies were prosecuted with great diligence. Not only the old regiments were completed, but several new corps raised; particularly a regiment composed of two battalions of a thousand men each, in Germany, levied at the expense of count Ernsta of Nassau; two thousand French veterans, disbanded by the king at the late peace, and now enlisted by La Neu; and a thousand Swiss, likewise dismissed from the French service. When the Spaních ambassador complained to La Neu, that the French auxiliaries were an infraction of the late treaty between the two courts, he was answered, that his intention was to purge the provinces of certain evil humours fermented by their late civil divisions. Several regulations were made in the cavalry, and the number of horses was very considerably augmented. Nothing, in a word, was omitted to withstand the utmost efforts of the Spaniards and the archduke (A). On the other hand, the cardinal was no less diligent in his endeavours to bring a numerous army into the field. His first care was to raise sufficient supplies to defray the arrears due to the army and garrisons, some of which had mutinied for their pay. The garrison of Onhuala was particularly infeudal, and the cardinal had the courage to execute what no former governor ever ventured to attempt. He changed the garrison, and exemplarily punished the offenders; rewarding at the same time the garrison of Gént, who in the same circumstances had conducted themselves with modesty and discretion. Next he returned to Maasbracht, to consult with the chief officers the operations of the campaign. The first object proposed was an attack upon the Isle of Bonmel, of which prince Maurice gaining intelligence, by intercepted letters, he took proper measures for its security. The cardinal passed the Rhine on a bridge made of boats, on the 17th of April, with a resolution immediately to enter the territories of the states, but the chief officers were divided where to strike the first blow. Mendoza was for attacking fort Schenk, which might be deemed the key to the Isle of Betham; others, aware of the difficulty of this enterprise, proposed invading Nimyn, to which Mendoza raised specious objections: particularly, that the garrison could always receive supplies by means of the river and fort Knutsburg. The last scheme, supported by a majority of the officers, was embraced. It proposed crossing the Meuse lower, and attacking Bonmel, the capital of the island of that name. To facilitate the attack, Barlott, a famous partisan, undertook to seize on the Isle of von, but he was baffled by the vigilance of prince Maurice, who, not content with disappointing the enemy in this enterprise, detached a body of horse and foot to watch their motions, and disturb their march. This corps was fortunate enough to engage and defeat a party of the Spaniards, whereby Mendoza's dispatches, and the whole plan formed, were discredited to the prince. Every means accordingly was employed to oppose the enemy's crossing the river. An infinity of boats and bridges were prepared, and batteries erected upon the opposite banks, by which the Spaniards were greatly annoyed in their course along the banks. Under pretence, however, of besieging fort Schenk, which he battered furiously with his heavy cannon, Mendoza at last passed the Val with considerable loads, penetrated into the Isle of Bonmel, and regularly invested the capital; but not until Maurice had encamped against the walls, and raised several new works for its defence. The Spanisch general was not deterred by difficulties. He erected batteries, and prosecuted his measures with determined courage, notwithstanding the army which covered the city was little inferior to his own. His conduct was joyfully observed by Maurice, who

(A) Two thousand of the English forces were exchanged at the queen's request, for an equal number of new-raised forces, who, however, behaved with the courage and conduct of veterans, at the battle of Newster. Among other military regulations, one, in particular, regarded false mutters; a common practice among the officers. This deceit and public fraud, of the worst tendency, was made capital. Several changes took place in the method of arming the troops. Lances were laid aside, and carbines given to the horse, in their stead. This innovation was first introduced by prince Maurice in particular regiments. Now it became general by order of the states. Several regiments were converted into light infantry, their heavy arms being exchanged for others more portable, and better calculated for expedition (1). It is, however, a question hitherto undecided by critics, whether the present light arms in use produce all the effects of the more clumsy weapons which formerly adorned the soldier. Certain we are, that the Romans, the best disciplined troops in the world, armed a great part of their forces to the weight of their arms.

(1) Metten, Bentworth. Le Clerc, ubi supra.
perceived the attempt would necessarily terminate in the ruin of the Spanish army, should it be obstinately prosecuted. He was taking all the proper measures for drawing the enemy gradually into his snares, when he received an express order from the states to give them battle the first opportunity. Maurice was astonished at orders so different from the usual cautious and deliberate conduct of the government; he perceived they were dictated by the frugal disposition of the deputies, who found it necessary to end the campaign at a certain time, to prevent exceeding the supplies granted by the provinces; and he determined not to obey, until he had first remonstrated to the states general. A joint letter was sent by Maurice and William of Nassau, representing the danger of giving the enemy battle at that time, when scarce any advantage could flow from victory, and a defeat would be attended with the most fatal consequences. Though he was equal in force, he was by no means superior in courage to the enemy, who fought in despair, the precipitate measures of Mendoza having brought them into a critical situation, from which resolution alone could extricate them. The Dutch forces, they said, consisted chiefly of new-raised levies and auxiliary troops, who could not be deemed equal to the veterans of Spain; if this army gave way, the provinces would lie open to all the ravages of war; if the enemy were defeated, the treasuries of Spain, and populaces of the Spanish Netherlands, would soon set on foot another army; he was now gaining more important advantages than could even result from victory, as Mendoza obstinately persisted in wastling his blood and treasure against the walls of a city which he never should be able to reduce, while the confederates preferred their present situation; in a word, he urged, that the proper reason for giving battle, depended on a variety of circumstances, which could only be determined upon the spot, and ought therefore to be referred to the discretion of the general, who either deferred their confidence, or ought to be recalled. Just, however, as this reasoning must appear, it was confirmed by the deputies into a desire of prolonging the war. The great influence of Maurice depended on his being at the head of an army; and though his zealous attachment to his country was approved, yet his ambition was not unknown. He was therefore obliged so far to comply with the sentiments of the government, as to promise he would seize the first favourable moment for giving battle.

MENDOZA was in the mean time playing furiously from his batteries, while his troops were miserably galled from the enemy’s boats, and batteries ranged along the river. He persisted in the notion he should be able to force Maurice to quit his situation, and the prince artfully cherished this opinion, the better to destroy the Spanish army. At length he determined upon a general sally from four different quarters of his intrenchments, while his artillery from the boats kept up an incessant fire. The Dutch forces marched out in the middle of the day, and attacked the Spanish intrenchments with the utmost resolution. They were received with equal gallantry, and, after a bloody conflict, drawn off before victory had declared. The action was maintained for three hours; above fifteen hundred men perished on each side, but no impression was made on Mendoza’s quarters, nor did any important consequence result. The night following a less general, but more successful, sally was made. It was expected the enemy might be unprepared, not expecting the Dutch would so soon renew their efforts. The conjecture was well founded; all was in security in Mendoza’s camp, and the utmost caution introduced by the arrival of the confederates, whole attack succeeded beyond expectation. Several batteries were destroyed, prodigious slaughter made, and a great number of prisoners taken. After a repulse of three days, the English and French auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and La Noue, made another desperate sally on the Walloon quarter, which they forced with terrible slaughter. At last, overpowered by numbers, and badly supported by the Dutch, they retreated in good order. Such vigorous attacks, and the length of the siege, now protracted to the space of three weeks, convinced Mendoza of his error, and the impossibility of reducing Bommel; but the difficulty was to relinquish the design without exposing himself to the ridicule of his own troops, and the assaults of the enemy on his rear. The latter, however, he avoided, by means of little forts and batteries, erected with great judgment along the river; but could not escape the former, which broke out in sedition and mutiny. Disappointed of the expected booty from the plunder of Bommel, the Spanish soldiers became clamorous for their arrears, and were, with great difficulty and large promises, appeased. All the rest of the campaign was consumed in building and attacking forts, erected to cover the winter-quarters of both armies. The Spaniards made an attempt on a fort raised by Maurice at Herwerden, and were repulsed with loss; on the other hand, the confederates, led by the prince in person, were equally unsuccessful in an attack on the Spanish fort at Meguen, which, though unfinished, the garrison defended with extreme valour.

The history of the United Provinces,

During these transactions a circumstance occurred, which, if judiciously improved, would, beyond doubt, have ruined the Spanish dominion in the Netherlands. The German princes, incensed that the Spaniards still maintained posts and garrisons in their dominions, entered into an association to expel all foreigners; and for this purpose raised an army of twenty-five thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the command of the count de Lippe. The states general pressed the associated Germans to join their army; but they did not with- draw their own troops out of the districts of Julliers, Berg, Mansfeld, and Cleves. For this reason the princes declared, that they armed in their own defence, without intending to interfere in the quarrel between the king of Spain and his subjects, who had both violated the privileges of the empire. Cardinal Andrea, to appease the Germans, withdrew his garrison from Emmerick, which he ordered immediately to be restored to the duke of Cleves. This, however, did not satisfy the count de Lippe; he invested Rhinberg, held by a mutinous Spanish garrison, who would have surrendered it had he agreed to pay their arrears. Their proposal was rejected, the assault given, and the Germans repulsed with great loss, and obliged to relinquish the enterprise.

From thence the count proceeded to Rheec, where he was not more fortunate; a sally from the town having put one of his quarters in confusion, and spread terror through the whole army. The panic was so great, and the harmony among the princes so ill established, that in a few weeks the army disbanded, and Spain, without striking one blow, was delivered from this formidable enemy.

In the mean time, the archduke Albert, and his consort, returned to the Low Countries, and made their public entry into Brussel with such ostentation and magnificence, as impressed unfavourable ideas of their characters. It is alleged by the Dutch writers, that the nobility were received with a cold civility, and disquieting air of superior; that the deputies of the states paid their compliments on the knee, a servility inconsistent with the dignity of freemen; and that Albert and the infants, in every respect, received sovereign honours, and thole marks of abject humiliation thrown to crowned heads.

These remarks are probably dictated by prejudice; since even the Dutch writers allow that the archduke, during his former residence, had distinguished himself for his moderation, lenity, and affability: a carriage at this time no less necessary than before. On his entering upon business, the first difficulty that occurred, was, the oath usually taken by the archdukes, to preserve the privileges of the provinces inviolable. The states hinted to them the necessity of withdrawing foreign troops, demolishing the citadels, and committing the defence of the towns to the inhabitants. Nothing could be more shocking to the archduches, nursed in the arms of despotism, than an intimation which tended to limit her prerogative. Her prejudices were, however, surmounted by Albert's moderation, who acquainted her, that she could only obtain her ends by temporising, and promising to withdraw all foreigners, as soon as the dangers of war were removed at a distance. Having adjusted this point, the archduke and duchesses set out for Louvain, where they took the oaths prescribed; and, after making the tour of the provinces, returned to Brussel. Next, the state of the country was taken into consideration; and the cautions of the miscarriage at Bommel, which was charged to the misconduct and obstinacy of Mendoza. This general recriminated; accusing the troops of disobedience, and the government of negligence, in furnishing money and the necessary supplies; to which he, in some measure justly, attributed the disasters sustained. After a long hearing, Mendoza was acquitted, continued in his command, and the necessary measures taken to prevent future disturbances and mutinies.

The United Provinces were no less embarrassed and divided among themselves. Great clamours were raised by the deputies of the provinces, against the expenses of the campaign, which had already greatly exceeded the supplies raised, without producing any public advantage. It was not considered that prince Maurice had done all that could be expected in defending Bommel, and securing all the frontier against the irruptions of the enemy. A fresh demand of money was made, and positively refused by some of the provinces, who defined the army might be sent into winter-quarters. The divisions were running high, when a remittance of three hundred thousand francs arrived from France, Henry IV. wisely foreseeing that the penuriousness of the provincial states would ruin the cause, and once more render the Spaniards absolute masters of the Netherlands. Notwithstanding this unexpected supply, deputies were dispatched to confer with prince Maurice, and represent to him the state of the revenue, which required that the troops should immediately quit the field. The prince replied, that money expended in defence of liberty should never be grudged; that in the present case they must determine to support the war with
or Republic of Holland.

With respect to naval affairs, great preparations were made towards the beginning of the year; as soon as all intercourse between the Spaniards and the provinces were prohibited, the states equipped an armament composed of sixty-three ships under the command of Peter Vander Dous, to harass the coasts of Spain, and prevent all commerce between that nation and the other maritime powers. Great encouragement was likewise given to private adventurers in the East and West India trade; infomuch that Batbhojar Mosehur, on unfortunate the preceding year on the coast of Africa, now fitted out a considerable squadron to cruise in the West-Indies, and search for the gold mines in Guiana. While the grand armament was preparing, a part of the East-India fleet returned richly laden, and sufficiently compensated the former disappointment. This success gave fresh vigour to the states, and enabled them to pursue their schemes with redoubled vigour. On the 28th of May the fleet quitted the Texel, and arrived by the 11th of next month on the coast of Portugal. Finding he could make no impression on the coast, Vander Dous proceeded to the Canaryes, and made a descent on the island called Grand Canary, though vigorously opposed by the Spaniards. Next morning the town was taken by assault, the inhabitants escaping to the mountains, and carrying with them their most valuable effects. Vander Dous offered to ransom the place; but the Spaniards refusing to give the price demanded, he laid the whole in ashes. Hence he failed for Gomara, which he plundered, proceeding with half the fleet to America, and sending the other half back under admiral Gebrantson. This voyage proved unfortunate; the climate and fruits of South America produced terrible diseases among the seamen, which swept them off in great numbers, occasioned the death of Vander Dous, and several of his officers. After some fruitless attempts on the Spanish settlements, the fleet returned to Holland, except a squadron of seven ships, which came back the following year, heavy laden with a booty of sugar and other commodities, carried off from the West-India islands. After all, the whole advantage obtained from this formidable armament, was to draw the attention of the court of Spain from the affairs of the Netherlands, and put the king to great expense in equipping a fleet, which lay afterwards to rot in his harbours. As to the booty taken, it by no means defrayed the charges of the government. The year concluded with a negotiation for peace, carried on under the auspices of the emperor, who offered his mediation. The issue was the same with that of all preceding attempts, to reconcile parties too much inflamed to reasonable conditions.

Never was the court of Spain more disinterested for money than at present. Yet were A. D. 1660, the situa- tion of the Spaniards so 

Philip III. and Albert too haughty to descend from their dignity, and relax in the terms of peace proposed the former year. The archduke's long journey and voyage, his marriage,
The history of the United Provinces,

and the brilliancy of his court, had exhausted the supplies intended for the prosecution of the war; and Philip's own marriage, and the expenses of equipping a powerful fleet, rendered him uncapable of making the necessary remittances. Long arrears were due to the troops, who every where became clamorous. The Spanish forces first broke out into open mutiny. A small party took post at Hamel in the diocese of Liege; in a short time it was augmented to a corps of two thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Their example was followed by the German and Walloon garrisons of Creooecur and fort St. Andrew, and at last the revolt had almost become general. Albert was forced to treat with the mutineers, and align them free quarters, and a fortified town in Brabant, until their arrears were discharged, paying them at the same time a sum of money sufficient to answer other exigencies. Scarce had the mutineers at Hamel quitted that post, when a body of Italians who had mutinied, feizied upon the place, which they fortified. Albert was forced to appease this sedition in the same manner he had done the former. To prevent the garrisons of St. Andrew and Creooecur from proceeding to extremities, the archduke pretended he would send them upon an enterprise, where the booty would more than compensate the deficiencies of their pay. Barlette the partizan was appointed to conduct the expedition; he reviewed the troops on his arrival; but neglecting to distribute money among the soldiers, they mutinied, feizied their officers, and sent them with their families prisoners to Baldu. It was dangerous to employ the forces that remained to them in obedience against the mutineers. Albert dreaded that the contagion would spread through the whole; and yet this would have proved the most effectual measure, as there was no end to answering their insolent demands.

Maurice perceived that a fair opportunity now offered of attacking the Spaniards to advantage; but his powers were limited, and his force inconsiderable. However, that the occasion might not wholly slip without deducing any benefit, he assembled eight companies of infantry, and an equal number of cavalry, which he dispatched under Lewis of Nassau, and colonel Edmond a Scotchman, to make an attempt on Waterbetendor in Guelderland. The enterprise was suggested by Ribbeoe; it succeeded to admiration, the town and citadel were taken after a flight resistance, and the government given to the officer who had formed the design. This success encouraged prince Maurice to pursue his bliss. He marched secretly with a strong detachment towards Creooecur, feizied the out-works before the mutinous garrison was apprised of his design, and in the space of three days was master of all the fortifications, after defeating a detachment of five hundred Spanish horse, which came to the relief of the besieged. The prince made overtures to the garrison of St. Andrew; but the mutineers refused to surrender the fort, unless the prince advanced a sum equal to the arrears owing by the court of Spain, which he had not in his power. Maurice then determined to apply force; he summoned the garrison, and threatened to give no quarter, if they did not immediately capitulate; but they defied his menaces, while the country round the fort was under water; and even put to death the trumpet fent with the summons. Next he hemmed in the garrison by a number of little forts and redoubts, sufficient to prevent their being supplied; at the same time keeping up so brisk a fire from certain batteries which he had erected, as forced the besieged to conceal themselves behind their ramparts. Just as they were reduced to extremity for want of fuel, and necessaries for their sick and wounded, a signal from the garrison of Baldu revived their courage, and gave them hopes of speedy aidance. But this glimmering of expectation soon vanished. Velasgo, who was sent with a detachment for the relief of the besieged, made fruitless efforts to enter. He was baffled in every attempt by Maurice; and forced to leave the garrison to their fate. In consequence, they immediately capitulated, and to a man enlisted in the service of the states, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity.

While Maurice was pursing the advantage afforded by the disfavour of the Spaniard army, the states, as usual, assembled to deliberate on the means of raising the supplies for the ensuing campaign. Groningen had for three years refused to pay the contingent stipulated; a bold exertion of power was necessary to bring the province to reason, and upon this the states resolved. William of Nassau, governor of Frisland and Groningen, was dispatched with a body of troops to the capital of the latter province, to compel the inhabitants to perform the articles of the union. He entered the city without the least disorder, dismissed the burgurers, and built a citadel, leaving the provincial states to make their complaints to the states-general. In this they were not wanting: deputies were immediately dispatched, with loud complaints of this violation of their privileges; but they were given to understand, that as Groningen was protected by the government, it must expect to bear a share of the public expence, and on the same footing of equality with the other provinces. Finding they could have no redress, the provincial states conformed to pay their contingent; upon which William of Nassau proceeded to Frisland, where, by a just mix-

\* Le Clerc, ibid.
h the matter of persuasion and force, he quelled a violent tumult among the peasants, who refused to pay the public tax. Thee, it must be confessed, were violent remedies in a free constitution; but at this time they were absolutely necessary, to prevent the dissolution of the whole constitution, as the other provinces refused to pay their quotas, if Groningen was exempted.

ALBERT was upon no better terms with the states of the Spanish provinces, who renewed their complaints against the oppression of the people with foreign soldiers, the mismanage- ment of the public money, the weight of taxes, and the profusion of the court. He demanded that the supplies for the next campaign might be granted, a civil lift for the support of the court established, and a sum of money advanced upon the credit of the remittances expected from Madrid. They, on the other hand, required security that any such remittances were actually expected, and that when they arrived, they would be paid into their hands; they desired the account of the preceding year might be laid before them; and before they granted fresh supplies, irresistible proofs were required that the last were not misapplied.

Such were the state of affairs, when the United Provinces entered upon a resolution to open the campaign with vigour, and strike some blow, which should at the same time secure their own commerce, and confound the enemy. The states of Holland and Zealand argued the necessity of an attempt upon Dunkirk, the privateers of which place extremely molested their merchantmen. It was said, that this enterprise, though important, would not be difficult, because the army could be transported by sea, and by seizing certain forts round Newport, might march unmolested to Dunkirk. After this it was proposed, that Newport and Furnese should be attacked, by which a way to Ostend, defended by an English garrison, would be secured. Prince Maurice of Nassau was present at these deliberations, and astonished at the unusual vigour of the proposals, which he was ready to attribute to the despair of the merchants of Holland and Zealand, who had suffered extremely from the enemy's cruisers. Though he would not discountenance bold resolutions, he thought it his duty to represent the hazard of the attempt, and the impossibility of reducing Dunkirk, before the archduke would be in a condition to march with a superior army to its relief. After enlarging upon the subject, and pointing out all the inconveniences which attended the project, he concluded with advising that Sluyz might be invested, as an enterprise which would facilitate all their future operations, and be attended with less hazard. This, among other advantages, would, he said, enable the states to remove the fleet of war into Flanders, the richest province belonging to the enemy, and from whence they drew their chief resources for continuing the war. The proposal, however judicious, was rejected, because it presented no immediate relief to commerce; the other was preferred with all its dangers and difficulties. The transports were immediately got in readines, and the troops, to the number of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, conducted by prince Maurice, and accompanied with a large train of battering cannon, were embarked. On the ninth of June the fleet arrived at Rammekens, where, being detained by adverse winds, the prince desired leave to proceed by land through Flanders, which was immediately granted. In his march Maurice published manifestos, promising the utmost security to all the peasants who would supply the army with provision, and threatening to lay all the villages in ashes if the inhabitants abandoned. In his way he seized upon the forts of Oudenberg, Snaekkerck, and Budene, which he garrisoned with his own soldiers. Arriving at Ostend, he detached count Solmes to attack fort Albert, situated at the distance of half a league from the town. The garrison consisted of five hundred Spaniards, who made so brave a defence, that, having reduced this, Maurice determined not to lose time in attacking all the other forts erected to restrain the English garrison.

MAURICE was scarce arrived at Newport, when he received intelligence from the governor he had left in fort Oudenberg, that the archduke was in full march to attack him, with a numerous army, already flushed with the reduction of all the forts that prince had left behind. It was hardly credited in the confederate army that Albert could so suddenly begin his march, considering the furtive mutinous disposition of his troops; but when he had puffed Bruges, when he had made himself master of the forts of Oudenberg, Snaekkerck, and Budene, Maurice was disconcerted. Resolving to remove from Newport, where he found it impossible to chase a situation to his liking, he detached Ernst of Nassau, with colonel Edmund's Scotch regiment, a battalion of Zealanders, four troops of horse, and four pieces of cannon, to seize on the post at Leffingen, through which the enemy must pass. On Ernst's arrival, he found the Spaniards in possession of the paille, upon which he determined to stand his ground until he should be supported by Maurice. At first the enemy

* Muter, lib. xxi. Grat. lib. ix. Id. ibid.
mitook him for the van of prince Maurice's army; but finding it was only a detachment, they attacked the confederates with irresistible impetuosity; broke the cavalry, which took shelter in Oostend; then fell upon the infantry, which would have baffled all their attempts, had not the Zealanders quitted the field, and left the Scotch regiment alone to sustain the whole weight of the enemy. So obstinate was Edmund's refiinace, that his corps was almost all cut to pieces, endeavouring to secure a regular retreat to Oostend, which prince Ernest ef- feoted. In this action nine hundred men perished, and the confirmation among the Dutch deputies at Oostend was equal to what might have been expected, had Maurice and the whole army been defeated. Next day, the second of July, the archduke held a council of war, to deliberate whether he should wait for the detachment of three thousand men under Pe- ljasco, or immediately march, and attack the confederate army. Zapena, an experienced officer, was of the former opinion. Barlotte, the partisan, of the latter; and both offered specious arguments in support of their sentiments. Albert seemed inclined to follow the opinion of Zapena, but an accident determined him in favour of Barlotte. Some of the out-guards had spied the Dutch fleet retiring from Oostend, whence it was concluded that Maurice had no intention of re-imbarthing his army; it was therefore thought advisable to attack him, while the panic of Ernest's defeat was fresh in the minds of the soldiers. Agree- able to this resolution, orders were immediately given for the army to march with all possi- ble expedition; the troops that had mutinied, defying to lead the van, in order to dising- uish their courage and fidelity. Maurice was beginning his march to Oostend, when the ad- vanced-guards of the enemy were defied immediately. He drew up in order of battle, ordering the rear-guard to halt, and the transports with the baggage and artillery were all failed for Oostend; in order to shew the troops that they must either conquer or die, as there was no possibility of escaping. All the eminences were planted with artillery, the charge of which was given to the sailors, who served with great courage and alacrity. Scarce was the army ranged, when certain soldiers, who had escaped from the late defeat, brought the first intelligence of Ernest's misfortune. Prince Maurice was greatly chagrined, but dissembled his sentiments, and forbade the soldiers, on pain of death, to utter a syllable to transpire; sent them for the greater security, on board some boats which were setting off for Oostend. It is said, that he immediately ordered one of them to be put to death for having communicated the secret. Never was assembled a greater number of vol-unteers of distinction, than at this time served under Maurice, to learn the art of war from a general so renowned. They consisted of English, French, and German nobility, who form- ed a kind of body-guard to the prince, and determined to share his fortune. Lewis of Nassau put himself at the head of the van-guard, drawn up in such a manner that the second and third lines might relieve the first, without confusion; a manœuvre never effectually practised, except at the battle of Newport. The English, commanded by Sir Francis Vere, composed the chief part of the van; the rear was led by count Solmes, and confinisted of the provincial troops, the Swiss and French auxiliaries. As to the rear-guard, it was formed of German soldiers, under the conduct of Olivier de Temple, a general officer of reputation.

In this order Maurice firmly expected the enemy, whole disposition was nearly similar, each having a body of cavalry in front, who began the charge, after the artillery had been briskly served for near three hours; during which time each expected the other would ad- vance to the attack. But the prince was determined not to fatigue his troops with march- ing over sultry sands, and the archduke was advised by Zapena to defer the engagement to the next day, when the army would be refreshed, and other circumstances possibly more favourable than at present. He observed that the sun was now directly in the eyes of the Spaniards, that a strong westly wind blew clouds of sand, and would drive the whole smoke of the artillery and musketry in the faces of the soldiers, which would prevent their distinguishihg the enemy, and greatly disturb their operations; that the event of an attack upon the confederates, rendered desperate by their situation, was extremely doubtful; that victory would more certainly result from deferring battle, and cooping them up in a fort where they must soon perish or surrender, having no retreat, and being deficient of provision and water. But the soldiers, flushed with the advantage gained over Ernsto the preceding day, loudly demanded battle, and complained of being deprived of their plunder, which they believed certain. They repeated a saying, usual in the wars against the Moritos: The more Moors, the more glorious the victory.

Prince Maurice's cannon was so well served, and the ships kept up so continual a fire on the enemy, during high water, as forced them to remove to a greater distance from the shore, upon which the fleet kept on its course to Oostend. Both vans engaged with the ut- most intrepidity, and sustained the fight with althoening obstinacy. Albert directed his chief strength against the English, who baffled all his efforts, until Sir Francis Vere received a wound, which obliged him, for a while, to quit the field. They were now supported by a body of French auxiliaries, and the battle became more general, the confederates right wing
wing being deeply engaged with the left of the Spaniards. Here prodigious havoc was made among the enemy, who repeatedly returned to the charge, after they were broken and repulsed by the incessant fire kept up from the artillery and musketry. Upon the left the confederates frequently gave way; but they were constantly rallied, brought back, and supported with fresh troops kept in reserve. At last both wings of the enemy were united, and the center, composed of the best Italian and Spanish infantry, alone stood firm, repelling all the efforts of Maurice, who vigorously attacked with the cavalry mixed with infantry. After the engagement had continued for three hours, and both sides seemed rather exhausted, and spent with fatigue, than satiated with blood, four pieces of cannon were so happily pointed against this impregnable body of Spaniards, as put the whole in confusion, and obliged victory at length to declare in favor of the confederates. The fire of the artillery was seconded with a general attack of the cavalry, led on by Maurice in person, and pushed with irresistible impetuosity. As soon as the enemy were perceived to flag, the Dutch horse cried out, Victory: the word instantaneously spread through the whole army, the center of the infantry advanced, and fell on with fury; the archduke received a flight wound, and his troops were wholly disordered, dispersed, and routed. Five thousand men, beffides officers, were slain, and taken prisoners; among the latter were Mendoza and Zapena: and thus ended a battle brought on by the imprudence of the flates, won by the courage and skill of Maurice, together with the blunders committed by Albert; with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed, and an equal number wounded, on the side of the confederates (A). Never had the United Provinces experienced an event more important, their very existence depending on the fate of Maurice and his army. Nothing could exceed the anxiety of the Dutch deputies shut up in Ossend during the battle, except their joy on receiving the news of the victory, and the congratulations of the conqueror, who ascribed all his good fortune to the goodness of divine providence, and the courage of his troops, claiming to himself no part of the merit.

When the pursuit of the flying enemy was over, Maurice alighted from his horse, and at the head of the troops kneeled on the ground with great devotion, returning thanks to God in a loud and fervent prayer, for the signal victory with which the Almighty was pleased to blest the confederate arms. His example was followed by the army, and next day was appointed for public thanksgivings at Ossend, where he suffered the troops to refresh themselves, while he was deliberating with the deputies and his officers the future plan of operations. Here violent contentions among the soldiers arose about the prisoners, whom some were for putting to death, in revenge of the cruelties exercised on their comrades, after the defeat of Breexel; and others for saving, in order to procure their ransom. However, Maurice’s authority quelled the tumult, and his generosity diffused a spirit of humanity through the whole army. Every man was touched with the tenderness of his behavior to Mendoza and Zapena, who, to the mortification of being prisoners, had the additional affliction of being mortally wounded. Notwithstanding the utmost care Zapena died in a few days, filled with sentiments of the deepest gratitude and veneration for the character of Maurice, whose conduct more resembled that of a father, than of the conqueror of an inveterate enemy.

As for Albert, he set out the day after the battle to Ghent, to consult with the archdukes upon further measures; and was received with such affection and intrepidity of conduct by that prince, as inspired new hopes and fresh courage. She had heard before his arrival a variety of reports, which, in the usual manner, exaggerated the losses, and even asserted that Albert was killed; but she maintained her constancy, and behaved in such a manner, as secured the esteem and admiration of her subjects. Thence the archduke returned to Bruges, where he collected together the scattered remains of his army, which he joined to Valaers’s corps, with such expedition, that he reinforced the garrison of Newpoort, and the forts he had taken round Ossend, before the confederates had left that city.

Prince Maurice gains a complete victory.

A Various are the accounts of the battle of Newpoort. In circumstances no two historians agree. Gronovius relates that the loss of the Spaniards did not exceed three thousand men; Bentivoglio diminishes the number one third, but allows that the victory was complete. Sir William Temple ascribes the defeat of the Spaniards to the obstinate courage of the English; and all the Dutch writers acknowledge their bravery, but deny the consequences drawn by the English writer. Reidana

is severe in his animadversions upon both parties. The Dutch are blamed for having reduced themselves to the necessity of fighting or pillaging; and the Spaniards for not avoiding battle, when without striking a blow, they might have reduced the enemy. We are however of a different opinion, as Maurice might certainly receive supplies by the shipping, which did not quit the coast until the engagement began (1).

(A) Various are the accounts of the battle of Newpoort. In circumstances no two historians agree. Gronovius relates that the loss of the Spaniards did not exceed three thousand men; Bentivoglio diminishes the number one third, but allows that the victory was complete. Sir William Temple ascribes the defeat of the Spaniards to the obstinate courage of the English; and all the Dutch writers acknowledge their bravery, but deny the consequences drawn by the English writer. Reidana

The history of the United Provinces,

sued the enemy further; and for delaying a moment to lay siege to Newport; but he vindicated himself, by alleging the fatigue his troops had undergone, and their reluctance to enter upon any new enterprise, before they had recovered their exhausted strength and spirits. On the sixteenth of July, he completely invested Newport, the garrison of which, amounting to three thousand men, made vigorous sallies, and so oblige a resistance, that the prince was forced to abandon the design, and embark his army for Ostend. From hence he made divers irruptions into the enemy's territories, but they were rendered fruitless by the powerful army assembled by Albert; and as the fleets were not in humour to enter upon fresh undertakings, he distributed the forces in winter-quarters. By this means Flanders escaped the impending storm, at a time when all men imagined the conquest of this province would be the necessary consequence of the victory at Newport.

When the operations in the field ceased, overtures of peace were renewed. Deputies were sent by the archduke to confer with the states general, at Bergen-op-Zoom. Here they were met by deputies from the states, and both sides readily agreed, that an accommodation was necessary, and essential to the good of the Netherlands; but they differed as widely as ever about the conditions. It was acknowledged by the deputies of the United Provinces, that nothing could be more agreeable to their wishes than to see an end put to a ruinous and destructive war; but this was not to be expected while foreign troops resided in the country, and possessed all the fortresses. They solicited the assistance of the Spanish provinces in expelling foreigners, and restoring the privileges of the Netherlands, affurishing them, that the difference of religion would occasion none in the affection they owed to each other as countrymen, provided the liberty of the whole could be secured. They further urged, that so dependent was the archduke on the court of Spain, and several of the provinces on the archduke, that no treaty with either could be binding or safe, while they were reined in by citizens, and under the yoke of a powerful army. To this, the other deputies replied, that they were sent to conclude peace with their countrymen, and not to enter upon revilings against their sovereign; that it could not be expected the archduke would leave himself defenceless, while the United Provinces remained compleatly armed, and ready to seize the advantage which his credulity might offer. They concluded with solemn assurances that the prince would ratify whatever conditions were settled among the deputies. Neither side would consent to be disarmed, and thus the conferences ended, upon which the Spanish provinces applied their whole attention to the means of supporting the war for another campaign. While they were deliberating upon these measures, letters arrived from Philip III. which equally disgraced the states of the Spanish provinces, and the archduke. They were addressed in the style of Philip II., before the dismemberment of the Netherlands from the Spanish monarchy, and the phrafe, To our eftates of the provinces, retained. The ambassador, however, removed the blame on the secretary, who had inadvertently copied the phrafe from former dispatches, and thus the minds of the people and prince were quieted.

The first operations concerted by the states of the Spanish provinces were against the trade of the enemy. A fleet was equipped at Dunkirk, under admiral Wakens, to destroy the herring-fisheries of Holland and Zealand; upon the success of which depended, in a great measure, the strength and opulence of those provinces. The fishing-busses were protected by three men of war, but Wakens attacked the convoy with such desperate fury, that after finking one of the men of war, and obliging the other to flee off, he fell upon the busses which he sunk, burned, and destroyed. The Dutch immediately sent a squadron in quest of the Flemish admiral; but he found means to elude the enemy, and bring his fleet safe into Dantzick, and the ports of Galicia. This loss, however, was compensated to the Hollander, by the arrival of the richest ships ever returned from the Indies, upon which the proprietors shared four hundred per cent. upon their capital, and were encouraged to launch out deeper in this profitable commerce. As to the fent by the freights of Magellan, it came back disappointed, shattered, and sickly, after having weathered terrible storms, and sustained incredible hardships (B).


(B) We must not omit the following incident, which merits a place among the transactions of the year. The counts of Newmar, first married to count Hen, who was beheaded by the duke of Looz and afterwards to the count of Newmar, bequeathed to prince Maurice, at her death, the counties of Moer and Hen, with their dependencies. Upon the former the duke of Cleves seized, as a sei of his principality. To be revenged, Maurice sent one Cleve, an officer of a bold and enterprising genius, to seize upon Creuw, a fortress of Moer, which he executed with success, after having defeated the governor of Staven, with a detachment of four hundred horse and five hundred foot. By this means the whole county of Moer was preserved to the prince's obedience, and the ambition of the duke of Cleves extinguished, by one vigorous blow judiciously aimed (1).

(1) Reidan. lib. 17. Le Cle, lib. 7.
or Republic of Holland.

During the winter a variety of schemes were set on foot, and enterprises formed for feizing upon cities, towns, and fortresses. The most important was a design projected by one Francis de Provence, to deliver Gertruydenburg to the Spaniards; which being happily discovered, the traitor was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. About this time, Mendoza and other prisoners of distinction obtained their liberty, on condition that all the soldiers of the United Provinces, confined in the prisons, or on board the Spaniard galleys, should be released; that they paid the sum of twenty-three thousand livres, and gave security for the payment of seventy-five thousand more, at a time appointed. Le Clerc, however, alleges, that the prisoners on neither side were dismisned before the following year, because Philip neglected to ratify the articles of exchange.

As the spring approached, the United Provinces pushed more vigorously their preparations to act offensively the ensuing campaign, without which it was obvious the victory at Newport must prove fruitless. They received fresh remittances from France, Henry taking this opportunity of clearing off the old debts, to enable the states to withstand the power of Spain; and they considerably increased the revenue, by new duties upon all imported merchandize. Money was likewise borrowed from the India traders, so successful in the late voyage to the Molucca Islands, and a variety of schemes proposed, and adopted, for raising the necessary supplies. Prince Maurice had given orders for the army to assemble in the neighbourhood of Gravenweer, and his cavalry, in marching thither, encountered a body of the enemy's horse, under command of Adolphus de Berg, whom they defeated with considerable slaughter. This accidental advantage was deemed a happy omen, as the troops assembled with alacrity, crossed the Rhine the ninth of June, and appeared three days after before Rhiemberg, garrisoned by twelve hundred men, under the conduct of Bernard d'Avila. The prince began his operations by attacking a fort situated in a small island in the Rhine, to prevent this being exposed to the inlets of the enemy. After forming this post, he made the head of his trefoils, at which the soldiers worked with great diligence.

Albert was not in a condition to attempt raising the siege; but he ordered Count Offend, the governor of Flushing, to endeavour throwing in supplies; and to which he projeected making an effectual diversion, by laying siege in person to Offend. The prince was acquainted with his intentions, but continued to prosecute his operations, in which he encountered a variety of difficulties from the vigorous efforts of the garrison. By the fourteenth of the month, in defiance of all obstrucution, he pushed his works to the rampart of the counter-carp, which he undermined, and blew up with great success. Just as he effected a lodgment, he was deprived of eight companies of English troops, detached, by order of the states, to join Sir Francis Vere, sent with a strong corps to annoy the archduke's army before Offend. This diminution of his strength did not discourage Maurice; he piled the garrison with red-hot bullets, effected a breach by another sucessful mine, and was preparing to give the assault, when the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The reduction of Rhiemberg was of the utmost consequence, because it covered the province of Overijssel, and now prevented the enemy from levying contributions towards that quarter. In this manner it was that a town, sequestrated in the hands of the elector of Cologne, and committed by him to the Spaniards, whom he favoured, fell at last into the hands of the states general.

At Offend, Albert made the most vigorous efforts. The affections of his subjects had enabled him to raise such an army as it was impossible for Maurice to attack with any probability of success. Yet, after months were spent in the siege, little progress was made. Sir Francis Vere threw himself into the town, and the garrison behaved with such intrepidity as astonished, but did not discourage, the archduke. An infinity of batteries were raised, and assaults made without number. Rivers of blood were spilt, but neither side was dispirited, because they received constant supplies of men and provisio; the army from the country round, and the garrison by the sea, which was constantly kept open. The obstinacy of Albert, in prosecuting this siege, afforded the United Provinces all the advantages they could desire. Maurice was left master of the field, while the treasuries and forces of Spain and the Flemish provinces, were exhausted before a place deemed impregnable, because it could always be relieved. He accordingly invested Bolduc with an army of seven thousand foot and three thousand horse. The place was garrisoned only by ten companies of infantry and an equal number of cavalry; but such was the spirit of the burgthers, animated by the clergy, that they resolved to suffer all extremities rather than submit to heretics. The trenches were opened on the first of November, and the siege vigorously pushed until a strong reinforcement entered the town on the twenty-seventh; the prince's army being insufficient to defend lines of so great extent. This, together with a report that the archduke was marching with powerful forces to the relief of the garrison, and the severity of


A party of the enemy defeated, and Rhiemberg taken by Prince Maurice.
The siege of Ostend went on without intermission. Neither the inclemency of the weather, the murmurs of the troops, or the intrepid gallantry of the garrison, could oblige the archduke to renounce an attempt upon which he had set his affections. Both the army without, and the garrison within, suffered extremely from sickness and fatigue. The English, in particular, who were constantly in action, and unfauned to the climate, were greatly diminished, in such a manner that the besieged, who at first amounted to seven thousand men, were, in the space of three months, reduced to three thousand men. At the same time the outworks were greatly damaged by the enemy, and unusual inundations of the sea, to repair and defend which required an excessive exertion of vigour and diligence. Dykes surrounded by palisades, were erected to oppose the fury of the waves, and had scarce been finished, when the archduke ordered them to be attacked and set on fire, with so much success, that they burned for three days, to the great terror of the garrison. The most vigorous efforts were made, and the utmost efforts were used, to extinguish the flames, without success. At last, when the besieged were quite spent with fatigue, Sir Francis Vere received intelligence from a prisoner, that the archduke had appointed the next day for a general assault with all his forces. Alarm at this intimation, the truth of which he could not doubt, because the field was so particular as to give a plan of the disposition of the attack; he determined to elude the danger, by setting on foot a capitulation, which might prolong the time until his garrison was refreshed, and the place reinforced. His stratagem succeeded; he received a sucur of four companies of foot, and accomplished all his other purposes before his design was suspected. His conduct was blamed, as diabolical and unworthy of a soldier; it certainly, however, protracted the siege of Ostend, which he afterwards defended with such astonishing spirit and resolution.

Irritated at having been the dupe of the English governor, Albert resolved upon revenge; and appointed the seventeenth of January for forming a wide breach which his batteries effected. The attack was made with the utmost vigour, under Mexia, an experienced Spanish officer. It was supported for three hours with unremitting courage, and at last repelled by the invincible intrepidity of the besieged, after the Spaniards had lost one thousand men. After this unprosperous assault, the archduke was advised to raise the siege, which the severity of the season rendered intolerable to the troops; but he now thought his own reputation and the honour of the Spanish arms too deeply interested to listen to any propositions. He ordered barracks to be erected for the accommodation of the soldiers, committed the direction of the siege to don Juan de Rivas, and set out for Ghent, toconcert the means of pursuing his operations with still more vigour. The states general embraced this occasion to exchange the garrison of Ostend, which was worn out and emaciated with perpetual fatigue and watching. As the enemy had considerably relaxed in their diligence, and the communication with the sea was preferred open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessity, accordingly took charge of the town, under the conduct of colonel Dorp, colonel Edmonds, a Scotchman, and Hertain, a Frenchman. Sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince Maurice.

OSTEND was certainly not worth a moiety of the treasures expended in that siege and defence. The garrison cost the states near two hundred thousand livres per month; how much more must the archduke have lavished away in useless works, ammunition, provision, barracks, and the other expenses of a numerous army? The Spaniards had an idea, that, by gaining possession of Ostend, they could shut up all the ports in Zeeland, and wholly destroy the commerce of the province: that indeed would have been a considerable object; but experience proved that the trade of Zeeland was independent of Ostend. It was the court of Spain, and not the Ten Provinces, that pulled this siege; the latter perceived that they lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy, while the whole force of the Netherlands was employed upon a single object; they therefore positively refused the sum demanded by the archduke, and inflicted on his supplying the mutinyed troops out of the money arrived from Spain, which he now defined for prosecuting the siege of Ostend. But the army was augmented early in the summer by eight thousand Italians, under the marquis Spinola, to whom, in the end, the prosecution of the siege was committed. The United Provinces formed a scheme for preventing the junction of Spinola and the Spanish army, but it vanished in smoke. It was therefore proposed that Maurice with his army should make the tour of Brabant, enter Flanders on that side, and march to the relief of Ostend. Maurice represented the difficulty of marching a large army through an enemy's country, filled with forts and garrisons, and narrowly watched by an army; but his opinion was overruled. He was ordered to begin his march, and he accordingly passed the Menin with all his forces, attended with two thousand waggons laden with provisions. On his entering
or Republic of Holland.

the territory of Liège, he obliged the inhabitants to furnish the army with every kind of subsistence, under pain of military execution. In Brabant he published an edict, that all his friends, inviting the provinces subject to the archduke, to join with him in restoring the privileges of the Netherlands, and throwing off the oppressive yoke of the Spaniards; but this publication producing no effect, the army advanced to Tillemondt, where Mendoza was posted with a body of fourteen thousand horse and foot. He had taken possession of a pass through which the prince must necessarily march, and must be forced before the army could proceed. Maurice attacked his advanced guard, drew up before him in order of battle, but could not bring the Spaniards, grown more cautious by his imprisonment, to an engagement. Upon this a council of war was called; and here it was unanimously determined, that pursuing the rout marked out by the flanes would be impracticable, and that investing Grave was a measure more safe and important. This enterprise was accordingly undertaken with great spirit and alacrity. Nature and art had combined to render this one of the strongest bulwarks in the Netherlands; it was garrisoned by a body of veterans, under Gonzales, a Spanish officer of merit, and supplied with all the requisites of a vigorous defence. Maurice began his operations with attacking a half-moon, on the side of the river, of which he gained possession in a few days. He opened trenches on the opposite side, pushed his attacks by fap, merely to save the destruction of his men, and was opposed by the most vigorous fallies, in one of which Sir Francis Vere, who commanded on the right, was wounded. Mendoza approached within half a league of the prince's quarter, with intention to force succours into the town, or raise the siege by a battle; but he found the intrenchments so judiciously formed, that he despaired of succeeding in the latter, and applied his whole attention to the former. His attempts were baffled, he was reduced to extremities in his camp, and forced to retire to Venlo, leaving the garrison of Grave to make the best defence in their power. In consequence, after fulfilling a siege of ten weeks, Gonzales surrendered upon honourable conditions.

It was soon after the reduction of Grave, that the Italian auxiliaries mutinied, and formed one of the most dangerous conspiracies, which had yet appeared in the Spanish army. At first they endeavoured feizing upon Dejts; but being disappointed, they marched to Grave, and thence to Hoogstrate, so near Brede, that they could easily be protected, should the archduke offer to reduce them by violent measures. After receiving assurances of Prince Maurice's favour, they began with levying contributions in Brabant. At the same time the garrisons of Antwerp and Wesert railed great clamours for their pay, and at last openly mutinied. The latter were appeased by the advancement of part of their arrears; but it was not easy to satisfy the large demands made by the former, of arrears upwards of twelve months standing. Money indeed was so scarce, that Mendoza quitted the command, and set out for Spain, where he was very coldly received. In this situation the archduke resolved to try the effects of severity; he had often, to no purpose, used gentle methods. A manifesto was published, declaring the mutineers at Hoogstrate proscibed, their effects confiscated, and themselves guilty of high treason, for which a reward of an hundred crowns was offered for the head of a subaltern officer; two hundred for that of a field officer; and ten for the head of each private soldier. Immediately the mutineers published a well-drawn apology, in which they were refuted every affectation of the archduke, and that duke was taxed with profusion and luxury at his court, while the army was perishing with cold and hunger. Not satisfied with mere words, they made a furious irruption into Liège and Brabant, levying heavy contributions, and punishing with military execution whoever refrained to comply with their demands. Such was the terror they inspired, that the pope's nuncio interceded, promised to procure their pardon if they would submit, and likewise offered them a considerable sum of money. The states of the Ten Provinces assembled to deliberate the means of advancing their whole pay; but this the archduke, resolved to try the effects of rigour, opposed. The incursions of the mutineers in Brabant were supported by others made by the confederate soldiers, no less ruinous to the country. It is remarkable that the laws of war were observed by the mutineers, who formed themselves into a kind of military establishment, under certain laws, which they rigidly observed. Certain officers of their cavalry having been won over by the archduke's promises, were feized, put to the torture, and hanged by the heels. They had not only their officers, their council, and their general; but a secretary, a seal, arms, and motto. Albert had given Frédéric de Berg orders to march with seven thousand men against the mutineers, who had now assumed the name of the Squadron. Maurice gave them notice of the approach of the enemy, and desired, if they should want his protection, to advance nearer his camp; but Frédéric de Berg made so much haste that he surrounded them in Hoogstrate, and would have obliged them to surrender at discretion, had not Maurice seasonably arrived to their relief, and obliged Berg to retire. 

1 BENTIVOG. Lib. vi. p. 166.  1 GROT. Lib. xi. MENNER, Lib. xxiv.
Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the year, during which the siege of 's-Graveland was carried on with the same vigour as the preceding year, and with as little success, tho' it now became apparent that the garrison must at length surrender, for want of room, which daily diminished by inches. The works were considerably damaged, many of them were taken by the enemy, but constantly supplied by others erected in their stead. By this means the garrison continually lost ground, and they were at last cooped up in a very narrow space; though they still maintained their spirits, as they received every kind of supplies and refreshments from the harbour.

To conclude the transactions of the year, the returns from the East Indies were no less considerable than the former year. Three ships, loaded with spices, arrived, and brought with them ambassadors to prince Maurice, from the king of Aelem, who had no idea of a republic. These successes, and the growing commerce of England and France to the same quarter, inspired the first idea of a company, which has since proved the strength and bulwark of the United Provinces, and the most opulent mercantile body in the universe. For the farther particulars of this flourishing company, the reader may consult the explicit account already given in the tenth volume of this work. We shall only observe that the return of the Indian ambassador inspired the Eastern nations with sentiments of great respect for the Dutch, whom they now regarded as equal in power to the Spaniards and Portugese. The island of Ternate, one of the Moluccas, declared in their favour, and was supported by the Hollander in a war against an inveterate enemy, the king of Tidore. In a word, the sum paid by the company for their charter, the vast exportation of home manufactures, the prodigious wealth drawn into the provinces by the sale of India commodities, the astonishing increase of the marine, and the immense revenues arising from even light duties upon so immense a trade, raised the United Provinces to a degree of opulence and grandeur, amidst all the horrors of a civil war, which will hardly be credited by polterity. Hence they were enabled to prosecute their military operations, without detriment to commerce; and to foil the attempts of Philip and Albert to destroy their liberties, while they were duping every other nation in trade, and engrossing to themselves the commerce of Asia, of the Levant, the Baltic, and a great part of that of America.
or Republic of Holland.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the death of queen Elizabeth, and the transactions which followed, to the conclusion of the truce with Spain and the archduke Albert, in the year 1609.

A. D. 1603; Death of Elizabeth, queen of England.

This year was ushered in by the death of queen Elizabeth, the strenuous protectress of Holland against the usurpation of Spain. In this, it must be confessed, she was wholly actuated by self interest; but still the assistance of men and money afforded to the provinces, laid the foundation of their independency, and often met with unmerited returns. Some writers suppose, and not improbably, that this event was no way disagreeable to the states-general. The spirit of Elizabeth was too violent, and the superiority she affected to disguising, that necessity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The Hollanders now thrown off that humility which characterized them, when the protection of the English queen was first implored; wealth, power, and the success of their arms, inspired a haughtiness which could not suit with the spirit of Elizabeth. From the character of James I. they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but less troublesome and imperious. To secure the interest of this prince, a solemn embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of England. The ambassadoirs, after demonstrating the necessity they were under of continuing the war against Spain and the archduke, besought his majesty to continue the English auxiliaries in the pay of the states, and suffer them to be recruited; that he would enter into a league with other powers of Europe, to oppose the aspiring views of Spain after universal monarchy; adding, that her late majesty having desired they would equip a squadron of large men of war to join an armament she intended against Spain, they had accordingly got ready nine ships and two frigates, which were lying in the Downs for his majesty’s orders. To this James answered in general terms, expressing his intention to live upon terms of friendship with the states-general, but his irresolution as to the measures which should be formed for the good of his kingdoms; he was but just come to the crown, and they must excuse him if he declined involving himself in a war so early. By this the ambassadoirs easily perceived that they were disappointed in their views, and their situation nothing improved by the change of princes in England.

The court of Spain was entering upon the most vigorous resolutions to support the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no issue by Isabelita; and of consequence the Netherlands must again revert to the crown of Spain. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of Baldes, by a stratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, most of whom he made prisoners. Upon this Maurice determined to lay siege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, with which the depth of the roads had prevented his furnishing himself, yet to check the inoffence of the garrison, and stop their incursions into the territories of the states, was an object of considerable importance. Thither Albert marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that Maurice had not seriously determined on the siege, because he had neglected to occupy all the posts necessary for that purpose. To profit by the situation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis de Bella, with a feble body of troops, to seize and fortify a post which would greatly straiten the enemy’s quarters. Maurice had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to frustrate the design. He set out at the head of three thousand English, Scotch, and French, with whom he came upon the marquis, as he was preparing to intrench himself, and attacked with such irresistible impetuosity, at first put the enemy in confusion, and soon obtained a complete victory, and possession of the important post disputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occasion superior to his enemies, who poffessed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent so essential to the general. After this, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a short distance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But Albert had now so little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and under pretence of the severity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters. Such were the operations of the campaign, after the most vigorous resolutions were taken on both sides, of pushing their operations with uncommon diligence and perseverance.

As to the siege of Olland, it proceeded but slowly; both the general without, and the governor within, had been changed, but no considerable advantage resulted to either party; Rivas commanded the army, and practised every expedient to approve himself worthy of the trust, but he was repeatedly baffled by the diligence of Vander Noot, the governor.

Le Clerc, lib. viii. Mettern, lib. xxv.  b Id. ibid. Grot. lib. xii.
The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 1604.
The states re-
solve to besiege
Sluyce.

At last he succeeded in reducing three out-forts, which he joined to the quarter commanded by fort Albert, by means of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, and surrounded with gabions full of earth. The garrison erected a battery, to frustrate the effects of this platform, and threw bombs so successively, as destroyed the whole attempt, and cost the enemy infinite labour and expence. They seceded the fire of their battery by a vigorous sally, in which seven hundred Spaniards were killed, and an equal number made prisoners. Disappointed in this design, Rivas applied his mind to cutting off the communication between the garrison and the sea. Pompey Torgau, the best engineer in the service, contrived a kind of floating battery, which would prevent the entrance of ships, provided it could be secured from the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. To raise thee, above half the army was assiduously employed for several days, and when the work was almost perfected, Rivas had the mortification to see the whole destroyed by a storm of wind, which drove the sea with great violence against the dyke, and an incessant shower of bullets poured out from the heavy artillery of the garrison. Upon the whole, though no officer ever laboured with more diligence than Rivas, he made little progress, which so chagrined the archduke, that he resolved to commit the conduct of the whole to the marquis Spinola. Before the marquis would accept the honour intended, he desired leave to examine the state of the siege, for which purpose he sent experienced officers to view the works. Some of these diffused him from hazarding his reputation in an undertaking which must necessarily prove unsuccessful, from the impossibility of cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea. Others were of a contrary opinion; they believed the town must infallibly surrender in time, and that perseverance would furnish every difficulty. The love of glory spurred on the mind of Spinola to embrace this laft opinion. Success, he knew, would raise his reputation to the highest pinnacle of military fame; and should he fail, he hoped it would be imputed to the impossibility of succeeding.

In the month of October, he took charge of the army, and soon distinguished his capacity.

Before the spring of the succeeding year he advanced his works so far, that the states-general plainly perceived that Offend could only be saved by hazarding a battle, or at least making such a diversion, as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter proposal was thought the least hazardous; and upon this the states resolved, fixing for that purpose upon the siege of Sluyce, a place so important, as would certainly engage the archduke’s attention. The army, amounting to fifteen thousand foot, and twenty-five hundred horse, embarked immediately for Zealand, where they were met by prince Maurice, attended by William Nassau governor of Friesland, Frederic Henry Nassau his brother, general of the horse, three other princes of the house of Orange, the prince of Anhalt, the deputies of the states-general, and the council of state. Next day the fleet set sail for Flanders, and the troops debarked on the banks of the canal Swartagaye, after they had taken two small forts on the isle of Cadzant. It is imagined, that if Maurice had proceeded directly to Sluyce, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to have raised the siege of Offend, by cutting off all their convoys of provision. On the contrary, he rejected the proposal, as attended with a thousand difficulties, which could only be foreseen by those who were experienced in the art of war; but the reasons he offered were such as confirmed the suspicions of the deputies, that he was not desirous of finishing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the house of Nassau. We shall see how these jealousies gave birth to a strong faction, which has never since been the chief barrier of the republic, against the aspiring ambition of the princes of Orange.

Maurice proceeded with reducing all the out-ports which could obstruct the siege of Sluyce. He took Iemnyck, defeated a body of twelve companies of German foot posted at Ardenbourg, and took possession of middelbourg in Flanders, which the enemy evacuated at his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to Sluyce, is what cannot be determined at this distance of time, through all the mists of prejudice and passion which obscure this whole transaction, and by rendering it equivocal, tarnish the lustre of the prince’s character. Albert had no sooner intelligence of the motions of Maurice, than he detached Velasco general of the horse, since Mendoza’s departure, to take post at Damas, a strong situation between Bruges and Sluyce. Here he was by every possible means to oppose the progress of the enemy. Maurice determined to dislodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under the generals Gbend and Bax. The Dutch met with almost insurmountable obstacles, by reason of the difficulty of the roads, and the resistance made by Velasco. Bax was wounded, and his troops on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry seasonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the post,
and defeated the Spaniards with great slaughter. Upon this success the prince invested Sluis, evacuating all the posts which commanded the town, and taking the best measures for preventing the garrison from receiving succours, until his lines were completed. Serriero, a Spanish officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with necessaries, and supported only by a slender garrison, of which he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and provision were frequently thrown in before Maurice had finished his lines: one indeed would have imagined, that he purposely suffered the garrison to be reinforced, in order to try the strength of his own capacity, in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At last he had so completely invested it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the safety of Sluis in the marquis Spínola, who was far advanced in the siege of Oostend, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had done for the two preceding years. Spínola, however, had too much discernment to undertake dislodging prince Maurice, which was necessary for the relief of the garrison. He found his lines too strong, and drawn too judiciously to be forced. After viewing the posts, and finding them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to Damare, where he attacked a detachment commanded by William of Nassau, who received him gallantly, and sustained the shock of the whole Spanish army, until he was supported by prince Maurice, which obliged Spínola to retreat, after having lost above a thousand men. Next day, the garrison, reduced to the last extremity for want of provision, capitulated on honourable conditions, marched out with their arms and baggage, but so emaciated and exhausted, as to excite the compassion of their enemies. The garrison of Sluis, when it surrendered, amounted to four thousand men, so weakened with disease and hunger, that several hundreds dropped down dead in the short march to Damare.

The success of Maurice greatly chagrined Spínola. That prince had in the space of three months reduced the strongest fortresses in the Netherlands; whereas the Spaniards had spent three years before Oostend, and it was still a matter of doubt whether they could succeed.

Spínola returning to the siege, soon demonstrated the possibility of reducing the strongest situations. He blew up mines everywhere, where he made violent assaults, and hemmed the besieged within so narrow a circle, as determined the fate of Oostend. Several governors since Noot's departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either slain or grievously wounded. Almost every shot from the enemy's batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a small compass wholly occupied by the troops. At last a strong wind from the south-west, at high water, gave the finishing blow to the works of the besieged, which, being newly erected in the room of others that were demolished, could not withstand the fury of the waves. They were all overtaken, and it was afterwards in vain for the garrison to resist; however, they refused to surrender, before the sentiments of the states and prince Maurice were known. A council was immediately called at Sluis, to deliberate whether the relief of the garrison was to be attempted, or the place immediately surrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly dispatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garrison and inhabitants obtained the most honourable terms, was signed the twentieth day of September, above three years after the town had been first invested; and it had cost the lives of an hundred thousand brave soldiers. By means of this capture, the states-general employed the whole strength of Spain for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a superior army into the United Provinces, while it left Maurice at liberty to reduce Rimbeck, Grave, and Sluis. Curiosity drew the archduke and duchess to see the remains of a place which had so long and gloriously resisted the whole force of their arms; but scarce the vestiges of what it had been, could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and those fine works, upon which such vast sums had been lavished, were reduced to rubbish and a mere chaos. As for Spínola, he was loaded with honours, and equally cared for as if he had terminated the war. He went to the court of Madrid, to solicit supplies for the ensuing year, was graciously received by the king, and promised all he required. He gave Philip a clear detail of the state of the Netherlands, and the necessity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. By crossing the Rubia, and finishing their operations on that side, they might easily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the side of Zealand, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the Hollanders inaccessible. He represented, in A.D. 1593, the most lively colours, the disorders consequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greatest obstruction to the service; and demonstrated, that the defection was incurable, unless they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that soldiers should fight upon trust, and starve in the cause of their country. He proved that the da-
mages suftained from the depreddations of the mutineers, cost the government more than if they were scrupulously paid, and that the mismanagement of the revenue was the whole source of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reasoning, and they entered immediately on the necessary measures to send Spinola back, with full power to remedy all the disorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marshal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the Spanish and Italian forces. He had authority to dispose of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the golden fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally shewed the discernement of Philip and the merit of Spinola.

During the absence of the marquis de Spinola, terrible disturbances happened among the Spanish troops, who were all on the wing of revolting. Several of the mutineers already entered into the service of the flates; others were plundering the ten provinces, and some had the insolence to demand the strongest fortresses of the Netherlands, as securitv for the payment of their arrears. Albert's situation was truly deplorable; the scarcity of money rendered him incapable of satisfying the troops, and his loft authority prevented his protecting his subjects from their violences. He became, through no fault of his own, equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the soldiery, while the flates at the same time refused the supplies necessary for the maintenance of the court, until their demands were answered, and assurances given that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. Spinola fortunately arrived in time to stop the progress of an evil, which must soon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redressing the grievances of the people, and giving all possible satisfaction to the flates. Then he set on foot his levies, which were protected with such diligence in Germany, Italy, and the provinces, that the flate-general of the United Provinces became soon sensible of the necessity of opposing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude.

Maurice had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horse in Germany. The king of France promised succours in a secret manner, and advised the flates to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and stop the designs of Spinola. But with the utmost endeavours Maurice had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of May he made a bold attempt on Antwerp, which proved fruitless, though it was planned with the utmost prudence, and conducted with all imaginable resolution. The shipwreck of the vessels employed in the enterprise ruined the whole, and afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of making a great number of prisoners. It was further intended by this expedition, to attack Spinola at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, before his whole strength was collected; but both enterprises failed through a variety of crofs accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the Scheld with every necessary, resolved to remove the fear of war into Flanders, to prevent Spinola's designs of penetrating into the United Provinces; and the Italian general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themselves on every side, and commence hostilities in whatever quarter was found most convenient. Maurice was encamped in the neighbourhood of Ijzendyck; and Spinola imagining his design was to attack Saffde Gand, or Bruges, removed to a situation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being surrounded with fens and marshes.

While the two principal armies were attentively observing each other, the archduke detached the count de Buqui with a body of eight thousand men, to feize upon certain paffages of the Rhine. This officer, after defeating several small parties of the enemy, reduced Kejers-courtr, into which the condulator of Cologne put a garrison, thereby infringing the neutrality with respect to the United Provinces. The motions of count Buqui put Maurice in fear that an attempt would be made on Reinebach; to prevent which, he detached his brother Henry, and Erne of Nassau, to put this important place in a state of defence. They encamped on the Rhine, threw a bridge over the river, and chose such a situation as should enable them to succour Wessel, Rheez, Emmichric, or Rhiemberg. Wolf armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of Lingen, Oldenzael, Groen, and Brevoort, demanded supplies of them; and provisions from the deputies who attended prince Henry, which they promised, and neglected, not imagining that Spinola would penetrate so far. In this they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in Flanders, left the reduction of that province to count Frederic de Berg, and suddenly arrived with five thousand men on the banks of the Rhine, halting at Boort. This river he crossed on the twenty-fourth of July, having received intelligence that the provinces of Friesland and Overijfel were defended only by a small body of forces. To secure his
or Republic of Holland.

retreat, he ordered the count de Buquoy to build forts in certain posts; and to conceal his design, it was debated in the archduke’s cabinet council, whether Groote, Sluis, Breda, or Bergen-op-Zoom, should be invested. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy’s councils, the states little imagined the United Provinces were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions necessary to their security.

As soon as the forts at Keijerswaert were finished, Spinola laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with universal approbation. He could not avoid traversing the dominions of the duke of Cleves, and of other neutral princes: but he determined that his army should maintain such strict discipline, as should afford no just cause of complaint; he left the count de Serle to assure the magistrates of the towns, that no violence should be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count de Buquoy with a strong detachment, to proceed with the rest of the army through Cleves and Weilphalia, and maintaining such regularity and order, as even forces pruile from the Dutch writers. Having penetrated into Overijssel, he first presented himself before Oldenzeel, at a little distance from Linguen, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garrisoned. At the same time Triculeto was detached to occupy all the posts around Linguen, and take the proper measures for forming the siege. The garrison of Linguen consisted of five hundred German soldiers, under the conduct of Cobbin, who had just begun to repair the fortifications, suffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The states had even neglected to lay in the necessary stores, because they hoped prince Maurice could return soon enough from Flanders, to frustrate all the schemes laid by Spinola; but they suffered the just punishment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the supply of the provinces. The town was invested, and the approaches were so vigorously carried on, that Cobbin capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in Spinola, to check the ardor of his troops, and the rapidity of conquest, by losing time in repairing the fortifications of Linguen; but his design was to secure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, should he be forced to retire on the arrival of Maurice.

He knew that a strong garrison would be able to employ the prince’s strength, while the Spanish forces might leisurely quit Overijssel, and carry their conquests into another province.

Prince Maurice was no sooner acquainted with the intention of the Italian general, than he issued the necessary orders for preferring his conquests in Flanders, and proceeded with his army to oppose the enemy in Overijssel. His first design was to relieve Linguen; but the garrison having surrendered before his arrival, he made dispositions for covering all the other towns that lay exposed. William of Nassau, governor of Friseland and Groningen, likewise began his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehensions of the people, and secure their fidelity to the states, in which he proved successful. The great object was to prevent Spinola from crossing the IJssel, to effect which, Maurice strictly watched his motions. After he was joined by William, the army amounted to nine thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, and was considerably augmented by a number of Spanish mutineers, who now wholly deferred that service, and proved extremely faithful to the states general. Villar, the chief officer among the defenders, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron de la Chaus, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of Maurice, and the advanced lea, obliged Spinola to retire, after he had left strong garrisons in Linguen and Oldenzeel. He cantoned his troops round Malbein, at such distances as furnished the prince with the idea of surpriefing the Spaniards. A scheme for this purpose was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the design projected, the Spaniards would have sustained an irretrievable blow. Prince Frederic and general Box were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprise, which failed through some misunderstanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were astonished to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have caught them unprepared; however, the order was pushed with such impetuosity, as would have produced the desired effect, had not Spinola arrived with fresh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obstinate conflict, turned the fortune of the day, when a body of Dutch infantry appeared in support of their countrymen. The action was now a second time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the Spaniards would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of French, commanded by the count de Chatillon, secured a retreat to the Dutch, by keeping up a brisk unremitting fire on the enemy’s flank, extended towards the river.

1 Le Clerc, lib. viii. Mersenn, lib. xxvii. Such
The history of the United Provinces,

Such was the issue of a manœuvre upon which Maurice placed great dependance, as it was planned with so much prudence, as seemed to promise success. The loss was considerable on both sides, but writers are divided with respect to the number. Bentivoglio alleges that Spinola left three hundred dead in the field; but that the loss of the Dutch exceeded five hundred men, besides Emmerechts, the half-officer among the French auxiliaries. Meteren, on the contrary, affirms that Maurice had two hundred men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas Grotius reckons the loss pretty equal, but the victory clearly in favour of Spinola, the Dutch being not only disappointed in the intention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. Upon the whole, prince Henry Frederic is blamed universally by all historians, for delaying the attack, and giving the enemy time to recover their surprize, draw up their forces, and acquaint Spinola with their situation. What beyond doubt determines the event of this engagement so much disputed, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid siege to Wachtendonk, and reduced this strong fortress, without the prince’s having it in his power to relieve the garrison. While this siege employed the count de Buquey, to keep up the credit of his arms, Maurice made an attempt on Gueldres, which proved unsuccessful, and rather contributed to augment the disgrace he endeavoured to avoid. These misfortunes, however unjustly, affected the reputation of this great commander, who was often under the necessity of acting agreeable to the instructions of the states, contrary to his own sentiments; frequently he entrusted the execution of delicate enterprises to his officers, and was always cursed by a faction which now arrived at great strength, and openly professed themselves enemies to the aspiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the house of Orange. With this Maurice ended a campaign, which on the whole proved honourable to Spinola, though it detracted nothing from the great merit of prince Maurice.

We shall conclude the transactions of the year, with observing the rapid progress of the infant India company, which not only received the joyful news of vast conquests made in Asia, of several rich captures of Portuguese Indians, but of the safe arrival of thirteen great ships, loaded with spices, and the most valuable merchandise of India. About the same time, a Dutch squadron equipped for that purpose, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of transports, which was carrying a battalion of Spaniards to recruit Spinola’s army. The transports were chiefly English, except a few Hamburgers; they hoisted the English flag; notwithstanding which the Dutch admiral attacked them with great fury, sunk some, took others, and pursued the rest to Dover, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the English cannon. Five companies of soldiers were taken or destroyed, the seven remaining companies were blocked up for several weeks, and James was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality he declared, contenting himself with fruitless, disregarded remonstrances. His cautious, timid disposition could not long escape the discomfiture of the Dutch (A), and they seemed willing to revenge upon him the hazardous usage they were compelled to bear from the spirited Elizabeth. This year was likewise successful in cruizes upon the Dunkirk privateers, many of which were taken, and their crews immediately hanged; with which they were so terrified, as to keep close in port, and suffer the Dutch commerce to proceed unmolested.

The year was ushered in with demands from the council of state of the United Provinces, for supplies to support the expences of the ensuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were considerably augmented, without the armies being proportionately increased. Twelve hundred thousand florins were assigned for the extraordinary expences of the land-forces; besides which, the council proposed that the provinces should liquidate all the sums due since the year 1599, which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces excused violently against an exaction, which would entirely impoverish the people, though it was no more than they had subscribed for the public service, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince Maurice to ruin Spinola, and terminate the war in a single campaign. Still however a faction exclaimed against the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonstrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defensively, and was even too weak to succour Rheinberg, when besieged in the month of August.

A D. 1666.

Difficulties about raising the supplies in Holland.


(A) It must however be confessed, that the states general had reason to reform the conduct of King James, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the Spaniards. He had not only withdrawn the English forces, but suffered them to be employed in the Spanish service, and recruited in England. Besides, the transports on this occasion were almost all English, which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he professed.

SPINOLA’s
or Republic of Holland.

Spinola's circumstances were altogether different. That general set out, when the campaign was finished, to Brussels, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was so fortunate as to have all his proposals approved; but the concurrence of the court of Spain was necessary for the carrying them into execution, and it was persuaded the lively representations of Spinola would greatly influence his catholic majesty. Accordingly he set out for Madrid, and was received by the king with the utmost cordiality. His proposals were immediately applauded, but the difficulty was to raise the sufficient supplies. Three hundred thousand doubloons a month, besides the revenues of Flanders, were demanded for the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was a sum too vast even for the Spanish monarchy, affliated with the treasures of Mexico and Peru, but already drained by continual wars of near forty years standing. The best measures possible were however taken to answer Spinola's expectation; and with such alacrity did the whole court embrace the scheme presented, that an advanced sum of money was immediately remitted to Brussels, to make fresh levies. But the plan of operations was in some respects disconcerted by the tediousness of the negotiations at Madrid, and a fever which Spinola afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the Netherlands, until the summer-season was pretty far advanced.

This delay probably saved the United Provinces. The states spent the whole winter in deliberating the means of supporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be necessary. In the spring the levies were not begun, and even then made under a variety of disappointments. The French king, embroiled with the duke de Bouillon, forbade troops to be raised in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of Brabant obstructed the levies made in Germany; above all, the narrow parsimony, and unfeazonable frugality of the Dutch, had almost ruined their affairs. At last the blufines of recruiting was undertaken, and Henry permitted a small body of French to pass into the Netherlands, before the end of the campaign.

Spinola did not hesitate about seizing the advantage gained by his superiority. He had two armies in the field; one composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, he led in person; the other, amounting to ten thousand infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry, was under the direction of the count de Bugniet. Both were provided with every necessary, and constantly attended by two thousand waggons loaded with provision.

Advancing to the country of Twente, Spinola ordered the count de Bugniet to pass the Waal, and enter the enemy's country; but in this he was frustrated by the vigilance of Maurice, who raised such a variety of obstructions, as it was impossible to surmount. Baffled in his principal design, Spinola resolved not to lose the whole fruits of his superiority, and accordingly invested Groen, which obliged Maurice to march to the relief of the garrison. He met with numberless difficulties in succouring the place; but was on the point of succeeding, and had wrote to the governor an affurance of speedy assistance, when the letter being intercepted by Spinola, and the siege vigorously pushed, compelled the garrison to surrender in despair. This obliged the prince to retire, and fo animated the Spanish troops, that Spinola undertook the siege of Rhinberg. The prince de Soubise, and several volunteers of distinction, immediately threw themselves into the town, with a view of displaying their courage; the defence was obstinate, but colonel Utenhove was at length under the necessity of capitulating. Maurice in vain prahised every method to save Rhinberg; he would even have ventured a battle, had the states approved of so desperate a remedy; but all was in vain, the activity of Spinola rendered his utmost endeavours fruitless.

Scarce had the Spanish general compleated the reduction of this strong town, when the troops mutinied. At first he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reason ufelefs, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the passions of the mutineers, who thought themselves hardly enough uied in being deprived of their pay. They even encroached to two thousand horse and foot, retreating towards Breda, where they could infirue quarters. Maurice took advantage of the spirit of rebellion, and the fickness that prevailed in the Spanish army. He marched towards Overijssel, with intention to recover the late losses sustained by the provinces. He began with Leeuwen, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to Groen; but he had fierce formed the siege of this place, when he foreflew numberless difficulties in the prosecution. Still however he purfued his design, in expectation that the confusion in Spinola's army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Owing to this confidence, he neglected pursuing his course with the usual precaution. Spinola's intelligence was

1 Le Clerc, lib. vii. Miteren, lib xxviii.
The history of the United Provinces,

...good; he assembled eight thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horse, and set out with the utmost secrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garrison, informed of his intention, kept up a brisk fire on the besiegers. Maurice however had advice of Spinola's march; he consulted the deputies what should be done, and had their consent to hazard a battle, if necessary. But he did not chuse to risk the safety of the provinces on the issue of engagement; though the French auxiliaries, and even the Dutch troops, loudly demanded battle. In this he certainly acted with prudence, though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to confine his courage, and at the same time his desire to prolong the war. Maurice had too much fortitude and true magnanimity to enter upon dangerous measures for mere popular applause. He had already exhibited too many proofs of courage, to be justly taxed with cowardice, and he left his general conduct to speak for his fidelity. In a word, he resolved to retire, and executed his purpose in so matterly a manner, that Spinola did not think proper to pursue, and contented himself with reinforcing the garrison.

After Spinola had accomplished the relief of Grol, he returned to Brussels, to remedy the disorders which threatened destruction to the archduke's affairs. Every method was tried to appease the munitioners, and in some measure with success. Such was the confidence they repose in Spinola, that they returned, upon his promise that their arrears would soon be advanced; but the remittances from Spain failing short of expectation, he failed in his engagements, and yet still had the good fortune to retain the affections of the soldiers, who shifted the blame from him upon the shoulders of the archduke. In fact, Spinola and his friends had advanced large sums to the crown of Spain, of which they began now to dread the loss, together with the blighting of those laurels acquired in the two last campaigns. But the difficulty consisted in extricating himself. To throw up his command would but leave all his prospects of being reimbursed, and to continue his commission would be hazard the reputation he had gained with so much toil and labour. In these circumstances his only hope was, that the United Provinces would not take advantage of the situation of the Spanish army, but would, from their usual principle of frugality, involve Maurice in the same difficulties that attended him from the necessities of the court of Spain. Such was the situation of affairs at the close of the campaign. We shall see how the efforts of the provinces succeeded on the ocean.

Naval affairs. The states general perceiving that little progress was made in the land-operations, thought the most effectual method of distressing Spain, and of concluding the war at a small expence, would be to harass the Spanish shipping, and destroy the commerce of that kingdom. In pursuing this design, not only the expences of a fleet would probably be reimbursed by captures, but the Dutch trade greatly promoted, and new colonies erected on the ruins of the Portuguese establishments. One grand fleet was accordingly equipped to cruize on the Spanish coast, to watch the arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce of the provinces. This armament was preparing, when advice was received that a Dutch squadron of seven ships had fallen in with eight galleons from Peru. The Spanish attacked the Dutch with great vigour, but met with so warm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, and the rest so roughly handled, that three foundered at sea and were lost. This misfortune was severely felt by the king of Spain, though it produced no immediate advantage to the Hollanders. It raised their indignation to such a height, that he fitted out a squadron to intercept the Dutch, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, and sent orders to the admiral to treat the prisoners in the same manner as the Dutch had used the Dutchpirates; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. To revenge this cruelty, the states gave orders to admiral Hautain, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the Carraca flota in the river Tagus, and burn and destroy the whole without mercy; but he was frustrated in this attempt, and forced to satisfy himself with some unsuccessful descents on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. As he was ready to quit his station, eight galleons homeward-bound were discovered. Hautain immediately gave chase, and drove two of the galleons on the rocks, where they perished; the rest entered the Tagus and escaped. Soon after he was overtaken in a terrible storm, in which the whole fleet was dispersed, and several ships lost. His squadron was now reduced to thirteen sail, including frigates and brigantines; when the flota of don Fajardo, composed of nine men of war, and eighteen galleons, was descried. The immensity of the booty in view determined the Dutch admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly inferior in force. He endeavoured to gain the weather gage, and was disappointed. Vice-admiral Clefven was separated in this task from the rest of the Dutch fleet, attacked by five ships of the enemy, and engaged with the utmost fury. He defended himself for several hours with great in-

or Republic of Holland.

trepidity; but his main-mast being shot away, and his ship otherwise greatly shattered, he resolved to blow himself and crew into the air, rather than strike to an enemy who had lately so cruelly treated his countrymen. This he executed with admirable constancy, and perished with a hundred and fifty brave soldiers and skilful mariners. The engagement was warm between Houtain and the Spanish admiral, but neither separated the combatants, and prevented the destruction of both parties, who were each resolved to die or conquer.

Such were the transactions of this year, towards the close of which the richest India fleet ever seen from India arrived, with the agreeable news of further advantages gained in Asia, and the prosperous situation of the company’s affairs.

This infinite losses sustained by the Spaniards, by sea and land, in Europe, Asia, and America; the want of Spain begins to talk of peace.

b the immense expenses of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhausted state of the treasury; the vast debts contracted by the crown; and the mutinous disposition of the troops, all suggested the first idea of the necessity of a truce with the obstinate Hollanders. It was now seriously deliberated in council, and the motion supported by the peers most attached to the interests of their king and country. The Portugese, who were the greatest sufferers in their East India traffic, made strong remonstrances to Philip III. on the damages sustained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had lost an infinite of rich ships, were deprived of their best establishments in the Indies, stripped of their commerce, and in the open way to destruction, if a speedy issue was not put to the disturbances in the Low Countries, which had already cost Spain and Portugal above double the intrinsic value of the Seven Provinces. They asserted, that the difficulty of the war would every year increas, with the inability of Spain to support it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural situtation of the provinces, surrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impenetrable; and if Spain could not succeed through the spirited conduct of such generals as the Duke of Parma and the marquis Spinola, while she exerted all her utmost force, how could she expect a fortunate issue under any other generals, when her strength was spent and exhausted? Philip, wholly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure, was naturally pacific, and had protracted the war by the advice of his council, rather than from inclination.

c His ministers intimated to him that the French king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominion over the Netherlands. It was, beyond doubt, less disadvantageous and dishonourable to Spain, to suffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free state, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large strides to an equality with the house of Austria. The successes of the infant India company, afterwards established upon a larger basis, made the king apprehensive, not only of the loss of his colonies in the East, but of that vast empire he possessed in the West Indies. It was at the same time whispered, that the Dutch would afford the means of shipping to transport vast armies into Spain; and indeed it is astonishing that the provinces, amidst all their distresses, never attempted making this diversion. These considerations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and Isabella, quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their subjects, determined Spain to make overtures for a truce. Even Spinola, for the reasons we have before mentioned, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the Ten Provinces in security and peace, than rique the whole Netherlands, and ruin Spain, in the fruitless attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion. He said, that if to their growing empire in Asia, they should add establishments in America, Spain would be reduced to its primitive poverty.

d These sentiments of the Spanish court transpired before any formal proposals had been made. In Holland some alluded, that the report of pacific designs was industriously propagated, only to pull the provinces into security, and catch them napping and unprepared. Numbers of people pretended to discredit the rumour, because they lived, and had raised fortunes, by the war. Others found out, that a peace would dissolve the union of Utrecht, and bring the trade of Holland and Zealand back again to Antwerp. On the other hand, the provinces most expostulated for an equitable peace, and all moderate persons desired to see the public tranquillity re-established on such a footing as should secure the liberty of the provinces. These were the general sentiments of both parties, when the commissioners Witters and Wittenborn arrived, from the archduke, at the Hague, to make some proposals touching a congress. Prince Maurice was then in Oversich's, and the deputies to whom the ambassadors addressed themselves, gave such discouragement, that they returned to Brussel, without having publicly communicated their instructions. They

* Grot, lib. xv. BENTIVOG. p. 7. lib. viii. p. 204.

were
The history of the United Provinces,

were again sent to the Hague, in the month of December, with orders to acquaint the states, that they had instructions from the archduke to assure them of the sincerity of his pacific views, and readiness to grant any reasonable terms, and to demand such conditions as the United Provinces were determined to accept. They were further empowered to offer the states either a peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixing a congress, where the articles might be adjusted. To these assurances and demands the states general refused to give an answer, because the ambassadors had brought no letters expressly addressed to the states. This difficulty was not foreseen; but, to remove it, one of the ambassadors set out for Bruges, obtained the letter required, and returned to the Hague. Now the ambassador demanded a public audience of the states general, and obtained it on the third of January. They read publicly the archduke's letter, professing his hearty desire to heal up those wounds which had so long afflicted the Netherlands; they commented upon the letter, set forth the uncertain event of war, the misery of the people, the duty of conciliating fellow-subjects unhappily divided by civil discord; with a variety of other topics; to which the states general answered: That while the archduke formed any right to the United Provinces, it was impossible they could ever consent to a treaty that the world allowed they were born a free people (A), and their highnesses could never make out their pretensions to dominion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on the states to recover what had been invidiously and oppressively wrested from them; that they could not content in conscience, in honour, or safety, to treat with princes who formed pretensions to their undoubted liberties, until such pretensions were solemnly abjured; as for the rest, they declared they would be no ways accessory to the evil consequences which might ensue, since their resolutions were all formed in self-defence, and founded on justice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that subjects might lawfully oppose the ambitious encroachments of their sovereigns, and draw their swords against princes in defence of liberty. With this answer the ambassadors returned, promising that they would soon acquaint the states with the archduke's sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the general sentiments of the United Provinces were averse to peace; that the states treated the archduke cavalierly, and raised all possible obstructions in the way of a negotiation; but such were the circumstances of the courts of Madrid and Bruges, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at least a suspension of hostilities, upon any tolerable conditions. With this view, John Neyen, an ecclesiastic, extremely converiant in politics, insinuating in his address, able, penetrating, subtle, and eloquent, was again dispatched to the Hague. Neyen was acquainted personally with the principal men in Holland; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, because he had the art to make his opinions seem moderate. On his arrival he found the states immovable fixed in their resolution to listen to no terms, unless they were treated and addressed as a free people. To this the archduke had strong objections; because it was in fact acknowledging that he had hitherto maintained an unjust war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no just pretensions to the sovereignty of the United Provinces. He apprehended that such a concession would be injurious to Philip's and his own reputation; and he was sensible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, necessity overcame his scruples, and he determined to grant the demands of the states general, hoping that if the negotiation should turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuse the means he had practised of restoring peace to his subjects; but he first gave instructions to Neyen to endeavour to procure some mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. Neyen expatiated on the states on the archduke's pious intentions to spare the effusion of christian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the most equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of sovereigns and subjects, and enumerated with admirable address all the arguments in favour of indefeasible right, a topic since that time so hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the blessings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the United Provinces, in particular, would deduce from the establishment of a free state; because his majesty had first dissolved the original compact, by divers infractions and violations of the engagements subsisting between him and his subjects (1).

(Baudius de Judiciis, lib. i. p. 4.)

(A) This attention would seem to allude to the solemn declaration, published in 1581, by the states assembled at the Hague, whereby they deprived Philip II. of all right, dominion, and sovereignty over the United Provinces, which they henceforward declared to be a free state; because his majesty had first disobeyed the original contract, by divers infractions and violations of the engagements subsisting between him and his subjects (1).

(1) Vide Wagerfort, demo. 4. lib. i. Hist. de Prov. Univ. re.
or Republic of Holland.

of public tranquility; but he artfully avoided touching the liberty of the states general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitless, he returned to Brugge, and was in a few days sent back with full powers to negotiate with the United Provinces, as a free state, over which neither the catholic king or the archduke had any jus t claim of sovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the states general disposed; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congress; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a suspension of arms for the space of eight months, during which no hostilities of any kind should be permitted; provided however, that the proposals should in eight days be accepted. These overtures were contained in a writing, signed by the archduke on the thirteenth day of March 1607, and accepted by a similar writing signed by the states on the twenty-fourth of April. At the same time, an order to suspend hostilities was reciprocally sent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either service. The articles of truce were exchanged at Lillo; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of suspension to his envoy Neyen, who desired leave to repair for this purpose to the Hague. As Neyen received no immediate answer to his request, he confirmed the silence of the states into content, set out for the Hague, and on the first day of June published an edict, whereby he declared that the suspension took place at sea as well as land, limiting it however to the Northern ocean and the British channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjusted, and several other particulars, which had before been omitted. Foreign ministers, particularly the French ambassador at the Hague, were made acquainted with the determination of the states, and invited to send plenipotentiaries to assist at the congress. In consequence, the French king sent the president Jeannin, and the sieurs Raffi and Buset to Holland, where, on their first arrival, they gently expostulated with the states, for having come to a resolution so important to the tranquillity of Europe, without having previously acquainted their matter with their intention, and received the advice of so constant and necessary an ally. "James, king of England, likewise promised that his ambassadors, Spencer and Winwood, should attend the congress.

Now the chief difficulty that remained regarded the manner of opening the negotiation.

The deputies of the states foreflew the great revolution in affairs which so suddenly a change from war to peace would produce, especially should prince Maurice disapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by the prince, in the long course of his services, rendered him very powerful and very popular. His reputation was a vaft structure raised on a firm foundation laid by his father; a building erected by courage, virtue, and public spirit, on the basis of patriotism. Maurice was not only at the head of the army, but he held the stadtholdership of four out of the seven provinces, and the rest were under his direction, as his two cousins were governors. Several of the states became jealous of his authority and ambition; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that Maurice's popularity would aspire at absolute dominion, and gave themselves up to the direction of Barnaveldt, penasurer of Holland, a minister equally able and faithful. The continuance of the war would certainly encrease the prince's authority, and a truce proportionably diminish it, and open the way to the exertion of the functions of civil power: this disipos the whole party to wish for the treaty, and to advance its progress and issue with all their weight and influence. It was further necessary, they alleged, to shew their allies that the states had it in their power to conclude peace when they pleased, which would render them more independent on their allies, oblige France to declare more openly, and induce all the allies to afford real, instead of imaginary, assistance and large promises. On the other side, the Orange party threw all possible obstructions in the way of the treaty, receiving every proposal with great coldness and arrogance, starting punctilious difficulties upon every expression, and obliging the archduke upon every trifling occasion to send express into Spain, and wait their return, without advancing a step in the negotiation. In this interest may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the whole body of militia by land and sea. The former, by long habit, contracted invincible prejudices against Spain, and the latter proposed the improvement of their fortunes. But there was one consideration which weighed strongly in favour of the opposite faction. This was the decline of the vaft Spanifh monarchy, so formidable under Charles V. and Philip II. owing to extensive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, France was rising to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterprising, constant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domestic discord and misfortune, by a peace with the house of Austria. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accustomed to constant heats and commo-


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 6 F
The history of the United Provinces,

motions, would not long remain quiet without exercise; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be necessary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the same time promote the views of his own ambition. Flanders had formerly formed a part of the Gallic monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of France. An enterprize to recover the ancient demesnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and seemed perfectly congenial to the disposition of Henry, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this side, if invited by any greater decay of the Spanish power in the Netherlands. It was further observed, that the authority of Spain in the Low Countries was supported by treasures, which came by long and perilous voyages from Spain, and by troops drawn from thence, from Italy or Germany, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the Ten b Provinces was inconsiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of France and England; but if Henry were once master of Flanders, the body of the French monarchy would be so great, so entire, so populous, and flourishing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the United Provinces fatal, and completely decisive. Then would they have laboured in vain against Philip, and fought out that long and glorious struggle, not for absolute freedom, but for a change of masters. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of Maurice, that actuated that able minister Barneveldt, though many of his party were excited by personal resentment to the prince, and drawn over by the pretends and promises of Spain.  

Besides the contending interests of the two parties, the negotiation met with another obstruction. The archduke had indeed given his solemn assurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king Philip, ratifying the means he proposed, and the terms he should stipulate in the treaty; but hitherto no declaration of the Spanish court had appeared to confirm the preliminary steps to the negotiation. Such a declaration was necessary, because the Netherlands reverted to the crown of Spain at the decease of the archduke without issue; in which case, all treaties with him would prove void, unless they were concluded with Philip's consent. At last the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained, of which Spinola gave notice to the states, defining a passpart for Lewis Verreiken, the archduke's ambassador. When Verreiken presented the declaration to the states general assembled at the Hague, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promised strictly to observe the armistice; but that he had designedly flouted over the clause where it was specified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free state, over which he had no jurisdiction. Not only this, but several other particulars in the manner and file of the act, were displeasing to the states general. They refuted the title given the archduke of sovereign of all the Netherlands; the acts being written on paper instead of parchment; the king's subscription, We the king; the seal affixed, which was not the great seal of Spain; and the demand, that the Dutch squadrons should be immediately recalled from the Spanish coasts. In the end, the ambasrador was informed, that the states could not accept the declaration without considerable amendments. Verreiken laboured to remove the objections. He insisted that the catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries stipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that procuring the amendments required would only retard the negotiation; but that if the states would, in the mean time, proceed to huzines, he would engage to obtain the declaration wanted as soon as in course it could be expected. But this was positively refused; and the states, for their own security, gave the ambassador copies of such a declaration as would quiet their scruples, in the Latin, French, and Spanish, that no mistake, through the equivocal sense of words, might arise. In these, several articles, relative to religion, were inserted, which, it was apprehended, the court of Spain would not grant; and indeed the writing would seem to be calculated with that design, and directed by the partizans of the house of Orange.  

When the second ratification arrived at Brussels, the first observation which occurred, was, that the great seal was not affixed: but this difficulty the archduke engaged he should be able to surmount, should the contents prove otherwise agreeable to the sentiments of the United Provinces. The article with respect to religion, it was foreseen, would occasion more trouble. Verreiken and Neyen were dispatched to the Hague with this new ratification; and though it was supported with all their eloquence and address, could not gain the approbation of the states. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a loose line, upon paper, and sealed with a private signature. However, to preserve the appearance of candour, they said they would communicate the ratification to the provincial states, and report their opinion in six weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to e
or Republic of Holland.

a appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and send deputies to the congress. Before the ambassador's departure, the states desired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this was refused, though Verrieken, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the Hague, kept the ratification, and sent his colleague to attend the archduke's commands. By the fourteenth of November, Neyen returned from Brussels, with orders to deliver the ratification to the states, upon receiving their written promises to refor it, in case the negotiation should prove abortive. Even this was denied, and Neyen again forced to set out for Brussels, where he obtained the archduke's leave to surrender the ratification, without any promise or written acknowledgement. From such punctilious conduct and fastidious cavilling, it was obvious that the Orange party prevailed, that the general sentiments of the people were not pacific, and that the negotiation would at last prove fruitless.

While the treaty went on in this channel, letters addressed to the states were received from the emperor, in which he expressed his astonishment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions, reminded them that the Netherlands were formerly a part of the empire, and that consequently they could not claim the privileges of a free state, without his consent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of Spain prove valid, without the full approbation of the Augic council. To these letters the states returned a civil answer, excusing themselves by affirming, that they imagined the king of Spain and the archduke had given his imperial majesty timely information; otherwise they should not be wanting in this mark of respect. They represented the cause which induced them to throw off the sovereignty of Philip, and now insist on the privileges of a free people; they alleged their having already been acknowledged independent by several states and sovereigns; and lastly, that they apprehended it properly belonged to Philip, to enquire whether he had a power to make the grants he proposed; that as for themselves, they had long taken the resolution of being free, or of perishing in the defence of liberty.

Saarde had the states-general returned this answer, and received the compliments of several foreign princes, when the provinces reported their opinion, that the ratification was a sufficient basis for negotiating a peace or truce. This resolution had been carried in all the provincial states, in defiance of the objections raised by the Orange faction. Never did the talents of Bareneveldt appear more conspicuous than on this occasion; on which he equally displayed the orator, the statesman, and the patriot. After deliberating with the ambassadors of France and Great Britain, the states acquainted the archduke by letter, that they were ready to enter upon the negotiation, provided that nothing should be demanded repugnant to their privileges, or obliged directed against their liberties; and that if he would nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint an equal number of deputies (A).

Towards the close of the year the armistice was expired, of which the archduke gave the states-general notice, and of his desire to prolong it for a month. He likewise acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expressed his inclination that the congress might fit with the utmost expedition. The marquis de Spinola, Ricardo, Man- nover, the archduke's secretary, Neyen, and Verrieken, were appointed ambassadors. It grew more urgent, that no one native of the Netherlands should be chosen to adjudge the articles of a treaty, that wholly respected this country, but the power was in the hands of the Spaniards, and by exerting it they proposed to gain some advantages to themselves*

In the beginning of the following year, Spinola and the other ambassadors set out for the congress; and as soon as they arrived in the territories of the states, they were received by Justus Neijssen, and conducted to the Hague, without any expense. In all the towns the

---

*A Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

(A) It was at this very time, when the attention of all Europe was fixed on the approaching congress, which was to determine the fate of the United Provinces, that the Hollanders planned the scheme of a West-India company, which should likewise trade to Africa, upon the model of the East India company. The project met with obstructions, on account of the peace now negociating; as it was apprehended the king of Spain would dictate any terms which could be订 to the company. However, though the states chose to avoid raising difficulties in the way of the treaty, which the whole world must attribute to their desire of prolonging the war, the archduke's conduct and manner of treating the fall in quest of the Caracciolo fleet, soon expected. Admiral Hemskirk accordingly fitted for the coast of Spain, received information that a Spanish squadron of fix men of war lay in the bay of Gibraltar, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy. Juan Alonzo d'Avila commanded the Spanish fleet. He was attacked by Hemskirk with the utmost resolution, and the engagement continued with great fury, until the Dutch admiral left his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of fo brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet; but the spirits of the Dutchmen were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of Verboef, who succeeded to the command. After an obstinate fight, d'Avila was killed, his flag run a-ground, and burnt by the garrison of Gibraltar, to prevent his being taken: the rest of the Spanish fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory indisputably in favour of the Hollanders, though they received no other benefit from it, than the destruction of the Span- ish armament (1).

(1) Meteren, lib. ii. Le Clerc, lib. i. p. 246. People
people flocked to see Spinola, whose reputation was as great in Holland, as in the other provinces of the Netherlands; and at Dorrecht, prince Maurice met that general, who seemed to regard the prince with astonishment and admiration. Maurice expressed sentiments no less favourable to Spinola, and they both paid those compliments which were certainly due to each other’s merit. Various were the sentiments of the people on the arrival of Spinola in Holland. Some alleged, it was wrong to suffer so popular an enemy to enter the heart of the country, and thereby afford him the opportunity of seducing the minds of the people. To this it was answered that the people were inveterate enemies of the Spanish dominion, and Spinola himself a promoter of the peace. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the States had prevailed on the French ambassadors, that their majesty should become guarantee of the treaty intended; and they ventured to engage, that his majesty should assist the States with 10,000 men, in case it was broke thro’ the fault of the king of Spain or the archduke. By the 4th of February, the states-general thinking it was time to open the negotiation, sent compliments to the ambassadors, and demanded their instructions. They then appointed William of Nassau and the sieur Braderode, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. John Barnesweldt was chosen to represent Holland. All were assembled in a great hall provided for that purpose, and the first day was spent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We shall only mention, that the Dutch deputies demanded whether the ambassadors proposed treating with them, as the representatives of a free state? To which they were answered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he proposed resigning the sovereignty? To which it was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of his princes, by the king of Spain retaining the arms and title of king of Jerusalem, the French king the sole of Bavaria, and the king of England, the arms and title of sovereign of France, though they possessed not a foot of land in those countries. A few days after the Dutch deputies produced a schedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of renunciation required. The Flemish ambassadors declined giving an answer, but sent the writing to Brussel; and received the archduke’s consent, that this article should be granted, agreeable to the desire of the states-general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the Indies. The facility with which an article of such importance was given up, created suspicions in the States, that either the archduke was not sincere, or that the congress would prove fruitless, on account of extraordinary demands touching some other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme desire of terminating a war which had equally exhausted Spain and the ten provinces.

The next object was a general armistice, reduction and compensation of losses; articles which were without difficulty adjusted, by leaving matters to their present situation; but it was more delicate and dubious with respect to commerce. Both equally affected the extensive trade of the East-Indies; they had too long experienced the advantages of this commerce, to resign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the East-India company were deeply concerned in the issue of this article, and they made the strongest remonstrances to the states-general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the single article of commerce; the debates were warm and spirited, but nothing was determined. At length the Dutch deputies declared, that only the acceptance of one of three proposals they had to make, could terminate the dispute. The first was, that the provinces, in consequence of a peace, should ever have free leave to trade to the Indies; the second, that they should have liberty, in consequence of a truce, for a certain number of years; or that at least there should be peace on this side the tropics, and both nations left to promote their several interests by arms on the other side the line. This last proposition was made, because the Hollander knew themselves greatly superior by sea, and the Indian princes in general disgraced at the Portuguese government. Two of these propositions were immediately rejected; the one being directly contrary to an express instruction, that the commerce with the Indies should on no account be allowed to the provinces; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke, which determined him to have the peace general, or the congress dissolved. As to the second proposal, the ambassadors declared they would accept it with this restriction, that the States should agree to renounce the India trade at the expiration of the truce. But this was refused, and the ambassadors desired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjusted.

Next the Dutch deputies demanded a lift of the articles of which the ambassadors proposed treating; but this was denied, until they confounded that no advantage would be taken of omissions, and that whatever should happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies set the example, and gave in a list of their propositions, contained in twenty-eight distinct articles. They were followed by a similar catalogue exhibited by the ambassadors in seven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion; but they were expressed
or Republic of Holland.

a pressed so equivocally, and arranged with so little method, as afforded a large field for ca-
villing. With this writing they presented a request, that the states would draw out a
scheme of the European and Indian commerce, which they would transmit to the courts of
Brussels and Madrid, provided it contained nothing which appeared too severe to the catho-
lic king and the archduke. The proposal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a de-
mand made, that both parties should reciprocally deposit a certain sum in Spain and Hol-
land, as security for the performance of their engagements. The articles were first examin-
ed at the congress, and debated with much warmth. Ricardot in particular was so affected
with the inebriety of the deputies, that he shed tears, and lamented the unhappy situation of
Spain, which reduced a great monarchy to the necessity of temporizing with a set of
burglars and merchants. Spinola managed his temper with more address, and to his con-
duct it was owing that the congress had not broke up long before. Neyen was dispatched to
Brabant and Spain, with the scheme of commerce, which now received considerable amend-
ment; but still the bill was too hard, and long rejected by the proud stomachs of the Spa-
niards, who could not make concessions with any grace, to those whom they used to com-
mand. These proposals met with a variety of obstructions at the court of Madrid, and
Neyen's long stay rendered it necessary to prolong the armistice to the end of the year.

About this time the states-general received advice of negotiations carried on at the court
of France, which almost determined them to break off the conferences precipitately.

While Neyen continued at Madrid, don Pedro de Toledo was sent to Paris, to engage Henry
in the interest of Spain, and thereby destroy the fruits of the whole negotiation at the
Hague. Philip could not be prevailed on to acknowledge the freedom of the provinces,
unless they previously renounced the commerce of the Indies; but finding that the French
monarch was deaf to all his proposals, he concealed his sentiments, in hopes of obtaining
his ends by dint of address and refined policy. At last, the ambassadors declared on the
twentieth of August, that their final instructions respecting the three great points of reli-
gion, liberty, and commerce, were arrived: that his catholic majesty was resolved to ac-
knowledge the freedom of the provinces, upon no other condition, than that they should
re-establish the catholic religion, and renounce the India commerce. Upon this declara-
tion they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an answer with the estates-gene-
ral, the council of state, prince Maurice, and William of Nassau. Having communicated
the proposal to the foreign ambassadors at the Hague, it was resolved that the negotia-
tion was at an end; and a manifesto was published on the twenty-third, in which, after enu-
umerating all the transactions of the congress, the whole blame of the consequences that
might ensue from a rupture of the treaty, was thrown upon Philip and the archduke. The
manifesto was delivered to the Spanish ministers, who complained loudly of the manner in
which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the estates-general, and
obtained it on the twenty-seventh. Here they proposed a truce for a certain number of
years; and the estates-general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the sovereigntv
and freedom of the province should be acknowledged during and at the expiration of the
truce. This exceeded the powers of the ambassadors; but they remitted the proposal to
Brussels, and received for answer, that what the states demanded could only be granted on
their renouncing the commerce of India, and establishing the catholic religion in all the
provinces; that, however, the archduke had forwarded their propositions to the court of
Spain, expected an answer in a few days, and hoped the ambassadors might in the mean
time be permitted to reside at the Hague. In this manner the truce was spun out to the
end of September.

In the mean time prince Maurice, who never approved of the negotiation, apprehend-
ing that a truce at least would ensue, should the Spaniards relax in their conditions, sent
a circular letter to all the magistrates of the cities. This letter was dated the twenty-first of
September, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation.
In the arguments urged on this occasion, it was easy to discern the politician, the patriot,
and at the same time the aspiring prince. His reasoning was calculated to the good of his
country. He strenuously opposed the restoration of popery, and affeeted the sovereignty
of the provinces; but he at the same time artfully enflamed the minds of the people, and
rendered them averse to peace, possibly with a view to his own interest. Certain it is, that
the truce proposed was necessary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could
it be obtained on equitable conditions. Maurice, however, seemed averse to it upon any
terms; and it was perhaps more the interest of the Spaniards to have concluded a perpetual

On the twenty-fourth of September, the ambassadors gave notice to the states, that they
were now empowered to treat with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce

Msd. Hst. Vol. XI. G

for
The history of the United Provinces,

for seven years, during which, both parties should freely trade to each other's dominions in Europe, retain what they now possessed, and cease from all acts of hostility. They acknowledged, however, that the archduke was not authorized by the catholic king to grant these conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The proposal was communicated through the channel of the French, English, and Brandenburgh ambassadors; but it was rejected, unless the sovereignty of the states was absolutely acknowledged without restriction, and free leave granted to trade to the Indies. As such concessions exceeded the powers of Spinola and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambassadors took their leave, their time being expired. At parting, Ricardot allured the states, that the archduke had acted with the utmost sincerity throughout the negotiation; he blamed their obstinacy, exhorited the states to reflect seriously on the conditions they rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and solicitations; and he concluded with saying, that they must be responsible for all the consequent effusion of Christian blood, should the war be resumed. The ambassador was answered by the petitioner Barneveldt, who intimated, as a proof of the sincerity of the states-general, their refusal to enter upon the conferences, until their sovereignty was acknowledged. He concluded with returning the allegation, that they would be responsible for the future effusion of blood, since the severity of the Spanish councils first kindled the war. The tyranny of Philip II furnished the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of Philip III. prevented its being extinguished, at a time when all the combustible materials were already consumed.

Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, it was discovered that Ricardot had either for some or designedly left at his lodgings, the original instructions given to the Spanish ministers. This the states published, with a long comment in their own vindication. Though poverty have justly confounded the instructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the furtive and insolent demands of the states, their cavilling humour, and punctilious conduct, would have prevented the establishment of a truce, on the same terms it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign ministers would seem to be of this opinion. They concurred in pressing the states at least to conclude a truce; and the president Jansen, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the states objected that no dependence could be placed in the promises of the Spaniards, who had so often violated their engagements, he replied, that his master, the King of France, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and support with all his might that prudence and perseverance which enabled an oppressed people to treat with their sovereign on the footing of a free republic.

It has already been frequently intimated that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every proposal that did not immediately contribute to the establishment of a solid and lasting peace. At the head of this party was Prince Maurice; whose interest and aspiring views made him, it is alleged, prefer war to the most advantageous terms of accommodation. It was, however, dangerous to profess himself an enemy to the tranquillity of his country; he therefore chose the safer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing against the consequences of the truce, sensible that Spain and the archduke were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the states would demand. Barneveldt was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the French ambassador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, because perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at least, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all Maurice's views, and reprented in the strongest colours the danger of servitude to a family, whose patriotism was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and pasquinades, calculated to blow up the spars of civil dissension, were every day published; nor did the Orange party scruple to tax the kings of France and England with selfish views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly observed; which in consequence would involve the provinces in numberless calamities, and prove beneficial to the commerce of France and England. A number of anonymous letters, whereby threatening an attempt on his life, were received by Barneveldt, all of which he laid before the states, saying, that though he deplored the anger of the great, and the resentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conscious of faithfully performing the duty he owed to his country; yet he could wish to resign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With these words he quitted the assembly, and was soon followed by deputies, sent to exhort him not to abandon the state at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were most wanted. Upon resuming the functions of pensionary, he represented in the most lively terms the advantages deducible from the succours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be shewn to their sentiments; he gave in an exact &


calculation
or Republic of Holland.

calculation of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the spirit and strength of his arguments, brought over the province of Holland to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. Zealand alone, swayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of Maurice, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dispute grew high, the Zealanders insisting that to conclude a truce without their consent would be a direct infraction of the union of Utrecht; and the others remonstrating upon the injustice of one province’s giving law to all the others.

In these disputes the year was spun out, without any progress made, either in the prosecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However, Barneveldt and the foreign ministers laboured with so much zeal and avidity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armistice, and send deputies to confer with the French and English ambassadors at Antwerp. Here it was the great point was gained, of again renewing the conferences with the states-general of the United Provinces, then assembled at Bergen-op-Zoom. In the end, the conferences were removed to the Hague; and, after subduing infinite obstructions, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the ninth of April, ratified on the fourteenth, then published in all the towns of the Netherlands, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, especially of the Spanish provinces. In the first article of the treaty, the archduke, in his own, and the king of Spain’s name, acknowledged the United Provinces, renounced all claim to sovereignty over them, but in such general terms as would admit of alteration. In the second a truce for twelve years, by sea and land, through all the dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in possession of what they now held, without cession or exchange. In the fourth a general amnesty was stipulated, and full freedom of trade by sea and land to each other dominions granted. This necessarily implied a cession of fortifications in the Indies; however, great debates afterwards arose upon this account. Spain observing the rapid progress of the Hollanders in the India trade, apprehended they would soon become too powerful in that quarter; and the Dutch were willing to maintain the advantage of their superiority. Both, for this reason, disputed the article; yet it could not be set aside without destroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the subjects of the archduke and the states, trading to each other’s dominions, which were to be on the same footing with those of other nations. The archduke used his utmost endeavours to have the duties at Lillo, on the Scheld, abolished, and the commerce of Antwerp restored to its former grandeur; but this was so diametrically opposite to the interest of the Hollanders, that it was impossible it should ever take place. The sixth and seventh articles likewise regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unnecessary to dwell on particulars; sufficient it is, that the truce was mutually beneficial, Spain being no longer in condition to support the war, and the Hollanders having obtained the end of all their desperate resistance and invincible perseverance in the cause of liberty. Philip of Nassau was of all men the greatest gainer by the truce; as, in consequence, he entered into possession of all his paternal estates in the Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy, while the states rewarded the faithful services of Maurice with a pension of twenty-five thousand florins, to be paid annually out of the public treasury, besides an appointment of sixty-thousand francs as governor-general. Penions were likewise settled on the other princes of the house of Nassau: all were gratified in a manner that demonstrated the high fende the republic had of their merit, though they might possibly be disappointed in their great design of raising prince Maurice to sovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almost totally extinguished every spark of freedom and the protestant religion in the Seven United Provinces. The fortune of the states on this occasion admirably displays how courage, conduct, and perseverance, however baffled and disappointed, will, in the end, rise superior to misfortune, and triumph over every adversary.

A. D. 1609.
The conferences renewed, and the truce concluded.

S E C T;
S C A R C E had the United Provinces tasted the sweets of liberty and peace, when religious disputes arose, to blight the felicity procured by obstinate valour and invincible resolution. James Arminius of Oudewater, in the province of Holland, first a minister of the gospel at Amsterdam, and afterwards at Leyden, gave birth to a new sect, called after his own name, whose principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a supreme being. The sect was, however, in his time first distinguished, and his disciples stigmatized as defectors from the followers of Calvin. They affected free-agency; they spoke ambiguously of God’s predestination; they deemed the doctrine of the Trinity not essential to salvation; many of them affirmed that the scripture requires no adoration of the Holy Ghost; and, all that Jesus is not equal to God the father: in a word, they regarded the creed of St. Athanasius as the unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehensible mystery. The sect tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in Holland, the other protestant provinces, and in Germany; but they had not been publicly taught from the professorial chair before the elevation of Arminius to that office. Most divines who had received their education at Geneva, or in the Palatinate, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predestination; a violent contest arose between the parties; synods and religious conferences were held in divers places; the states interposed, and the chief persons of the republic espoused either Arminius or Gomarus, who were the leaders of these factions; for such in reality they ought to be esteemed. Religion was only the pretext; policy was the source of those impure and bitter invectives poured out on both sides. The prince of Orange and Barneveldt seized this opportunity of venting their mutual animosity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the pensioner acquired from accomplishing the truce with the archduke, in defiance of all the endeavours of the house of Nassau. In all controversies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in dispute; it is particularly so in religious contests, where probably both parties are reasoning upon what exceeds the limits of their understanding. The smallest deviation leads into a greater, and at last the disputants end in something which has not the smallest relation to the first subject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obscur divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading personages in the provinces, and laid the first conception of a humour that has ever since remained lurking in the constitution of the state, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that division and discord, which will probably terminate one day in the total subversion of the republic. It would be impossible to exhibit a just idea of these disputes, without running into theological disquisitions, equally fruitless to a reader, and inconsistent with historical narration. Sufficient it is, that neither party was convinced, though the necessities of the state made them so for some time silent; and that the Arminians, though least numerous, were, however, extremely formidable, on account of the weight, influence, and ability of their leaders.

With respect to civil affairs, the object of greatest consequence was, to push with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to Holland and Zealand. With this view the states ordered that one hundred and fifty Moors, taken on board Spanish captures, should be returned without ransom, and presented to the emperor of Morocco, in consideration of the civilities flown by that prince to Hemskirk’s fleet some years before; and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ships of war were accordingly sent under captain Hermanen to the coasts of Africa, having on board the Moors prisoners, and a present of some black cattle from prince Maurice to the emperor. The presents were well received; all the immunities required, granted; and a proposition made of declaring war jointly against the king of Spain, which the Dutch civilly declined, urging in excuse the late truce. This proposal was made by an alcaide, who returned with the fleet to Holland. The Moors, envoy, perceiving the states were averse to war, offered to take part of their fleet into pay; but this was likewise refused, and, to qualify his disappointment, the ambassador was loaded with presents, and diffused with the strongest protestations of respect and veneration for his master.

a METEBAEE, lib. xxii.  LE CLERC, lib. ix.
or Republic of Holland.

The next year was ushered in by an event which had almost frustrated the intention of the late treaty with Spain and the archduke, and involved in a fresh war all the provinces of the Netherlands. Prince Joost William duke of Cleves and Juliers, dying without issue, his dominions devolved upon his sisters, in whose right the elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Newburgh, demanded the succession. Several other competitors likewise appeared; but these were the chief. The elector applied to the French king and the Dutch, to support his pretensions; the duke of Newburgh to the king of Spain and the archduke. At first the contention lay between the house of Sasseny on the one side; and the houses of Brandenburg and Newburgh on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjust the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitless. The archduke, newly re-springing after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himself in fresh disputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his interest to provide that the Dutch should take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of afflicting the elector of Brandenburg, seize upon those places in the disputed territory which lay most convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the dispute, but Henry IV. did not chuse that the house of Austria should have any ascension of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the house of Saxony; and the reaffirmation of Henry, by Revaillaci, happened before that monarch had taken any measures to oppose the imperial verdict. Still the court of France espoused the princes, and encouraged the states general to undertake the siege of Juliers, to which they were solicited by the elector of Brandenburg. Dutch writers allege, that the states determined upon this measure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infradiction of the truce; but they were compelled to it by Maurice, whose warlike, ambitious mind eagerly sought a rupture, or at least a war, in which his talents shone with such lustre. Accordingly, with fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, he travelled Spanish Gueldersen without offering the smallest violence to the inhabitants, the subjects of the archduke; and late down before Juliers. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the second day of September, and was garrisoned by Dutch forces, under the pretence it should be sequestered in the hands of the states until the dispute might be finally decided. Albert regarded this transaction as an infradiction of the truce. He perceived that the states, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions.

He therefore determined to venture the whole state of Flanders rather than suffer such an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with as free and sovereign; a middle distinction made in the late treaty, by way of salvo to the pride of the court of Spain. He first demanded solemn restitution of the town of Juliers, in the name of the duke of Newburgh; but obtaining only shuffling dilatory answers, an army was assembled under Spinola. As the states had strongly garrisoned their late acquisition, they were under no apprehensions about the deification of this army, not doubting but it was intended against Juliers; in which the archduke would find himself disappointed. The matterly conduct, however, of Spinola threw the provinces into the utmost consternation. After approaching within sight of Juliers, he wheeled round suddenly, marched to Wieland, and took it before the Dutch army could come to its relief. This town was strong by nature and art; it was claimed by the duke of Brandenburg, as a dependency on the duchy of Cleves, but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the states general. Not least affronted that awed by the success of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invasion of the provinces, the Dutch applied to the mediation of England and France, and at last accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject concessions than they had ever before made in their most adverse circumstances. By this one spirited broke, Albert regained the reputation lost from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the states were justly chastised and mortified for that insolent carriage shewn towards sovereign princes, and crowned heads, once their masters.

The appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controversy in the United Provinces. No sooner was the truce re-established, than the civil divisions broke out with redoubled strength and vehemence. The Gomarists renewed their perfecution of the Arminian dissenters; they were pulfified on the house of Orange, sometimes protected by the states, and opposed chiefly by Barneveldt, Grotius, Vossius, the learned in general, and the magistrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. Arminius, on his first elevation to the professorship, behaved with the utmost moderation; he scrupulously avoided giving offence, but was, in course of lecturing, forced

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 6 H
to advance opinions which roufed the indignation of the Gomariffis, who watched the opportunity of refuming the disputes. His doctrines were opposed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The beft pens in Holland, or indeed in Europe, were employed in his vindication. Grorius and Volfius both embarked deeply in the cause; and the Leyden professor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconsiderable member. In some towns the Arminian clergy were imprisoned or expelled, in others the Gomariffis. Synods met in all the provinces, public difputations were maintained, and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The suppression of the clergy naturally led to an enquiry into the rights and powers of the magiftrates, this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or flatholders of the feveral provinces, and that into the sovereign right of the provincial states and states general. A question purely speculative became now a matter of the utmost confequence to liberty. The Arminians were represented as secret friends to Spain, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were inflamed, prince Maurice was raifed to a greater height of popularity than he ever before obtained, and being at the head of the army, and supported by the multitude, he ventured upon fome bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magiftrates of cities at pleaure, fo as to obtain a majority in the provincial states, and consequently in the states general. The first contefted election of magiftrates was at Leuwaerd in Frijelant, where the magiftrates, legally chosen, were depofed, and supplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at Utrecht, where the divifions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomasters were disliked, and complaints were made of their assuming an authority inconfluent with the laws; promises of speedy redrefs were given; but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomasters usurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and infifted upon the free exercise of their religion, though expressly prohibited by the union of Utrecht, in which all other opinions besides are licenced. As the violence of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince Maurice, attended by deputies from the fates general, repaired to Utrecht, in order to reftore the tranquillity of the city; but, instead of meeting with the refpect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was grofsly insulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This determined the states general to assemble at Woerde, and to summoned the provincial fates of Utrecht and prince Maurice before them. After long deliberation, no remedies adequate to the difafe, could be found; the fates of Utrecht were therefore dislimified, with a ferious exhortation to apply themselves vigorously to the suppreffion of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the destruction of all government, unlefs fafely prevented. It is difcult to find the caufe of the commotions in Utrecht; they would seem to be a confequence of the original difpute between Arminius and Gomar; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controversy, had changed opinions; and Maurice was influfed by the very populace by whom he was admired. 

When the provincial fates of Utrecht returned, they reported the cenfures passed on their conduct by the fates general; which so enraged the populace, that, flying to arms, they committed a thousand disorders, rioted about, and rafed fuch tumults as the new magiftrates could not appeafe. Upon this the burghers were ordered to fend four deputies to attend the fates at the Hague, with the fubmiffion of the inhabitants of Utrecht. It was added, that if they preferred the fates should fit rather at Utrecht than the Hague, their inclination should be gratified, provided the garrison was reinforced with four more companies of soldiers, to suppress disorders, and protect the assembly againft insulfs. All these admonitions and conciliations produced no effect. The Utrechters remained obfinate, and the fates talked of laying fiegel to the city. Previous, however, to violent measures, they published a cuflar letter, addreffed to all the provincial fates of the union, acquainting them of the transactions at Utrecht, and requiring their advice and affiftance. Meanwhile a body of forces had orders to file off towards Utrecht. At first the magiftrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the fates would never push matters to extremities; but they no sooner beheld the city almost completely invested, than they changed their tone, and befought the magiftrates of Amsterdam to interpose as mediators. In confequence, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the Utrechters were punished, by depofing the new magiftrates, and reforing those who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effuion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the safety of the communifh, had not the government acted with great spirit and resolution.
or Republic of Holland.

With respect to the clergy, their disputes became purely political. It was debated, whether the sovereign authority might interpose in ecclesiastical affairs? Whether the clergy might not, in conscience, be under the necessity of preaching doctrines contrary to the legislative power? Whether the sovereign authority has power to assemble the clergy, and to chuse the members of the assembly? Whether the ecclesiastical synods are subject to the sovereign power? and, admitting they are, whether by that means the sovereign is not made arbitrary over the consciences of the subject? The parties came to be distinguished by the apppellations of Remonstrants; and Contra-Remonstrants. Libels, pamphlets, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their spirits. At Utrecht factions were renewed; and it was visible the people only watched an opportunity to subvert the government, and restore their own favourites to the magistracy. This induced the states general to invest the council of state with authority to exact a fresh oath of fidelity from the magistrates, burgheers, and other inhabitants. The populace were now exasperated to the highest pitch. They knew themselves guilty of sedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining possession of the garrison commanded by the chevalier Ogé, appointed to that trust by prince Ernst of Nassau; Canter and Hoësurgen, the persons raised to the magistracy in the late tumults, entered into the conspiracy; and all bound themselves by an oath to secrecy and fidelity to their engagements. By some means, however, their design was frustrated; some of the conspirators were seized, put to the torture, and an ample discovery obtained. The two chiefs were banished for life, and forbad, at the peril of their lives, ever setting foot in the United Provinces. Several of the conspirators were condemned to death; but afterwards reprieved, and pardoned.

As the controversy could never be decided by arguments; where each party built upon the authority of the sacred writings, the contra-remonstrants solicited the states general for a national synod to sit under the direction of the states; they granted the request, as the most probable method of terminating disputes; but were opposed by the provincial states of Holland and Utrecht. Thus, not only the ecclesiastical, but the civil government was divided. Barneveldt saw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by proposing certain ecclesiastical laws to be confirmed by the states. This scheme was projected several years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the states of Holland, but rejected by others, until the religious controversy should be first decided. Whatever was done before this event, would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. Barneveldt, however, meant to silence all dissipation by the force of laws; but this was contrary to the interest and views of the Orange faction, who made a handle of the proposal, to the prejudice of that great statesman and patriot. He was accused of dangerous designs upon religion; notwithstanding which he carried his point in the province of Utrecht, and was in a fair way of subduing the rage of faction. At Rotterdam matters went otherwise. One Gijelius, a violent contra-remonstrant, stirred up the people by his sedulous harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonstrants; he was admonished to moderate by the magistrates; but in vain. He was exhorted to hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromise their differences amicably, but to no purpose; he refused to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magistrates published a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonstrants were the authors of those factions which disturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies published against the clergy. At last it became necessary to expel Gijelius. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the jurisdiction of Rotterdam. This was called persecution, the notion of which is attended with the worst consequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magistrates to order Gijelius immediately to quit the city. He refused to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiously led through the public streets by a bailliiff. The Orange party made an excellent handle of this circumstance. They exclaimed, that liberty was at an end; that the magistrates usurped a power altogether unconstitutional; and asserted, that the remonstrants were in the interest of the Jesuits, and conspiring again to subjugate their country to the Spanishe tyranny. However absurd the accusation might appear to all judicious persons, it was so artfully propagated as to gain credit.

Maurier, a French writer of credit, then resident in Holland, relates, that so convinced was the prince of Orange of the ambitious designs entertained by prince Maurice, that he even alleges, that

*Brandt, lib. xxv. Utemb, p. 4.*
The history of the United Provinces,

the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain Barneveldt to his purpose, assured that the content of this honest patriot would easily pave the way to sovereignty. He further relates, that the princes conferred Barneveldt, used all her influence with him, and received for answer, that nothing could be more consonant to his wishes than the glory and elevation of the house of Orange, could this be obtained comfortably with the liberty of his country. Barneveldt then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which must necessarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and possiblly of the commonwealth. In a word, he spoke with so much force, energy, and pathos, that he entirely overcame the princes, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid stickler for liberty, and persuaded her to exert all her influence to induce Maurice to lay aside his purpose, and heal up those divisions in church and state, which could never produce any other effect than the destruction of all parties.

MAURICE, notwithstanding, affected to abstain himself entirely from the ecclesiastical disputes. When Barneveldt told him, that faction ran so high that the states of Holland must have recourse to him to assist their authority, he pretended aloofness, and declared his aversion to meddle in these matters. However, Barneveldt had too much discernment not to fathom his private sentiments; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the conversation about the remonstrants. The pensioner proposed, that the states general should be moved to grant a general toleration, with respect to the disputed points; and that the clergy of each side, who were suspended, should be restored to their functions. To this proposition the prince, in appearance, consented; and it was accordingly decreed by the states, assembled at the Hague, in the year 1616, that every violation of such general toleration as contributed to the public tranquillity, should be punished in the most effectual manner by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was further decreed, that if any fresh disputes should arise upon points hitherto uncontroversial, they should be decided by a majority in the provincial or national synods. These resolutions were, however, opposed by the deputies of the cities; viz. Rotterdam, the Bree, the Hague, Breda, and a variety of towns, where the people declared, they could not, with a safe conscience, hear doctrines openly preached, which must give offence to every sincere Christian. It was not considered, that Jews, Armenians, and Mohammedans, were permitted the free exercise of their several religions in Holland. Still, however, the states pursued their first resolution, though they relaxed a little in favour of the deputies, on condition they would not suffer persons within their jurisdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppressed. In the end, the deputies were dismissed, with an exhortation to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to abstain with all their influence in restoring public tranquillity, which could be no great difficulty, considering that both parties were of the same religion, had the same form of worship, the same public ceremonies, the same manner of exposing vice and cherishing virtue, and differed only in a few points of little consequence to salvation, or indeed to society.

The excellent design of the states was, however, considerably obstructed by the pride and conceit of the theologians, who would not admit that any part of their system was capable of amendment; and by the secret endeavours of the Orange faction to lessen the influence, and blight the character of Barneveldt, as well as to diminish the authority of the provincial states of Holland. This purpose could not be accomplished but under the mask of liberty and religion, which ever work powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, who least understand them or enjoy their benefit. The nobles and magistrates of Holland were attacked in public writings; and Barneveldt, in particular, after forty years faithful service, was labelled as a traitor to his country. He had frequently represented this abuse of liberty to the states; but the point was delicate: laying any restraint on the press would enslave the minds of the people, and afford the fairest opportunity of declining against the government; to the fomenters of sedition. Barneveldt now gave a draught of his plan for suppressing libels and inflammatory publications; but it was strongly opposed by the magistrates of Amsterdam, notwithstanding their conduct was the subject of the keenest faithes and pasquinades which had yet appeared. They gave no reason for their opposition, only that they did not approve of renewing laws which had been repealed after mature deliberation. Nevertheless, in the following year, Barneveldt so far prevailed, that the ordinance was published, though it was never put in force, or received by the states of other towns.

Such was the state of parties, that the remonstrants were obliged to meet privately in some towns, and the contra-remonstrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to

or Republic of Holland.

be most powerful, they seized on the churches, and excluded their opponents. At Amsterdam the remonstrants were weakest; but hearing that the states had in other cities granted the use of churches to the contra-remonstrants, upon their petitioning, they wrote to Leyden for a minister of their sect to preach the gospel in Amsterdam. One Remonstrant Bishop was sent; and, on his arrival, the reformists met in a private house, to hear divine service, and perform their devotions. Finding the place too small for their numbers, they hired a large warehouse belonging to a merchant; their opponents complained to the magistrates of their illegal assemblies; but obtaining no redress, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, during public worship, broke the windows, forced the doors, abused the minister, and threatened the lives of the audience. The remonstrants now, in their turn, complained to the magistrates, and demanded justice and protection; but they were answered, that the best method to secure themselves would be to avoid such meetings as incurred the resentment of their fellow-citizens. What encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made the magistrates remiss in the discharge of their duty, was, that Prince Maurice had, about this time, declared in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and defined that a clergyman of their principles might be sent to preach in the French chapel at the Hague. The remonstrants were now afraid to assemble; they petitioned the magistrates for the same protection granted to other sects; they pleaded the toleration-edict, but obtained no satisfactory answer, though the magistrates were too cautious absolutely to deny their petition. At last they had recourse to the states; but the apprehension of involving themselves in disputes with the magistrates, obliged the states to shift off the matter, by recommending the petitioners to the burgomasters of Amsterdam.

Not only the open declaration of Prince Maurice, but the conduct of Dudley Carlton, the British ambassador, encouraged the contra-remonstrants to proceed in a higher strain. They now threw off all respect for the states of Holland, and Barneveld was grossly insulted in the assembly, by a person greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confusion, and all moderate persons dreaded that anomaly and the dissolution of the government must ensue. The states were reduced to the necessity of impairing the prince's protection, which he artfully withheld, under various pretexts. He even issued several orders to prevent the troops from afflicting the magistrates in queulling tumults and suppressing seditions. This induced Barneveld to labour diligently in keeping the states assembled, as the only means of preserving the constitution. At last the magistrates of the several towns, seeing they could expect no assistance from the military power to enforce the laws, resolved to augment the garrisons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as Grotius demonstrates. They communicated their intention to the prince; he was displeased, alledging it was an encroachement upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the Hague in the night, and left out for the Brille, where he introduced two companies of soldiers in despite of all the remonstrances of the magistrates. He had not acquiesced the council of state with his resolution, which gave great offence to that assembly, as it was an established custom with the governors to take their leave in form. Maurice, however, disregarded their sentiments; he had now thrown off the mask, and resolution was necessary to obtain a majority in the states, by changing the magistrates in the cities.

Advice of the transaction at Brille soon arrived at Leyden; and the magistrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a similar visit, assembled the chief burgheers, and formed the resolution, that, in case the prince should approach the city, a deputation should meet him, to request he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The same resolution was taken by the magistrates of Haarlem, Tergoen, and Woerden; but Maurice had by this time gained poiseion of Delft and Scheidam. Thence he sent circular letters to the cities of the province of Holland, justifying his conduct; but they were not received by the magistrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purposes while Barneveld's interest was so considerible; nor could this be diminished but by obtaining a majority in the states, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of Holland, he made trial of his authority at Nimoguen, where, during the war, he retained the power of changing the magistrates at pleasure. Here he deposed three of the chief magistrates, who espoused Barneveld, and favoured the remonstrants. The disgraced magistrates threw themselves under the protection of the populace.
The history of the United Provinces,

...protection of the states of Holland, and implored their assistance. Their request was granted, and the states immediately wrote to the states of Guelderland; but the city of Amsterdam, and some other places, interposed, and refused to suffer the letter to pass in the name of the states of Holland, because their deputies had opposed the contents.

After this transaction Maurice went to the states of Guelderland, informed them of what he had done at Nieupoort, and received their thanks and applause. Here his influence carried everything; he exhorted the states to assist him in supporting the authority of the states general against the encroachments of the provincial states, and curbing the insolence of the city-magistrates, who had the presumption to raise troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the destruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the states of Guelderland charged their deputies to the states general, to represent the prince's resolution to support their authority; but it appears that neither Maurice, nor the states, entertained a just idea of the nature of the government, or understood the laws of their country: The power assumed, in quality of governor, was by no means consistent with the liberty of the cities, which, for time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magistrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of these privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raise suspicions in the breach of every friend of liberty and his country. As to Barneveldt, he was too much affected with the public disturbances, too anxious and foppish about the fate of the republic, and too diligent in opposing the ambitious purposes of prince Maurice, that he was seized with a fever, which had almost deprived Holland of her most faithful and able minister. On his return to the states, perceiving he could not stem the torrent, and that the prince would one day requite his whole vengeance upon his head, he defied leave to resign the office of penitent, and retire into private life, where he might at least freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after foiling the whole power of the Spanish monarchy to enslave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

The great point now in debate was, whether a national synod should be held? Maurice attended the states at Overijssel, and there strongly recommended a measure which alone, he said, could terminate the disputes of the clergy: his speech, however, was regarded as a snare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by stratagem or open force. Of this the deputies of Haarlem spoke freely, at the next assembly of the states of Holland. They were the first who ventured to declare their suspicions, and their resolution to support the states against all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the states of Holland, to which their deputies demanded an immediate answer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjusting the contingents for supporting the expence of the government for the current year. Haarlem demanded that all the cities in arrear should make up their accounts before demands were made on those who had already advanced their proportions. At length those new disputes were wholly terminated by the prudence, the equity, and ability of Barneveldt. Something was likewise due to the spirit and good sense of Maurice, the French ambassador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, Maurice told the states, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re-establishing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general decision of their differences, or a compromise, in which both sides must relax. As to the first, no man, he urged, of understanding and honesty would recommend it; the second was attended with a thousand difficulties, which must arise in course of debate, where both sides were too much heated and enflamed to reason dispassionately; the last, in his opinion, was the only probable measure: a general toleration, until some better expedient could be found, would in the mean time disarm faction, and frustrate the schemes of those men whose ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

Though the disputes in the states of Holland yielded to the remedies applied by Barneveldt and Maurice, it was otherwise with the provinces in general. Maurice remained firm in his sentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too useful to dfeach his purposes. He secured the English minister in his interest, and, with all the contra-remonstrants, demanded a national synod, as the only effectual application to a disease which must soon destroy the constitution. Upon Barneveldt's opposing this measure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day published; and that great man was forced to have recourse to the justification of a conduct which merited the highest applause and deepest gratitude from his country. He published a remonstrance, in which he recited the particulars...

---

b Brandt. ibid. Consil. de Reideran. lib. xxvi.
particular s of his birth, services, and education; the cause of the present disorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole mass of humours. Corollary applications, he said, were unadvisable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without answering any of the indications, or touching the seat of the disease: such were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the fairest characters, and ruin those perons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of saving the commonwealth. He desired it might be considered, that the excessive malice and rancour contained in those writings could not be altogether levelled against him; they must have a deeper design; that of destroying the other faithful servants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very shadow of liberty, and a republican government. The virulence, the calumny, and bare-faced falsehood of the writers, evidently demonstrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their sentiments, respecting the establishment, and made no scruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence there was a necessity to use compulsion in chusing the magistrates: Were their professions of zeal for religion, and their country, sincere, they might have pursued methods more honourable, and consistent with the true spirit of devotion and patriotism; but it was much easier to propagate calumnies, than to prove facts; bold assertions were sufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their passions were influenced, it was not necessary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending christian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and disputed only about speculative points unessential to religion. He laid before the states, an account of the public expense, besought them to contribute unanimously to the supplies wanted for the ensuing year; and then addressing himself to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, exhorted them to use their utmost efforts with their constituents, to remove every obstruction to the peace, and restore the unani-mity and felicity of the commonwealth.

A.D. 1617.

An air of simplicity and candour, of good fense, and public zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extensive knowledge, powerfully recommended this performance to every sincere patriot: it was, however, attacked with all possible marks of inveterate rancour, the author was loaded with abuse and obloquy, and even the states attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not pass unnoticed. Accordingly they offered a reward for the discovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took Bernewielt under their immediate protection. They were supported by the towns of Haerlem, Leyden, Rotterdam, the Brille, Schoonhoven, &c. By these instructions were given to their deputies, to represent at the next assembly of the states, the necessity of taking measures for preserving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promising to indemnify the deputies, and support them with all their strength and influence. In consequence the states remonstrated with prince Maurice, on the present situation of affairs; they represented, that certain persons, meaning himself and the Orange faction, had, contrary to justice, and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of Holland; that his highness was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a stadtholder, which chiefly consisted in maintaining the sovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the states were bound, in consequence of their oath, to preserve the government, and of their respect for the house of Orange, to support the magistrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, against all oppression. They exhorted him therefore to affix their laudable endeavours; to use his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the states in ecclesiastical matters; to join with them in the most efficacious methods of terminating those obstacles, which occasioned so much grief to every sincere patriot; to protect in particular the province of Holland, against the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to desist from demanding a national synod, fo contrary to the express meaning of the treaty of Utrecht; to prevent the courts of justice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the resolutions of the states; to oblige them to confine themselves within the limits of their instructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the states or cities; not to oppose the antient right of the cities, to provide for their own security by levying guards and garrisons, when the forces of the state were insufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the states; the council of war, and the magistrates of those towns where they should happen to be quartered. They likewise requested that his highness would not attempt to Garrison towns, or interfere in the elections of magistrates, with-

* Grot. Apol. cap xx,
The history of the United Provinces,

cut the consent of the states and council of war; that he would bestow no military pre-
ferments, and neither augment nor diminish the garrisons, without previously acquainting
them; and lastly, they earnestly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counsellors,
who sought to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their country, and only regarded
the republic and the Orange family, as the means of their own elevation; but always rely
on the advice of the states, who regarded his honour and interest of their country. This
method his father, the late prince of Orange of glorious memory, always followed, and
he constantly met with the warmest returns of gratitude, secured the liberties of the pro-
vinces, and raised them from an oppressed, infatuated, despotic people, to a powerful,
formidable, and free republic. The measures here pointed out, were no less necessary,
they said, to the good of the public, than for the security of individuals. They could not
by any means allow the smallest violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by
oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they said, to die honourably,
than to survive the loss of those blessings which their ancestors and themselves purchased
at the exorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they asserted, that if they were
properly affected by the influence and power of the stadtholder, they would undertake speedily
to subdue all controversies which affected the public tranquility, close up those wounds,
which by habit would become incurable, restore order, discipline, and regularity to the
state, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their several proportions, for the sup-
port of the government and common cause.

History does not inform us what reply Maurice made to this remonstrance; we are
only told that he was greatly shocked, but not moved to the purposes of the states, or
convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he assembled a great number of divines
of his own faction, at Amsterdam, to asssist the magistrates in drawing up reasons, to con-
vince the states of the necessity of a national synod. This with another writing were pre-
pared, and clearly refuted by Grotius, who was too close, clear, and learned for his an-
tagonists. It was at length proposed by the council of state, that three theologians from
each province, should meet to adjust the conditions of a mutual toleration; and that if they
could come to no agreement in the space of a month, the protestant clergy of Germany,
France, England, and Switzerland, should be invited to their assistance. The proposal
was approved by a majority of voices in the states; but Amsterdam, and the deputies of
some other cities, opposed the resolution, and started a variety of objections. They were
eager for a national synod, in which they were strongly supported by the provinces of Zee-
land, Groningen, Friesland, the Ommelands, and prince Maurice. This division among the
cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and the terror of Maur-
rice in his military capacity, entirely destroyed the authority of the states of Holland, and
rendered them incapable of protecting their moderate designs. Still, however, the coun-
cil of state continued to urge their propositions, declaring null and void all
that had been transacted in favour of a national synod. The council became
now more than ever affected to the states, from the affront given them by the prince's
departure to the Brilli, without their consent or knowledge. The breach with
the council of state considerably diminished the interest of Maurice, but it did not re-
tard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, besides a variety of cities and towns,
he expected to surmount all opposition, and to effect full alterations in the constitution,
as would infallibly raise him to the sovereignty of the provinces. He made no scruple of
declaring that augmenting the garrisons, suppressing tumults by a military force, in a
word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the gover-
nor, were in themselves acts of rebellion. The truth was, this guard was an obstruction
to his design of changing the magistrates. The city of Utrecht insinuated upon an exertion
of this privilege handed down for time immemorial; but to avoid altercation, the mag-
istrates first sent deputies to confer with the prince and the states-general. Barneveldt,
in the name of the states of Holland, had an audience upon the same subject; but all his ar-
guments could not prevail with Maurice, to suffer the garrisons to be under the direction
of the magistrates, or to relinquish his project for retrenching the privileges of the cities.

Soon after these conferences, Maurice repaired to Utrecht, attended by three deputies
from the states-general. He was received with great marks of distinction, and the
burgers were ordered to appear under arms. The magistrates and clergy waited upon
him with compliments; and to the latter he said, that his intention was to restore
the public tranquillity, by assembling a national synod, when all the controverted points should
be canvassed, and their disputes finally decided. The reply was, that nothing could be
expected from such an ecclesiastical court, where the parties were to sit in judgment, but

Republic of Holland.

a alteration, debate, and confusion; they therefore intreated him to lay aside the project, as dangerous, and at all events inadequate. Notwithstanding this repulse from the clergy, Maurice proposed to the provincial states of Utrecht, the disbanding of the new levied garrisons, and the convocation of a general synod. The proposition being communicated to the deputies of Holland, they waited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to the repose of the provinces, to support the privileges of the towns, and to protect the public tranquillity, taking not the smallest notice of their suspicions, that he was labouring to overthrow the constitution, and execute designs very opposite to their request. Maurice was more sincere: he plainly gave the deputies to understand, that their arrival in Utrecht was by no means agreeable. However, they held conferences with the states; after which

b the prince was told, that the guards raised by the magistrates were perfectly constitutional; and with respect to religion, that a national synod could not be convoked without detriment to the privileges of the provincial states, who were supreme within the jurisdiction of the province. After several fruitless negotiations, held upon the supposition the prince did not venture upon any alterations without authority, at last his design was discovered, and the states, unable to oppose, determined to connive at his measures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had rescued the provinces from the tyranny of the Spaniards. Before the blow was struck, the members of the states, with Ledemburg the secretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the Hague, there to expect the issue. Already Maurice had occupied the principal avenues leading to Utrecht, which he lined with soldiers. When he had assembled a sufficient force, he ordered the new levies raised by the magistrates to appear, upon which he released them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and disbanded the whole garrison. Groessis affirms, he had no authority for this proceeding, that the power was entirely in the provincial states, and that Maurice had considered their silence, their inability to appease him, and their abrupt departure, into an atten of his measures. Afterwards he went to the town-house, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by those new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotism. This was all the apology he offered for the grossest violation of the privileges of the city and province. He would pass himself for the protector of the church and state; and indeed his conduct was so specious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who strenuously pressed him to assume the sovereignty.

c Next he procured a few of the burghers to accuse the present magistrates of abusing their office. This was sufficient reason for deposing them, and substituting in their room the friends of Maurice, and the contra-remonstrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magistrates, and to appoint a perpetual, instead of an annual council. All the remonstrants were turned out of their places. Ledemburg, secretary to the states, was forced to resign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the house of Orange, after he had for thirty years served the public with unblemished integrity. A variety of alterations were besides made in the other several departments of the state; even the clergy were deprived of their fipend, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them the province of Utrecht. The contra-remonstrants, encouraged by these favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church then possessed by the remonstrants. Taurin the minister, refused to comply; but he was soon obliged to take sanctuary under the wing of Ledemburg, with whom he retired to the Hague. Upon the secretary's being arrested a few days afterwards, Taurin escaped to Antwerp, to avoid the same fate.

d About this time, by order of his master the French king, Maurice the French ambassador demanded an audience of the states-general. He represented in lively colours, the approach disolution of the government, owing to the violence of faction, at a time when the expiration of the truce with Spain ought to make every part of the state unanimous. He threw out some reflections on the violence offered to the liberties of the cities, and said, that the provinces had wantonly lavished feas of blood, in refuting the tyranny of the house of Austria, if they were now to be enslaved by a faction of their own subjects. He recommended harmony in church and state, and exhorted the states-general to exert with vigour the power lodged in their hands by the constitution. The states, conscious of their inability, but ashamed to acknowledge their weakness, seemed embarrassed for an answer. Having no other reply, they thanked the king, told the ambassador the danger was not so great as he apprehended, and that they would take the most effectual measures to restore peace, concord, and regularity.

The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 1618.

Prince Maurice having terminated matters to his wish at Utrecht, set out for the Hague, where he made report of the late transact, and received the thanks of the deputys of the four provinces in his interest. The deputies of Holland were likewise authorized to prevail on the cities to disband the new levied guards; but it was obvious from their answer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infradiction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the least tumult would furnish a pretext for similar trepassses in the constitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the states-general, by rendering himself absolute in the cities, and of consequence in the provincial states. They concluded with saying, they would report the prince's request to their constituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of Holland might be left in the full exercise of their privileges; but they were served in a similar manner with those of Utrecht; and even the cities in the prince's interest were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to shew his impartiality. It was not possible indeed to ward off the blow, because the stadtholder had the army at command, and the states of Holland were wholly disarmed. Besides, he took his measures with such prudence and art, as seem even to have deceived Barneveldt himself. At the very time Maurice was projecting his fall, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very considerable employments. The penioner's son was created master of the dykes and forests, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger son of Barneveldt, he gave the government of Bergen-op-Zoom, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the United Provinces. At last, the artifice, the power, and address of Maurice, rendered his party every where superior. He gained over to his interest Francis Aeryens, son of Cornelius Aeryens secretary of state, and long ambassador at the court of France. The violence, the ability, and vigour of Aeryens, quickened the measures of the prince. His aspiring ambition scrupled no action which could promote his interest; pecuniarily bold, and detestably eloquent, he converted the noblest qualities to the worst purposes, ruined his country, oppressed innocence, and sacrificed patriotism, at the shrine of those ill-fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and strongest barrier of the commonwealth. Aeryens stimulated Maurice to what he was before inclined. To his counsel may be attributed the solemn synod assembled in the month of November at Dordrecht, to which the states general, the provincial states of the Seven Provinces, the kings of England and France, the elector palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, the cities of Bremen, Verden, Geneva, and the protestant cantons of Switzerland, dispatched their ambassadors and deputies. Thither the Arminian party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they disagreed from the established church.

Barneveldt and the remonstrants had long avoided this blow, under pretense that a general synod was a trepass on the privileges of the provincial states. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people if they appeared; and if they refused to obey the citations, to expose them as public incendiaries, the friends of Spain, popery and slavery. The remonstrants refused to attend the synod; at last they published a long writing, in which they explained the chief points of their doctrine, protested against the synod, and exhibited their reasons for refusing to appear in their own defense, before judges who were actually parties in the dispute. Accordingly their opinions were solemnly condemned, and the remonstrants were stigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the established religion, and attributed to the Belgian church other sentiments than those it really professed. Aeryens wrote several pieces against Barneveldt, in which he boldly charged him with these designs. He was a spirited, ardent, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity, they made a deep impression on the minds of the people, and so far influenced their passions, that Maurice resolved, before the public ardour cooled, to seize upon Barneveldt, Grotenhuis, Heygemborts, and other leaders of the Arminian party, whom he imprisoned in the castle of Loevenhain, whence that faction has ever since bowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long services, the moderation and patriotism of Barneveldt, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allegations of the leaders of the Arminians imprisoned.

(A) In this confinement the learned Grotin remained for several years, when at length he made his escape, through the courage, the affection, and address of his wife Reigersberg. This lady had obtained leave to send large boxes of books to her husband, and to visit him in prison, which furnished her with a hint for his escape. She persuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his house. He was carried out by the guards, without suspicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of her burden; he escaped to the Spanish Netherlands, passed from thence into France, where he was well received by the king. At last he was employed by Christina queen of Sweden, that liberal proteéteur of merit, and died at Reischach, in the duchy of Merklenburg, in the year 1645 (1).

(1) See his life.
tions of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. **Maurice** procured an order of the states-general for his imprisonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the states; notwithstanding which, this order was signed only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince’s interest. **Barneveldt** was accused of being the author of the disturbances at **Utrecht**, and of harbouring designs destructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the states-general, condemned to death by the most iniquitous sentence, and deprived of his life on a public scaffold, by the same blow which ruined the character of prince **Maurice**, and withered with the ardour of ambition those laurels acquired by long and important services (B). He lost his popularity and the affections of the people, when he hoped to obtain the love of the people. Instead of being adored as a hero, he was detested as a tyrant. As he passed through the cities, nothing but murmurs and the name of **Barneveldt** could be heard, where formerly **Maurice** was received as the guardian and protector of his country. In a word, the death of **Barneveldt** laid the foundation of a conspiracy against the life of the prince, which was discovered only a few hours before the time appointed for its execution. The design was projected by **Stanleyburgh**, governor of **Bergen-op-Zoom**, who, with his accomplices, fell a sacrifice to patriotism and filial duty.


(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the castle of the **Hague**, on the 15th day of May, A.D. 1619, when **Barneveldt** was seventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had spent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambassador to the courts of **France** and **England**, and peninsular of the states of **Holland**. A medal was struck in honour of his memory.

All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full lustre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepest stain upon the house of **Orange**.

**S E C T.**
The history of the United Provinces,

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the commercial affairs of the republic during the truce, the renewal of the war with Albert, the death of prince Maurice, the proposals of peace made by Isabella frustrated by the French ministry, the treaty with France against Spain, &c.

DURING the truce with the archduke, the United Provinces had paid the most affi-
duous attention to trade and navigation, which were allonishingly improved and extended by voyages to Asia, Africa, and America, in all of which this indefatigable people had erected colonies, and founded settlements. The returns made by the East-India company alone were sufficient to aggrandize the state, and raise this infant republic to a degree of naval power, scarcely to be paralleled in history. Vast fleets, equal in strength to hostile armaments, returned with the richest treasuries and spoils of the Indies, the Baltic swarmed with Dutch ships, the flag of the republic became even well known in the Levant, and her shipping traded to the Spanish Indies, with as much security as if the provinces were still under the protection of the Spanish monarchy. Venice, a republic the first in opu-
ulence and power in the world, gladly solicited the friendship of this new commonwealth, and was forced to make court to a people, whose industry was the ruin of her commerce, and the chief cause of her decline. The foundation was laid of an empire at Batavia, in-
finitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republic of the United Provinces, where the providence of the Dutch seemed to secure a retreat, in case by any fatal accident their liberties should be destroyed in Europe.

Such was the situation of this republic at the expiration of the truce with Albert, a prince who, from his pacific and moderate sentiments, justly merited the appellation of Pious. It was the archduke's sincere intention to have paft his life in tranquillity, and end his days in perfect harmony with the United Provinces. He admired the spirit of liberty, the independency, and the industry of men, whom he otherways regarded as rebels and heretics; experience convinced him of the impossibility of subduing them, and he was taught by the dictates of sound policy, to put up with the losses of seven provinces, rather than hazard the ruin of the remaining ten, which formed all his dominions. But the court of Spain entertained different sentiments. Losses, defeats, and mortifications, had not yet subdued the haughty spirit of the house of Austria; and Philip could not support the thoughts of seeing so precious a jewel torn from his diadem. Thus the long cessation of hostilities which it was hoped would calm passion, compose refentment, and open the way to a durable solid pacification, had no other effect, than enabling the parties to resume the war with redoubled vigour.

Previous, however, to the renewal of hostilities, Albret sent Peckius, chancellor of Brabant, to the Hague, either to conclude a new treaty, or procure an audience of the prince. The superb equipage in which he appeared, gave offence to the frugal Dutchmen; it prejudiced them against whatever he could offer: but the extravagance of his propositions, which were dictated by the court of Madrid, were not even deemed worthy of a reply by the states-general. The populace insulted the ambassadour, and he returned highly irritated to Brussels. Albert beheld with uneasiness the obstinacy of the Spanish ministry; he endeavoured to palliate their demands, and grant a truce upon the same footing as the preceding. For this purpose secret agents were employed in Holland; but as Philip publicly infifted, that the provinces should enter into their former subjection, all the negotiations vanished in smoke. Spinola took the field with an army of fifteen thousand foot, and four thousand horie, with which he penetrated into the country of Juliers, ordering the count de Berg, with a strong detachment, to invest the city of Juliers, garrisoned by Dutch forces since the death of the duke of Cleves. He was well acquainted with the divisions in the provinces, and weak condition of the army under prince Maurice. Berg invested Juliers; but finding the garrison numerous and resolute, he converted the siege to a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the necessity of surrendering, in despite of the utmost efforts of the prince to throw in succours.

Notwithstanding this advantage, and the great superiority of his forces, the arch-
duke was still desirous of an accommodation: he was on the point of renewing the negot-
iations, when he was seized with a disorder which carried him off, and deprived the Nether-
lands of all hope of an issue to their calamities. It was expected that the death of

or Republic of Holland.

A. D. 1622.

Prince Maurice, having accomplished his purpose at Bergen-op-zoom, retired to Rosendael, and sent a detachment to invest Steenberg, which capitulated before the batteries were erected.

Prince Maurice, having accomplished his purpose at Bergen-op-zoom, retired to Rosendael, and sent a detachment to invest Steenberg, which capitulated before the batteries were erected.

Spinola raised the siege of Bergen-op-zoom.

Spinola raised the siege of Bergen-op-zoom.

Prince Maurice, having accomplished his purpose at Bergen-op-zoom, retired to Rosendael, and sent a detachment to invest Steenberg, which capitulated before the batteries were erected.
erected. Spinola too had retreated towards Antwerp, where he was joined by six thousand men just arrived from Spain, and the corps under the count de Berg. With this reinforcement he was superior to the Hollanders; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince’s camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, saying, *He had come to relieve Bergen-op-Zoom, and reduce Steenberg; he had accomplished both designs, and was satisfied.* Upon receiving this answer, Spinola turned off towards Brussel, and Maurice marched to Breda. The enemy refused their operations, and the count de Berg was detached to lay siege to Pfaffenmutz, while prince Maurice was contriving the means of getting rid of his troublesome ally, count Manfeld, who with his undisciplined troops, accustomed to violence and rapine, was defacing the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At last the Germans crossed the Rhine, and passed into Welfeldia; when Maurice was in hopes that Manfeld would have attempted the relief of Pfaffenmutz, the brave garrison of which, after a most gallant defence, and suffering extreme hardships, was forced to capitulate. The count de Berg repaired the fortifications, put a strong garrison into the place, and changed the name to that of Fort Isabella; but the works were soon after destroyed, in consequence of a petition presented to the emperor and diet at Ratishon, by the magistrates of Cologne.

At the time prince Maurice declined the challenge sent by Spinola, he was meditating an attempt upon the most considerable city in the Netherlands. Antwerp was the great object of his designs, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemy’s attention from this city. The scheme was so well laid, that, on taking leave of the states at the Hague, he said, *That God only could prevent the success of the enterprise.* However, it miscarried, through a train of unavoidable accidents, which human sagacity could not foresee. The fleet assembled at the Brille was locked up by a sudden frost; some of the vessels which had put to sea were lost in a storm; two regiments were shipwrecked; and thus the finest project that had been concerted during the war vanished into smoke. Flanders and Brabant must have followed the fate of Antwerp, the loss of which would have been a mortal blow to the Spanish affairs. Disappointed in a scheme upon which he had set his heart, Maurice returned, greatly chagrined, to Rijswijk, where a conspiracy against his life was discovered. The author was William Barneveld, grandon of the pensioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his design of assassinating the prince to his elder brother, the sieur Barneveldt of Groenweldt, exhorting him to join in his retribution, to avenge the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whose sole aim was to acquire the sovereignty of the country, and subject the United Provinces to a more cruel slavery than they had suffered under the dominion of Spain. But Groenweldt received the proposal with horror, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon William to drop an attempt which must terminate in the ruin and disgrace of the conspirators. His remonstrance produced no effect; William was obstinate and implacable; his violent spirit knew no bounds, and he resolved to pursue his vengeance at the hazard of his own destruction. He engaged in the plot a number of Arminians, actuated by the same avarice to Maurice, and desire of rescuing their country from bondage, as himself.* It was determined to shoot the prince on his way from Rijswijk to the Hague, and the conspirators had all their proper parts asigned them, the arms were purchased, and the day for execution fixed. Two of his associates, struck with remorse, discovered the conspiracy; the prince returned to the Hague, doubled his guards, and Barneveldt escaped to Antwerp, where he died some years after. Four of the conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and solemnly executed. Groenweldt’s wife was taken into custody, and condemned as a party, because he had not discovered his brother’s intentions. It was not sufficient that he had endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and considered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, and an innocent victim offered to appease the resentment of prince Maurice.*

This opportunity was favourable to the Geminists, and they did not fail to embrace it to renew their persecutions against the Arminian party. They gave out that the whole sect was engaged in the conspiracy; notwithstanding the edict of the states, which had forbid the revival of all religious disputes, they began publishing bitter invectives against the Arminians; and even accused a little society, formed for the support of poor pectoralists, of a design against the government. It was affirmed, that the Arminian ministers, banished the provinces, had returned in disguise, and were exerting their utmost influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to so great a length, and were so powerfully supported by the prince of Orange, that, by an ordinance published

*Nuville Hift. de Hollande, tom. lib. v.
in the month of February, in the name of Maurice and the states of Utrecht, the Arminians were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proscribed aforesaid, and a reward of six hundred livres offered to whoever should accuse any of them of crimes and misdemeanors against the government, or defiles upon the prince of Orange; nor was the reward limited to conviction: the accuser had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accusation in some public court; and by this a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and perfecution. Armed with legislative power, the Gomarists kept no bounds; they not only abused the Arminians from the pulpit, reviling them with opprobrious names of traitors and particcides, but they proceeded to persecute individuals, and to establish courts as iniquitous and oppressive as those inquisitions which had originally occasioned the de-
spection of the Seven Provinces. The Arminians presented a petition, craving the protection of the states general against such unprecedented cruelty. They solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the horrid conspiracy with which they were charged; they remonstrated on the injustice of persecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared their having no relation, connection, or interest in the fate of the conspirators, whom they detested and abhorred; they urged their services to the states, and pressed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the usual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous Grotius supported this petition with an apology for the Arminians, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this masterly piece, instead of con-
vincing, served only to irritate the minds of the Gomarists. The states did not care to in-
terpose, as the prince of Orange, and the province of Utrecht, had given sanction to the persecution. And thus the unfortunate Arminians were left a prey to the most implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the spirit of political and theological ran-
cour.

It must indeed be confessed that the Gomarists had some appearance of reason for their persecutions; and that the prince of Orange, in particular, had cause for that implacable hatred he bore to the Arminian faction, who had long wished to see the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conspiracy were of this party; and status an Arminian preacher of Bilswick, now in custody, and actually engaged in the plot, had

confessed on the rack, that all the principal persons of his persuasion were accessories to the design of afflicting Maurice, and subverting the government. This evidence was ex-

torted from him by the violence of torture; and the hope given him of pardon; how-
ever, it left suspicions injurious to the Arminians in the minds of several men extremely moderate in their sentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared

a mere tiff of malevolence and calumny. He was therefore condemned to death; and a libel he had published the preceding year against the prince of Orange, ordered to be burned by the ignominious hands of the executioner 4. Several other persons were be-

headed at the Hague and Leyden, only because they were Arminians, and consequently sup-

posed favourers of the violent measures upon which some turbulent, headstrong, and bi-
gotted persons of the same faction had entered. The rigour of these proceedings was
generally confessed; it was thought injurious to liberty, that attempts against the life of the prince of Orange should be deemed equivalent to defiles formed against the government, which was actually acknowledging that he was the head of the republic, and in a manner the sovereign of the United Provinces.

In this manner was Holland torn with civil faction, while at the same time oppressed with an expensive, bloody war, against the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; and her commerce disturbed by the piracies of the Barbary corsairs, especially those of Tunis and Algiers. The states complained, by their ambassadors, to the courts of Fez and Constan-
tinople, under whose protection the Barbary states screened themselves; but they could obtain

no redress, because several of these claim a kind of independency, under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely useful auxiliaries to the grand signior, and the em-
peror of Morocco. In order, therefore, to get rid of such troublesome foes, the states entered into a kind of composition with the maritime cities of Barbary, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either should be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchased by a sum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was struck up between the United Provinces, and the joint empire of Fez and Morocco. In con-

sequence, they committed hostilities against the Spaniards, in which they were assisted by the Dutch and Germans; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the states; for the emperor, without declaring openly against the Hollanders, maintained two

4 Nuville, tom. i. lib. v.

formidable
formidable armies to affright their enemies, and, if possible, to reduce the Netherlands once more under the dominion of the house of Austria. One was distinguished by the name of the German catholics; it had been employed against the protestants of Bohemia, commanded by count Tilly, and was now ordered to advance into Friesland. The other, conducted by Gonzales de Cordova, acted along the lower Rhine in the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, and was composd chiefly of Spaniards, under the direction of the emperor. It was proposed to join these to Spinola’s army, in order to form such a body of forces as should, at one blow, crush the rebellious Hollanders.

A. D. 1624. — Sensible of what was transacting among the enemy, the states endeavoured to ward off the impending stroke, by an artifice that succeeded. They again employed Mansefeldt, and the bishop of Halberstadt, to make a diversion; furnishing them with money to begin new levies. With these auxiliaries it was resolved to carry the war into Liege, Cologne, and the catholic part of Westphalia, in order to draw the attention of Tilly and Gonzales from the United Provinces. They likewise entered into an alliance with Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, in open rebellion against the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in Hungary; and by attacking the court of Vienna in so many parts, distract her councils, and divide her forces. Mansefeldt began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in East Friesland and Westphalia. He ravaged, pillaged, and defoliated with the cruelty of a barbarian; respecting neither age nor sex, and robbing without distinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his success, the Dutch garrison in the little town of Lippe made inroads into Westphalia, levied prodigious contributions, and inspired the states, with a high opinion of the scheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With respect to the bishop of Halberstadt, the Spaniards opposed his crossing the Weser, and placed strong garrisons in Huyter, Hamelen, Rintelen Wecht; but count Stirum, a few days after, took this last place by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. These hostilities, and others, committed in Lower Saxony, produced an assembly of the princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The bishop of Halberstadt was chosen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the interests of Mansefeldt and the United Provinces. His brother, the duke of Brunswick, engaged, to the emperor for his honour; and, in consequence, Tilly had instructions not to penetrate into Lower Saxony. To these promises made by the duke the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He saw himself at the head of a fine army of nineteen thousand foot, and five thousand six hundred horse; he despaired the emperor’s pardon, and drew upon himself the indignation of the court of Vienna, the allied powers of Lower Saxony, and the whole weight of count Tilly’s forces. In consequence, he was defeated at Stottle, and his army entirely destroyed, except five thousand of the scattered remains, picked up, and retained in their service, by the Hollanders.

Upon the bishop’s defeat, Mansefeldt retired to East Friesland, a province at that time disturbed by civil dissentions. In the city of Embden alone were no less than three parties, one declared for the natural sovereign, one for the emperor, and a third for the United Provinces. Tilly, who knew the ill treatment which the inhabitants received from Mansefeldt, thought to profit by the avarice they entertained for that general and the friends of the bishop of Halberstadt, and for that purpose to enter the territory of Embden in conjunction with Gonzales. The United Provinces were apprised of his design soon enough to prevent it, by sending prince Henry and count Ernaft Cazinir of Nassau, with a body of forces, towards the city. A garrison of twelve complete companies was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put into a state of defence, and the whole party for the emperor banished. This precaution destroyed all Tilly’s schemes, and obliged him to retire to Westphalia, where he revenged the disappointment on the towns held in that country by the Hollanders. Sparenburg, and several places of less consideration, felt the effects of his resentment; after which he marched to invest Lippe, or Lippha, the only remaining town the Hollanders possessed in Westphalia, and a place of the utmost confluence. The garrison, composed of French and Dutch soldiers, was numerous, and well provided. Tilly made regular approaches, battered the walls with great fury, gave the assault, and was vigorously repulsed, but finding that Mansefeldt did not care to hazard a battle, the garrison at last surrendered the place upon honourable conditions. As the winter approached, the armies of both sides retired into quarters; and fruitless negotiations were renewed in this, as in every other preceding season. Before we resume the military operations by land, it will be necessary to give a short view of the naval transactions of the United Provinces.

*Id. ibid.*
Soon after the treaty with the states of Barbary, the provinces experienced how little confidence ought to be placed in the faith of pirates, who judge of right by power and the sword. Four Dutch ships were attacked on the coast of Genoa by the corsairs of Algiers, and three were taken after a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determined not to fall into the hands of so cruel and perfidious an enemy, fought desperately; and the crew, finding all endeavours vain, set fire to the powder-room, and blew themselves up, with fevency of the barbarians, who had boarded the vessel. Nor was this the only loss sustained this year; another of more importance happened, in consequence of a well concerted plan of the court of Madrid, whereby upwards of an hundred sail of Dutch ships were seized in the harbours of Spain and Portugal (A).

But these losses, considerable as they appeared, were amply compensated by the prodigious successe of the East India company. The trade was extended, the settlements established on the most secure footing, the enemy’s colonies miserably harassed, and their shipping entirely destroyed. Above sixty rich vessels were taken or sunk, and the booty amounted to upwards of two millions sterling, a remittance now made to Europe, to enable the provinces to support the war with vigour, and extricate themselves with honour out of a quarrel of which Spain grew heartily tired.

The naval operations of Holland were not confined to Europe and Asia, a strong fleet Scourges of the Dutch in South America.

Willekens had been detached with a squadron to Brazil about four months before. When the viceroy of Lima understood that a Dutch fleet was upon the coast, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of Callao, on which he doubted not the Hollanders would make their first attack. Hermit was not discouraged by the superiority of the enemy; they were more than double his forces, but he boldly crowded sail for the harbour, and greatly astonished the Spaniards at his boldness, who were then preparing to give him chase, not expecting he would presume to offer battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whose example was followed by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obstinacy, until the Spaniard’s admiral’s ship, with eight hundred men on board, was sunk, and the vice admiral’s burned.

The loss of thes two ships was succeeded by the destruction of nine more, six of which were sunk, and three burned. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; Hermit pursued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the space of an hour eleven Spanish men of war were sunk, taken, and destroyed; and the consternation was so great in Lima, that had the admiral pursued his blow he must infallibly have taken the town, and gained possession of the immense treasures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to refresh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time the viceroy had assembled a numerous army that rendered an attempt impracticable.

Admiral Willekens arrived in All Saints bay on the eighth day of May, next day cast anchor before the town of St. Salvador, the capital of the country, and the residence of the Portuguese viceroy. His squadron consisted of nine large ships, manned with fifteen hundred sailors and two thousand marines. All the soldiers were put on board the four ships that composed the van, in order to persuade the enemy that the other ships were equally crowded. Willekens landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the shore, and obliged them to hide themselves behind the walls of the city; the vice admiral, in the meantime, gaining possession of a strong battery that formed a kind of outwork, on a projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the gates left open; however, the garrison still continued in the castle, until finding that all resistance would prove fruitless, they surrendered. The town was pillaged, and vast quantities of rich merchandise sent on board, for the use of the East India company; nor did

(A) It must be remembered, that, through the whole course of this war, the Dutch traded to the Spanish ports, as if they had been in entire friendship with the crown; than which nothing can furnish a stronger idea of the attachment of the Hollanders to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to supply towns, with provision, that were besieged by their own armies; and to furnish the enemy with ammunition, and other necessaries; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by this means, kept in their own hands the profits which other nations would be enriched.
The history of the United Provinces,
the soldiers even spare the churches, from whence they carried vast quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel Van Dort was appointed governor of the town, and a strong garrison left to support his government. His first act was, to publish a manifesto, in the name of the states, allowing liberty of conscience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the United Provinces. He then hoisted the Spanish flag, in order to deceive the Spanish and Portuguese shipping, and had the good fortune to seize eight rich merchantmen by the stratagem. Willekens dispatched three men of war to Europe, with an account of the successes of the expedition. On their voyage they took several valuable prizes, and their arrival in Holland gave the greatest satisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire conquest of the Broflies would be the consequence.

While the United Provinces were thus victorious in America, the court of Spain was making great preparations to oppose them in Europe, and bring to an end a war which had hitherto served only to draw the treasures of Peru and Mexico into Holland. The designs of the Spaniards, however, created less uneasiness in the states, than the conduct of their allies, whose rapacity became more troublesome than their services were useful. Manfield, delinquent of money and provisions, in East Friesland, kept possession of several fortresses, which he offered to sell to the states general for three hundred thousand florins; a proposal that was accepted, though extremely unjust, because his troops were expressly hired for that service. By this means the Dutch, who were already in possession of Embden, formed a good barrier on that side against the incursions of the Germans and Spaniards. Manfield now resolved to penetrate into the bishopric of Munster; but, being defeated in several enterprises he had formed, his troops deserted to that end, that he returned to Holland with a number of officers, who professed themselves entirely at his devotion, riveted to his fortune. The severity and duration of the frost encouraged the Spaniards quartered in Cleve to undertake two expeditions upon the ice. They crossed the Jssel, entered Velu, and penetrated to the province of Holland, in which they had not before set foot for a number of years. By the order of the expedition it was proposed to invade the territory of Drente, and the province of Groningen. Prince Maurice, hearing of the preparations at Antwerp, refrained the design, put the fortresses into the best posture of defence, and employed several thousand men in breaking the ice at all the passages; yet could not all his vigilance prevent the count de Berg from crossing the Jssel, with forty troops of horse and ten thousand infantry, overwhelming Dutch Guelderland with consternation, and advancing to Arnhem, a place to which he laid siege. The garrison had been feebly reinforced; it made a vigorous resistance; but the excessive inclemency of the weather gave greater obstruction to the count’s progress, than the fire and fallies of the besieged. He therefore dropped the enterprise, and pushed forward to Eede, where he received advice that the prince of Orange was arrived at Utrecht, with all his forces, and forty pieces of cannon. This intelligence broke all his measures, and he began to think of an expedient. From an apprehension he should be shut up by the breaking of the frost, and exposed to famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repassed the Jssel, abandoning all the great designs he had formed, with the loss of near half his army, which perished by cold, hunger, or the sword; the Dutch garrisons in Arnhem, Zutphen, and Deventer, falling out upon his rear, and making prodigious slaughter. Nor was the other expedition very successful, though it bore the most promising aspect; it ended in burning some villages, and taking prisoners a number of peasants; the prince of Orange’s diligence entirely confounded the Spaniards, who thought to find the provinces defenceless, and lulled in profound security.

Still the old quarrel continued between the elector of Brandenburgh, assisted by the Dutch and German protestants; and the duke of Newburgh, supported by the Spaniards and catholic powers, about the succession to the duchy of Juliers. The wretched inhabitants of Cleve, Juliets, la Mare, Ravensberg, and Ravensfein, were equally oppressed by both parties; each of which endeavoured to support their claims at the expence of the country. This gave birth to a negotiation between the elector and duke, whereby it was proposed to compromise a difference, that tended only to defoliate the people whom both called their subjects. A treaty was signed, and the parties sent the articles to the Hague and Brujjels, to receive the sanction of the states, and the archduches. But neither the Spaniards nor the Dutch chose to resign the towns they possessed in the countries disputed; and thus the whole negotiation was rendered fruitless, and the inhabitants kept in a state of grievous oppression.

* Le Clerc, Hist. Med. tom. xii.

A strict
A strict regard to the several interests, was the only particular in which the archduches and the states of the United Provinces agreed. While that princes joined issue with the Dutch, in rejecting a treaty which would have restored peace to the territories of Juliers and Cleves, she was taking measures to repair the losses lately sustained on the ocean, and recompen the miscarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view she had collected a considerable naval force at Dunkirk, consisting of nine large men of war, and a great number of small privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the Dutch commerce. Besides a variety of other vessels, fifty fishing buffes, and an English man of war of fifty guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, so formidable was this squadron, that the states offered a reward of ten thousand florins, and the benefit of the prize to whoever should equip a force sufficient to take one of the larger vessels; the same reward was offered for each of the nine men of war, and a proportionable gratuity for single privateers. Excited by these promises, a number of adventurers soon appeared; and, among the rest, general Lambert; who, with a considerable force, gave chase to six men of war, as they quitted Dunkirk, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for several hours. He was killed by a musket-ball in the heat of the action, a great number of his people perished, and the whole Dutch fleet was extremely shattered: but the enemy did not fare better; one of their ships, with the whole crew, went to the bottom; another was driven ashore, and destroyed; and the four remaining men of war fled:ed off in a wretched plight to the English coast.

Though this engagement did not prove decisive, it however checked the ardour of the Spaniards, who now slackened greatly in their cruises, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The Dutch, however, fully balanced the losses sustained here, by other more fortunate cruises on the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and Barbary. Among other valuable prizes, they took a ship laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the count de Lemos, vice-roy of Sicily, estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

These, and other misfortunes obliged the Spaniards to have recourse to extraordinary methods to repair their marine; for which purpose several French ships were detained in their ports, and the crews and shipping employed in the king's service. France, therefore, upon this violence offered to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redress; and this furnished a pretext for a closer alliance between the French king and the provinces. Ambassadors were sent to Paris, and a treaty was concluded; whereby the states agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negotiations of peace, or even a truce, without the consent of his most Christian majesty; to assure the king's subjects in the trade to the East Indies; to allow the free exercise of their religion to the French ambassadour, his domestics, and the king's troops serving in the provinces, provided this was done in private a manner as to give no umbrage to the professors of the established religion of the provinces; and to revoke their treaties with the corsairs of Barbary. At the same time the states contracted an alliance with the crown of England, which never proved of any service, unless we except the opportunity with which it furnished the Hollanders, of gaining possession of some English settlements in the East Indies, by the most ingenuous and barbarous conduct, which James was too indolent and pusillanimous to refute.

What rendered the Dutch more eager to fortify themselves by alliances, were the vast preparations making by the Spaniards and the archduches in the Netherlands, where it was reported an army of fifty thousand men would open the campaign. One division of this extraordinary force, was destined to act in Brabant, and to lay siege to Breda, under the command of Spinola. It consisted of twenty-five thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. A second corps of nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the count de Berg, it was proposed, should attack the places held by the Dutch and the elector of Brandenburgh, in the dukies of Juliers and Cleves; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the Waal and Maas. The command of this camp was assigned to Juan Bravo de Lagunas. All that the states could oppose to so formidable an army, was a corps consisting of thirteen thousand infantry and four thousand horse, under the immediate command of the prince of Orange, and another of six thousand foot, and eighteen troops of dragoons, conducted by prince Henry, but subject to the orders of Maurice. The former was destined to oppose Spinola, and the latter to cover the countries which the count de Berg was directed to invade. On the sixteenth day of July, Spinola quitted Brussels, and advanced with his whole army towards Heusden, which alarmed Breda, though he had taken every measure to conceal his real design upon

The history of the United Provinces,

that city. *Julius Nassa*, the natural son of William prince of Orange, was governor of Breda; he supplied the garrison in the most plentiful manner with provisions and ammunition, broke down the bridges and avenues to the city, ruined the surrounding mills, laid the adjacent country waste, and destroyed whatever could prove useful to the enemy, or any way affright their approaches. Prince Henry used the same precautions for the security of Rees and Emmerich, and armed the peasants to defend the places. In the month of August, the count de Berg laid siege to Mundeberg, garrisoned by Brandenburgers, and obliged it to surrender. Thence he marched to Cleves, which he alarmed the garrison, that, retiring to the citadel, they left the city open to the Spaniards, upon which the magistrates presented the keys to the Spaniards general, and put themselves under the protection of the archdukes. Soon after the citadel surrendered, after a feeble resistance; and the victorious Spaniards without regarding their promises to the magistrates, obliged the townsmen to purchase an exemption from being pillaged, at an enormous price. After taking an oath of fidelity to the archdukes from the inhabitants, the count formed several unsuccessful enterprises against Rucoph, leaving a strong garrison in Cleves. However he found means to reduce Gries and Genep, before he marched to join Spinola, who had by this time invested Breda.

Siege of Breda.

This city was among the strongest and most considerable places in the Netherlands, being fortified with the utmost caution and ability, by the late and present princes of Orange. The citadel, which formed the residence of the princes of that family, was surrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth and height filled with water, and a strong wall, defended by three great bastions. The arsenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vast quantities of arms and military stores it contained. As to Spinola, he was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the place, and thought he should expose his whole army to immediate destruction, should he attempt an assault, before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even resolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with least danger to his army; and accordingly began with drawing trenches round for the space of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain distances. He established his head-quarters at Ginneken, count Iffenburg was posted at Haggem, the baron de Balançon at Teteringen and Terbaden, while Baglioni had his head-quarters at Czernig, extending along the defile of the river Marek, over which he had formed a bridge of boats. The redoubts situated between the quarters of Spinola and Iffenburg, lying between the rivers of Marek and Aa, were defended by the Italians and the Laques, from thence to Baglioni's quarters, by the German and Irish auxiliaries; along to the quarters of Balançon, by the Flemings and Walloons, and the remainder of the trenches quite to that of Spinola, were defended by the Spaniards. Such was the disposition of the besiegers; every thing was conducted with the utmost regularity, and the court of Bruges entertained the most fagundine hope of success.

A. D. 16
d:

On the other hand, the garrison, consisting of seven thousand infantry, and several troops of horse, composed of English, French, and Dutch soldiers, took the most vigorous measures for their own defence. The English were under the command of colonel Morgan, who had frequently distinguished his valor in the service of the states; the French directed by colonel de Hauertmar, and the Dutch troops were subject to the immediate orders of colonel Lobbe, though the whole received their instructions from *Julius Nassa*, the governor. The French were opposed to the quarters of Spinola, the English to those of Baglioni and Balançon, and the Dutch troops were posted in that part of the city which was fronted by the quarters of the count de Iffenburg. In this manner did this memorable siege commence. The first advantage was gained by Baglioni, who feized a large convoy of provisions and stores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loss dispirited the besieged, and reduced them to a scanty allowance of bread; however, they were encouraged by the return of the prince of Orange to the Hague, after having retaken Cleves, and obliged the Spaniards garrison to surrender at discretion. He now advanced to Werkam, and was contriving the means of diverting Spinola's attention from the siege of Breda, by a second attempt on Antwerp, which likewise miscarried, just as it was on the point of execution, though planned with the utmost caution and ability. Already the Dutch cavalry had gained possession of all the avenues to the city, the ditch was filled with boats, and several ladders applied to the walls in the night, when a Spanish sentinel discovered the design. Immediately the alarm spread, the garrison was under arms, and the governor had the address to order a number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded in different parts of the city, to apprise the Hollanders that he fled on his defence. By this the prince's troops were seized with a panic, they conceived a whole army enclosed within, they abandoned their posts with great precipitation, and were deaf to all
all Maurice's intreaties and menaces, until they got beyond the reach of danger. About ten days after, the prince prevailed upon his troops to resume the enterprise; but it was then too late, and he perceived before he could approach the city, that the garrison was prepared. This obliged him to withdraw his army, after which he retired to the Hague, where care, chagrin, and disappointment, brought on a disorder that ended with his life, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, forty of which had been conffantly employed in the service of his country. He was buried at Delft, in the tomb erected for his father, regretted as the preserver of his country, and admired as the greatest statesman and warrior of his age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, enterprising and sagacious, he united all the virtues of a general and hero, with the knowledge of a scholar. Particularly learned in the arts belonging to the cabinet and the field, he had also made great proficiency in those more properly within the sphere of the gentleman and the philosopher. He had also a taste for the fine arts, especially drawing and architecture; but his principal study was engineering, fortification, and those branches of the mathematics which relate to the military art. In these he was a master, having proved the speculative knowledge by long and assiduous practice. His camp was the school of great officers, where persons of the highest distinction, and the best soldiers in France, received the first principles of education. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had led him into some violences inconsistent with the general tenor of his conduct, unpleasing to his countrymen, and almost destructive of liberty. He gave birth to a faction, which had more than once endangered his life, that, to this day, continues to divide the republic, and will probably, in the result, hasten the dissolution of the government, the subject of the provinces to some foreign power, the total loss of freedom, and that natural liberty for which the Hollanders had so long and so strenuously struggeled. His ambition, however, was the weakness of a great mind; it sometimes shaded, but never concealed his extraordinary merit, his generosity, and patriotism; like a cloud before the sun, it damped the ardour, but could not obscure the whole radiance of his glory (A).

While prince Maurice was buried before Antwerp, while he lay sick at the Hague, and during the general depredancy that succeeded his death, Spinola prosecuted the siege of Breda with the utmost diligence and vigour. On his pushing his trenches near the walls, the besieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and sustained it with such vehemence and obstinacy, that Spinola was in hopes they must soon surrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a false judgment of the prudence of Jophin Naffou, who finding he could not accomplish his purpose, by the most terrible firing that ever was kept up, resolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he stopped up the course of the river March, and having formed a large bason of water, opened the sluices, swept away men, horses, and houfes in an inundation, and overflowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon Spinola's quarters, and he exerted his utmost ability to remove the consequences. He dug up large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but thefe being filled, and the whole ground covered over, so as to appear one uniform mass of water, served only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall, only the count of Jymbergh's quarters remained sufficiently dry for the infantry to encamp in; a mortality among the soldiers and houfes ensued, and of his whole army Spinola had scarce twelve thousand men fit for service by the month of December. With these inconsiderable remains, lines of waft extent were to be defended, the works to be advanced, the fallies from the garrison repulsed, provisions to be conveyed into the camp, and all this to be effected, while Spinola, who was the very soul of action, was confined to a sick-bed.

In the garrison, an epidemic deifease and dearth likewise prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and strictly observed, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magistrates bought corn, fold it to the bakers at a certain price, obliging them to sell the bread to the inhabitants and garrison at a price affixed,

(A) When prince Maurice returned to the Hague, he left his army at Heidelberg, with orders that prince Henry should join it with his corps and auxiliaries expected from France. The instructions to Henry were to attempt raising the siege of Breda, on the junction of all his forces; but this he did not live to see accomplished, and the apprehensions he was under for this city, which composed a part of the family-estate, encroached his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars respecting his military conduct, which he wished on his death-bed had been otherwise. He repented of having fought the battle of Neweport, which though it added to his glory, produced no advantage to the republic. He blamed himself for not following the council offered him when he reduced Sluis, of laying under water the towns policed by the Spaniards, on the Rhine and Meuse; and he taxed himself severely, for not taking possession of Spinola's quarters before Breda, at the time the siege was forming. History cannot infatuate too few errors in the conduct of any man, who acted at the head of an army for the space of forty years.
The history of the United Provinces,

and returning the overplus of their pay to the soldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were established by the magistrates and governor, such as we do not find equalled by any instances recorded in history, upon a similar occasion, and all evincing the steadiness, sagacity, courage, and ability of Jufin Nassau. A kind of rivalship appeared between him and Spinola, which should best fulfill their several duties. The Spanish general had himself carried about the works in a litter, he inspected and directed everything, and displayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered several breaches in the lines to be repaired, which the Hollanders had made by fap, with a view of introducing succours to the besieged, and drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could pass. He made drains to clear off the waters of the river Mark, succeeded in a great measure, and, by dint of perseverance, vigilance, and conduct, surmounted the greatest obstructions. He was now reinforced with a body of eight thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, many of the sick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care, and his army again was formidable, amounting to twenty-five thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Nor was prince Henry idle, who now succeeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of Holland, Zealand, Gueldeland, Utrecht, and Overijssel. He pressed France for assistance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count de Rougé and the marquis de Rambures. With this reinforcement, and a body of German infantry, he attacked the enemy’s lines, and after an obstinate conflict was repulsed. He advanced a second time; but Spinola, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuse to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, seized upon a convenient post, and obliged the prince a second time to retire towards Béthune. Finding no prospect of being able to relieve the garrison, he sent a permission to the governor, to surrender on the best conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was signed with no name, fell into the hands of the besiegers, and Spinola sent it open, by a trumpet, to Jufin Nassau, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor suspecting the letter was forged, because it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permission was not an order to surrender; and that he should better follow the prince of Orange’s intention, and shew his respect for Spinola, by continuing to defend to the last extremity.

By this time the garrison was diminished, by disease, fatigue, want, hardship, to half the number; but Jufin put on such a countenance, as concealed his situation from Spinola. He frequently rallied out on Baglioni’s quarters, where the Italians were perishing with cold and hunger, the whole subsistence of the besiegers depending on the contributions raised in the neighbouring territories. This produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeased without applying violent remedies, and executing within sight of the whole army the chief ringleaders. One of the mutineers blew up Spinola’s chief magazine, valued at two hundred thousand livres. Urged more by necessity than compulsion for the besieged, Spinola sent a message to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal consequences to a brave garrison; but Jufin with equal art and dissimulation, answered, that Spinola was certainly ill served by his spies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the state of affairs in Breda, which was fully provided for a siege of several months, and defended by soldiers who preferred death to the necessity of surrender. At that time the besiegers were not informed of the death of the prince of Orange, they flattered themselves with the hopes of speedy succour, and were entirely ignorant of prince Henry’s late disappointment. They wrote to the army an account of their miserable condition; and Henry returned an answer, written with his own hand, and signed with his name, apprising them with the death of Maurice, the unsuccessful attempts made to raise the siege, and throw in succours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, the death of king James, whereby he was disappointed of a strong reinforcement; concluding, that he left the city entirely at the discretion of the governor, and other principal officers. The contents of this letter struck Jufin like a thunder-clap. He had hitherto artfully concealed the total want of provision and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garrison, except a few officers, and other persons in whom he reposed confidence. The colonels Hauterive and Morgan would listen to no propositions, saying, that the honour of their several counties were concerned, and that they were responsible for the conduct of the English and French forces. They therefore required an express order from the prince of Orange to surrender, notwithstanding they pined under the united pressire of fatigue, scarcity, and disease. Jufin acquainted the prince with their resolution, and he sent back an order to surrender, threatening with capital punishment whoever should disobey; but he requested that the garrison
or Republic of Holland.

a. On would first acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they should be held to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had sent a duplicate of the order by the other messenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, Spinola was now acquainted with the desperate circumstances of the besieged. By this he likewise discovered the mystery of the eleven fires: a council of war was assembled to deliberate whether they should fly the eleven days, and then oblige the garrison to surrender at discretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of so brave a corps. The Spanish officers were of the former opinion; the count de Berg and Spinola supported the latter. At last the marquis, determined to pursue the dictates of his noble generosity, sent such terms as could not be refused. The count de Berg conducted the negotiation. Two separate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garrison, and the other for the city, and both the most honourable and advantageous that could be devised. They were accepted, and the garrison marched out on the sixth of June, after sustaining a siege for ten months, whereby they were diminished two-thirds of the number of troops with which they began the siege; nor was the loss inferior on the part of the inhabitants. Spinola drew up his army to salute them, and surrounded by his field-officers, paid particular compliments to the governor, the colonels Morgan, Hunterio, and Lobbe. He distributed money among the soldiers, ordered the sick and wounded to be treated with the utmost tenderness, conveyed the rest in the manner most commodious for them to Gdansk, and displayed all the sentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of Prince Maurice, he resigned the command after this memorable siege, sufficiently concerned with having set bounds to the conquests of that great general, upon whom for two years seemed to flourish for the two last years of his life.

b. The surrender of Breda was made under the highest satisfaction to the courts of Madrid and Brussels, rejoicings were made all over the Spanish Netherlands, and the archdukes, with her whole court, set out for the new conquest, into which she made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by Spinola to the inhabitants; and appointing Balançon, surnamed Timber Leg, because he had lost that limb at the siege of Ostend, governor, she returned to Brussels. Such a profusion of civilities were poured out upon the inhabitants of Breda by Spinola, that the states general began to be alarmed at his conduct, suspecting he meant by his kindness to seduce other towns from their allegiance; but Spinola was actuated merely by motives of generosity. He admired and rewarded their constancy and fidelity, and firmly followed the impulse of humanity, without a view to policy. However the states prohibited their subjects from all intercourse and commerce with Breda, which obliged the archdukes to renew former edicts, whereby all the Spanish Netherlands were strictly enjoined to maintain no correspondence, commerce, or connection with the United Provinces. The present edict differed only in one circumstance. In all former ordonnances, the Dutch were termed rebels and traitors; here they were simply called enemies.

c. With this siege ended the campaign in the Netherlands. The year was no less successful in naval transactions, than in military operations by land. Here the Dutch were more successful. After the affair of Lima, admiral Hermis purpured his course to the coast of Céulis, with intention to amuse the enemy, to persuade them that he had dropt all further design on Peru, and likewise to cruise for the plate-fleet, which he expected would set sail by the month of December. Being disappointed in this last project by the false information of a Spanish pilot, he returned to Callao, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen Caracci ships, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was discovered by the light of the fire from the ships. Above an hundred pieces of cannon were pointed against him, and piled with such fury that he was forced to retreat. A second attempt was made next day; but the strong reinforcement sent by the governor of Lima rendered it fruitless; and Hermis directed his course to Guayaquil, the most commodious harbour in Peru; where an immense treasure is always lodged, ready to be shipped on board the galleons. Here he embarked his troops, defeated the Spanish army, took the town, and seized the treasure; but, on his departure, unfortunately set fire to the place, which incensed the inhabitants, that, in despair, they took arms, pursu'd the admiral, killed five hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loss of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if possible, to revenge this disgrace, Hermis returned a third time to Callao, and planned such a scheme as must have inevitably

---

Le Clerc, tom. i. Nuville, tom. i. passim. La vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 410. p. 22.

destroyed
The history of the United Provinces,
deestroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating castle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the viceroy by two Greeks, who deferred to the enemy. Thus disappointed of the main object of his pursuit, though upon the whole extremely successful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died with chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral John Hughes, who contented himself with cruizing for the plate-ships between Lima and Panama, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

Matters went more untowardly in Brofil, where the Dutch fleet had been lately so successful. The reduction of St. Salvador was esteemed in Holland the most important acquisition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conquest of all Brofil; but as the Spaniards placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could re-establish them in the possession. At the very time when admiral Willemens returned to Europe, imagining he had fully provided for the security of St. Salvador, by leaving a strong garrison of two thousand men, six men of war, several frigates, and great store of provision and ammunition; the Spaniards were equipping a squadron of fifty-five sail, under Frederic de Toledo, to drive the Hollander out of Brofil. This fleet, manned with twelve thousand soldiers and mariners, arrived before the town about the close of the year, and laid siege in form; Toledo, debarking with the land-forces, while Juan Fasardo was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garrison made several brief sallies to obstruct his approaches, but Toledo sustained them with vigour, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great spirit and ability; and at last effected a breach, just as Fasardo had destroyed several ships, and reduced the marine to such distresses, that the sailors mutinied. In these circumstances Van Dort died of a fever, contracted from the excessive fatigue of the siege, and the heat of the climate. This encreased the disordar in the fleet and the army. The Dutch sailors marched in a body to lay siege to the new governor, because he refused to surrender; which obliged him to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war; for Toledo had no idea of displaying the gallantry of Spinola. The garrison were transported to Holland, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own misconduct, occasioned the mischance of the most considerable enterprise formed by the West India Company. All the soldiers and mariners were dismissed the service, and whipped out of the army; several of the officers were cashiered, rendered incapable of service, and suffered to live in disgrace and obscurity; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perseverance and steadiness with which he adhered to his duty, under such embarrasing circumstances; but his name is not recorded.

Mean time the states concluded a treaty with the French king, whereby they agreed to affix him with a fleet to oppose his protestant subjects, and block up the sea-port held by the Hugonots. The prince de Soubise, and his brother the duke of Roban, remonstrated to them on the iniquity of afflicting a tyrant to oppose subjects of the same religion professed in the United Provinces, whose sole crime was, that they would not sign articles against their conscience, and professe a mode of faith, which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of Roban, the towns of Montauban, Cafrés, and a variety of other places, sent deputies to Holland, exhorting the states not to enter upon a measure so inconsistent with conscience, honour, charity, and every principal of humanity; they protest they would use their utmost endeavours to accommodate matters, and only required that the states would refrain from hostility, until the issue of the negotiations now on foot was decided. The catholic writers accuse the protestants of tergiversation; they alledge, that the prince de Soubise, while the treaty was depending, and after the states general had contented to defer hostilities, let fall to attack the combined fleet of France and Holland. According to them, he pushed thro' the French line, and attacked the Dutch admiral in the rear; who, after defending himself with great valour, had the misfortune to be blown up. The truth is, the states general were determined to gain the French king to their interest, by the most dishonourable concessions. He had contented to augment his army in the Netherlands; and they, in return, stipulated to employ their fleet against the Hugonots. They promised the protestant deputes every thing required, and had, at the same time, dispatched secret orders to their admiral to join the fleur de Menty, the king's admiral. It was this juncture, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince de Soubise, and occasioned the breach of the armistice of which he is accused. The states laboured to vindicate themselves, by throwing the blame on the Rocheliers; but time has not been able to wash out this stain on the reputation of a protestant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion.

1 Le Clerc, ibid.  a Murrell, tom. ii. p. 18.  b Vide Remonstr. de duc de Rohan.
Nor did this disgraceful treaty end in the sanguine misfortune of a defeat. It was al-
ways disliked by the populace in Holland, who generally pursue their notions of religion, ho-
nour, and friendship, to a greater degree of enthusiasm than their superiors. The clergy in
general, too, favoured the Huguenots. Some divines were so bold as to declaim from the
pulpit, against the late treaty with France. In particular, the minister of the French
church at Amsterdam distinguished his zeal, and so animated the people, that they ran in
tumultuous manner from church to the house of Hautein, the admiral, which they pillaged
and destroyed. They next pointed their resentment against the friends of admiral Bruck,
a commander in the late engagement; many of whom they insulted and beat in the streets.
These disorders were not opposed by the states, who were therefore suspected by the French
of conniving at them; though, in fact, they were prevented from exerting their authority,
from an apprehension of a general insurrection.

The loy of Breda, and the powerful army maintained by the Spaniards in the Nether-
lands, rendered it necessary to divide their forces, and support Manvelldt, notwithstanding
he proved a troublesome and expensive ally. Perceiving that his forces were daily deca-
dring by numerous defection, the states sent commissioners to Emmerich to review the
remaining troops. They were found to amount to five thousand foot and twelve
hundred irregular horse, which were to be augmented to a corps of eight thousand strong,
to act, in conjunction with the troops of Denmark, against the imperial army in Lower
Saxony. While Manvelldt was employed in making levies, the bishop of Halberstadt, with
a detachment of four troops of horse and six hundred musqueteers, made a feint motion to-
wards Brabant, and, wheeling suddenly round, surprized the town of Ordingen, which he
sacked and pillaged. Soon after Manvelldt, having completed his corps, and received a
reinforcement of two thousand Hollanders, traversed Wolfshalle, ravaged the bishopric of
Osnaburg, and deposed the territories of the duke of Luneburgh, because that prince had
declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of Lower Saxony. Afterwards, in
conjunction with Halberstadt, he cut in pieces a detachment of five hundred Crotas. From
this time, to the eve of the succeeding year, Manvelldt acted separate from the Dutch forces.
He found means, however, by the remittances of the states, to augment his army to
thirteen thousand men, with a train of thirty pieces of cannon; with which force he penet-
rated into Upper Saxony, took Zerf by escalade, and put the garrison to the sword. He
then spread terror to the very heart of Silesia; but his infantry being cut into pieces by Wal-
letstein, in an action near the bridge of Delfau, he marched with his cavalry to the marche of
Baudenburgh, where he began to recruit his army. All this while the bishop of Halberstadt
was making a powerful diversion on the Weser, and harrying count Tilly, the Bavarian ge-
neral’s army, that great general being himself confined by sickness. The bishop profited
by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the skirts of the imperial army, destroyed
their forage, cut off their convoys, skirmished with their detachments, and proved a very
troublesome enemy; when he was feigned with an ardent fever, of which he died at Wol-
fembattle, to the excessive joy of all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who re-
garded the prelate as the scourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Christ.

The states were forced to act defensively during this whole year, which produced noth-
ing memorable. The civil divisions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged
them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partisan allies. Notwithstanding the people
already tasted the sweets of prince Henry’s gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the
Arminian party, animated by the death of Maurice, formed a design of revenging their
late sufferings; and by the exhortations of their banished brethren, began again to revive,
and shew their implacable hatred to the house of Orange. The more moderate among
them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle mea-
fures, by soothing the prince, and requesting that they might experience that favour which
they had reason to expect from his repeated intimations. Henry, out of respect to his bro-
thers memory, and from an apprehension of obloquy against the states, paid little regard to
their remonstrances. He contented himself with general testimonies of esteem for Hugo
Gratius, then at Paris, and with relieving from confinement Hoogerbert, peniency of Ley-
den. It is even supposed that he connived at the fresh persecution commenced in Am-
sterdam and Leyden against this unhappy party. Here some persons of consideration in the
government proposed, wholly to supress Arminianism, and by prohibiting the private
exercise of the worship professed by the sect, and obliging them to subscribe to certain
articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to crush a faction which had caused so much trouble to the republic. These measures were pursued with violence;

* Vic du prince Henry.
they were opposed by all men of understanding, as equally unjust and impolitic; yet a possibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention beenseasonably diverted by a more important object.

The great preparations of the Spaniards rendered it necessary, that the states should act with the utmost vigour and unanimity. The departure of Spinola from the Netherlands, gave the prince of Orange great hopes he should be able to retrieve the losses of the last campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the best footing, and had actually formed a corps of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, which he commanded in person; together with another body of forces under the conduct of Count Ernst Caffinier, of twelve thousand foot and twelve thousand hussars. With this force the count invaded Oldenzel, which he reduced in the space of eight days, though defended by the famous Montréal, a native of France, of Comité, in whom the archdukes had the utmost confidence, as he was the particular favourite of Spinola. On his side, the prince of Orange encamped near Croneburg, made a motion as if he proposed laying siege to Wessel, and erected a fort near Jelsemburgh, to obstruct the works carried on by the Spaniards, to cut a canal from Rhinberg to Venlo. His great design was, to reduce fort Riedrecht, on the frontiers of Flanders; for which purpose, leaving the main army under the direction of count Stirum, he embarked a considerable detachment in four hundred boats, collected on the Vaal, and set out on the enterprise, which was frustrated by the shallowness of the river, in consequence of a great drought. This expedition was succeeded by another against Linghen, in Westphalia, which likewise proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppose with his whole army, the attempt to open a passage between the Meuse and the Rhine. During his absence, however, Stirum was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner, by the count de Berg, who, with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advantage the enemy could boast was, that they made the Dutch general prisoner; and retired from the Dutch camp without being pursued, with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of disconcerting the prince’s measures; it likewise encouraged the Spaniards to form another project, little less important than the surprizing count Stirum’s camp. Spinola, who had not yet quitted the Netherlands, advised an attempt upon Sluys. Count Horn, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this sustained, with orders to seize upon the harbour, the fate of which must determine that of the town; as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering; but the vigilance of the centinels disconcerted the whole scheme, just on the point of execution. The squadron, firing his piece on the approach of the Spaniards, alarmed the garrison; all flew to the ramparts; the count perceived he was discovered; but, determining to push his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there faluted with such a volley of grape-shot as put his party in disorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loss amounting to four hundred men, killed on the spot.

At this time Spinola was at Dunkirk, waiting the issue of the attempt on Sluys. He was greatly mortified to find it had miscarried, and spoke with resentment of the rashness of the count in expelling his men to certain death, as he was discovered. This made him advise the Spaniards to moderate their joy on account of the prince of Orange’s late disappointments, which had miscarried through mere accident; their losses, he said, arose from miscalculation. It was here the court of Spain had erected an admiralty, of which Spinola was president. The new college, eager to distinguish its zeal, equipped a squadron, on occasion of the rupture with England, attacked the combined fleets of England and Holland destroyed four ships of war, and carried a great number of prizes into Dunkirk; but the Dutch soon repaired the loss and disgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war; and several advantages obtained over count Philip de Manfeldt.

The more effectually to stop the courtes of the Dunkirkers, the states provided a fleet of fifty cruisers in Holland and Zeeland, to which Lewis XIII. joined seven large men of war, the finest ever built in France. Spinola endeavoured to provide for the security of all the ports which he feared might be infested; but with careful concealment from the prince of Orange the scarcity of money, made such efforts as greatly exceeded expectation, and encreased the reputation he already acquired for activity and address in the most difficult conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the states-general for Bergen-op-Zoom, Grave, and Muylande, into which they put strong garrisons, suppling them with abundance of provison and military stores. As soon as the rigour of the feaflon would permit, the prince of Orange advanced with his army between Nimwegen and Arnheim. This obliged the Spaniards to recall the prince of Jelsemburgh, after he had been detached with two thousand men to join count Tilly, in


Lisser A. D. 1627.
or Republic of Holland.

The prince Henry, however, either had no design upon Wessel, or he dropped it in order to invest Gron, a town the most advantageously situated for the obtaining of a clear, undisputed frontier. Success in the enterprise would likewise deprive the Spaniards of a place extremely conveniently situated for laying the adjacent territories of Orniji, Drent, Twent, Groningen, and Frisland, under contribution. Thirty years before Gron had been reduced by prince Maurice; was retaken by Spinola ten years after; and now was besieged by prince Henry, with an army composed of one hundred and sixty-eight companies of infantry, fifty-five troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the pales were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmost vigour. The garrison consisted only of twelve hundred men; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themselves into companies, and performed excellent service. Old Dutken, a soldier of great valour and experience, was governor; but age and infirmity causing him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon Verreken, an officer who had already distinguished his capacity. The count de Berg hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the besiegers, and closely watched every opportunity of succouring the garrison, who showed they were determined to act with the utmost spirit, by a sharp sally made on the quarter of Eersel of Nassau, which he repulsed after an obstinate conflict, though supported only by fifteen companies of infantry. The trenches were opened on the twentieth of July; the siege continued to the eighteenth of August, when the garrison, perceiving that their repeated sallies answered no purpose but to weaken themselves, and that they could expect no assistance from the count de Berg, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the shoulter, the demolition of the principal works, the dismounting of almost all the artillery, and the great strength of prince Henry’s lines, which were incapable of being forced, greatly disheartened the garrison. They saw the English and French auxiliaries pushing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel Hauterive ready to spring a mine, which would open a vast breach; this determined them to send a trumpet to the prince, requesting leave to give the count de Berg notice of their situation: this being refused, the brave garrison renewed hostilities, made a vigorous sally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceedingly brisk, and nothing but the great superiority of the besiegers, and the prodigious strength of prince Henry’s works, could have prevented this little garrison from cutting their way through to the army. At last they capitulated upon the same honourable conditions that Spinola granted to the city of Breda. Henry indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the soldiers and inhabitants. Count Stirum was appointed governor, the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added.

Several enterprises which the Spaniards formed against Zealand miscarried; Gron was reduced, and Berg now appeared as unfortunate as Maurice and Henry had been the three preceding years. The prince of Orange pursued his advantages, and by several spirited attacks, and judicious operations, dislodged the enemy from all the posts they had to secure the navigation of the Scheld. He likewise harass’d them in Westphalia, in Brabant, and on the Wessel. But in the midst of these successes a rupture with England was apprehended. The English, on account of the depredations of the Dutch in the East-Indies, had detained three Dutch Indiamen, which had put in by furs of weather into Portsmouth. To demand restitution, they sent an ambassador to the court of London; and, to give weight to their negotiations, ordered a strong fleet to be speedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral Orbel. This produced the effect; a promise was given of making immediate restitution, and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more close and intimate connection. The intention was to secure themselves against the depredations of the Dunkirkers, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Channel. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of an hundred cruisers; but the terrible storms that came on in the month of October, and continued for several weeks, prevented the fleet from putting to sea, damaged them in the harbours, and dissipat’d the whole scheme, from which so much was expected. The French king laboured to dissolve this union between the crown of England and the United Provinces, for he was then busied in reducing his protestant subjects, powerfully assisted by Great-Britain. The most expeditious method of effecting his purpose was, to renew the treaty whereby the states engaged not to unite themselves with the enemies of France; nor was it difficult to procure this point, as the Dutch had now effectually answered the intention of uniting with England, having had restitution made of the East Indiamen, and relinquished the project against the Dunkirkers. The king readily allowed that the states should not commit hostilities against the English, notwithstanding they were his enemies;

and they, in return, engaged not to afford them any assistance, and even to refrain from supplying the protestants of France with military stores. Soon after, however, the states, finding that their being restricted to conclude no peace, truce, or alliance, without the concurrence of Lewis, was injurious to their sovereignty, sent an embassay to procure an extensive and more honourable construction of that article of the treaty; which, after some difficulty, was granted.

While Spinola remained at Dunkirk, he continued to direct the operations in the Netherlands. Already the Dutch had found the happy effects of his not executing his schemes in perfon; and now they entertained the most sanguine hope of a fortunate issue to the war, as that celebrated officer was recalled to Spain, and his authority distributed among a variety of perpons, all unequal to him in point of genius and application. The government, b civil affairs, were entrusted to the cardinal de Cueva and don Carlos Colonna; the count de Berg had the command of the army. But while the states were felicitating themselves on the prospect this change prefigured, they were alarmed by disturbances from another quarter, and the approach of count Tilly to East Friesland, Oldenburgh, and the bishopric of Munster. Sensible of the inconveniences which would result from the vicinity of two formidable enemies, the states directed that the chief posts on the frontiers should be well fortified. To ward off the impending blow with greater certainty, a new army of twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse, was raised; with which count Ernst was sent to oppose the count of Anholt, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of Cologne; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining some considerable advantages. The young count of East Friesland, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an imperial garrison into Schilkelen, and some other places, where the states had formed considerable magazines. This success elated Anholt to such a pitch, that he summoned all the towns of West Friesland to submit; he levied contributions in Groningen, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to surprize Embden, in which the states kept a strong garrison, but was disappointed. Still more to alarm the states, Tilly marched another body of troops towards Welfphalia, and the duchies of Berg and Juliers. The count de Berg availed himself of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a strong reinforcement into Linghen, threatened with a siege by prince Henry.

d The states imagining that the imperial army had some other object than renewing the disputes about the duchies of Juliers and Cleves, ordered a part of the army to file towards the Rhine, for the securiy of Rees and Emmeric. While the count de Berg was employed in Welfphalia, they likewise made an attempt to surprize Strasburg fort, built for the defence of the new canal at Veno; but they met with so warm a reception from the Spaniards, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterprize, though unsuccessful, hurried the return of the count de Berg to Guelderland, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in such a posture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He also began two other canals towards the extremities of Brabant and Flanders, in order to prevent the incursions of the Hollanders, and particularly of the garrison of Bergen-op-zoom, whose perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at Saint Vlief. But what chiefly incommode the Spaniards, was the presence of the prince of Orange, who continually passed from Lillo to Bergen-op-zoom, to cut off the communication between Saint Vlief and Antwerp. With this view Henry contrived three considerable forts beyond Lillo, whence he often set fire to the new fortifications, and destroyed several valuable convoys of provision coming by water from Antwerp.

In all these expeditions and operations the Hollanders were successful; but fortune seemed to abandon them in Maryland, where their forces were defeated by the count de Berg; nor did they succeed better by sea, the Dunkirk cruisers having taken above forty rich prizes since the commencement of the season. At the Hague these loaves were attributed to the wretched situation of the finances, which prevented the states from keeping on foot a sufficient land-force, and equipping the necessary number of cruisers. This obliged them to make certain exactions in Juliers and Cleves, under pretence of procuring payment of a sum of money due to them from the elector of Brandenburgh. On the other hand, the Spaniards, who supported the claim of the duke of Newburgh, opposed the miserable inhabitants with heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and the usual revenue, which they had a right to receive, while the war was supported at their expense. The people, equally oppressed by their friends and enemies, had recourse to the emperor's protection; and the court of Vienna was delighted with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole succession in fequestration, and of using Cleves and Juliers as their own property.  

* Vie de prince Henry. p. 29:  

---
or Republic of Holland.

property, until one of the claimants should be reduced to cede his pretensions. Mandates were immediately published, declaring his imperial majesty's intention, forbidding all holiness in the duchies, and requiring all foreign troops to quit the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, with all their dependencies. This declaration was followed by instructions to count Tilly to advance with his army to support the emperor's intention. The first act of imperial authority exerted, was the banishing the Dutch protestant ministers out of Dortmond, and restoring the catholic religion. The fame was done in all the other places poteffed by the states, in truf for the elector of Brandenburgh, where the imperialists found themselves superior in power. Ravenberg alone held out against the imperial commissaries, and protested against their authority, the magistrates declaring they would stand the consequences of a siege rather than submit. Tilly, perceiving their resolution, retired without attempting any thing against a little place which had shown foobllinate an attachment to liberty. Emmerie and Roes were summoned, Tilly threatening them with all the horrors of war unless the catholic religion was immediately restored; but the garrison set him at defiance, and laughed at his menaces, perceiving that the prince of Orange and Sturum were both ready to succour them on the first motion of the imperialists. To fhw the equity of their proceedings, the commissaries did not except the places in possession of the Spaniards from their visitations. Wherever there were protestant magistrates they were depofed, without regard to the capitulation with Spinola; the catholic schools and preachers were restored; and the utmost vio- 
cences committed in Wefel before the people could be brought to submission. The duke of Newburgh lent his authority to those measures; but he perceived they were pushed too far, and that the people were more oppressed by the imperialists than they were before by the Hollanders and Brandenburghers. He complained to the court of Vienna; but obtained no satisfaction; and protestants and papists were left to bleed under the scourge of the most cruel tyranny.

The elector of Brandenburgh equally suspected the designs of the court of Vienna, and represented her proceedings. To prevent therefore the troublesome and dangerous consequences of a sequestration in the hands of an ambitious grasping power, the competitors entered into a provisional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they stipulated jointly to oppose all who, under the mask of friendship, violated their rights; and to stand by the partition that was made at the late negotiation. But, sensible that they could not force the Dutch and Spanish garrisons out of the towns they possessed, ambaffadors were sent by both princes to Bruijfeis and the Hague, requesting that the archduches and the states would withdraw their troops, which would cut off all shadow of excuse from the emperor for continuing his oppressions. The fates and the archduches had too long tafted the sweats of those poftitions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal answers, and thus, a second time, frustrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reafon to expect from a reasonable partition.

While this affair was in agitation, the governors of Gros, Brifford, Rees, Emmerie, andsoft, entered the Mark with a body of troops, to oppose the joint forces of the emperor and the king of Spain. Having thrown fuccours into Ravensberg, they attempted to surprife Harn, relying upon a correspondence which they maintained with fome of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from Sturum not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the scheme fell to the ground, and their friends in the town a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their connexion, had them hanged, drawn, and quartered; as traitors. The garrison of Gros had better fortune; they surprifed Rattingen, pillaged the town, and carried off fome prisoners of diftinftion, and considerable booty. The garrison of Groce likewise feized upon a large convoy going from Bruijfeis to Maglricht, in which were rich presents from the archduches to the duke of Modena. Several other garrisons, encouraged by the example and success of Gros and Groce, made inroads into the Spanish territories, leved heavy contributions, and returned laden with plunder. A detachment from Emmerie fell into an ambafcade laid by the count de Berg; but determined to poffiff rather than surrender, the foldiers fought with the utmoft fury, and, after an obfolute conflict, totally defeated and dispersed the Spaniards. The fates had licenced these depredations; the scarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of Modena's complaints for the loss of his valuable preffents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke should be restored; and to gratify the garrison, the sum of twenty-seven thoufand florins was given them, as an equivalent.

* Nville, lib. vi. cap. 12.
The history of the United Provinces,

mean time the new admiralty at Dunkirk, strictly observing the directions given by a Spinola, became every day more formidable to Holland. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in Amterdam. Their loaves drove the Dutch merchants and feamen to despair; which made them enter into a league never to strike, but, if they found themselves overpowered, to blow up their vessels. To oppose the descents of the Dunkirkers, the states ordered all the coasts of Zealand and Holland to be carefully defended, for which purpose the boors were armed. Four thousand feamen were taken into the service, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under severe penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A squadron of thirty ships was equipped, with orders to cruise along the French coast, and block up the harbour, while general Van Dort laid siege to the town of Dunkirk. A division of eight ships from this fleet having fallen in with a squadron of six Dunkirkers, a bloody engagement began; and, after an obstinate conflict, the Hollanders obtained a complete victory. One ship of the enemy was taken, and the rest so miserably shattered, that with the utmost difficulty they escaped. This success cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound Indiamen, which otherwise would probably have been taken. The siege of Dunkirk, however, went on but slowly; and it was at last proposed to block up the harbour by a chain of vessels faced with stone, and thereby made as strong as a wall; but, on trial, the project failed, and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The East India company, however, lent their assistance to the government, to check the preemption of the Dunkirkers; and joined to the fleet already stationed before that harbour, a squadron of twelve fine men of war, which did not diminish the number of ships sent the following year to Asia; from whence we may judge of the great opulence of the company at this period.

The measures of the West India company were not less vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. They had taken a great number of rich Spanish and Portuguese single merchantmen; they had destroyed whole fleets in the ports of Lisbon, Corunna, and Cadiz; and now their admiral, Peter Adrien, with a squadron of twelve ships, fell in with a Spanish fleet in the gulf of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, drove their ships upon the land-banks, and, after obliging them to strike, took out their valuable cargoes and the prisoners, set fire to the prizes, and arrived safe with his booty in Holland, to the great joy and emulation of the company. But the instrument defined d by providence to remove the great disorders in the finances, to enable the states to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour, and to raise the West India company to a rivalship with the company trading to the East Indies, was admiral Peter Heine. This bold and active officer defeated and destroyed a fleet of Spanish merchantmen and men of war in the bay of All-Saints, bringing home so prodigious a cargo of sugar as Jefferson the price of that commodity at every market in Europe. Encouraged by this success, the company equipped a squadron of thirty one ships, with design to intercept the plate-fleet. Heine was appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good fortune once defert him through the whole course of the expedition. In the month of May he set sail for Mexico, defolating, as he went along, the coasts of Spain and Portugal. He arrived at the Havannah, in the island of Cuba; where he expected to fall in with the flota, part of which was driven off by a storm to the coast of Florida, just as the ships were ready to put in to the Havannah. As to the flota from New Spain, it fell entirely into the hands of the Dutch admiral, after a faint resistance, and was valued worth fifteen millions of livres, in chests of silver and rich merchandise. This was the richest prize ever made by the Hollanders; the admiral therefore thought he could not be too cautious in an affair which so nearly concerned the republic; for this reason he set sail directly for Europe, arrived in Holland with the loss only of one prize, and two of his own ships, that foundered in a storm, which rose just as he had entered the chaps of the channel. Heine was received with as much honour as the princes of Orange had been after the most signal victories. Bonefires were kindled in every town throughout the seven provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the shouts of the multitude. Peter Heine was publicly entertained by the prince of Orange, in company with the king of Bohemia, the elector palatine, and the ambassadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown, in gold, was wrought by the hands of the magistrates of Amterdam to adorn his temples; and he was hailed to the dignity of admiral of Holland, in the room of William of Nassau, killed at the siege of Groote, and with fuller powers than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

When the whole wealth of the flota was landed, an infinity of persons of fashion crowded to see the curiosity; which proved fatal to the prince palatine, and had almost been so to the elector, the barge in which they were being overfeet, and the young prince drowned.
or Republic of Holland.

A. D. 1639.

Civil commotions at Amsterdam.

The public rejoicings, which continued at Amsterdam during the whole month of January, were at last interrupted by a tumult that arose, because certain burgurers refused to obey the magistrates who happened to be Arminians. The prince of Orange, who perceived the consequences to the state of keeping up the old factions, resolved to abolish all party distinction, by supporting merit indiscriminately in the pursuit of public offices; and it was supposed that by his intercession the present magistrates had then their election. This gave great umbrage to the Gomarists, who resented to see a proscribed set of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince’s family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with those who had always supported his interest. The whole mob of Amsterdam assembled to expel the cause of the citizens who had refused to obey the Arminian magistrates; and Henry detached a party of twelve hundred soldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into custody. At the next assembly of the states an ordinance passed, whereby the people were required to obey the magistrates, of whatever sect or religion they happened to profess themselves.

The most riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mutilated in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and this severity so irritated the Gomarists, that large numbers retired to Zealand. William astronaut, one of the most eminent, a person who was the tool of the Gomarist clergy, going out of the city, to execute the sentence of the exile passed upon him, was met by sixty thousand people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their beneficences, and regarding him as a martyr to religion. On his approaching Haarlem, crowds of people went out to meet him as another Stephen, and a saint who had suffered for his faith; without reflecting that no true mode of religion can be contrary to the dictates of nature and moral virtue, which enjoin order, and a strict regard to the laws of society.

This sedition was fiercely appeased, when another of a more dangerous nature arose among the seamen who had served under admiral Heine to the West Indies. They complained that the company had not only refused to augment their wages, but to admit them to any share of the immense wealth brought to the state by their courage. Filled with resentment at this usage, they began forcing and pillaging the company’s warehouses, in which all the rich merchandise was lodged. A party of soldiers was immediately sent against them, but this would have proved insufficient had they not been gratified with a considerable sum of money; after the division of which they retired quietly, and again offered their services to the company, to assist in manning the new squadron equipping for a fresh expedition. This fleet was composed of sixty stout vessels, and destined to reduce Peru, Mexico, and the Brafils; in a word, all that was valuable of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in South America. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large sum to enable them to pursue the war with vigour, and raise an army with which the prince of Orange should be able to make head against the enemy.

There could not be a more terrible stroke to the Spaniards than the loss of the flota. Already their military operations were at a stand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to see the money, with which they hoped to be masters of all the Netherlands, now employed to their destruction. The valet preparations making in Holland, since the month of February, threw the court of Brafils into despair. Many lords, and other persons of distinction and influence, took this opportunity of expressing their displeasure at the measures of the administration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the present misfortunes upon the Spaniards. To their jealousy they attributed Spain’s re cognition, though he was the chief bulwark of the state; they accused them of rapacity, profusion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they said, was oppressed, depopulated, and enslaved; their bad policy excited the resentment of the natives, merited the contempt of the enemy, and would soon produce the loss of the Netherlands. They complained that all preferments were bestowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loss of Grall, and all insuls received during the late campaign; by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country desolated, and the court disgraced. The Spaniards, they affirmed, refused to

† Idem. ibid.
The history of the United Provinces,

b bey the prince of Berg, the only person of high condition among them, who was capable of conducting an army. It was the business of the prince of Orange to profit by these divisions at the court of Brussells, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let slip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of Brabant, he reviewed his whole force at Nimuegen, including the troops of France and England; sent his artillery and baggage to the Maas, and publicly confided his design of laying siege to Beisideuc. His army amounted to 32,000 men, divided into forty-three battalions, and three large brigades, besides a reinforcement of 6000 men, sent afterwards by the flates, with a train of sixty pieces of cannon. The town was invested in the night of the 30th of April; though the governor Anthony Schets could not be persuaded till the next morning, that the enemy would be so rash as to attack a place of such strength and importance. Beisideuc, called the Maid of Brabant, because it had never surrendered, though of eighteen fortified, was so regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was scarce accessible on account of the dykes and marlies with which it was surrounded, and required a large army completely to invest the vast extent of walls, fortified with seven strong bastions, defended by an immense wet ditch with canals and sluices, by means of which the water might be admitted or excluded at pleasure, and the whole country, if necessary, laid under water. A variety of strong outworks obstructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting, that art or nature could give, to render this the most impregnable town in the Netherlands. Prince Henry fixed his quarters opposite to the center of the town, at the village of Vuch, behind fort Isabella. Under him served immediately the French, and part of the English forces. Count Ernst Cafmir was posted to the north-east, at the village of Hijten; count William of Nassau had his quarters on the north side; the baron Brederode directed the siege to the south-east; count Solms was situated at the village of Ingelein, with the stores of provision and ammunition; while general Pinen presided at the operations carrying on to the westward of Beisideuc.

All Brabant was overwhelmed with consternation, and the court of Brussells in the utmost perturbation, upon advice that prince Henry had begun his approaches. The most pressing meffages were dispatched to Spain for money, ammunition, and the requisites for putting the troops in motion. Schets, though labouring under a thousand discouraging circumstances, destitute of officers, and a sufficient garrison, determined to make a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his trust. With the prince of Orange's permission, he sent away all the women, children, and others, who served only to confute provisions; and placed his whole confidence in a garrison not exceeding two thousand three hundred infantry, and six troops of cavalry; notwithstanding several companies of burghers had formed themselves under his banners. He omitted procuring nothing which long experience had taught him was necessary for his defence, revolving to maintain the great reputation he had acquired by a series of faithful, and important services. A seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred men, from Breda, flung in with much address, on the fifth night of the siege, greatly animated the garrison and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all future succours, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour, afflicting the principal in the neighbourhood. In ten days his camp was surrounded by a deep ditch, which received the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops were supplied with all manner of provisions with ease and security. He began to build a great number of forts and batteries, in order to cut off the enemy from any communication with the river, in which he succeeded beyond expectation; turning the waters, intended for the defence of the town, to the great inconvenience of the garrison. For fifteen days had the besieged regarded the progress of these works without giving any considerable annoyance, from an apprehension of exhausting their ammunition. Great quantities of powder had been damaged by the influx of the waters into the town; so that the first fallies were made frown-in-hand, without the use of firelocks. The governor, to prevent the soldiers from being dispirited, pretended that this was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great want of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportunity of shewing their valor, always behaved with the utmost gallantry. The batteries and trenches being finished, prince Henry played with fury against the forts Isabella and St. Antonio. The marshal Chatillon, at the head of the French, drove the garrison


(A) We are credibly informed that the gallant marshal Reib made use of the same stratagem to conceal his want of ammunition, in that unfortunate action in which he was slain, in the service of his Prufien majesty; and that it was attended with singular success.
from their out-works, on the first day of June, and pursued them quite to the gates of the town. Another body of French, commanded by Hauertive, lodged themselves in the counter-carp of fort Iabella, and were attacking the horn-work. The viccount Furenne, who was nephew to the prince of Orange, served at this siege, commanded a company of foot, and signalled himself in so extraordinary a manner as attracted the attention of the whole army. In every desperate attack, in every difficult situation, there the young warrior presented himself, with all the calmness of a philosopher. To him it was owing that another corps of six hundred men, from Breda, had not entered Beisfede; with a party of three hundred men he totally defeated the enemy, and continued the pursuit, notwithstanding two painful wounds he had received. The French and English were rivals on this occasion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a desire of particularly distinguishing themselves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy failed.

At last fatigue and repeated failings had greatly diminished the number of the garrison, when their spirits were suddenly revived by the approach of count Henry de Berg, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the besiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three successive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great slaughter; upon which he retired to join Meneaucet, who had entered Cleves with an army of fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. Henry found by intercepted letters, that the design was to make a considerable diversion; for this reason he ordered Grace to be put in a flate of defence, and directed the flates to secure all the passes and avenues to the provinces. He then pushed his operations with so much spirit, that fort Iabella surrendered on the eighteenth of July, and fort Austino the succeeding day, after the besieged had made two desperate failies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. The garrison, having done every thing that valour and conduct could effect, retired in good order to the town, and there condensed the endeavours of the brave governor. By the surrender of these two forts, reduced to heaps of ashes, they were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly against the walls. Schets, who wanted men, powder, and provisión, laboured to destroy his works. The most vigorous failies were made, but to little purpose; the great superiority of the besiegers repulsing every attempt.

Meanwhile count Stirum was detached with four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, to oppose count Berg, who was meditating an invasion of the provinces. He crossed the Ijssel without refissiance, but was vigorously attacked in the rear by Stirum. Not long after Stirum was reinforced by three thousand men, from the camp before Boisfede, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the Ijssel, to a corps of ten thousand Spaniards, under the conduct of Dulkens, late governor of Groen. The action was bloody and obstinate for the space of ten hours, when both the Dutch officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loss. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes behind him, by which means he obstructed the enemy's march into the provinces, overwhelmed with the terror of an invasion. On advice of Stirum's defeat, the prince of Orange quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was soon joined by several corps of auxiliaries, troops drawn from the garrisons, and new-levied forces; so that his army amounted to twenty-two thousand men, besides the troops left to carry on the siege. The enemy made excursions almost to the gates of Amsterdam; but they were soon thrown into despondency by the reduction of Wijfel, which was surprized by the governor of Emmerich, and the garrison put to the sword, all except the governor, Lozzane, who was set at liberty, and soon after beheaded at Brussel, by order of the archdukes, for having, by his remissness, occasioned the loss of so valuable a city. The reduction of Wijfel, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged them to raise the siege of Hattem, abandon Amersfoord, evacuate the territory of Veluwe, and repuls the Ijssel with precipitation; joined to the divisions among the general officers, it rendered fruitless the vast expense of raising an army of thirty thousand men, the last effort of Spain against the United Provinces, and enabled prince Henry to pull the siege of Boisfede without interruption.

Still the garrison of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, besought the magistrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their diftrusts, the magistrates resolved to grant their request, should the governor remain obstinate in refusing honourable conditions. Schets paid little regard to the safety of the town; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make such a defence as should deserve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had

* Vie de prince Henry, p. 143.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 6 Q powder
powder but for a few rounds, notwithstanding his garrison was quite spent, emaciated, and diminished to a third of the number, he would have flooded the confusions of an assault, after some practicable breaches had been made, were not the magistrates resolute to surrender the city. This obliged him to accept the advantageous proposals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garrison marched out, and was conducted to Dieppe, and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conscience was permitted. Thus ended the siege of Beistud, by which the reputation of Prince Henry was raised to an equality with that of Prince Maurice, and of the first generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the highest distinction; by whom his perseverance, steadfastness, prudence, valour, and conduct, were published in every quarter of Europe. The conquest cost the States an immense sum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were so great, as to absorb every other consideration.

Prince Henry was no sooner in possession of Beistud, than he detached count Ernroth Cazimiri, with a hundred and fifty companies of foot, and thirty troops of horse, to oppose count John de Nassau and Duikens; who, in consequence of a reinforcement from Tilley were preparing to make a fresh irruption into the provinces. Ernroth acquitted himself with such diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the Tiefel, he was encamped on the opposite side, before the enemy had an idea they should meet with any obstruction. Reinforcing the garrisons of Doeburg and Keppel, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count Tilley's army; insomuch that, to avoid perishing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the bisthourmic of Munster, and petition Ernroth for a safe conduct. Colonel Hauerwie likewise passed the Rhine with forty companies of infantry and fourteen troops of dragons, and, laying siege to the strong forts of Ringelburg, took it by assault, in the space of ten hours, putting the garrison to the sword. Thence he marched to Tiefelburg, which he reduced in four days. With the same rapidity he subdued all the towns and forts which, from their situation, proved extremely troublesome to the Dutch garrison in Wofel, and filled the whole country with terror and desolation. The new garrison of Wofel were no less eager to distinguish their zeal and valour. Dividing themselves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they falled out in quest of plunder and glory. One division attacked Rhimbarg, and was roughly handled by the Spanish garrison. The other was more fortunate. Having attacked Doeburg in the night, it surrendered before the morning to the Hollanders. All the other places possessed by the Spaniards on the hither side the Rhine, and in the duchy of Cleves, soon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the Spaniards were everywhere defeated, dispirited, desponding; since the sieges of Beistud and Wofel, they scarce ventured to hold up their heads, face the enemy in the field, or refuse complying with a summons, though secured behind walls. It was matter of surprize to see the strong fortress of Reebort, defended by a garrison more numerous than the besiegers, surrendering at discretion, after having exchanged a few shots. This could only be accounted for the universal panic that prevailed.

Count William of Nassau was the soul of these spirited expeditions. On advice that the elector of Cologne, and the bishops of Munster and Paderborn, were taking measures to affright the enemy, he sent them a peremptory order to desist from these designs, otherwise they would oblige him to lay their territories desolate. This menace produced the desired effect; they dropped their project, and suffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced Berg, attacked Solingen, and carried the place sword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers. A variety of other places submitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garrisons in his conquests; but this did not prevent his reducing the town of Oegermunde, the magistrates of which capitulated. William's soldiers, incontinent with success, and excited by their late plunder to desire more, fell a pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; which the burgheers, that they took arms, attacked the Hollanders, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count William arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to submit to the capitulation. In consequence of those conquests, the whole duchy of Juliers was in a manner depopulated; the people dephering their habitations in the country, and flocking in crowds to all the fortified cities. Cologne, Munster, Cleves, and Berg, were much in the same situation. But the Hollanders published an edict, whereby they declared their sole intention was to oblige the Spaniards to evacuate the successions of Juliers, and promising the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration restored, in some measure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their usual occupations, and were not alarmed.
or Republic of Holland.

alarmed at the progress of the Dutch conquests, considering they could not suffer by a mere change of matters, the Spaniards having treated them with great insolence and tyranny.

To this rapid course of good fortune in the Netherlands, the Dutch added a variety of successes in Asia and America. Notwithstanding the East-India company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of Javà, during which Batavia was twice besieged, their returns were immense. This induced them to rival the generosity and public spirit of the West India company, by making the government a present of five hundred thousand pounds weight of salt-petre. The last-mentioned company, determining to pursue their late good fortune, and to establish a head-seatment in South America, which might vie with Batavia, b sent a powerful squadron to those seas, under the conduct of admiral Locck, the companion of the friend of Heine in all his expeditions. In the month of February he arrived on the coast of Fernambuco, the largest division of Brazil, and detached Vardenburc with sixteen men of war and three thousand land-forces, to invest Olinda, the capital, but the resistance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to reunite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole strength. Vardenburc retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three divisions, under the conduct of the generals Eltz, Honke, and Stein Coachon, who repulsed the Portuguese in three successive attacks they made to obstruct their landing. The Hollander began their approaches towards the Jefuits quarter of the city, and made the college by assault, though strongly fortified. In consequence, Olinda surrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed by the submission of the whole district of Fernambuco, quite to Cape St. Augustine. The West India company acquired great reputation by this expedition; and they were already considered as in possession of all Brazil, as general Vardenburc had in his letters extolled the great advantages of the reduction of Olinda, which, he said, gave the Hollander such a footing, that the whole country might be reduced at a small expence. The public hope was augmented by the further successes of the armament. Leaving a strong garrison in Olinda, the admiral repelled the line, fell upon the town of St. Marthe, and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged Frederic de Toledo, sent with a strong squadron and five thousand troops, to the succour of the Spanish settlements; whom he defeated, c after an obstinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the Spanish admiral was, for several months, supposed to have perished. His ship being separated from the rest of the squadron in the engagement, foundered at sea; and Toledo with a few of his crew were saved by a miracle. Such a flow of success encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which set, towards the close of the year, to complete their conquests.

As soon as the season permitted, William of Nassau renewed his expeditions against the Spaniards, who still poissified some considerable places on the frontiers of the succession of Juliers. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attend ed with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The first project that failed was one he formed against Duffeldorp. A party of soldiers was sent in the habits of women, d to feize upon that town, but they were discovered and disappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to surprize Mulheim, garrisoned by a body of Imperialists. The detachment of five thousand men, which he had sent upon that business, was surprized and repulsed by two thousand of the enemy. Indeed all the count's schemes were so refined and ideal, as well as dangerous, that to succeed they required the utmost good fortune and address. They were so connected with each other, that the failure of one occasioned a general disappointment; though it proved otherwise in the present case, for William was successful on the opposite side of the Rhine, though all his projects against Duffeldorp and Mulheim had been baffled. The town of Sichtein, and a variety of other places held by Spaniards or Austrian garrisons, submitted to the Hollander. These rapid victories, and so long a series e of prosperity, however, raised a powerful confederacy against the count of Nassau. All the catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the Dutch wanted to penetrate as far as Frankfort, and to throw themselves into the Palatinate, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages desolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to restore Frederic V. despoiled of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himself particularly interested to obstruct. The elector of Cologne and the bishops of Munster and Paderborn, though over-awed by William of Nassau, privately solicited the emperor to oppose the states of the United Provinces, and protect the catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which suffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to pursue unmolested, a course f of the most cruel tyranny and oppression. His imperial majesty lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the catholic princes; and fearing that the count de Hanau would declare for

7 Vid. Mod. Univ. Hist. 5vo. vol. 2;
The history of the United Provinces,

the Dutch, because he refused admitting an imperial garrison into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and Haaan to be in a manner besieged by the imperial army. This obliged the count to admit the emperor’s troops, who were a few months after driven out by the Swedes.

All this time the Dutch were employed in the entire reduction of the succession of Juliers. On advice that the Spaniards were building a new fort on the canal between the Rhine and the Meuse, the governor of Welfel, making draughts out of his own and the nearest garrisons, detached colonel Jeslein to disturb the works, and if possible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to nine hundred men, with which he ventured to attack count John of Nafief with a body of fifteen hundred foot and horse, defeated any took him prisoner after an obstinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the Belgians, determined the duke of Newburgh to repair in person to the Hague, to solicit the consent of the states to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of Brandenburg. The states, perceiving that the Spaniards refused to evacuate Ottauy and Sittew, could not be prevailed upon to surrender Emmerech, Rees, and Welfel, with their dependent towns and territories. At last the archdukes contented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of Clever and Juliers, upon which the states began to relax a little from their former rigour, confederating to cede all their conquests, except the three towns just mentioned. With this concession the duke of Newburgh was forced to rest satisfied; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to Germany.

It was immediately after this negotiation that the court of Brusells made proposals for a truce between the arch-dukes and the states, for the space of 34 years, upon the same conditions offered twenty-one years before. The remittances necessary for the support of the war were entirely stopped at Madrid, and the catholic king seemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the Netherlands. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and protestant provinces, about this time, had somewhat diminished that impicable animosity which had for so long a time subsisted between them. This, with a variety of other circumstances, the archdukes hoped would dispose both parties to liften to the means of establishing the tranquillity of the seventeen provinces, after a bloody war of sixty years duration. It was well known at the Hague that nascently dictated the proposals to the archduces; however, they did not chuse absolutely to reject propositions, which d might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a successful war. After the conferences held at Rosendaal, for the exchange of prisoners, the archduches’s deputies proceeded to the Hague, because the Dutch deputies had no instructions to enter upon the business of a truce. Opinions were divided in the assembly of the states general. Some perfused themselves that an accommodation with Spain would incur the repentment of France; they urged, that while the republic had nothing to fear, it was aburd to content to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time to recover their exhausted strength and spirits; and that Holland being now opulent by the wealth of the Indies, and powerful by the reduction of Bafheus and Welfel, the two ramparts of the United Provinces, ought in her turn to treat the Spaniards with that haughtiness and insolence, of which they were so profuse in their prosperity. Thofe of a contrary opinion supported their sentiments by a variety of arguments, tending to evince, that a suppliant humbled enemy ought not to be defied; that the chance of war was uncertain; and that those who were this year at the very pinnacle of fortune, might next season be reduced to the lowest abyss of diptrefs. These general reflections they corroborated by the sentiments of the late excellent patriot, Barneweldt, who, with the confent of the French king, had urged pacific measures in 1609. They might possibly have carried their point; had not cardinal Richieu, bent upon retrenching the power of the house of Austria, traversed the negotiation, by means of the fieur de Bougy, sent in quality of an ambassador to the Hague. This artifull minister practive was ingeniously on the temper of the states, that, instead of concluding a truce with Spain, they renewed the alliance with France, then at war with the catholic monarch. The treaty differed but little from that signed in 1627, but never ratified. Here, as in the former, the states contented to enter upon no truce, treaty of peace, engagement, or alliance, without the consent of his most christian majesty. They likewise promised to assist him with troops, ammunition, cannon, &c. as soon as his army should enter upon hostilities in Artois, Hainault, and the other countries belonging to the Spaniards; the king, on his part, stipulating to pay a considerable subsidy to the states, and to employ the same number of forces in the Netherlands, which he had hitherto maintained. All the measure taken by Spain and the court of Brusells, to promote a truce, were disconcerted. No regard was paid to the Flemish deputies at the Hague; they were treated with the utmost contempt, and in danger of being openly insulted. An answer to their proposals was published, under the title of the Anti-truce; in which the courts of Spain and Brusells were lathed with

* Nuvilles, ibid. * Id. ibid. Le Clerc, tom. ii. ibid. great
or Republic of Holland.

a great severity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this discourage the archduchefs from proceeding in her pacific designs. She had recourse to the mediation of England, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the restoration of the elec-
torate palatine, brother-in-law to Charles, and nephew to the prince of Orange. The states
themselves were likewise interested in seeing this unhappy prince re-established in the elec-
torial dignity and his dominions; however regard for the prince did not operate so power-
fully as was expected. They suffered themselves to be solicited for the space of four months
by the Britifh ambassador, and at last returned an answer, that when they had any thoughts
of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of Great Britain with their
intentions. This put an end to the negotiation, and obliged the Spaniards to make the
best preparations in their power for the renewal of hostilities.

b While the prince of Orange was employed in the siege of Bofjledue, the H:llandens sup-
ported a vigorous war against the new admiralty formed at Dunkirk, which had struck such
terror since the reduction of Breda, and the excellent regulations made by Spinola. The lofifes
sought by the Dutch merchants obliged the states to encrease their marine, and send the
merchant ships under strong convoys. Early this season a powerful squadron put to sea,
under the conduct of the new admiral of Holland, Peter Heine, and next day fell in with three
Spanifh men of war on the coast of Flanders. An action ensued, and Heine was killed by a
cannon-bullet at the first broad-side; but his lieutenant concealing his death carefully,
the mariners continued to fight with spirit, and the three Spanifh ships were taken, and carried
into Rotterdam, where the admiral’s death was first divulged (A). This last defeat gave a
catastrophic check to the Dunkirkers, and diffused a spirit of discontent and mutiny through
the Spanish army and garrisons; who could not but attribute to misconduct, that the
wealth intended for their maintenance should be the means of their destruction; and those
very sums destined for their pay, enriching their enemies, and purchasing them all the
conveniences of life, while they were pining under all the miseries of hunger and
nakedness. Crouds of defectors came over every day from Breda, and the other Spanish
garrisons. Even the officers in the count de Berg’s army quitted the service, and enlisted
with the states. The peasants were oppressed with contributions, and the nobility in-
cented at the insolence of the Spainiards, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the
clergy murmured, and declared against the remifness of the government, and lamented the
danger that threatened religion. All these disorders, all these grievances, were
charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument arising
from places, pensions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, the eafe,
and the security of the people. The states of the clergy and nobility assembled, to deli-
erate on the present situation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppre-
sions altogether unsupportable. Many persons were for submitting to the Hollanders, with-
out regard to the protestant religion, which they had established, and their declared op-
position to the catholic faith; but others, touched with confience, and strongly attached
to the religion of their ancestors, proposed deputing the archbishop of Meclhin and the
duke d’Arjebot, to the arch-duches, to represent to her the grievances of which the people
complained; all of which had their rife in the preference shown to foreigners. They gave
her to understand, that, on condition they were not faddled with the minions and officers of
the Spainfifh court, they would willingly give up all the affiftance in troops, and remit-
tances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they should be able to
defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majefy and
the archduchefs. The good princes heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and
promised to do all in her power to redrefs them. With this view she sent the count de
Sobre into Spain; but the duke de OIivares destroyed the effects of her remonstrances. Dif-
trustful in this hope, the archduchefs endeavoured to ease her subjects, by opening a free
intercourse of trade between them and the states of the United Provinces; and as the Holl-
landers and the prince of Orange shewed no disilke to this project, she mittook their at-
tachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but soon
perceived that they were resolved to pursufe their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and
farmer security were procured for the republic.

(A) The admiral’s remains were conducted with great solemnity to De/lis, where they were interred with the
utmoft pomf and magnificence, in the great cemetery set downe for the monuments of illustrious persons, who
have done their country important services. Deputies from the states general and the states of Holland and Ze-
land, the directors of the East and West India companies, all the different corporations at Amfterdam, and a great
number of persons of distinction, honoured the funeral
with their presence. A superb monument, graced with
the relation of his exploits, was erected at the public ex-
pense, and Peter’s memory continues at this day to be
admired, honoured, and eftimated.

b Nuville, tom. ii. cap. 8.
The history of the United Provinces,

Since the late treaty with France, cardinal Richelieu directed the counsels of the states a general, and soon discovered that all his good offices towards the republic had their source in self-interest. While he was caring for the states, and cajolling the people with the hope of powerful succours from the French king, he was secretly contriving the means of seizing on the town of Orange, and the patrimony of prince Henry. For some time he had maintained a clandestine correspondence with the sieur de Walkemburgh, governor of the city, who, notwithstanding he was the great favourite of the prince his master, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching solicitations of Richelieu, who of all men best understood the human heart, and most successfully employed the talent of seduction. Walkemburgh contented to surrender the place to the cardinal for the sum of four hundred thousand livres in money, and an estate in Provence of twenty thousand livres in value; but inflicting upon him put in possession of the whole, before he admitted a French garrison, the negotiation was protracted, and the prince had some intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for Walkemburgh, broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the usual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was bestowed on Knyph a Zealander, who pursued his instructions with great address, assembled a body of troops with the utmost expedition and privacy, got possession of the city, blocked up Walkemburgh in the house of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a scuffle that ensued on his refusing to surrender, and then laid siege to the citadel, while the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of Walkemburgh's death, and Knyph's commission. This laid the foundation of that riveted aversion which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal, and opposition to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, constantly shewn upon all occasions by the succeeding princes of the family of Orange.

The prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince Henry had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people, than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuse his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they resolved to testify their gratitude, by rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in his family, and raising his son to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. These acts of acknowledgment were accompanied by particular demonstrations of the joy of the people; and a solemn deputation from the states general waited upon the prince with the strongest assurances of their esteem and gratitude. The young prince's commissio was presented in a gold casket, and compliments were poured in daily from the states of all the provinces. But the attention required to these ceremonies did not divert Henry from the business of the state; he resolved to shew himself worthy of his new honours, by a double portion of diligence. Affecting his army near Emmerick, where he had formed vast magazines of corn imported from Danzig, his great preparations alarmed the courts of Brussels and Madrid, as they still entertained remote hopes, that the truce might yet take place. The archdukes, sensible that it was vain to flatter herself longer with this prospect, exerted herself to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpose laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A proceeding so necessary when the treasury was quite exhausted, excited the clamours of the Flemings, and the ill-judged policy of the court of Madrid increased their discontent, by appointing the marquis de Santa Cruz to succeed Spinola in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the Netherlands. To sweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the Flemings, a report was spread, that the marquis was to serve under the cardinal Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduke, who was to succeed her in the government. Count Henry de Berg, was made marshall-general of all the troops in Flanders, and Carlo Colonna was raised to the rank of camp-marshal-general. A corps of six thousand men was detailed to cover Antwerp and Mechlin, under the conduct of Zapata; the care of all the convoys was committed to Lucas Cayro, who had four thousand foot, and thirty troops of horse under his command. As to the count de Berg, he took post near Rimbem, for the defence of the new canal, and of Spanjhf Gelderland, of which he was governor.

Such were the measures taken by the enemy, while the prince of Orange, dividing his army into three corps, took post upon the Rhine, at Bajledde and Slays. Leaving count Stirum with a flying camp of ten thousand men at Rees, he embarked his troops at Emmeric, and attended by the duke of Vendome, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Bruges, passed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, constructed upon a new plan, surprised three Spanish forts, advanced to Ghent; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the flirts of a wood in his way, he dropped his design, and returned, from an apprehension.

Le Clerc, Hist. p. 170.
cession of falling into an ambuscade. The Spanish army multiplied daily; troops were pouring in from Germany and Italy, and already a body of twenty-nine thousand foot, with twenty-seven companies of horse, had advanced to the canal between Ghent and Bruges, on a supposition that the prince formed designs upon one of these cities. The archdukes perceived that the vigilance of the prince of Orange would baffle all her endeavours in the usual method of carrying on the campaign, they therefore resumed a scheme which had been proposed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. For this purpose a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been constructed, but laid aside rather for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the persuasion of a capuchin, and the son of the advocate-general Barneveldt, who lived in banishment at Brussels, the boats were again taken into commission, a body of forces appointed to serve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to John count de Nassau. The count set sail from Antwerp with a fleet of ninety boats, having on board five thousand land-forces, and thirteen hundred marines; but part of the prince’s intelligence proving false, he was forced to alter the course prescribed, re-enter the Scheldt, pass by Remerswaal, and coast along the isle of Texel, into which the prince of Orange had thrown a reinforcement of nine thousand men. The barks loaded with his ammunition, proviant, and cannon, having run on the sandbanks, a whole tide was lost before they were got afloat, which afforded the Hollanders time to collect a small fleet of boats at Bergen-op-Zoom; with these they attacked the enemy, and took several boats, and three hundred prisoners. At the same instant the fleet of Zeeland, commanded by admiral Hollart, fell upon the Spaniards in the night. Count John sustained the attack with great intrepidity, and the capuchin performed wonders; but after an action of six hours, the Spaniards were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only twelve officers escaped, in which number were count John, the baron Balasis, governor of Breda, and the capuchin. Seventy-five boats and barks were taken, the rest had been either sunk or burned, and the number of prisoners exceeded five thousand men, most of whom enlisted in the prince’s army, and were incorporated in different regiments. The victory was deemed in Holland among the most glorious with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the arms of the republic; and indeed the consequences were very important, as they entirely broke the scheme planned at the court of Brussels, of feezing all the Dutch islands quite to the Brille, and Dordrecht, while the marquis de Santa Cruz should subdue the whole country along the Meuse, as far as Gertrudenberg.

This defeat of this expedition threw the court of Brussels into consternation. Equipping the armament had cost the government large sums, which were now entirely lost, together with great part of the army. The archduke supported the misfortune with infinite spirit and moderation, exorting her utmost influence to appease the clamours raised against the marquis de Santa Cruz, upon whom the blame of so ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the Fleming nobility. Something must be done to satisfy the people; accordingly the count offered the admiral Jacob Janse a victim to their discontent, and sent him prisoner to Breda; but Janse was an Italian, and this proceeding served only to encrease the public murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of Dutchmen, loaded with corn, seized by the Dunkirkers, brought the Flemings into better temper. Advice coming to the court of Madrid of the fate of the late expedition, the ministry had recourse to their usual artifices. They greatly diminished the loss, and magnified some petty advantages gained in the East and West Indies. They had little indeed to boast with respect to the latter, for the great armament destined for the recovery of Olinda was dispersed in a storm, and the greatest part of the troops died of a malignant fever. D’Oquendo at last set sail, with a numerous fleet, for Broeil, and in his voyage encountered the Dutch admiral Pater, with seventeen ships, ten of which heered off before the engagement began.

Pater was too far advanced to retire with safety or honour; he determined therefore to supply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, funk four and burned fix of their ships, before he could be surrounded. After having long kept victory in full tide by dint of skill and intrepidity, he saw one of his finest vessels blown up, with the crew, consisting of three hundred men. The loss was succeeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy. The powder-room of his own ship took fire, the flames spread in despite of his utmost endeavours, and Pater, with above four hundred brave seamen, perished in the flames. Five ships now only were left, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crowded with Spaniards who had boarded them, tinged the sea with blood, and covered it with floating carcases. At last, perceiving they must sink under the weight of numbers, they made

a Le Clerc, tom. ii. ubi supra.
The history of the United Provinces,

one desperate pufh, broke through the enemy's line, and after having destroyed four ships, a got clear, and fteered their course unpursued to Olnida. The honour of victory remained with the Spaniards; but they had purchased it so dear, that d'Oquendo was disabled for that year from acting offensively. Returning to Europe some time after, he was attacked by four Dutch men of war, and defeated with the loss of seven hundred men, twenty two officers, three ships, and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of Madrid boasted; but a falfe relation of facts served for a time to blind the public, and appeafe the clamours of the people b.

While Spain was busied in preparing for the defence of the Netherlands, and the recovery of her losses in Brabant, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the king of Sweden, whose invasion into Germany threw the whole empire into confusion. In the space of one year he had conquered whole provinces, restored the dukes of Mecklenburg, to the dominions of which they were dispossessed by the victorious general Wallenstein, defeated the emperor's troops in divers encounters, obtained the glorious victory of Leipzic over Tilly, the most celebrated commander of his age, crossed the Rhine and the Danube, reduced above sixty towns, fortresses, and cities, and was on the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and subjecting the grandeur of the ancient house of Austria, which had long given law to Christendom. Covered with laurels, and hedged in by victory, this glorious monarch did not think the states of the United Provinces unworthy of alliance. They had long laboured in the same cause, and with equal perseverance and courage fought in defence of liberty and the protestant religion. With this view he sent his chancellor Oxenhiem to the Hague, where he was received with all the honours due to his own merit, and the minister of so great a prince and hero. A treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, whereby they stipulated to attack the Spaniards on the Rhine, with all their forces, and by this means divide the Austrian army. The penitent Fawzi was sent to the king, to adjust further particulars.

To fulfil the treaty with Sweden, the prince of Orange took the field at the head of two hundred and fifty-three companies of infantry, and fifty-eight troops of cavalry. Several detachments were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering Spanish Guelderland, bent his course towards Venlo, feizing upon Arsen, a little fortress upon the Meuse. Next day he summoned the garrison of Venlo. The magistrates desired him to consult the count de Berg, but Henry marched his troops by two avenues, amidst the furious discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a sharp Sally made by the garrison. Before morning, the trenches were advanced three hundred yards, notwithstanding the besieged gave all possible obstruction. A battery of six pieces of cannon was erected, which played so briskly with ignited balls, that one side of the town was set on fire. By the third of June, the inhabitants, seeing the enemy approach the ditch, desired to capitulate, on condition that their privileges were preserved, liberty of conscience permitted, and a church allowed for the public exercise of the Catholic religion. The garrison, scrupling to submit on the same terms with the burghers, defended themselves for a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of Juliers. This siege, though the firing was extremely brisk, cost the besieged only two lives, which was attributed to the prudent conduct of prince Henry, imitating the example of his brother Maurice, in expounding his troops to danger, only in cases of extreme necessity.

HENRY was no sooner in possession of Venlo, than he detached count Ernsth with six thousand men, towards Stralen and Ruremonde, the former of which surrendered without resistance to the fleet Truilleri. Ruremonde, an episcopal town in Guelderland, was besieged by Ernsth in person. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince of Orange arrived in the camp. His presence wrought such an effect on the inhabitants, that they surrendered next day, the 10th of June, on the same conditions granted to the magistrates of Venlo. The prince's moderation contributed no less to the sudden reduction of towns, than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conscience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardship than what is consequent on a mere change of masters and of government. The siege of Ruremonde proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who, by a mufket-ball, the lost shot fired by the garrison, loosed their excellent governor, count Ernsth Caflmier of Nassau. He was succeeded in his dignities by his son Henry Ernsth, and the states general acknowledged their esteem for the deceased, by making the stadtholdership of the two provinces hereditary in his family.

In the mean time William of Nassau gained very considerable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thousand men, by the prince of Orange, to harass the enemy on the banks of the Scheld. Embarking his troops in a number of

b NVILLE, tom. ii. cap. 10. c PUFFEND. Hist. Generale, tom. vi. lib. vi.
or Republic of Holland.

A small boat at Ramkin, he pushed up the river to Lillo, made himself master of the important port and dyke at Coweglein, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the Scheld to the territory of Ryen. Afterwards he took Pegkat, fort St. Martin, and all the works which covered St. Vliet. To oppose his progress, the Spaniards detached a body of five thousand men, composed of the garrison of Antwerp, and the militia of the country, under the generals Colonza and Fiera. A battle was fought near Callo, in which both sides behaved with great valour; but the Scotch and Irish auxiliaries at last broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners, killed four hundred men, among whom was the brave Spinelli, and obtained a complete victory. So many advantages gained by the Hollanders determined the count de Berg to resign his commission, after he had faithfully served the court of Spain for a great number of years, notwithstanding he was nearly related to the prince of Orange, connected by strong ties with count Stirum, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but to zealous a catholic, that his conscience would not suffer him to submit to the protestant government established in the Seven Provinces. He retired to Liège, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deserted, and denied a body of forces sufficient for the defence of Guelderland; but it was generally supposed, he had concurred matters with the prince of Orange, being disgusted with the preference shown to foreigners. The sudden retreat of so important a personage alarmed the court of Brussel. The archdukes feared that so dangerous an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Spanish ministry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulsion of all foreigners out of the Netherlands. Filled with these apprehensions, the dispatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to Brussel, and promising to redress all his grievances; but the count excused himself in an answer couched in the most respectful terms, for the princes. He was sensible of her good-nets, but he knew her power was limited by Olivares, and that her favour to himself would be disconsonant to all the Spaniards. He hoped, he said, that his faithful personal services of forty years, and the death of six brothers slain in the war, would give sufficient testimony of his zeal for the house of Austria, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the sufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cause, from the pride, avarice, and that contempt which the Spaniards affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the same time, a circular letter, in form of a manifesto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the Seven Provinces, to justify his conduct with respect to the marquis de Leganes, and other Spaniards with whom he was at variance. In the result, he entirely threw off the mask, declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, against the opposition and tyranny of the Spaniards.

On the eighteenth of June the prince of Orange wrote a letter to the count de Berg, applauding his resolution, and declaring that he should not have feizcd upon the towns in Spanisht Guelderland, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceless, the magistrates refusing to furnish the Spanisht garrisons with money, which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of affluence and conciliation, in his own name, and that of the Dutch general, and requested he would rely upon their friendship and protection, against all his enemies. With respect to the catholic religion, in which he was so zealous, he might rest satisfied, as the states were determined to permit liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the Remisht religion in all their conquests, as was obvious from their conduct at Venlo, Stralen, and Ruremonde. The states of Liège, apprehensive that the declaration published by the count de Berg might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, published a protest of their having no share in the court’s designs; while he, on his part, confirmed their afferentation by a solemn act, acquitting the chapter and states of all communication, interest, or connection, with his affairs, and the purport of his late declaration. Measures for deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of Brussel, that the count’s resolution had not been formed in a sudden fit of disgust; the Spaniards intimated to the archdukes, that the invasion of Spanisht Guelderland was in consequence of secret intelligence between him and the prince of Orange. This first determined her to prevent the consequences of his desertion by letters wrote to the three estates of the provinces, and then, by a personal declaration against the count, with an order to seize his person. So vigorous a resolution terrified the court’s party, and obliged him to return to Aix, in Holland, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of Brussel, and condemned to lose his head upon a scaffold.

The revolt, however, of the count de Berg did not produce all the expected consequences.

It was supposed that the Flemish troops would desert, by which means the archdukes would be deprived of her greatest strength, and disabled from opposing the conquests of the prince of Orange; but that princes had taken her measures so prudently, and was so universally beloved, that scarce any more than the usual defection happened. It was not-
withstanding a terrible blow to the court of Spain, as she was now deprived of a general to oppose Prince Henry, and whose popularity in Guelderland might greatly afflict the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, situated on the Meuse, were reduced in the space of eight days. By the tenth of June, the Dutch had pushed their conquests quite to Maasbricht, and penetrated to the farthest extremity of Limburg. Maasbricht itself, the most commodious passage of the Meuse, was now invested, after it had quietly remained in the hands of the Spaniards since the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, when it was taken by the duke of Parma. The city was defended only by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, under the command of the baron de Leida, nephew to the count de Motery, an officer of great experience, absent when the prince of Orange formed the siege. That prince carried on his approaches with his usual caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirst of glory could inspire. With this only troop of cavalry, he reconnoitred the disposition of the Dutch trenches, maintained a sharp conflict, and returned with a number of prisoners superior to his whole party; a success which so elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without distinction, even the clergy and women, determined to second the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A sally was made to burn all the surrounding houses, which could in any way afflict the approach of the besieged; but the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter. All the batteries being finishead by the fourteenth of June, the rest of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the besieged endeavoured to obstruct by a great number of brick fallies. Sometimes they proved successful, and in one fall they destroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage.  

Mean time the Spaniards, sensible that Maasbricht was a town of the last importance, were collecting all their strength for its relief, and not satisfied with their own forces, had recourse to the assistance of their allies. Gonzales de Cordova, with a body of forces drawn from the Palatinate, presented himself before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorously repulsed by the French and English auxiliaries. The fleur d'Elysia particularly distinguished himself in this affair, pursuing the enemy across the river with such imperiousness, that he penetrated the Spanish camp, threw it in great confusion, and retired with a considerable number of prisoners. Gonzales collecting his dispersed troops, attempted to seize all the avenues leading to the Dutch camp, and thereby cut off their provisions; but the prince of Orange took such measures as effectually baffled the project of the Spaniards. Six weeks had now been consumed in this siege, during which a variety of fallies and affairs were made, which gave it so much reputation, that volunteers flocked from all quarters of Europe, to learn the art of war under Prince Henry. On the twenty-second of July, the marquis de Santa Cruz arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a passage over the Meuse at Stocken; but his troops were so roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the German auxiliaries under Pappenheim, one of the best officers in the emperor's service. When the prince of Orange understood that this reinforcement had joined the Spanish general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed stronger guards at all the posts, and ordered William of Nassau to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of Nimwegen. Nor had Pappenheim reason to be satisfied with the reception given him by the marquis de Santa Cruz, and the Spanish officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would run away with the whole honour of relieving Maasbricht. To prevent this, he sent the duke of Newburgh, with proposals to the prince of Orange, for changing hostilities into a negotiation. Pappenheim, incensed at the ufage, declared by a trumpet, that he was come with the imperial army to oppose the Dutch, and immediately advanced to force the prince's intrenchments. The Hollanders fulfilled the attack with great firmness, and at last drove back the imperialists with prodigious slaughter. Pappenheim then entrenched himself opposite to count Stirum's quarters, with intention to seize the first opportunity of throwing succours into the town. To secord his design, the besieged made a brisk sally, furiously attacked the English quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above four hundred British soldiers perished in this action, the principal of whom were the lord Oxford, and colonel Williams.  

After Pappenheim had fully examined the posts, the strength and situation of the besiegers, he disposed every thing for a second attack, on the eighteenth of August, planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers composed the van, followed by all the infantry, with falcons to fill up the trenches; the cavalry supported both wings. The attack was so impetuous, that notwithstanding the g trenches were choked up with their dead, the German sill pressed on, and obliged the  

* Vie de prince Henry, p. 102.
or Republic of Holland.

Dutch to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obstinately maintained for three hours, when the prince of Orange arrived with fresh troops, conducted by the dukes de Candale and Bouillon, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the French nobility. They attacked the Germans in flank, with irresistible fury: the scale of fortune was now changed, and the Imperialists in their turn put in disorder, defeated, and driven from the entrenchments. The brave Imperialist was shocked to see the Spaniards cool spectators of the slaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis de Santa Cruz; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonstrate that he could finish his business without their assistance (A). A second time he returned to the charge; both sides of the Dutch camp were attacked, and he forced a footing for his cavalry within the trenches. He sustained the attack, from one till seven in the evening, the Spaniards all the while remaining quiet spectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, musketry, grenades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting discharge, and the clouds of smoke obscured the light, and made it impossible for the combatants to distinguish each other. Prince Henry, the dukes de Candale and Bouillon, count John Maurice of Nassau, and the French volunteers, opposed their utmost vigour to the fury of Pappenheim, who performed every duty of a soldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in despair to return to the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The Garrison finding such astonishing feats made for their relief, resolved to contribute their endeavours, and sallying out vigorously upon the English quarters, made a considerable diversion, but were at last repulsed with loss, after an obstinate engagement. The Germans were discouraged by the defeat of the besieged. They had repeatedly came back to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Now they were fatigued, exhausted, and broken, while the Dutch poured in fresh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had suffered. After one furious unsuccessful attempt, Pappenheim retired in tolerable order, leaving two thousand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded prisoners, among whom was lieutenant-general Lindlock, four colonels, and a great number of inferior officers, greatly chagrined at his defeat, and the conduct of the Spaniards, who regarded his disappointment as a real victory gained by themselves.

Prince Henry finding himself disengaged from so formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the Spaniards, who seemed to lie encamped at a little distance, only to give testimony to his valiant exploits, his excellent conduct, and glorious triumph, pushed the siege with redoubled vigour. The British troops f urging a mine on the twentieth of August, which destroyed great part of the ravelin; the garrison and burghers flew in crowds to the breach, where the baron de Leda fought in person with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the besiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, distinguished themselves, and extremely galled the assailants with their hand-grenades. Above three hundred British soldiers, and about eighty of the besieged, perished; several women likewise were slain and wounded.

But this success served only to protract the siege; it could not determine the fate of the garrison. The breach was formed a second time, and carried sword in hand; which so alarmed the burghers, that in a body they besought the baron to save their lives and effects by a capitulation. After using some fruitless arguments to persuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he signed a capitulation, and obtained the most honourable conditions; these respecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magistrates of Venlo and nowhere. Thus was the important city of Maasbricht, in despite of the utmost efforts of three armies, that of Spain, under the marquis de Santa Cruz; of the Palatinate, commanded by Cordova; and the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced Pappenheim, obliged to surrender. The states lost six thousand men in the siege; but the importance and glory of the conquest obliterated every other consideration, and the reduction of Maasbricht be regarded as one of the most memorable events of a war abound ing in battles and sieges.

HENRY having bestowed the government of Maasbricht on the duke de Bouillon, left a strong garrison in the town; and, secured from all attempts from the Imperialists on the side of the Rhine, sent seventy large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the Scheld, to spread terror along the coast of Flanders. William of Nassau advanced likewise with eight thousand men to Lillo and Saffingen, by which means the Catholic provinces were beset by

(A) Novelle reports, that when Pappenheim desired that the Spaniards might march to his assistance, the marquis answered that the king had employed four hundred thousand dollars to fill the ditch with German carcases. We must confess this raillery appears too indelicate for an officer of the marquis's merit and distinction.
sea and land. Count Stirum was likewise detached to reduce the few remaining towns of a Spanish Guelderland, most of which submitted rather to the influence of the count de Berg than to the arms of the Hollanders. The archduches apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance against the few towns held by the Spaniards in the duchy of Cleves. Unable to protect them with her own forces, she wrote to Pappenheim, requesting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places sequestered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of Vienna, Pappenheim wrote to the prince of Orange, exhorting him to distinguish between the places in the duchy of Cleves, under the protection of the emperor, and those held by Spain; but Henry, perceiving the artifice, returned for answer, that, provided his imperial majesty would observe an exact neutrality, and prevail on the Spaniards to withdraw their garrisons, he was ready to comply.

While this affair was negotiating, prince Henry detached lieutenant-general Stakem- broek and colonel Pinfen, to invest Limburgh, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it surrendered upon the first summons. Stakembroek then penetrated to Namur, and laid the whole surrounding country under contributions. Heavy contributions were likewise raised in the territories of the duke of Newburgh and the elector of Cologne, because they had violated the neutrality, in assisting Pappenheim's expedition to Maasbricht. In the month of October, Orsey, a town in the duchy of Cleves, was surprized by a Dutch party; but the avarice of the soldiers, and their eagerness after plunder, exposed them to the enemy, and occasioned the loss of their conquest. They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garrison of Rimberg. William of Nassau, however, soon after recovered the place; with which the campaign, so glorious to the prince of Orange, and advantageous to the republic, concluded.
S E C T. IX.

Containing Proposals for a Truce between Spain and Holland; Propositions concerning the Re-union of the Seventeen Provinces; the Siege of Breda; and a Variety of other military Operations, to the Death of the Prince of Orange, and the Treaty of Munster.

Onfounded with the rapid conquests of prince Henry, and the progress of the Dutch conquests, the court of Brussels had no other resource than the renewal of their negotiations for a truce with the states general. Necessity rather than the love of peace dictated this measure. The Spaniards were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant what the United Provinces required; but they were forced to temporize, and gain a little respite, by establishing conferences, whose sole object was to procrastinate. It had been the policy of Philip II. to fet negotiations on foot whenever he found his treasury exhausted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as soon as the flota arrived from the Indies, and he had recovered himself; this policy was imitated by his successors. The archdukes now dispatched a deputation to Maastricht, with proposals to the prince of Orange, which he transmitted and referred to the states general. The states declared they could enter upon no conferences with the Spanish ministry; but that they were willing to begin a negotiation with the catholic provinces, on condition that they would detach themselves from the Spaniards. This proposal was accepted by the archdukes, who accordingly sent the archbishop of Mechlin, and the duke d’Arfebot, to the Hague, to open the conferences: seven other deputies from Brabant, Haiaucui, and Flanders, sufficed. They were acknowledged as the ambassadors of the court of Brussels by the states, and they declared they were come entirely in the name of the states of the catholic provinces. As the states general were bound by the treaties with France and Sweden, to enter upon no negotiations without the consent and participation of their allies, they drew up a scheme of preliminaries so unreasonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their instructions to give any answer. It is, however, supposed, that had the proposals been more favourable, they must have made the same declaration: this at least is asserted by Dutch writers. Upon this the deputies returned with more ample powers: and the prince of Orange, unwilling to be diverted from his military operations by conferences, the fruitless issue of which he foresaw, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to Rhinberg. This town standing upon the Rhine between Wessel and Orsay, was regarded as a place of great importance to the Hollanders. It commanded the whole navigation and commerce of the Rhine, and enabled them to levy contributions in the Dutch territories on the hither side the Rhine. This important town the prince of Orange invested on the 11th day of May, pitching his head-quarters towards the south-side. Diesdorff, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town, having under him a garrison of 2000 men. He defended himself with so much judgment, that, notwithstanding the prince carried on his approaches with the utmost vigour, only nine soldiers of the garrison were killed at the end of the month, but the fortifications were considerably damaged. His spirits were kept up by the prospect of relief from Moncada, who was marching to his assistance with an army of 20,000 men; hopes that were soon cut off by the judicious measures of prince Henry, who detached a body of horse and foot to oppose the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and harass them in their march. The duke de Bouillon and colonel Pinsen commanded this detachment, and effectually executed their commission; Moncada was unable to advance, and Diesdorff, destitute of all resource and expectation of relief, his garrison fatigued, and his provision and ammunition consumed, surrendered the town upon obtaining the honours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the inhabitants.

The reduction of Rhinberg was the most important service that could have been performed, relative to the provinces of Frisland and Groningen, who were obliged, while this place remained in the hands of the Spaniards, to maintain large garrisons at a vast expense. It procured, likewise, another advantage to the United Provinces, by diminishing the duties upon all merchandise going up and down the river. In a word, the place was deemed of such consequence by the court of Brussels, that Diesdorff was sent prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp, and afterwards cashiered, for not having defended himself to the last extremity. Henry’s expedition to Cleves diminished greatly the public expectation from the conferences, which still were pursued. Though the Flemish deputies continued at the Hague, the archdukes thought herself authorized, by the example of the states general,
to continue her hostile preparations. Levies were accordingly made in all the territories subject to the government; a considerable army took the field in three divisions; and every thing promised that the campaign would be conducted with the utmost vigour. The count de Mistry, with one division, marched into the district of Liage, to revenge the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and states, shewn for the Hollander during the siege of Maegricht; but he was twice defeated by the duke de Bouillon, and forced to abandon the enterprise. Prince Henry marched to Brabant, and encamping at Brelst, was joined by 12,000 Swedes, under general Melander. Now was the most formidable army in the field, which the states general had beheld since the origin of the republic; it was composed of 50,000 infantry and 19,000 cavalry. Spanish Brabant regarded itself as already conquered, and the terror of the allied army had spread to the remotest extremities of the catholic Netherlands. After conferring with the Dutch deputies upon the operations of the campaign; after obtaining a strict oath, and offering solemn prayers for the prosperity of his arms, the prince of Orange began his march, at the head of his forces, towards Embden; in the month of September. A deluge of rain, which poured incessantly during the whole month, and the excellent disposition made by the Spanish general Moncada, frustrated, however, all his designs. The country was destitute of forage, the lands were overflowed, sickfrecs appeared in the army, the peasants deserted their habitations, to avoid bringing provision to the Dutch troops, and every thing contributed to disappoint the great projects of the prince of Orange, and the vast expectations of the states general from so formidable an army. Unable to penetrate farther he retired, and distributed his troops in winter quarters.

The naval armament under count William of Nassau was somewhat more fortunate, tho' greatly short of expectation in point of success. After alarming the Spaniards in different quarters, and keeping them in suspense where the stroke would fall, he at last made a descent on the coast of Flanders, near Cadtau, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of Sluys, which he garrisoned. Perceiving that his progress was vigorously opposed by Fontaines, governor of Bruges, he reimbarked his troops, and fell suddenly upon fort Philippine, near Sas de Gand, where he found abundance of ammunition, provision, and several pieces of beautiful cannon. To the reinvigoration of this place he made vast additions, strengthening the countercarp, in particular, with seven great balistons, and a variety of outworks, that rendered it almost impregnable, and formed a convenient inlet to the Hollander into Flanders. While he was thus employed, his other conquest was lost, owing to the misfortune and cowardice of the garrison. They surrendered after a faint resistance, and upon their return to Holland were broke, and rendered incapable of farther service. Some of the officers were banished, and the name of Cut Head was given to the fort, because it proved fatal to a variety of governors, Spanish and Dutch, who lost their heads for not defending it with more vigour and obstinacy. The Spaniards perceiving the effects of losing fort Philippine, that, instead of laying waste the territories of the states, as usual, their own dominions were now subjected to contributions to the very gates of Ghent, exerted their utmost endeavours once more to gain possession of a place so important. The governor of Antwerp made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garrisons; Colonna joined him with a body of cavalry, and Gonzales with several companies of infantry. In a short time such a force was assembled, as extremely preferred William de Nassau, and obliged him to apply for a considerable reinforcement. However, by a stratagem, he forced the enemy to drop their design of attacking him, of retaking fort Philippine, and of returning the infults they had lately sustained. Ordering several boats, with a trumpeter in each, to land in the night, founding their warlike instruments, he persuaded the enemy that a strong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, provisions, the utensils brought for carrying on the siege, and several pieces of artillery.

With this transaction the campaign ended, upon which the negotiations for a truce were again resumed. The conferences at the Hague had been interrupted by hostilities committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties started by the Hollander, but not wholly broke off; for some of the deputies constantly refrained in Holland, while others went to Brussels for farther instructions. It was the intention of the court of Spain and the states general both to amuse; the archdukes alone was serious in her endeavours to restore tranquillity and the blessings of repose to the Netherlands. Possibly she might have effected this sooner, had she not been curbed, traversed, and disappointed by the intrigues of Olivares and the Spanish ministry, who were too weak to execute their designs upon the United Provinces, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were resolved to accept. Her wife conduct broke all the measures concerted by the Hollander for procuring

Mem. de prince Henry, p. 179.
or Republic of Holland.

a ring the re-union of the Seventeen Provinces, upon such a footing as would entirely exclude the Spaniards. The count de Berg's defection first suggested the idea of this re-union, to which great numbers of the Fleming nobility seemed well disposed. Indeed the people in general were averse to the scheme of a new republic, under the same laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conscience should be tolerated. The design was noble, but it was too vast for practice; so many perils were interested to oppose it, that it was impossible it should ever be carried into execution. The archdukes was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of respect to her wisdom, and that general esteem which her sweet and amiable disposition attracted; but unfortunately she could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence

b repose in her by the court of Madrid. Some writers ascribe the ruin of the project to the duke d'Arfeuot, who betrayed the negotiation between the Fleming nobility and the count de Berg. The states general perceived, that it was not with the court of Brussells they had to treat, but with that of Madrid; they altered their tone, spoke a different language, seeming more indifferent about the trace, but, however, did not positively refuse to listen to the proposals, with which the deputies returned to the Hague. Cardinal Richelieu now interposed, and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between Spain and the United Provinces, so necessary to the designs he had formed. With this view he sent the baron de Charnysse to the Hague, who acquitted himself with so much address, promised so largely, and flattered the states with such agreeable prospects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences, and intimated to the deputies the necessity of their immediate departure.

It must be confessed that this measure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wished for a solid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the states of Zealand, and the prince of Orange in particular, entered so warmly into the interests of the French ambassador, and represented so strongly the utility of continuing the war, that the states general declared in their favour, in defiance of all the remonstrances made by Holland and West Friesland, the most concerned of all the provinces to bring about a respite of the enormous expenses of supporting large fleets, armies, and numerous garrisons. Charnysse surmounted these difficulties by the gold which he promised to shower down from France, and the powerful diversion the king's troops would make, by an irruption into Lorrain and Alsace. The states relied on the effects of these promises, the people were brought into good-humour, and all coincided in the resolution to prosecute the war with such vigour as should compel Spain to sue for peace, upon such terms as France and the republic should think fit to prescribe. This determination was scarce formed, when the Netherlands were deprived of their most excellent princes Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, archduches of Austria, infanta of Spain, daughter to Philip II. of Spain, grand-daughter of Henry II. of France, and still greater by her extraordinary merit, than her elevated birth and connections. She died at Brussells, on the first day of September, lamented by all degrees of men, and equally esteemed by the Spaniards, Flemings, and Dutch, for her prudence, moderation, humanity, piety, and every other quality which could adorn her sex, and reflect lustre upon her high dignity. To a capacity and courage altogether masculine, she joined the loveness, the tenderness, and amiable delicacy of the female; but it was her truly moral and rational piety that, of all her qualities, shone with the brightest radiance: in her religion even the Hollanders, the enemies of her faith and person, believed she was sincere; though the catholics blamed that moderation, which she recommended, and always observed, in regard to the reformed religion.

The death of Isabella was an irrecoverable loss to Spain; it furnished an opportunity of dilating those ideal strokes of policy which seldom succeed, on account of their excheer refinement. We have seen Philip II.'s views in marrying the princes to the cardinal archduke, brother to the emperor Redolph. The Netherlands and France-Comte were her dowry; and the contract of marriage stipulated, that the elder male issue should succeed, and in case of failure of such issue, the oldest of the female line; but that the provinces on no account should be divided, or alienated. Now the whole scheme of Philip was frustrated, and the Netherlands again reverted to the Spanis monarchy, without producing any of the effects proposed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archdukes, was found a commision, signed in 1630, appointing the archbishop of Meiblin, and the duke d'Arfeuot, don Carlo Colonna, and the marquis d'Asytone, regents, during the absence of Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the catholic king, defined to succeed the archduches, not in the property, but in the government of the Netherlands. The death of some, the absence of others, and the contempt into which the duke d'Arfeuot was fallen, so changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the marquis d'Asytone. As the cardinal infant was deeply engaged in Germany, a new commission was granted to the marquis,

A. D. 1634.

Death of the archduchess.

c Nuville, tom ii. p. 17. 4 Idem ibid.
constituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the Spanish forces acting in the Netherlands. He began his government with feizing upon the persons of the nobility forfeited of holding any correspondence with count Henry de Berg, and the states general of the United Provinces. The prince de Barbenzen was committed prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp; the duke de Boursouville, called likewise count Hémis; and the prince d’Épinay, saved themselves in France: an attempt was made to feize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their escape. Some, however, were carried prisoners to Antwerp, while others took refuge in the United Provinces and Brabant, with the counts de Berg and Warfug. As to the duke d’Arscob, he fell under suspicion, and was detained prisoner at the court of Madrid. Sentence of death was pronounced against the count de Berg, which greatly alarmed all the Fleming nobility who had any way connived at his defection. The confirmation became so general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate insurrection, the marquis d’Aytonc found himself obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publishing an amnesty of all that paffed before the sixteenth of April. He faw the consequences of the rigorous treatment of the duke of Alva, and that iron fough which he held over the Flemings; a conduct to which may justly be attributed the los of the Seven United Provinces, and the union that took place at Utrecht.

Next he visited the coasts of Flanders, reinforced the garrisons of the frontier towns, built several forts, to reinstate the incursions of the Hollanders, and concluded a treaty, on the twelfth of May, with Gaffen de France, duke of Orleans, and brother to Louis XIII. in the name of his Catholic majesty; whereby the duke engaged to declare war against the French monarch. This treaty was opposed to the new alliance formed between the king and the republic, by which the king stipulated to augment his forces in the service of the states, to pay two millions yearly, and to declare war against the king of Spain, should he attack the United Provinces. After his negotiation with the duke of Orleans, the marquis d’Aytonc ordered his army to file towards the Meuse, leaving the counts de Fontaine and Feria, governors of Bruges and Antwerp, to oppose William de Nassau’s designs upon Flanders; to effect which they had a corps of five thousand foot, besides a considerable body of cavalry. Immediately the duke de Lerins and the marquis de Ledas were detached to lay siege to Argentau, a place of strength and importance, situated between Maasbricht and Liege, and founded upon a rock washed by the waters of the Meuse. Notwithstanding its great strength, Argentau surrendered after the exchange of a few shots; the garrison, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, not chufing to wait for the expected succours from the prince of Orange. The governor, who was son to Junius the prince’s secretary, was committed prisoner to Maasbricht, by order of the states; but the chief blame fell on the prince of Orange, justly cenfured for leaving a fortress so important in a condition so defenceless.

From Argentau the Spaniards marched to Limbourg, a city of which they made fire, in consequence of a secret treaty with the governor. He had agreed to admit the enemy upon receiving thirty thousand pistoles; but his treacherous design was discovered, and frustrated by the lieutenant-governor, who obliged him to take refuge among the Spaniards. The disappointment did not hinder the marquis from investing Maasbricht in the month of July. This alarmed the prince of Orange, who had hitherto been reduced into a state of inactivity, by the negotiations carried on by the states with the French king, the Swedes queen, the German Protestants, the duke of Newburg, and the malcontents in Flanders. Now he advanced to the frontiers of Brabant and Gelderland, in such a manner as to penetrate into either, as circumstances might require. The duke de Bouillon, governor of Maasbricht, apprehending that d’Aytonc formed designs upon that city, threw himself with four thousand men into the place, and made so furious a Sally on the besiegers, that they were constrained to convert the siege into a blockade. Upon receiving a strong reinforcement, the marquis again began to make his approaches. He battered the town with the utmost fury; but all his efforts gave no inquietude to the prince of Orange, who relied upon the fidelity of the garrison, and the intrepidity and skill of the duke de Bouillon. Perfectly secure in this well-eposé confidence, Henry did not quit the Hague before the month of August, contenting himself with sufficiently reinforcing the garrisons of Ruremunde and Venlo. Now indeed he resolved to invest Breda, rather to make a diversion in favour of Maasbricht, than with hopes of succeeding in the reduction of so well-garrisoned and strong a city. It answered his expectation: he had scarce begun to work upon the trenches, when d’Aytonc raised the siege of Maasbricht, and marched with all his forces to Breda, upon which the prince retired on the eighth of September, leading his army in good order along the Meuse, and closing the campaign with this tranquility.

* Nuville, tom. ii. ibid.

**Though**
Though the marquis d'Aytonc had been fairly over-reached by Henry's fain upon Bre-
dau, yet he assumed the airs of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the pressure of a close siege. This policy was necessary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expenses fruitedly bestowed on the siege of Maasbricht. It answered d'Aytonc's purpose, the multitude being amazed and dazzled with the public rejoicings, and bonfires kindled in Brots, to celebrate an imaginary victory. Henry's prudence had cut off all possibility of gaining any real advantage, the garrisons being all put in a state of defence, and the troops so judiciously cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This security of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to d'Aytonc, who hoped to signalize his government by some very important blow; and his uneasiness was augmented by the motions of the French army, under the marshal de la Force, on the side of Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans likewise broke his engagements with the court of Spain, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All these circumstances involved the court of Brussells in the utmost confusion, when the cardinal infant Albert arrived, to take upon him the government, to dispel by his presence the gloom that over spread the face of affairs. At Brussells he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly shown to Charles V. and Philip II. It was immediately published, that he meditated nothing less than the re-union of the seventeen provinces under his government, and the greatest hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and confided by all to posses the talents of a sound politician.

The cardinal's arrival announced to the States-General the necessity of keeping strict watch, and putting their troops and garrisons into the best posture. They beheld with disquiet and jealous the compliments that were paid to the cardinal by the neighbouring states and princes; especially the king of England, and the elector of Cologne, who were the earliest in their congratulations. It was also matter of great offence that the duke of Newburgh, with whom they had lately been upon terms of friendship, should not be sat isfied with meeting the cardinal upon his way, but must escort him with a numerous train to Brussells. Their resentment, however, against this prince was soon turned to compaision, when they saw his territories desolated, on the one hand, by the duke of Lymbergh, as the ally of Sweden, and on the other, by the imperial general count Mansfieldt.

It was for this reason they sent him a deputation, exhorting him to continue firm in his neutrality, promising, in that case, to afford him all possible protection. This extraordinary change at the court of Brussells determined the states to send an embassy to the court of France, prefiguring the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the king to declare war against the Spaniards. The consequence was, the renewal of the same treaty, with this addition, that an offensive alliance was now contracted between the king and the republic, from which the states expected nothing less than the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. A scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the towns were to preserve their privileges, and the people their religion. The duchy of Luxembourg, the earldoms of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois, and Flanders, as far as Blakenberg, Damme, and Rupplinsnde, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Meeclin, and all the rest of Flanders, should be annexed to the republic. We have since that period seen other unjust and unsuccessful partitions of the Spanish monarchy, in which France and Holland were to have been principal sharers. Providence, however, did not wholly abandon the Spaniards, or suffer the ambitious, iniquitous designs of their enemies to take effect. The valet projects and sanguine hopes of the allies were disappointed, chiefly by their own blunders, and by the jealousy which the Hollanders entertained of the growing power of France, and the vicinage of so powerful a monarch as Lewis. The prince of Orange likewise was greatly instrumental in defeating the intention of the league. He could never forgive cardinal Richleton the attempt made on the principality of Orange; and he fought his revenge by embracing every occasion to mortify that haughty prelate, and crafty minister.

LEWIS XIILI. now wanted a specious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of Spain, and declaring war against the cardinal governor of the Netherlands, as the first step towards the execution of the treaty with Holland. The seizure of Trier, and the unjust detention of the elector, sent prisoner to Brussells, and thence to Vienna, afforded the opportunity he wished. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his release; and not obtaining it, he solemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald sent to Brussells. It was concerted, that the prince of Orange should enter Brabant with his forces, while a French army, of twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be com-

f Mem. de Prince Henry, pag. 199. 

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI.
manned in chief by the prince of Orange. It was the business of the cardinal infant to prevent this union; he accordingly detached prince Thomas, with the counts Burgi and Erria, to give battle to the French. On the twentieth of May the two armies met near the village of d’Avein in Luxembourg. An engagement ensued, and the Spaniards were totally defeated, after an obstinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was sustained with astonishing intrepidity. They left four thousand dead upon the field, eight hundred prisoners were taken, and several pieces of cannon, with standards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to Maastricht, who lamented that he was deprived of a share in this glorious victory, and complained to the "fleur de Pontis," that the maréchaux de Brescè and Chatillon should have presumed to give battle without the orders of the generalissimo. This is the infatuation of French writers; we find not the least blame thrown upon the maréchaux in the prince’s own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their valour, when they met at Maastricht. It must, however, be confessed that no great harmony subsisted, though this arose from motives more worthy of the prince of Orange; they related chiefly to his country; he seemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the confusions of suffering the French king to establish a footing in the Netherlands.

When the armies of France and Holland were united before Maastricht, they exceeded fifty thousand men, commanded by the best officers in Europe, and generals who had drawn their first breath in the camp, and been nursed in the arms of Bellona. Such an armament was sufficient to swallow up the Spanish Netherlands, already under the utmost consternation, from the defeat at d’Avein. Henry puffed the Menus above and below Maastricht, on the first of June, and penetrated into Brabant, accompanied with a train composed of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant encamped at Deur, having secured all the paffes in the best method he could, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to desert all his works, and leave a free passage. In consequence St. Tron, Laden, Halle, and several inconsiderable places fell into their hands; and Tillemont, because the governor and garrison were intrepid enough to resist, experienced all the horrors which the brutal incensed soldiers could devise. It was summoned on the eighth of June, and Francoise de Burgos, with a garrison of eleven hundred men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince’s esteem by his conduct. He made the most vigorous defence, but the town was at last forced by escalade, the houles pillaged, the churches destroyed, and the priests murdered; a barbarity which is entirely attributed to the Hollanders, and even to the prince of Orange, who did not take sufficient precautions to restrain the fury of the soldiery. The French alledge, that the few who escaped owed their safety to a guard placed over them by the maréchal Brescè; but the cruelty here charged upon the prince of Orange seems to be fully refuted by all his former conduct, which breathed nothing but humanity, and the most generous feelings for the unfortunate.

On the tenth of June the two armies separated, the prince of Orange taking the route of Brussel, where the cardinal infant expected the succours which Piccolomini was bringing from Germany, and the French directing their march towards Diez, which surrendered at the first summons. They afterwards joined between Louvain and Brussel, and now that jealousy betwixt the prince and the French maréchaux which, say the French writers, had its origin in the victory at d’Avein, became more open and declared. Debates took place of action, and instead of profiting by the enemy’s consternation, and besieging Louvain at the time proposed, several days were consumed in fruitless altercation, and the provision necessary for the execution of the design was exhausted. The garrison had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of five thousand foot and two hundred horse. He entered the town in person, resolving to defend it to the last extremity; and to draw him to Brussel, the prince of Orange moved towards that capital, as if he intended to besiege it, which effectually answered his purpose. The cardinal, terrified for the fate of the wealth, the archives, and of all that was valuable in the Netherlands, flew to Brussel, leaving two thousand men in Louvain under the conduct of the baron Groebendiek, and the allies made a sudden turning, fell down before Louvain, and broke ground on the twenty-fifth of June. By next day their batteries played vigorously on different quarters of the town, and all the generals seemed unanimous that the governor would make but a short defence. He had, however, since the reduction of Tillemont, been preparing for a siege, and had amassed great store of ammunition and proviison. The fate of that place determined him upon making the most obstinate resistance; and
or Republic of Holland.

his views were seconded by a brave veteran garrison, accustomed to all the hardships and fatigues of a siege, who were admired by Henry himself for the intrepidity exerted at Breda and Maasbriet. The skill and courage of the garrison, joined to a certain langour and inactivity in the armies, protracted the siege. Henry is accused of an intention to ruin the French army. Provisions grew short in the camp; several parties of foragers returned without being able to find grain or corn for their horses; whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; diffidences arose; the French murmured, and soon complained openly that they were betrayed; disease swept off great numbers of the troops; Picquelin was advancing to give battle with a fine army; and the result was the breaking up of a siege, which gave the first turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberless disappointments. The armies now separated, and the Dutch went to Brabant, where they found abundance of refreshment; while the French unhappily quarreled in the neighbourhood of Roumenande, in which nothing but hunger, disease, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above six thousand men died in the space of a few weeks, and the camp was in so wretched a situation, that it rather resembled an hospital than the army of a powerful monarch sent to extend his conquests.

Already the enemy's affairs began to assume a more benign aspect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and disgrace had succeeded the death of the archduke; but the want of harmony in the confederate army afforded the cardinal the fairest opportunity, and the happiest prospects. One army was now wholly destroyed by sickness, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from Germany, joined to the army already formed in the Netherlands, composed of Spaniards, and the best troops of the provinces. The reduction of the strong fortresses of Schenk was the first fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's situation. Adolphus d'Embole, a lieutenant-colonel of the Wallon guards, formed a scheme to surprize the garrison, and succeeded by dint of vigilance, address, and intrepidity. He was rewarded with the government of the fort, a gold chain presented by the cardinal's own hands, and a present of fifty thousand livres. The states-general regarded fort Schenk as the key of the United Provinces: they were alarmed at the loss of a place so important, and immediately sent instructions to the prince of Orange to urge his utmost art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conquests a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to pursue every method to obstruct the return of the allies. To succeed in the recovery of fort Schenk, it was thought necessary to re-unite the French and Dutch armies. Accordingly the prince of Orange pitched his quarters on the side of Beaufort, while the maréchaux Béreze and Chatillon encamped towards Emsbeck and Cleves; however, the necessary preliminaries for conducting the siege could not be got ready before the month of August. To shorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince Henry formed a plan to surprize the garrison; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the first scheme of operations. It was settled, that the Dutch should carry on the approaches, while the French should cover the siege, and oppose the enemy's succouring the garrison. This they performed with great intrepidity, obliquing the cardinal, after a sharp action, to retire, notwithstanding their numbers were greatly diminished, and the army in general, in a wretched condition (A), owing chiefly to the excessive heat and droughts of the summer season, and the deluges of rain that A.D. 1636. poured down for the whole autumn. So miserable indeed was their situation, that the maréchaux were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to France, where the prince of Orange continued the siege with invincible perseverance, and in defiance of all the rigours of a feverewinter. The Spaniards were no less obstinate in the defence of Schenk; they exerted their utmost diligence to throw in succours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garrison to submission. At last the Hollanders took the

(A) The picture drawn of this army by Naville is extremely affecting. After the battle of d'Jourt it was augmented to forty thousand men, all well clothed, vigorous, and eager for action: now, says he, by the artifices of the prince of Orange, it was reduced to a third of the number, naked, starved, and covered with sores, or emaciated by coughs and consumptions. Under pretence of feeling for their misfortunes, the prince Assigned them quarters in Holland; but such as completed their misfortunes. Even the officers were forced to sell their cloths for bread, and to beg their way back to France; inasmuch that cardinal Richlin, incensed at Henry's treachery, would have declared immediate war against the states-general, if he had not been deterred by the circumstances of the court, and other weighty considerations. But M. Naville equally dismisses his gross partiality and ignorance. The mortality in the French army arose solely from the nature of the climate, which later experience has fully demonstrated will ever prove fatal to French soldiers. Scarcity of provision and bad clothing likewise contributed; but this proceeded not from the treachery of Henry, but the poverty of the French court, unable to remit the sums necessary for supporting so numerous an army. This much we thought necessary in vindication of a prince wisely traduced, only because he first penetrated the ambitious views of France, and prejudiced the confidence of giving them a footing in the Netherlands. It is certain he opposed the late treaty; it is allowed he detected Richlin; but it does not appear, from any authentic proofs, that he acted contrary to the duty of a great commander.

castle
The history of the United Provinces,
castle of Bélland by assault; they ruined all the outworks of the besieged, except the half-moon, which was defended with incredible intrepidity; the intrepid Embolt was slain by a musket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the Spaniard territories was cut off; the garrison was greatly reduced and dispirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a crisis favourable to the besieged, when the cardinal determined to send baron Groenendek, who had so successfully defended Louvain, to succeed Embolt in the government. The prince of Orange attended the business of the flutes at the Hague, leaving the conduct of the siege to William of Nassau, who performed all that could be expected from courage combined with conduct, and ardor tempered by prudence and judgment. He took his measures so well, that he greatly augmented his army, and obliged prince Thomas, detached with a strong body of forces to raise the siege at the hazard of a battle, b to remain a tame spectator of his successful operations, giving a general assault, and becoming master of a place which cost so much blood and treasure, without granting a capitulation to the garrison. He concluded the campaign with some other advantages obtained in the territory of Clève, all of which, however, were insufficient to balance the consequences of the retreat of the French army, and the number of soldiers left by keeping the field for almost a whole rigorous winter.

The remainder of this year palled in mutual expeditions into each other’s territories, which produced nothing decisive. The Spaniard arms were chiefly employed in Picardy, under the conduct of prince Thomas and Piccolomini. As to the Hollanders, they struck their most important blows on their own proper element, the ocean, having defeated a fleet of Dunkirkers in fight of Dieppe. In this engagement the Dutch were commanded by Evertenz, who began already to distinguish himself: the Spaniards had two ships sunk, one burnt, and two taken, with their admiral Antonio Collardo on board. In consequence of this victory, the commerce of the provinces was secured, and trade flourished extremely, notwithstanding it had suffered greatly by the enemy’s piracies the succeeding year. The chief advantages, however, were obtained by the East India company, who extended their trade far beyond what it ever before attained, and made such returns as astonished Europe, and enriched the provinces. As to the West India company, it was less fortunate. All the attempts of the company had lately miscarried in Brazil and on the coast of Africa, where the Portuguese were greatly superior in numbers. Chagrined with disappointment, they resolved to commit their affairs to some general, whose established reputation, valour, prudence, and experience, might retrieve their losses, and extend their settlements in Brazil and the West Indies. No person appeared more likely to answer all their purposes than count John Maurice de Nassau, who had for many years faithfully and eminently served his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of Brazil and South America; an employment which the count accepted, with the consent of the flutes general and the prince of Orange. His authority was directly vested in the governor-general of Brazil, a fleet of thirty-two sail, twelve of which were men of war, with two thousand seven hundred land-forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the Texel on the twenty-fifth day of October, having already conquered in imagination the whole Portuguese Brazil.

Of the fourteen provinces into which Brazil was divided, four were subject to the Hol-
landers, Fernambuco, Ternurea, Paraiba, and Rio Grande. Since the year 1630 the coast of Spain sustained incredible damage by the efforts which the Dutch made to establish settlements in South America. Of eight hundred ships fitted out by the king of Spain for that service, five hundred and forty-three fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt or destroyed, the loss amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The Dutch had feigned upon the island of Cuba, on the northern coast of America; they had pillaged the opulent city of Truxillo in the gulph of Honduras, with a variety of small settlements on the coast of Mexico; they had defeated in divers engagements the Spanish generals Albuquerque, Bagio, and Lewis de Roos de Bagio; they had by force and fraud gained over to their interest several nations, who ardently wished for the expulsion of the Portuguese, but at the time Maurice was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitless, and Christopher Artisbey, a Polishiocinian, of all their officers, met with any degree of success. When the count arrived at Brazil, his first step was to relieve all the garrisons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and leavened to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to three thousand seven hundred men, he led against Porto de Calca, the garrison of which had almost entirely cut off the communication between the Dutch settlements. Bagio, the Portuguese general, marched with a superior army to oppose him; a battle was fought, and the Portuguese totally defeated, Bagio losing himself and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river Porto de Calca, and fortified in such a manner.

* Idem. ibid.
or Republic of Holland.

a that it commanded all the adjacent country. Maurice pursued, and immediately invested the fortress. The Portugese general defended himself bravely; but was in a few days forced, for want of provision, to surrender at discretion.

Flushed with conquest, the count marched against Openda, a town situated upon the same river, within six miles of its opening into the ocean. This place surrendered with little trouble: Maurice strengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the Spaniards on both sides to take shelter in Serigipa del Rei, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with Articolfi for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to Recife, to establish the government and religion of the United Provinces in all the country

b subject to the republic, treating however with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He also equipped two squadrons, one of which he sent southwards under admiral Liebharti, beyond the bay of All Saints; the other sailed north-east to the coast of Africa, under colonel Caine, whose exploits and reduction of St. George de la Mina we have seen in a former volume. 1

While these conquests were making in Africa and America, the plan of a general pacification was laid in Europe. The pontiff, as the common father of all Christians, offered his mediation between France, Spain, and the empire. The states-general rejected an umpire whom they justly suspected of partiality to the court of Spain: however, he still continued to press the other powers to accommodate matters, sensible that the republic

c would not long chuse to support a war singly against the power of the house of Austria.

Cardinal Richelieu did not fail to make his advantage of the disposition of the states general, notwithstanding the grudge he bore the prince of Orange. He urged the states-general to continue the alliance with France, and his remonstrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty Louis engaged to supply the states with a yearly sum of five hundred thousand livres, over and above the usual subsidy of two millions, on account of the great expenses of the former year, spent chiefly in the reduction of Sebenec, and opposing the Spaniards in Picardy. Two days after the states-general renewed their ancient alliance with the elector of Brandenburg.

The strong connexions between France and Holland evinced cardinal Richelieu of the necessity of suppressing his own personal dislike to the prince of Orange, the better to promote the interests of his sovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendship of prince Henry.

He knew his influence in the republic, and was sensible that the operations of the field could never prove successful, unless he concurred heartily with the views of the French court. For this reason it was that he directed Charnoff, the ambassador, always to bestow the title of Highness upon the prince, instead of that of Excellence, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly understood the character of Henry; and that though he was inferior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour, yet he was not insensible to the irresistible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and established a perfect harmony, to all appearance, between the king and the states-general, and between himself and the prince of Orange. Both sides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the losses consequent on the former discord that subsisted. Henry never lost sight of Breda, in the reduction of which he was especially concerned, though the conquest would likewise prove of the last consequence to the common cause, and to the republic in particular. He planned a scheme, which he hoped would greatly facilitate the siege. Near four thousand boats of different burthens were collected in the port of Flushing; an armament which gave great disquiet to the Spaniards, who believed it was destined against Bruges, Dunkirk, or some of the maritime towns in Flanders. In this state of uncertainty, and not knowing where the storm would break, the cardinal infant assembled all his troops, and distributed them round the frontiers of Flanders, and in all the places which he thought most exposed.

This was precisely what Henry desired, who immediately advanced to Breda, when the Spanish army was removed to a convenient distance. By the twenty-third of July the siege was formed, which happened to be the same day on which Landreci and Hanau surrendered to the French. Omer Fourbin, an officer who had signalized himself on every occasion, especially at the defence of Sebenec, when the Dutch themselves admired his conduct and valour, was governor. He had a garrison of three thousand men, whom he so animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory, and every soldier cheerfully offered to lay down his life in the service of his country, and for the honour of his beloved commander. Fourbin possessed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency, generosity, liberality, and those other qualities of true greatness, which the most powerfully operate on the minds of the multitude, and in a particular manner on the soldiers. He punc-
tually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inspected their provision, saw them properly clothed, and, whenever remittances happened to fail, generously distributed his own money, coined his plate, and even sold his horses and apparel, to supply the wants of his garrison.

The prince of Orange, accompanied by his son prince William, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince Palatine, afterwards elector, pulsed the siege with all imaginable vigour, to finish their work before the cardinal should have time to assemble a sufficient army to give battle. That prince, however, had detached count John of Nassau, with a body of five thousand foot and two thousand horse, to throw himself into Breda. He had orders to attack that quarter of the camp commanded by his cousin count William de Nassau; but he found the works so exceedingly strong, that he dropped the attempt, and wrote to the cardinal that the prince's camp was impregnable; at last, to force it would require the whole Spanish army. While he lay at some distance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with an opportunity of throwing three hundred men with bags of corn into the city. The garrison had made a vigorous sally, and the count so well managed the occasion, that, in despite of the diligence and courage of the besieged, he introduced such succours as helped to protract the fate of Breda. The whole Spanish army advanced to Rhinberg; but every pass and post was so floutously guarded, that, after fruitless attempts to draw the besiegers out of their lines, the cardinal was forced to retire, and confide solely in the valour of the besieged. However, he found means to reduce Venlo and Ruremonde, publishing at the same time a report that Nimwegen was taken by surprise, Knotenburg by assault, and that he had forced the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Breda. Rejoicings were made in every town in the Spanish Netherlands, which so astonished Maurice, that he sent a message to Fourbin, governor of Breda, desiring to know the foundation of these reports. Fourbin's answer became the sincerity and honour of a folder. "He had rather, he said, the reports had been true, and not published, than false, and reported with so much ostentation."

Fourbin's courage did not abandon him on the retreat of the Spaniards: he sustained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with his usual vigour. A variety of brisk sallies were made, in one of which fell, among other considerable personages on the side of the besiegers, the baron Charnoffe, ambassadour from the French king. The incessant fire and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the prince to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches under cover; which, though more slow and expensive, saved the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at last to arrive at the foot of the walls. This at length shook the confancy of the brave Fourbin, who saw himself destitute of powder and provision, without hope of succour; his garrison diminished to a third of their original number, and the remains broken, fatigued, and exhausted. He was besides teased with the clamours of the townsmen, oppressed with a malignant fever, that swept the people off by hundreds. All these circumstances determined him to propose a capitulation: he sent it to the prince of Orange, and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, though the prince's generosity and regard for the brave garrison occasioned loud clamours against his conduct. The governor and soldiers were allowed all the honours of war, and the officers of the city placed on the same footing as in the year 1625, before it was reduced by Spinoza. Fourbin paid his compliments, lealed in a letter to the prince: he was received graciously, loaded with praises and honours, and dismissed with valuable presents, which reflected equal credit on the generosity of the prince and the valour of the governor.

The conquest of Breda was attended by consequences the most important to the states-general. It secured commerce on the coasts of Zealand, and frontiers of Holland; it delivered the provinces from the incursions of the enemy, quite to the gates of Bergen-op-Zoom and Beijlunde; it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of the republic; it depressed the spirits of the Spaniards, disconcerted their projects, gave fresh courage to the Dutch, and greatly augmented prince Henry's reputation. To put so valuable an acquisition beyond all danger of being again lost, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and augment the fortifications, in which he so happily succeeded, that Breda might be deemed one of the strongest cities then in Europe; for as yet Vauban and Ceborn had not appeared to raise the art of defence and attack to its height of perfection.

The rejoicings made for the reduction of Breda had almost proved fatal to Rhinberg. The Spanish garrison in the city of Gueldres, apprised of the vast consumption of powder at Rhinberg, in firing cannon and giving magnificent exhibitions, and imagining that amidst the joy and riot of public rejoicings the defence of the town might probably be neglected, formed a scheme to surprise the place, and introduce a body of Spanish forces. That part of the walls where the enemy approached was guarded only by one centinel, who imme-

\* Mem. de Prince Henry. p. 218.
or Republic of Holland.

a diately discharged his piece, and thereby alarmed the garrison. The governor was gone to the Hague, to be cured of the wounds he received at the siege of Breda, and John Weekens, his deputy, had but a handful of soldiers. Resistance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls: he bethought him therefore of a stratagem, which was to desert with seventeen men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a posture of defence. The project was wild, but it partly succeeded. Weekens was well received; his story was plausible, and he related it with such discretion, and gave so strong reasons for deferring the attack, that several hours were lost: however, being at last discovered, he was forced to fight his way back, sustained the whole weight of the enemy, and disappointed their design, by this equally bold and extraordinary measure. When they returned to the attack on Rhimberg, the garrison received them with so much bravery as obliged them to abandon the enterprise a.

As the Spaniards were not sufficiently strong on the Meuse to act openly, and lay siege to the towns lately taken by the Dutch, they made several attempts to surprize the garrisons. A deep defile upon Maastricht was happily disappointed, on the point of execution: all the rest of their projects, most of which were extremely refined, had the same issue. At first they were more fortunate. The Dunkirkers attacked a fleet of Zeelanders, under convoy of a fagge man of war, which they took after an obstinate battle, during which the merchantmen escaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to forty sail, and attacked a Dutch squadron of forty sail, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the lofs of one Dutch man of war, all the rest having escaped safe to port. Towards the spring hostilities were renewed on shore. Prince Henry resolved now to make use of the large fleet, detained for the whole preceding autumn in the road of Flessing by adverse winds and the vigilance of the Spaniards. He meditated the reduction of Antwerp, and, to facilitate this scheme, advanced his cavalry to Boisseulx, Bergen-op-zoom, and Lillo, leaving Henry de Nassau, count of Friesland, with a small army in the neighbourhood of Ninove. The infantry was embarked in thirty transports, under count William de Nassau, who arrived on the twenty-third day of June before Fort Perre, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding six thousand men, he laid siege to Fort St. Mary, and the whole country to Fort Isabella, which immediately communicates with the city of Antwerp; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other obstacles, obliged him to content himself with blocking up Fort St. Mary, and directing his chief strength against Fort de Verre Broeck, about a league distant from Calloo. Mean time the cardinal arrived at Antwerp, and with a considerable body of horse and foot crossed the Scheldt. The Hollanders were immediately drawn from their posts before St. Mary; and count William having taken Verre Broeck, and received a reinforcement from prince Henry, assembled all his forces near Calloo, where he made a stand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with an army double his number; but he defended himself with so much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both sides the lofs were considerable; but the Dutch chiefly regretted the death of the young count Maurice de Nassau, who had in an extraordinary manner distinguished all the virtues of a long line of heroic ancestors.

Though the Spaniards were repulsed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor dissipated. A fresh attack was made in the count’s quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the same time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the Dutch in the utmost danger of being totally defeated, when the night seasonably interposed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was pursued; and his rear, composed entirely of Scotch regiments, cut off, after a brave resistance. Great numbers, endeavouring to gain the ships, plunged into the river, and were drowned; while the Spaniards, purifying their victory, entered Calloo, and made prisoners the Dutch garrison. Fort Verre Broeck surrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors, the prince of Orange’s whole scheme was defeated, and the states were extremely mortified at the severity to which they had received since the cardinal came to the government of the Spanish Netherlands.*

Prince Henry was posted at Bergen-op-zoom, exerting his utmost diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. Sfenrato was detached, with twenty-four troops of horse, to attack his intrenchments. He surprized the sentinels, and threw the Dutch camp into confusion; but the prince poured out his troops with such impetuosity, as entirely disconcerted the Spaniards, and repulsed them with great loss, the prisoners amounting to four hundred men, among whom were several officers of distinction. Two days after, when the Dutch imagined themselves in perfect security, their camp was a fe-

---

* NUVILLE, tom. ii. lib. viii.
* Mem. de Prince Henry, ibid.
cond time attacked at Wagen, with such vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the Spaniards began pillaging. In this situation, the Dutch having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. Being superior in forces, the Spaniards resoluting to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near St. Piet, the contest was warm, and the advantage disputed; certain it is, that near a thousand men fell upon each side. It was after these sharp actions, that the prince of Orange made an unsuccessful attempt on Gueldres, and that the Spaniards reduced Kerpen, with which tranfaction and some other less considerable lofts on the side of the states, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

Nor were the Dutch more fortunate in South America than in Europe. A fever that brought the life of count Maurice into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to their affairs in Brazil. After the reduction of Porto Cavalle, the Portuguese general Bag-
niola had assembled a considerable army, with which he fell upon the Dutch conquests, and defoliated the country, putting all the natives to the sword, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic. Colonel Schrapken marched against him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As soon as count Maurice recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid siege to St. Salvador, for which purpose he received express orders from the directors of the company. He had first, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's strength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external molestation. But the vigorous conduct of the garrison, and their first sally, supported by four hundred men, boded an unfortunate issue to the enterprise. In this sharp skirmish the count lost near three hundred men, some of his best officers, and the only person who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were insufficient completely to block up the besieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in succours, he broke up his camp, and retired with some precipitation, and great chargrin. This disappoointment was succeeded by a fruitless attempt on the plate-fleet, made by admiral Joll in the gulf of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with great fury, but was defeated by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and left with three ships to encounter the whole force of the Spaniards. After extricating himself with great valour, he again collected his ships, punished some of the delinquents, animated the rest, and returned a second time to the attack, but with the same success. Just as victory was ready to declare for him, his cowardly officers, whom neither shame, honour, or interest, could influence, threed off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midst of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to join his own squadron. Apprehending that his former severity might have alienated the minds of his captains, Joll had now recourse to arguments and entreaties. He set before them the vaft riches in view, the infamy consequent on their cowardice and disobedience, with every other topic that could move their passions, or convince their reason. A few were drawn back to their duty; and supported by these, Joll determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had shifted in favour of the Spaniards. In despite of all difficulties, the brave Dutchmen bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus after the noblest exertions of courage he lost his prize, but acquired a reputation which will transmit his name to posterity, enrolled in the long list of heroes produced by the republic. All his present satisfaction consisted in punishing the cowardly, and after having them superceded, sending them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of Holland for cowardice and mutiny.

A.D. 1639.

The disgraces of the preceding campaign determined the states to make the most vigorous efforts to recover their losses. Early in the spring the prince of Orange was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppose the cardinal's designs, and the vast projects entertained by the Spaniards, who were highly elated with their victory at Calloo, the reduction of Kerpen, and Henry's disappointment before Gueldres. Leaving a body of infantry at Lilla, and a few squadrons of horse at Bergen-op-Zoom, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diversion in Flanders, and engage cardinal Richelieu to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel Averard was left with feventeen companies of foot, to oppose the enemy on the Scheld; and the prince went in person to Nimroen, where he was joined by four thousand Hessean, under general Melander. With this force he proposed renewing the siege of Gueldres; he had even detached part of his forces to invest the city; but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful succours, he dropped the design, and removed to Venlo.

Le Clerc, tom. ii. Nuytens, ubi supra.
Great expectations were entertained from the fleet sent under Martin Harpert Van Tromp, lieutenant-admiral of Holland, and one of the best naval officers that Holland, fruitful in good seamen, ever produced. Tromp had accompanied the famous Heine in all his expeditions, was the great favourite of that admiral, and fought by his side at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he had so distinguished his intrepidity and conduct, that the states raised him to his present dignity under the prince of Orange, the highest officer in their navy. Having advice that a Spanish squadron, composed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, had quitted the port of Ramsgate on the eighteenth of February, Tromp immediately went in pursuie, came up with the Spanish admiral off Graveline, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which lasted six hours. The Spanish admiral, and three more great ships, were driven on the sands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ship was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Hollanders. Four frigates were besides taken, and the Spaniards were reported to have lost near two thousand men, of whom seven hundred were made prisoners.

The most important consequence of Tromp's victory was, that four thousand men on board the Spanish squadron were declared for a grand armament eqipping at Cadiz and Corunna, the most formidable that had been seen since the armada prepared to invade England. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vast fleet. England and France imagined the court of Spain intended, in conjunction with the king of Denmark, to attack Sweden; while the states-general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the Catholic king had his own immediate interest too strongly in view, to hearken to the suggessions of the king of Denmark. The armament was expressly equipped to annoy the provinces, and it set sail with twenty thousand land-forces on board, in the month of July, under the conduct of Don Antonio d'Oquendo, who had already experienced the valour and naval abilities of the Hollanders. To oppose this powerful fleet, amounting to eighty-seven men, Van Tromp weighed anchor with no more than a squadron of eighteen men of war. His first design was, merely to obstruell the passage of the Spaniards; but having fallen in with their van, on board which was all the money and four thousand troops, he attacked it in the night with such fury, that the enemy were wholly disordered, every ship crowding all the sail she could make, to get out of the reach of Tromp's cannon. Next morning Oquendo came up with the rest of the fleet, and immediately engaged Tromp yard-arm and yard-arm. After a violent conflict the Spaniards were forced to shift their flag; his ship was soon after sunk, and four more were taken; but the Dutch were prevented from pursuing their advantage by a thick fog, which effectually concealed the enemy. Before the weather cleared up, Tromp was strongly reinforced, which enabled him to pursue the enemy to the Downs, where they had taken refectuary under the wing of the English admiral. It is probable he would have destroyed the whole but for the partiality evidently shewn in favour of the Spaniards. Tromp remonstrated upon the king of England's conduct as a breach of the treaty subsisting with Holland. To the English admiral's conduct he ascribed the safety of the enemy; his intelligence had misled the Dutch, and his motions had covered the Spaniards; but no redress was obtained.

At length another reinforcement arrived, which rendered Tromp so powerful, that he resolved to face the enemy in the Downs, and even to give battle to the English rather than be diverted from his purpose. It was upon this resolution, say the Dutch writers, that the king of England ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection from the Spaniards, perceiving that otherwise he must come to an open rupture with the Hollanders. Thus it was that Tromp, after having for a month blocked up Oquendo, obliged him at last to come to an engagement. Rather than stand an attack in his present situation, the Spaniard resolved running the hazard of crossing the Channel under cover of a fog; but Tromp kept so strict watch that it was impossible to escape. An action ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. For the space of eight hours the Spaniards made an obstinate resistance; at last they were totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen men of war, burnt, sunk, taken, or driven ashore, among which were the vice-admiral of Spain, the admiral of Galicia, and the great galleon of Portugal, fourteen hundred tons burthen, mounting eighty guns, and carrying eight hundred men, all of whom perished with the water or the sword. Twenty-one of the enemy's ships put back to the Downs in a wretched plight; fire-ships were sent to destroy them; but the English again interposed, contrary to their neutrality, and the express injunctions of the sovereign. That day thirteen ships more fell into the hands of the Hollanders, of which eleven only could be carried off, so miserably were they shattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached Dunkirk. Oquendo's own ship was so much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate sent to his assistance by the generous Van Tromp. Eight thousand men were killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners, and carried with the rest of the spoils in triumph to the Texel, Brille, and Flushing. All Europe admired the skill and
intrepidity of Van Tromp, and the naval power of Holland. The states decreed him the fame honours conferred upon admiral Heins, and the French king sent him particular marks of his regard; among the rest a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of France. Having entirely ruined the maritime power of Spain, the most vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal success. With this view prince Henry took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of May, he entered the biphoric of Bruges. He encamped at Maldegem, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to Ghent, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithstanding all the palls were in possession of the Spaniards, and strictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himself into Ghent, in expectation that his presence would encourage the garrison, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. The effects corresponded; every where the Spaniards seemed invincible, driving before them the Hollanders, and defeating them in every encounter. Henry, however, was not dispirited by the unfortunate issue of skirmishes, which produced nothing decisive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a laft effort of despair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his designs, without suffering himself to be disconcerted by accidents, which necessarily eluded human foreight. He laid siege to Damme, and declined fortifying his camp in the usual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But he could not succeed, nor did the reduction of the garrison prove a matter of so little difficulty as he imagined; the resistance within indeed was so obstinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without so perpetual, that Henry abandoned the design, quitted Flanders, and disappointed the great expectations of the court of France and the states general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into Artois, and take measures for succouring Artes, then beleaguered by the French army.

While the cardinal was employed in Artois, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his absence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterprise against Hulst, which he began with storming fort Nassau. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the French troops led on by the marquis de Hauterive. The surrender of the fort struck terror into Hulst, and even into the city of Antwerp upon hearing the townsmen, and preparing against a siege. Syndrato and Cantelupe, with a body of troops flung themselves into the city, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortresses, the better to secure Antwerp. Henry's object, however, was Hulst; to this place he laid siege, drew his lines, and gave the assault to fort St. Anne, during which his cavalry was attacked by a strong body of horse, under Syndrato. After a sharp action the Spanish cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by Saevedra, sustained the fire with admirable constancy, and at last repulsed the Hollanders with the loss of the brave Henry Ernst de Nassau, governor of Friesland; a loss more regretted by the states general than the two hundred men who perished in this unfortunate action. This repulse evinced Henry that he had committed a fault in amusing himself by an attack on a little out-post, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up Hulst. By this means he afforded the cardinal leisure to draw his troops from Artois; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had assembled a superior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the siege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign.

Fortune, which seemed, upon the whole, to favour the Spaniards in the Netherlands, was less propitious to them in America. Philip had sent the count de la Torre, with a strong armament, the preceding year, to Brazil. On his arrival on the coast of Africa, the troops were seized with a pestilential disease, which swept off three thousand men before the fleet reached St. Salvador. The number that remained did not exceed two thousand soldiers, all of whom were too sickly to enter upon action. It was not a doubt but the count de la Torre must have disposed of the Hollanders of every foot of land they possessed in Brazil, as his fleet amounted to forty-six sail of large ships, twenty-seven of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every necessary. Had this armament arrived safe, Maurice must necessarily have quitted the country; but the wretched situation of the land-forces and sailors, and the long stay made in All Saints' bay for the recovery of the men, enabled the Dutch to make all possible preparations. In a short time their fleet amounted to forty-one sail of armed ships of different dimensions and strength, while the Torre used such diligence, that he collected ninety-four ships, transports and men of war, having twelve thousand men on board, including the Brazil forces. His intention was, to fall upon the Dutch settlements; which count Maurice, and his admiral William Looff, used all their diligence to prevent. Looff came up with the enemy between the island Tamaraca and
and the river Gojana, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unluckily killed by a cannon bullet. His death animated his seamen with a desire of revenge; vice-admiral Huygens took the command, and renewed the battle next morning with the utmost intrepidity. He knew to well how to make advantage of the size and swiftness of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving considerable damage, as they could only bring their chase-guns to bear. Before night several Spanish men of war floated like unclefs wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with soldiers. Huygens, however, kept close all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more success, notwithstanding several of the enemy's ships that had been the most damaged, were towed away to the Rio Grande. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the Spanish admiral making all the fall he could to the northward; but next day Huygens came to close quarters, and lo admirably served his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loss, on his side, of scarce an hundred seamen and soldiers, while the enemy, by their own confession, had four thousand killed and wounded. Ten of their largest ships were driven upon the sands, where they perished with their whole crews. The rest of the fleet was prevented from putting to harbour to refresh, in consequence of which a perilous dilatory appeared on board, and destroyed more than half the soldiers. Some of their flagging vessels were every day falling into the hands of the Hollanders, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable armament, which had once terrified count Maurice into the notion of evacuating the Brazils. Yet no important consequences refuted; Maurice contented himself with driving the Spaniards at a distance from the Dutch settlements, and defolating the country round the bay of All Saints. Admiral Jel cruised off the island of Cuba for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly smitten in a storm, and reduced to the necessity of throwing himself upon the clemency of the Spaniards.

This signal revolution that now happened in Portugal, produced great alterations in the affairs of Brazil. The Portuguese having thrown off the Catholic yoke, count Maurice doubted not but all the natives of that country in South America would follow the example, separate themselves from the Spaniards, and conclude a truce with the Hollanders. Mean time he determined to seize the happy occasion which the quarrel between Spain and Portugal afforded. With this view he repaired the squadron under admiral Jol, with the utmost expedition, and resolved to push the Dutch conquests not only in South America, but on the coasts of Africa. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing Suriname del Rey, and the province of Cerfij, Jol was sent to the coast of Angola, to secure the negro trade to the Dutch company. His force consisted of twenty-one ships, nine hundred mariners, and two thousand two hundred soldiers, commanded by colonel Henderson, who likewise acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the island of Loanda, on the coast of the kingdom of Congo, and immediately he invested the capital, called Santa Paulo. The negroes flew to the assistance of the city, gave battle at the foot of the mountains to the Hollanders, and were defeated. Nor was Menfes, the Portuguese governor, more successful. With a considerable body of Europeans he engaged Henderson, made an obstinate resistance, and disputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was abandoned to the conquerors; all had deserted it besides the aged and infirm; the booty was considerable, consisting of twenty-nine pieces of brass cannon, fifty-nine of cast iron, great quantity of warlike stores, and thirty ships lying in the harbour, many of them ready to sail with negroes to the settlements in America and the West Indies.

Admiral Jol no sooner found himself in possession of the capital, than he resolved to make it a place of strength, for which purpose he built one large citadel, and two upon a more confined place, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct astonished the Portuguese governor, who hitherto imagined that the Dutch only wanted booty, and would directly quit the island as soon as that purpose was answered. Perceiving the admiral proposed gaining possession of the whole island, he alleged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty subsisting between Portugal and the republic; Jol denied his knowledge of any treaty, a second time he drove the governor, drove the Portuguese out of Loanda, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the states, which they kept, until it was surren-dered to Portugal seven years after.

From Loanda admiral Jol directed his course to the island of St. Thomas, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This island was before reduced by the Dutch in 1616, but retaken soon after by the Portuguese. Jol debarked his troops near Paragon, ordered them to march illicit up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hostilities unless they were attacked, which soon happened. The negroes and Portuguese fell upon them tumultuously, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a Dutch ship.
ship with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceless; they consequently fell an easy prey. Yet had scarce settled the government of his new conquest, when he was seized with that endemic fever, which had before swept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his soldiers, the directors of the company, and the states.

These expeditions on the coast of Africa were succeeded by another undertaken by count Maurice against the province of Maranbana, to the north of Brazil. The company earnestly wished to gain possession of a province so fertile in sugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, so rich in gold, and so conveniently situated to annoy the Spaniards trade to the Antilles, the Caribbean, and all the islands in the neighbourhood of the gulf of Mexico. Maurice detached colonel Coane and admiral Liebhardt upon this enterprize, in which they succeeded with little difficulty. Having taken the island Marignan, and the capital St. Lewis, the rest of the provinces submitted, and thus half the Brazils acknowledged the sovereignty of the states general. Three provinces, however, revolted soon after, and gave much trouble to the company and vexation to count Maurice. At present a truce with Portugal was concluded. John IV. on his accession resolved to secure himself against the attempts of Spain, by re-establishing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the United Provinces; for which purpose he sent Don Mendoza Hurtado to the Hague, to propose a cessation of hostilities. It was no difficult matter for Mendoza to demonstrate that the invertebrate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the desired truce; it therefore was signed on the fourteenth day of June, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either side the equinoctial. Accordingly hostilities were to cease in Brazil as soon as the truce was published in that country, and the Portuguese and Hollanders were to join in the total expulsion of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the truce extended to the East Indies, the Dutch never lost sight of their own interest, and seized this opportunity of chancing the Portuguese out of Japan.

The principal transactions relative to the republic in Europe, were the marriage of William, the young prince of Orange, with the princess Mary Stewart, daughter of the king of England; a match brought about by Mary de Medici. The siege of Genoa was the next considerable occurrence. No sooner were his son's nuptials celebrated, than prince Henry led his troops to the territory of Cleves, laid siege to Genoa, pushed his works with great vigour, and exerted himself so effectually, that his trenches were finished, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the Mené and Niers, in the space of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the strength of the place, the numbers of the garrison, and the courage of the governor, Prezton an Irifman, attempted to surprise Ardenberg in Flanders; but falling in his design, he turned his whole attention to the relief of Genoa. Withdrawing the garrisons from all the towns in Flanders and Brabant, he detached almost his whole army under the count de Fontaine, and the marquis de Leul, together with a body of three thousand Imperialists, to harass the camp of the besiegers, throw in succours into the town, and, if occasion offered, to give battle to prince Henry. After all, this numerous army gave less disturbance to the Dutch than the garrison, which behaved with great gallantry. Prezton made the most spirited fallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the trenches, and destroying the works of the besiegers. This he repeated daily, notwithstanding his troops were greatly diminished and fatigued; but perceiving that the Spaniards army undertook nothing, that the place was laid in ashes by bombs, that the court of the Niers was turned, that the town-ditch was dried up, that several mines were ready, and that a practicable breach was effectuated, he surrendered on being allowed the honours of war.

Meanwhile Cantelmo, elated with his victory at Calico, continued in the territory of Waes, the theatre of his glory, and of all the trivial advantages he had gained over the Hollanders. He now attacked colonel Alnaart, and defeated him with considerable slaughter. Next he surprised count Tillemont, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loss on his own side. To put a stop to his inflicts, the prince of Orange assembled an army near Hufl; but Cantelmo joining the army under Fontaines, broke all Henry's measures, and with a corps of eight thousand men obliged him to decamp, at the head of twenty-six thousand chosen troops, and drop the design formed of laying siege to the city. With this transactio ended the campaign, about which time the cardinal Ferdinand yielded up his last breath, with the reputation of a wife, moderate, and mild governor. The administration came into the hands of Don Francisco de Mello, who with the marquis de Velada opposed the French, while the count de Fontaine, governor of Bruges, commanded in chief against the Hollanders. The death of cardinal Richlien soon followed: and though it made no al-

A. D. 1692.

---

1 Nevilles, lib. ix. cap. 5. 2 Idem, tom. ii. p. 9. cap. 6.
eration in the treaty between France and the republic, it greatly obstructed the military operations of this year, and prevented the prince of Orange from undertaking any enter-
prise important enough to merit notice in a general history. A new treaty indeed was
signed on the eighth of March between the two powers, whereby the states confided to
maintain a squadron of thirty men of war to cruise before Calais, and to grant the king’s
troops a free passage over the Rhine, the Wesel, and the Meuse, into Germany; in considera-
tion of which the king was to pay them a subsidy of one million two hundred thousand
lives. Before the treaty was ratified Louis XIII. died.

The chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce Cantelou to give
battle, which he always had the address to decline. He now retired under the cannon of
Antwerp, where he watched an opportunity of again inflicting the Dutch territories with
impunity; but prince William, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and
manning stroke, drew him into an ambuscade, attacked him with impetuosity, and after a
short engagement despatched him, leaving nine hundred men dead upon the field, and car-
rying off six hundred prisoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five
others of inferior stations. Cantelou himself was once taken, but soon after rescued by the
bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the Hollanders. This action, the
first in which prince William ever commanded in chief, spread his reputation, and con-
vinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned ancestors.

The truce with Portugal having stopped all hostilities in Brazil, count Maurice sent ad-
miral Brewer with a squadron to attack the Spaniards on the coast of Chili; but the most
important consequence of this expedition was, that the admiral discovered a more safe and
easy passage to the South Sea, than either by the streights of Le Maire or Magellan, since
called by his name, but scarce ever frequented. Maurice having now nothing further to
transect in Brazil that required his presence, obtained leave from the company to return to
Europe. He arrived in Holland on the ninth of May, 1644, brought home a fleet richly
laden, had particular honours conferred on him by the company and the states, and was
appointed to the government of Wesel, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry
by the prince of Orange. The year 1643, was distinguished by the memorable but un-
successful attempt, to find a safe passage to Europe from China and Japan by the northern
coast of Tartary; and by the discovery of New Holland, and other parts of the Terra
Australis, or southern continent, of which we have already given a particular account *.

Negotiations for a general peace began about this time to be set on foot at Munster A.D. 1644;
and Osnabruck. The states-general were sensible that now must be decided their title to
sovereignty, and the influence of all those bloody wars, which they sustained against the whole
force of Spain for little less than a century past. To gain the other powers, it was neces-
sary to link their interest inseparably to that of France; for which purpose they concluded
a new treaty with that court, the object of which was to cement the contracting parties
in a full closer union. The fruits of this treaty was a resolution of the states to assist
France in the siege of Graveline. A squadron under Van Tromp was detached to block up
the harbour; and he performed his instructions with such diligence and conduct, as
greatly facilitated the reduction of the place. The prince of Orange had likewise direc-
tions to co-operate with the French, with which view he penetrated into Flanders, and was
advancing to Bruges, where he was stopp at the count of Homburch, and forced to retire to
Maldegem. This retreat, though involuntary, proved fortunate; for it enabled the prince
to lay siege to Sas van Ghent, and carry the town, before Homburch, with all his diligence,
could come to the assistance of the garrison. Don Andrea de Petrada, the governor, made
a gallant defence; but he was forced to capitulate on the seventeenth of September, after a
siege of six weeks. This conquest was thought of so great importance to the security of
the provinces, that the states sent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifications
with all possible expedition.

No sooner were the negotiations opened at Munster, than the states found themselves
greatly embarrassed with respect to two points; the one regarded the honours to be de-
manded at the congress by their ambassadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty
with France, whereby they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of
truce or peace, with any power, particularly Spain, without the consent and participation
of the French court. Don Francisco de Mello was at this very time urging them to con-
clude a separate peace with Spain; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions
might be obtained, should they give ear to his proposals. His most Christian majesty la-
boured to divert them from this measure. Cardinal Mazarin gave them to understand,
that their deputies should have the same honours paid to them as the ambassadors of the

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. v.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 6 Z republic
The history of the United Provinces,

republic of Venice. He likewise strenuously exhorted them not to depart from their own interest, by renouncing their alliance with France, as nothing could be more uncertain than the issue of conferences which might hold for years, and at last vanish in smoke. He assured them, that Spain defied nothing more than to dissolve the confederacy between France and Holland, and to flout the court of the prince of Orange's conquest. Their proposals had no other object, and that once gained, the states would hear no more of advantageous offers made, merely from selfish motives. The states attuned to the cardinal's arguments, and in consequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war against Spain on the usual footing. Accordingly the French penetrated into Flanders on one side, while the prince of Orange opened a way on the other. His design was to lay siege to Antwerp, a city of which he had long earnestly wished making a present to the states. He spoke of it to d'Estrees, the French minister, and assured the marshals Gaffin and Ranzinou, that if they assisted him with three thousand cavalry to oppose the enemy's horse, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprise. This proposition occasioned an interview, but the marshals would not join with the prince's opinion; each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vanished. The French generals, however, advanced a few squadrons and battalions to disengage the prince's army, cooped up between Ghent and Bruges by general Beck and count Picolomini. With this reinforcement Henry was enabled to cross the canal and the Lys, oblige Picolomini to retire, and visit the duke of Orleans near Courtmazy, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general Beck opposed his passage over the Scheldt, was repulsed, and defeated with great slaughter, the general himself receiving a wound in the shoulder, and narrowly escaping being made prisoner. Henry was in expectation that the marshals would now have allied him in his favourite project; but the siege of Antwerp was inconsistent with the measures of their court, and they excused themselves, by pleading the expiration of their commissions.

HENRY, though disappointed in his great purpose, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign to the best advantage, and in performing the engagements into which the states general had entered with the French court. With this design he passed the Lys, though opposed by the Spaniards, and detached prince William with the cavalry to invest Hulst, a place deemed one of the keys of Brabant and Flanders, and among the strongest fortifications of that country. By the fifth of October, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts Nijlau and Verrevroek with such impetuosity, that they surrendered at the first assault. Spinola's fort, connected by four great bastions to Hulst and Verrevroek, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewise attacked, and carried after a sharp dispute that lasted for the space of five hours. Having thus reduced all the outworks which could any way molest his operations, he battered the town on every side, without being at the trouble of entrenching himself with his usual solicitude. The garrison, consisting of three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, kept up a perpetual fire, and made three spirited sallies; but the dryness of the season deprived them of the benefit they might otherwise expect from the canals and marshes with which the place was surrounded. General Beck was, since his late defeat, in no condition to offer them succours; and Picolomini was fully employed in opposing the French army. On the seventh of November, they saw the prince preparing for a general assault; to amuse him, a capuchin was dispatched to the camp, with proposals of peace or a truce. He prefaced his credentials, by which he was fully authorized to terminate all differences between Spain and the United Provinces; but he could not deceive Henry, who was not to be persuaded that the Catholic king would intrust an affair of such importance to the management of an ignorant priest: yet as the imposture could not be detected, the capuchin was sent back, the resolution of storming the town resumed, and every thing got in readiness for that purpose. Upon this the garrison desisted to capitulate; all their proposals were granted, except the article respecting religion, the prince determining, that only the Protestant religion should be publicly tolerated in all his future conquests. The court of France refuted this restriction, the queen regent having the good of the Catholic Faith extremely at heart. D'Estrees had orders from cardinal Mazarin to remonstrate upon this head to the prince of Orange, who excused himself, by alleging that the levity he had shewn upon former occasions had incurred the suspicion of the states, and given breath to a report, of his being inclined to favour the doctrines of the church of Rome 1.

Immediately after the surrender of Hulst, prince Henry attacked fort Maaspeye, situated between Hulst and Ghent, defended by four strong bastions, well provided, and filled with soldiers. Notwithstanding this he carried it by assault, after a bloody action that continued

1 La Vie de Prince Henry, page 242.
or Republic of Holland.

...and by this conquest, the last of his life, secured to the republic the territory of Walloons, a barrier against Spanish Flanders, from Lillo to Sluys, and a great number of strong forts situated in a chain, at a small distance from each other. With this transaction ended the campaign on the side of the Netherlands.

It was otherwise in Breslau, notwithstanding the Hollanders imagined themselves in perfect security by the late truce concluded with Portugal. They did not reflect that this was a measure dictated by the new king's necessities, and that the Portuguese in general bore with ill-will the temporary cession made to the Dutch of their conquests in Africa, America, and the East Indies. The Portuguese ambassador at the Hague complained, that since the crown of Portugal had been separated from Castile, and the truce concluded with the United Provinces, the Dutch governors had committed divers hostilities against the subjects of his most Faithful majesty; but the Dutch deputies, far from giving him any satisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and asserted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in dispute, both on the coast of Africa, and in Breslau. Nothing could be obtained besides a provisional treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the parties should mutually restore all their conquests made since the twelfth day of June, 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The instructions, however, sent to the governors of their conquest were not express; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well satisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the last year of Maurice's government, all Breslau tasted the blessings of tranquility and repose. The truce was rigidly observed, and the Portuguese and Dutch lived in perfect amity. The same harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and such was the confidence the Hollanders reposed in the fidelity of the Portuguese, that they suffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admitting those who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without scruple supplying them with arms and ammunition, for the sake of the excessive price they paid, without reflecting upon their designs, to use them to their destruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the Portuguese ambassador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonstrances were calculated merely to palliate some scheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they conjectured. Antonio de Silva, viceroj of Portugal in Breslau, meditated a project for expelling the Dutch out of the country, and seized the opportunity of the count's absence, the weakness of the Dutch, and their confidence in the Portuguese, to execute his purpose. He carried on a clandestine correspondence with all the Portuguese under the Dutch government, and readily drew them over to his sentiments, particularly in the province of Fernambuco. The viceroy nominated Ferreira Vyas, a person of fortune, influence, and distinction, chief of the enterprise; and Vyas embraced the offer with more readiness, because, if the project succeeded, he should by that means clear off an account of two hundred thousand crowns with the Dutch merchants. A body of fifteen hundred soldiers were secretly sent on board a galleon and ten transports, to surprize Reiff, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the Hollanders. Other detachments were made to seize upon Serinbaam, Nazareth, and all the strong holds in the hands of the Dutch; while Vyas and other Portuguese emissaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the Dutch governors with all the appearances of the most sincere friendship and hearty good-will and esteem. They had been invited on the day appointed for the insurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a Portuguese lady; and while they were sitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in Europe, which gave them the first intimation of the conspiracy. All their address was scarce sufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed situation: with admirable presence of mind, they framed an excuse for retiring a few minutes, so plausible, that it even deceived the Portuguese. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conspirators finding they were discovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourse to open hostilities, and the war was resumed with redoubled animosity. The Dutch fired at the treachery of the enemy, and the Portuguese retorted their disappointment with as much rancour as if they had sustained a real injury. In the first engagement the Hollanders were worsted; but they balanced this loss by a victory at sea, in which the enemy lost two of their best ships, and seven hundred mariners and soldiers. Upon the whole the Hollanders lost ground. Cape St. Augustin, Reiff, and Olinda, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, straggling, and massacres, passed between the two nations. The news came to the Hague, and the people rose unanimously to decry the Portuguese ambassador's house. Incensed at the invidious conduct of the court and people, they would have tore him limb from limb, if the prince of Orange had not interposed. The ambassador protested, that the court of Portugal had no share in the insurrection, and that they would severely punish the conspirators; but the states, well informed to the contrary, carried their complaints to
to the court of France, and represented to the most Christian king the perjury of his Portugese majesty.  

By these means was laid the foundation of a new truce between France and Holland. Cardinal Mazarin reproached the Dutch with treating privately at Munster with the Spaniards, and said, that their sufferings in Bragel was the just punishment of their treachery and disregard of solemn treaties. At the same time, he promised them all possible assistance to revenge the insults received from the Portugese, and encouraged them to use their utmost diligence in defence of their settlements in Bragel. This was proposed with a view to gain the entire confidence of the states. However, it was accepted in the literal sense, and accordingly a fleet of fifty-two sail was equipped under admiral Bueker, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in Bragel, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa, having Sigismund Schuypen to assist him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the further side the line, which after raging without remission for the space of ten years, ended with the expulsion of the Hollander out of Bragel, and the almost total overthrow of the West India company.

During the whole winter the congress sat at Munster, without making any considerable progress in the scheme of a general pacification. The French king, persuaded that the Spaniards raised numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, resolved, by the advice of the queen-regent his mother, to prosecute the war for another campaign; for which purpose he continued the usual subsidy to the states-general, on condition they should maintain an army of twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, to lay siege to some important fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, and a squadron to block up the Spanish ports in Flanders. When the treaty was signed, the cardinal dispatched a messenger to the prince of Orange, to induce him to undertake the siege of Ghent, the reduction of which would facilitate the designs on Antwerp. It was proposed to march two French armies under the dukes of Orleans and Enghien, the one to assist the prince, the other to invest divers other places; but Henry was so afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other distempers, that it was not possible for him to give a direct answer to the cardinal’s propositions.

Meantime the marquis de Cofil Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, until the arrival of the archduke Leopold, having notice of the new treaty between the court of France and the republic, and the designs formed upon Ghent, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the states general, demanding a suspension of arms, during the conferences at Munster. Thése letters answered one essential purpose; they augmented the difficulties among the provinces, some of which were for detaching the republic from France; but the states wrote back, that notwithstanding they were perfectly sincere in the negotiations at Munster, they could not grant the suspension required, consistently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of Orange’s illness, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of Antwerp; but that was likewise frustrated by Henry’s distempers, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed supposed that he grew jealous of the power of France, and advised the states to hasten the negotiations at Munster. Besides, he retained some of the old prejudices harboured against Rieben, and convinced himself, that the new minister pursued the same system, and bent his whole policy to procure a secure footing in the Netherlands. As to what some writers mention of his jealousy of his own fon prince William, and his dislike to seeing him at the head of an army, it is too improbable, and too injurious to the character of prince Henry, to deserve credit. Certain however it is, that the Spanish faction daily augmented in Holland; that the alliance with France was in the decline; and that Tromp’s blocking up Dunkirk, while the French army besieged the town by land, was the last instance of friendship that passed between the Christian king and the republic. Venlo indeed was invested by prince William, but the siege was soon raised, by order of the states, under pretence that the feast was too far advanced.

During the whole winter, the prince of Orange lingered under a variety of chronic disorders, any of which were sufficient to render his life miserable, and his death certain. The gout, the stone, and dropsy, had reduced him to a skeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had passed several months, not only made his temper harsh and peevish, but even affected his intellects. To this the French writers ascribe his falling off from the interest of France, though this measure may truly be regarded as a proof of his forethought, penetration, and policy. At length, Henry yielded up his last breath, on the fourteenth of March, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that affinity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he pursued the interests of the republic. No prince of Orange was ever more universally

* Nuville, p. xix. cap. xiii. xiv.
or Republic of Holland.

or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of deceit, and that duplicity so much affected by statesmen, he was justly esteemed the best politician, and greatest warrior in the United Provinces. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained the utmost harmony among the provinces, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity, and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We speak not of the two last years of his life, in which sickness and disappointment would seem to have entirely soured his disposition, and changed his character. In justice therefore to his memory, we draw a veil over what prejudiced writers relate of his conduct during this period.

The same day on which his father died, prince William attended the states-general to take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince Henry. Some of the provinces deferred acknowledging him stadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the bias of his policy, as he was supposed inclined to continue the war, and the alliance with France. It was proposed in the states of Holland and West Friesland to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negotiations at Münster, and detach the republic from the French interest; but some of the more prudent members apprehended that such rough measures might incense a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people; they therefore advised the states to content themselves with lending a respectful meassage, requesting that he would not traverse the conferences at Münster, or any way obstruct the negotiations carrying on with Spain. William no sooner consented than they acknowledged him stadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed, by the acclamations of the people, stadtholder of six provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by sea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the same powers vested in his father and uncle.

All this time the United Provinces were labouring to effect a separate peace with the Spaniards, which was conflagrantly obstructed by the vigilance and address of the French plenipotentiaries. Besides the deputies of the states-general, and of the particular provincial states, the body of nobility was represented by eight deputies. It was now that the sovereignty of the states-general, and the rights of the separate departments of the republic, were established. No other terms would be accepted than an absolute independence on the house of Austria, and a universal acknowledgment of all the powers concerned in the negotiations, that the United Provinces should henceforward be regarded as a free and sovereign republic. The concessions made in 1609 were but provisional: they were indeed acknowledged by France, and other powers, whose interest it was to keep well with the provinces; but Spain retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other states might follow the example, as soon as any difference arose with the republic. The French minister at the Hague remonstrated to the states on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give Spain an opportunity of accomplishing her views, by fomenting divisions among the allies. This obliged the Dutch plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles, upon which they might agree with the Spaniards, unless they were sanctioned by the concurrence of their allies. The most Christian king, however, still doubted their intentions. In order to keep the states steady, he dispatched M. Sekerin to the Hague, where he was coldly received, and indeed assuaged with the superior attention shewn to the Spanish minister, who was sent to balance his influence. Sekerin, nevertheless, supported the dignity of his character with great address; but he could not alter the disposition of the states, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies Knyst and Paeuw with the Spanish ambassadors at Münster. At length, after abundance of altercation between the plenipotentiaries of Spain, France, and Holland, after the darkest intrigues had been carried on, and the sources of the deepest policy drained, the following articles of peace were concluded between Spain and the United Provinces:

That his Catholic majesty should renounce all right and sovereignty over the lords the states-general of the United Provinces, who henceforward declared a free independent republic. That both sides should remain in the unmolested possession of what they severally held at the signing of the treaty. That the same regulation should take place in Asia, Africa, and America, as in Europe, with respect to the conquests made since the expiration of the armistice. In the sixth article it was stipulated, that the Spaniards should not attempt the extension of their commerce to the East Indies, and that the Dutch should form no enterprises against the possessions and settlements of the subjects of that crown in Asia. This obligation indeed was reciprocal, and sufficient time allowed for transmitting the treaty to those distant colonies. Thus the sovereignty of the republic was at last acknowledged, and for ever established, by that power who alone disputed it, at the expense of her blood and treasure, with an obstinacy hardly to be paralleled in history.


Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.

FRANCE.
The French king requests the separate peace struck up by the republic.

France, however, accused the republic of ingratitude for defeating the interests of a nation, the chief instrument of her present felicity, opulence, and independence. The Dutch were upbraided with a gross violation of their engagements, to accept of no separate terms, until the demands of their allies were fully satisfied; but they justified themselves by demonstrating the necessity of a peace, the private views of cardinal Mazarin in protracting the war, and the frivolous difficulties raised about Lorraine. The ambassadors of the states waited upon the French plenipotentiaries, and assuaged them, that had they one day longer deferred signing the treaty, Spain was resolved to break off the negotiation; but this would not appease their clamours. They insisted, that the republic ought, at least, to have waited the return of the courier dispatched to Madrid by the count de Pignaranda. To remove this load of calumny, the states used all their influence to reconcile the two crowns, but they were told by M. Severin, that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majesty now thought himself at liberty to act without consulting the republic, whose conduct had abdolled him from his engagements. He said, the mediation of the provinces would be suspected, and the only repairation of their error, now possible, was to refuse ratifying the treaty, until the court of France had time to demonstrate that all the obstructions to a general pacification arose from the delays and intrigues of the Spanish ministry. Spain offered to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the states; but this the French plenipotentiaries declined, which served the more to confirm the republic in the restitution of her own measures, and the ambitious designs of the most Christian king. Returning to the Hague, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the states-general for the perseverance, vigilance, and ability, with which they had conducted the whole negotiation. Soon after their arrival, two letters from the French king were presented to the assembly, wherein he reproached the states with perfidy, and the infraction of the most solemn engagements with the greatest benefactor of the republic. These remonstrances however made no effect. The states imagined that Spain was now sufficiently weakened, and it was their business to prevent the French from growing too powerful, and extending their dominions on the side of the Netherlands. In vain therefore did Lewis's ambassadors solicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty; in vain did they endeavour to excite divisions, and foment discord among the members of the assembly: the same policy which had hitherto induced the Dutch to continue the war, amidst their civil disaffections, and under the pressure of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them to ratify the treaty lately signed. Accordingly the fifteenth of May was appointed for the exchange of ratifications, which was performed with the usual solemnities, to the great satisfaction of all the parties, except the king of France. On the same day of the enluing month, the peace was proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious negotiation of Munster, by which tranquillity was again restored to the United Provinces, and that sovereignty established, for which they had struggled for near a century.

Scarce was the peace of the republic restored, when she was almost involved in fresh difficulties with the elector of Brandenburgh, who demanded restitution of certain places in the duchy of Cleves, now fequestered in the hands of the states-general. He sent ambassadors to the Hague, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with the provinces; but, in fact, to make a demand by no means agreeable to the Hollanders. The elector procured the emperor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The states peremptorily refused complying with the demand, because the claim of the duke of Neuburgh was not yet adjusted, and they must be responsible for the places intrusted to their care. This was only a plausible pretext, as Spain had now wholly relinquished the interest of that prince, who was too weak of himself to support his pretensions. Philip now saw himself under the necessity of alone supporting a war against the whole monarchy of France. Deprived of the assistance of the emperor on the one hand, he, however, found his enemies proportionably diminished on the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambassadors loitered away their time at Munster, without renewing their efforts to finish a ruinous and disgraceful war. But Philip was now sketching out the rudiments of a more extensive project. He flattered himself that the United Provinces, having incurred the displeasure of the French king, would at least furnish him with money, and suffer him to levy troops in the Netherlands, by which means he might be able to reduce France to reasonable terms of accommodation. He even went so far as to propose an alliance, and, when this was rejected, his minister at the congress, the count de Pignaranda, propagated such reports as rendered it necessary for the Dutch deputies to give Severin, the French plenipotentiary, the strongest assurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly disposition with respect to his master. Pignaranda repeated his disappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with France by the provinces; declaring, that the court of Madrid determined to have faci-
faction. With this view the Spaniards stopped the Dutch shipping in the port of Ostend. The states-general immediately took this delicate affair into consideration; but were greatly perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refused to satisfy the demands of the Spanish court, they apprehended their ships would be condemned as lawful prizes; and in forbidding a reciprocal trade with France, the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

While the states were temporizing, in hopes that a peace between France and Spain would remove all difficulties, cardinal Mazarin played every engine of the cabinet to induce the prince of Orange to engage in his interest, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of Madrid. It is well known that the Orange party always opposed the late peace; but whether the prince listened to the propositions now made, is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak side; he applied to his passions and his ambition; but the republic was so circumstanced, that the negotiation proved fruitless. Mean time, after the defeat of the India company's forces in Bresl, the cardinal acted as mediator between the Portuguese and the republic, in hopes that, if a peace was concluded between them, Portugal would then prosecute the war against Spain with redoubled vigour. It was soon, however, perceived that the Portuguese ambassador wanted only to amuse the states, while he pretended to accept of their propositions; but the want of unanimity among the cities and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed resolution. Some were for avenging the late disgrace in Bresl; while others, less sanguine in their expectations, thought it better to put up with a small part, than run the hazard of losing all footing in this rich and fertile country.

S E C T. X.

Containing all the material transactions in which the republic was concerned, until the second rupture with England in 1665.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in Holland, while unhappy England was torn with civil wars, her soil fattened with the blood of her children, and her king brought to an ignominious death upon a scaffold. The republic had hitherto maintained a strict neutrality with respect to the factions in England, notwithstanding the close alliance between the unfortunate Charles and the house of Orange. It is true indeed, that queen Henrietta, forced to quit the kingdom, passed over to Holland; but the could obtain no succours, except the money raised upon the crown-jewels. The prince of Orange had taken some measures in behalf of the royal party; but they were of little consequence, and detached from the politics of the republic. Now, however, we see the situation of the states more delicate, and the provinces reduced to the necessity of denying refuge to the shattered remains of the royalists, of or coming to a rupture with the parliament of England. James duke of York, having escaped from his confinement, took refuge at the Hague, where his presence considerably embarrassed the states-general. Their perplexity was increased by the arrival of the prince of Wales, who solicited the interposition of the republic for the king's life; and represented in such lively colours the danger of his majesty's being brought to an infamous death, that the states resolved to send ambassadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs. M. Pauw, and Joachim, the latter of whom had long resided in a public character at London, were appointed to this delicate trust. These were able servants of the republic, and had the courage, the one at the age of eighty-eight, and the other of seventy-eight years, to embark in the depth of winter, when the cold was intolerable, for England, where they arrived in the month of February. They were received with respect; they pleaded the royal cause in terms the most pathetic; but all their endeavours to stem the torrent of fanaticism, cunning, and cruel ambition, proved fruitless. Charles lost his head upon the block, to the eternal disgrace of the British nation.

No sooner was the news of the king's execution come to the Hague, than the prince of Orange communicated the fatal event, by one of his chaplains, to the prince of Wales; while the clergy thought it their duty to wait in a body on that young prince, with emotions of condolence. This proceeding was condemned by the states, as equally impolitic and unconstitutional: their speech to the prince of Wales was forbid to be printed; but it soon became public, notwithstanding it was apprehended that the English parliament would take offence at certain flattering expressions, and that warmth of regard shown to the royal family. But though the states-general industriously avoided the publication of every thing

* Mem. Sir, tom. xiii.  
* Baskage, p. 142.  

which
The history of the United Provinces,

which might disquiet the infant commonwealth of England, the states of Holland could not dispence with the civility of sending a deputation of condolence to the prince of Wales: even the states-general themselves waited upon the young prince, in deep mourning, and complimented him with the appellation of king, though they declined congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

It was next deliberated whether the republic should recall her ambassadors from London, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of England. Mr. Strickland had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minifter, at the Hague. He now demanded audience of the states-general, as public ambassador from the English commonwealth; in which he was opposed by Sir William Bafvel, who had for several years resided in Holland, as envoy from Charles I. This gentleman’s remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of Orange, and a party he had formed in favour of the king, that Strickland’s credentials were, after violent contests, rejected.

While this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent schemes of neutrality formed by the republic. Davilaus, a civilian, and native of Holland, employed in conducting the charge against the late king, was now sent by the parliament to assist Strickland. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy rendered him odious to all the royalists, who flocked in crowds to the little court kept up by Charles II. in the neighbourhood of the Hague. As he was sitting quietly at supper, certain persons, masked, violently forced open his lodgings, and after assassinating him, retired without being questioned, or at all suspected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at so flagrant a breach of the laws of nations: a reward was offered for discovering the assassins; but, however, the states acted so carelessly, that the parliament, harbouring suspicions of their fidelity, made complaints to M. Jemini; and, in truth, Strickland turned the whole with so much address to the advantage of his masters, that the leading men in Holland grew impatient for the king’s quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet still the states-general persisted in refusing Strickland’s credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The states of Holland, apprehending a rupture with England, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, sent remonstrances to the states-general, charging them with all the consequences of Strickland’s departure. Upon this they were forced to apologize to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial states.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil divisions which at that time afflicted both France and Great Britain; but it was difficult to avoid the solicitations of the English monarch, supported by the interest of the prince of Orange on one side, and of the intriguing Mazarin on the other. This busy prelate insinuated to the prince of Orange, that the royal family in England being entirely ruined, his influence and power must necessarily decline, unless he was strongly linked in alliance with the crown of France. His design was to involve the provinces in a fresh war with Spain; but the prince escaped his snare, and penetrated his views. He informed M. Brafet, the French envoy, of the impossibility of carrying the project into execution, because it must pass through the provincial states, and the refusal of one city was sufficient to frustrate the whole design. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal sent instructions to M. Brafet to exert his utmost endeavours to prevent the states from entering into any engagements with the parliament of England, and to conduct himself with such caution, that it should not be imagined France at all interfered in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negotiating with Fairfax and Cromwell.

While Brafet was deeply engaged in this negotiation, M. le Brun arrived at the Hague, in quality of envoy from the Catholic king. The provinces of Zealand and Utrecht, who had not yet ratified the treaty of Givet, opposed his reception, notwithstanding which his public entry was allowed. Nothing, indeed, could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her sovereignty, by an express embassy from the king of Spain; and the ambassador took particular care to low his discourse with the flattering terms of Mighty State, Flourishing Republic, and Sovereign People, which produced a good effect on the minds of the states-general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with; for as to the real intention of his embassy, he made no pretence; the republic resolving, as long as possible, to observe the strictest neutrality. The affair of Frankenthal was the most difficult part of his commission. The Spaniards had poiffessed themselves of that place, and the elector-Palatine, to whom it belonged, demanded restitution. The states-general supported the elector, who was violently persecuted by the emperor, and the Spaniards were at a loss how to determine. At last they consented to the restitution, upon some conditions; that the Catholic religion should be established in the palatinate; that a

b Guthres, book iii, Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub anu.
Republic of Holland.

a free passage should be granted to the Spaniards; that they should be allowed a place of arms, and that the republic would guarantee these conditions. This, together with some depredations committed by the Lorrainers, in the neighbourhood of Boisleduc; certain disputes concerning Rhinberg; and an old quarrel with the bishop of Liège, were the subjects of le Brun's negotiation.

It was about this time that the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, arrived in Holland, to demand all the commanderies of Malta, situated in the provinces. Firstly, a variety of difficulties arose about the honours to be paid to the grand prior; but this affair being adjuted, the states entered into a negotiation with him, which produced nothing but ulterior altercation. It was otherwise with M. Uffeldt, the Danish ambassador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and redemption between the crown of Denmark and the republic of the Seven United Provinces. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to assist the party attacked with four thousand men, and to use their utmost influence with the aggressor to lay down his arms, and submit to arbitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all Dutch merchants passing through the Sound to the Baltic, about which there had been great disputes. Instead of rating each ship according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the free passage of the Sound; however, this expedition was displeasing to some of the provinces, and highly resented by the hanse-towns, as injurious to their commerce, especially as a Dutch squadron, not exceeding four men of war, were allowed to pass unquestioned into the Baltic. Sweden likewise complained loudly of an alliance which must necessarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic, and queen Christina applied the states with remonstrances, which passed unregarded.

The states having established the foreign concerns of the republic upon the most solid footing that the circumstances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great disorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confusion that reigned for a series of years in the provinces. The interest of public debts was reduced, because the province of Holland had offered to furnish money for the payment of all who desired to be reimbursed. However, the public credit was so well established, that not a single creditor fought to withdraw his flock; by which means the interest of debts became too large for the stated revenue. To remove this difficulty, certain taxes were imposed on the barony of Breda, and the district of Boisleduc, because those lands were exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the Spaniards, complained of the hardship of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the states, to obviate the objection; but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the disease: one of the expedients proposed by the states of Holland was, the reduction of the troops; which the prince of Orange supported by the council of state, warmly opposed, while all the princes and states were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The dispute raged high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince insisting that a standing force of twenty-six thousand three hundred foot and three thousand horse should be maintained; while the province of Holland asserted that twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were sufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable theiranimosity was more deeply rooted, and this occasion only seized as a cover to their real designs. Holland had taken certain measures respecting the payment of the troops, without consulting the prince and council of state; and this proceeding was not only resented by the prince and council, but by all the officers of the army, and the states general themselves, who regarded it as an infraction of the union. At this time a deputy from the province of Holland presided in the states general, and he laboured to prevent the assembly from taking any resolution contrary to his instructions from the states of his province; but finding he could not stem the torrent, he resigned the chair, and was succeeded by a deputy of Gelderland, who proceeded to revoke the order of the states of Holland, in consequence of a great majority of voices. Determining to support this decision, their high mightinesses sent express orders to all the officers of the army, not to obey any directions they might receive from the states of Holland, unless they were confirmed by the authority of the states general; the governors of the frontier towns had similar orders; and the deputies of Holland protested against this proceeding, as injurious to their liberties. In the end, the steadiness of the states of Holland, and the fluctuating councils of their high mightinesses, afforded the prince of Orange the opportunity of pushing his ambitious views. Attended by the council of state, and count de Nassau, governor of Friesland, he waited upon the states general, praying their high mightinesses to forbid the governors from making the reforms in their garrisons required by the states of Holland.

Treaties with Denmark.


\[\text{Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.} \]

7 B
The history of the United Provinces,

land, and to send a deputation to each town of that province, to oblige the magistrates to alter their sentiments. The deputies of Holland and Guelderland opposed this request, because the deputies of Friseland, Groningen, and Overijssel were absent; but a resolution passed in favour of the prince, and the desired deputation was dispatched. They proceeded first to Dordrecht, where they were badly received, and inflamed by a resolution of the magistrates to hold no conferences with the prince of Orange or his deputies. The prince in person joined the deputies, but no ear was given to his remonstrances; upon which he set out for the Brille, Gorcum, Rotterdam, and the other towns, where his reception was little better than at Dordrecht. Amsterdam sent two burgo-masters as far as Tergeau, to request of the prince not to attempt entering that city, because they could not give him audience with his train, which was pretty numerous. As he still pursued his journey, a second deputation was sent to acquaint his highness, that if he proposed honouring the city with a visit as governor of the province, he would be received with all the respect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the states general, because the design of his amably appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and therefore proceeded to Haarlem, where the magistrates displayed the same avarice for the resolutions of the states general. In North Holland the prince met with more civility; however, the magistrates of Medemblik sent to acquaint him that the roads were so bad, and the town so small for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a visit.

On his return the prince complained loudly to the states general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of Amsterdam, against which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his speech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping, by this means, to inflame the minds of the people, and especially of the clergy, who were devoted to his interest. The deputies of Amsterdam, who were present when this speech was delivered, expressed their astonishment that the prince should have particularly aimed his remonstrance at their city, when several others had acted in just the same manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magistrates, and their measures were approved by the states of Holland, who, in a public manifesto, declared that the states general had no right to send a deputation to the several cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the consent of the provincial states.

The return of admiral de Wit with a sickly, shattered fleet, augmented the civil divisions. This officer, perceiving the impossibility of recovering the losses lately sustained in the Brijls, returned, without the consent of the council established in that country by the states general. Loud complaints were made by the council against the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miscarriage of the expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a single enterprise; that he let slip several opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company; that he had quitted the coast against the express order of the council; and, that he had carried off all the provision, and left the company's servants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. De Wit was arrested by the prince of Orange, as high-admiral: he was accused by the states of Zealand, and supported by the states of Holland, who feared that his Portuguese majesty would stop their ships in his ports, and prohibit their trading to the coast of Guinea, if the war was prosecuted in the Brijls. At the same time the states general liued orders to the admiralty of Amsterdam, to confine the six captains who accompanied de Wit; and this produced a violent alteration, the states of Holland insisting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their sovereignty to imprison by any other authority within the limits of their jurisdiction. The states general quoted precedents, and, besides, urged, that reason dictated that all officers who held their commissions from them, should be subject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reside. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightinesses, and the prion-doors were forced by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and the prisoners set at liberty. William, determined upon revenge, had the six deputies of Holland arrested, at the head of whom was Jacob de Wit, an old burgo-master of Dordrecht, and the father of the famous penioner de Wit. After being some time confined in separate apartments in the prince's palace, they were sent under a strong guard to the castle of Louvenstein. Determined to support this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, William detached a body of forces under the count de Nassau, towards Amsterdam, in hopes of reducing the magistrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a siege. His measures were concerted with so much secrecy, and pursued with so much vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magistrates had any suspicion of his intentions. Had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, the city must certainly, without striking a blow, have fallen into his hands.

*Basnage, p. 172.*
When the news first arrived at Amsterdam, that the army was on their march, of the Amsterdam four burgomasters regent, one was dead, two were abSENT, and M. Bitzer alone left to provide for the defence of the city. He was well supported, however, by M. Nydecooper, an infirm magistrate, whose diligence, gallantry, and public spirit, was now conspicuously exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were these two magistrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their service. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garrison put in arms, the ships cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other measure taken for making the most vigorous resistance. The council met, to deliberate whether the gates should be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to sweep away one by one fatal stroke the whole army of the besiegers; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was resolved only to drown such parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakest parts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the sailors in particular contributed with the utmost alacrity towards the safety of this great empire of Europe. On the count's arrival he found his project was misconceived, and his force too inconsiderable to attempt invading so extensive a city. He gave notice of his disapprobation to the prince of Orange, who was highly chagrined to see a plan drawn out with so much care to unexpectedly fail, and his honour and authority stained and defiled: but imagining his presence would retrieve all things, he communicated his design to the states general, and instantly set out for the army attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of distinction. On his way he met with M. de Bercker, a gentleman descended from the house of Nassau, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Resolving, if possible, to obviate the fatal consequences which might ensue from the obstinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vast body of water in the power of the magistrates of Amsterdam, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they resolved to push matters to extremities. This demonstration was equally concise and conclusive. William instantly felt his conviction, and entreated M. Beeverwer to go immediately to the Hague to acquaint the states general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himself and the army; the only measure which could save his honour.*

While M. Beeverwer was employed in this affair, a negotiation commenced between the siege of the prince and the magistrates of Amsterdam. William had wrote to them, desiring they would send four deputies, to confer with him upon the subject of an accommodation. As the magistrates began already to feel the inconveniences of a siege, they listened the more readily to the proposal. Diffusion had thus early begun to shew itself in the city. A variety of libels were published, taxing the magistrates with holding a secret correspondence with the English parliament. This allegation was founded upon Pieterjon's voyage to England, to manage the affairs of the province with Cromwell, who had refused admitting an ambassady from the republic. Nothing could render the magistrates more odious than such an accusation; besides, the merchants apprehended that a siege would stop the course of exchange, and hurt their credit. These were the motives that influenced the magistrates to enter upon a negotiation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the siege into a blockade. To this may be added the little dependance placed by the magistrates in the other cities, who contented themselves with murmuring at this attempt on their liberty, without entering upon any measures of resistance. In these circumstances the following articles were mutually signed: That the prince should be received in the city with all the honours due to his dignity, and paid to his ancestors in the same office. This condition was stipulated merely to save the prince's honour; for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry that the city of Amsterdam should engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the province had disbanded: that the magistrates should use their influence with the states of Holland, to effect a public reconciliation: and lastly, that M. Bitzer and his brother, notwithstanding the many services they had done to the house of Orange, and the state, and notwithstanding their present strenuous efforts in defence of freedom, should be stripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinterred. The council obstinately opposed this last article; but those two excellent citizens infilted upon resigning, offering their lives a voluntary sacrifice for the public tranquility. In this manner terminated that dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic on the brink of destruction. William's designs were now obvious; and all, with one voice, accused him of betraying his country, and using those forces entrusted to his care for the protection of the republic, to the purposes of ambition, and the suppression of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himself and his country, he was seized with the small-
The history of the United Provinces,

Death and character of the prince of Orange.

The prisoners relieved and reinstated.

The states of Holland recalled to the states general.

pox, of which he died on the sixth day of November, while he was projecting schemes of revenge, which might, possibly, involve Holland in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had just experienced. As his virtues were universally acknowledged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occasioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the house of Orange lamented him as the worthy successor of his heroic ancestors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interposition of Providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themselves oppressed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite indignant in their festivity and public rejoicings; bonfires blazed in every town almost in Holland, and medals were struck, inflicting the memory of a prince who might have died loved and revered, had he known how to moderate those high passions which ever bprove ruinous in a popular government (A).

WILLIAM had yet at liberty the prisoners confined in the castle of Louvain, on condition they should not be restored to their employments; but his remains were scarcely cold, when the deputies were reinstated with such distinctions, as could not but be regarded as an insult to the deceased. Even the court was divided into parties, and engaged in opposite interests. The princes dowager, mother to the late stadholder, was left sensible of the death of her son, because under his government the loft that authority which she enjoyed in the lifetime of his father. As to the young princes his widow, already afflicted with the misfortunes of her royal father and family in England, she became inconsolable, until it pleased Heaven to revive her hopes, and moderate her grief, by the birth of a young prince, eight days after the death of his father.

As the states general had been strongly linked with the prince of Orange in the same interest, his sudden loss caused a general conformation in that assembly, of which he was the soul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice in the states. Their first resolution was, to notify this fatal event to all the provincial states. Holland was no sooner acquainted with it, than the states met to deliberate on the necessary measures. They charged their deputies to affright the states general, that they would sacrifice their resentment to the public good, and strictly adhere to the conditions of the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion, agreeable to the decree of the syndy of Dordrecht. Next, they resolved upon sending a deputation to all the provinces, to conjure them to send to the Hague deputies from their own body, to deliberate on the present circumstances of the republic. The project was approved by the states general, and the deputation was well received in all the provinces. A third resolution of great importance to the province, likewise paffed the states of Holland. It was determined to limit that influence assumed by the counts of Holland and the stadholders, in the election of the magistrates of the cities, by which they often gained an undue influence in the provincial states, and the assembly of the states general, and to refer to themselves the nomination to public offices, to military preferments, and all employments of profit or power. They likewise ordered that the guards about the prince should be the troops of the province, and that all the rights and prerogatives usurped by the stadholder, should now be annexed to the sovereignty of the states of Holland. All the remonstrances of the young princes dowager had no effect. The infant son was stripped in the cradle of all the honours enjoyed by his ancestors, and supported with a dignity that rendered their names immortal. Zeeland followed the example of Holland, and feizd the opportunity of recovering all the prerogatives of the province.

Though the princes dowager was differently affected with her daughter-in-law at the death of her son, the still laboured for the aggrandizement of her grandchild from the moment of his birth, and with that view, wrote circular letters to all the provinces, persuaded it would give universal satisfaction, that the illustrious family of the founders of the republic was not extinct, and that a child was born, who would support the edifice reared by the hands of his ancestors. She hoped likewise, that the states would invest the infant with all the dignities of the stadholder, as soon as they deliberated upon that subject. Nor was the princes mislaken in her reliance on the affections of the people; how-

(A) William's genius was vast and comprehensive. Though he had never been in the field, he was deemed a great general, inheriting the qualities of a hero from his ancestors, which he improved by the closest application and most intense study. His constitution was fatiguing, his features remarkable, and all his passions absorbed in that single one of ambition. His person was not only handsome and elegant, but the features of his face beautiful and manly. At his death, he was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, yet he had made great progress in the mathematics, fortification, and all the sciences, at the same time that he spoke fluently the Latin, English, French, Italian, Spanish, and High Dutch. In a word, he was a prince, who, had he been seated on a throne, would equally have commanded esteem and respect (1).
ever they were dazzled with the ambition of the late prince, they loved the family, and regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of those heroes who had rescued the provinces from tyranny, misery, and oppression, and the peculiar gift of heaven, to secure their religion and liberties against future encroachments. However, the states general contented themselves with a promise to the princeps that they would forward his letters to the provincial states, though they could not but think creating a new stadtholder unfeasable, as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant.

WILLIAM III, like Hercules, was from his birth to encounter difficulties. The first disputes arose about his baptism, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the dissolution of the government, appeared on his entering upon the administraiton.

Deputies from the states general, from the states of Holland and Zeeland, and from the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden, and Delft, offered themselves as sponsors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleasure, and followed by magnificent presents to the young prince and his family. The princeps royal, his mother, was for calling him Charles, in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of William, as the most popular and auspicious. The pomp with which the child was baptized, was censured by the more prudent republicans, and many persons were offended at the old dowager's desiring that the duke of York might not be present at the ceremony.—With all her sense and manly ideas, that princeps was tainted with a truly feminine superstitiion.

The ceremony of the princeps's baptism had occasioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this means to come in for a considerable share in the government of the republic, and to exercise the functions of the stadtholder. The candidates were Don Emanuel and Don Lewis, princes of Portugal, descended from a daughter of William I. Philip-Louis, prince palatine of the Rhine, likewise descended from a daughter of the same prince of Orange; and the prince palatine, of the family of Deux Ponts, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reside at his own expense at the Hague, should he be appointed to the office of guardian: his proposals were favourably received by the grand council; but they could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of Brandenburg, who had married the eldest daughter of prince Frederic-Henry. Both the grandmother and mother sent in their several claims on this occasion, as the most legitimate and natural guardians; but as they could come to no understanding among themselves, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At last, a will of the late prince's being presented by his secretary, turned the scale in favour of the princeps royal, though neither seal, name, or date appeared to the testament. In this rough draught William's intentions were visible; his princeps was nominated guardian to the infant, in case the should happen to be with child at his death; and fifteen thousand pounds floriger were assigned for her jointure. The old dowager and the elector of Brandenburg violently opposed any decision upon proofs so uncertain; the dispute ran high; it was submitted to a court of judicature, and at length compromised in the following manner: That the princeps royal should be chief guardian of her hon, and have the disposal of all offices about his person; that the elector of Brandenburg should be joined to assist her in the management of the young prince's person and affairs; and that the princeps dowager should inspect and superintend their conduct. The two latter appealed to the grand council, and the decree was altered; being now determined that the princeps royal, as mother to the infant, should be guardian on the one hand, and the princeps dowager, elector of Brandenburg, and count Landburgh, on the other, as representatives of the father.

The ensuing year commenced with a grand assembly of the states general, on the eighteenth day of January. Here they deliberated on the means of maintaining the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion established by the synod of Dordrecht, on the election of a stadtholder, on subjecting the army to the orders of the council of state, on preventing the effects of corruption in the states general, on the requisition of the province of Brabant of sending deputies to the states general, on a general amnesty, and several other particulars. With respect to the first point, the states general went over to the sentiments of the states of Holland; and it was resolved, that the choice of all officers and magistrates should be in the disposal of the cities, and that not only the common soldiers and the forces in general, but even the princeps's guards, should take an oath of fidelity to the states general, and the states of Holland. In a word, the business of the assembly was to heal the wounds of faction, unite parties, consolidate the republic into one homogeneous

BASNAPE, pag. 212. LE CLERC, tom. ii. pag. 209.
The history of the United Provinces,

mats, and secure public liberty against all future attacks, by revoking all the powers and prerogatives formerly bestowed on the stadholders.

While the states general were occupied in establishing the tranquillity of the state, and fixing the plan of government, Don Antonio de Sufa Macedo, arrived in the quality of ambassador from his Portuguese majesty. On his taking his seat in the states general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the Hague privately, and refusing him an audience for months. He recapitulated the services done the republic by king Sebastiau, and said, that notwithstanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking measures for re-establishing the antient amity between the states, not from weakness, but from an inclination to spare the effusion of Christian blood. He concluded with giving an efforce of the states and shipping of Portugal, and demonstrating to the republic, that this was the surest barrier against the encroachments of his Catholic majesty. Immediately the deputies entered into several conferences with him, and demanded restitution of all the forts, settlements, and territories of which the republic was deprived in course of the war, from Rio-real to Strara, including all the flaves, cattle, sugars, and other effects; indemnification for the losses sustained by the interruption in commerce, and cession of the island of St. Thomas, and the African coast from cape Lopo Gonzales, to the river Conza. Incensed at these extravagant demands, the ambassador quitted Holland precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the states.

The disputes with the Portuguese minister were followed by violent contensions in the cities about the election of magistrates. Dordrecht in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confusion, by chusing this particular time for reviving the claims to the antient right of seats in the provincial assemblies. They produced several antient acts, proving that the states were formerly composed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and Maximilian of Burgundy pretended, that, as the most antient of the nobility, he had a right to represent the whole body, to the exclusion of all the other members. This division among themselves weakened the weight of their influence, and the states gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretensions.

Amidst all these civil divisions, commerce flourished more than ever, and the republic engrossed the trade of Europe, as England had not yet recovered the calamities consequent on the entire revolution in the government, and France was wholly employed in disputes between the crown and the princes of the blood, and the nobility struggling in defence of the relics of liberty. Yet it received several interruptions from the attacks of the corsairs of Tunis, and rovers of Algiers and Salees. Even the French privateers made no scruple of attacking the Dutch merchantmen; but those pirates were soon suppressed by the public spirit of two merchants, who equipped a squadron of small men of war at their own expense, cleared the seas, and sufficiently reimbursed themselves by the great number of captures; but the greatest obstruction to trade arose from England. His Catholic majesty had dispatched an ambassador to the parliament, offering to punish the murderers of the English resident at Madrid, to admit the English shipping into all the ports of Spain, and to exclude the fleet under prince Rupert. He likewise acknowledged the sovereignty authority of the parliament; all which was confined into an oblique reflection on the dilatory conduct of the states general, who had hitherto declined punishing the murderers of Dorias, or acknowledging the sovereignty of the parliament. Zealand pressed with eagerness, that all manner of satisfaction should be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowledged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impression on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, the parliament, on various pretences, seized upon the Dutch ships trading to the ports of France, Spain, and Portugal. They inflected likewise upon searching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the Caribes, and took other violent measures, which seemed to threaten an open rupture. To repel these injuries and protect the trade, admiral Van Trimp was stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, which raised apprehensions in the parliament, that the states had a design to seize upon them as a convenient station for incomming the English commerce. In this situation, Cromwell, perfectly master of the art of deceiving, sent an embassy to Holland with overtures of a treaty offensive and defensive between the two republics. The duke of York was at this time at the Hague, where St. John, the English envoy, had the presumption in a public walk to dispute the precedence with him; which being observed by the prince palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him respect the fon and the brother of his king. St. John put his hand upon his sword, refused to acknowledge either the king, or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to seek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambassador to
or Republic of Holland.

a the states general, who advised the duke of York to retire to one of the prince of Orange's palaces in the country, and expresst their sorrow for the accident in an apology to the English minifter. Ommersen, and fix other deputies, were now appointed to deliberate upon the instructions sent to St. John and Strieland, who first demanded in high terms satisfaction upon the murderers of Dorpiaus, which had been so long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the Dutch government. This the Dutch answered, by presenting a long list of debts due, on account of the deprestations of the English. The English ambassador immediately rejected the account, because it chiefly confiliated of Dutch vessels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted English plantations. A continuation of the queen of Bohemia's pension was likewise demanded by the Dutch, for the payment of which the states general flood engaged; but this was also refused, the ambassadors alleging, that the pension was granted by the late king, without the consent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with so inoffuent an air of superiority by the English, that nothing could be exprest from this negotiation, as it was not imagined the Dutch would tamely recede from so many demands.

b But perhaps the greatest obstruction to the treaty arose from cardinal Mazarin, who above all things dreaded the alliance mentioned in the life-time of the late prince of Orange, between England and Holland. It is true, the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of England, to suffer a project so detrimental to their interest to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty against Spain with the cardinal, on condition that the French minister should afflict in the restoration of the Stuart family. Thus the intrigues of Mazarin, and the friends of the house of Orange, effectually impeded the proposed union between the two commonwealths, which was only proposed by St. John, and never taken into serious consideration. Irritated at this disappointment, at the disfavour shewn in many instances to their ambassador, at the partiality of the Dutch in their demands, at their refusal to make the required satisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at Ambroya, soon after the establishment of the English and Dutch East India companies, the parliament resolved to chastise the states general, and evince their superiority by the most vigorous measures. These notions were confirmed by St. John, who laboured to give Cromwell and the people a disadvantageous opinion of the Dutch, to persuade them that nothing was so desirable to Holland as an opportunity of disputing the sovereignty on the ocean assumed by the English.

c What the Dutch regarded as the first step towards a rupture was the act of navigation passed in England. This, though one of the most salutary laws ever proposed in the English parliament, was highly prejudicial to the Dutch commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to further declarations. Abstracted from other considerations, the act was in itself alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandise in England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ship belonged; and the commodities from Asia, Africa, or America, to be imported in any other than English bottoms. This blow levelled directly at Holland, as the Dutch traffic consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to England; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in Holland, though in fact they were only detained by way of reprisal. It was easy to discover from the tone of the Dutch ambassadors, that they were apprehensive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The English rose proportionally in their demands, infested not only upon satisfaction for the barbarities at Ambroya, but on the sum of two millions, to repair the losses they had sustained from the Dutch in other parts of the East Indies, in Persia, Muscovy, and Greenland. They also demanded the punishment of the murderers of Dorpiaus, reparation of the insults offered to their ambassador, and an apology for the intercourse carried on with the late king, during the civil war.

d Demands so insolently made, and exorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the states general, that vigorous measures alone could bring to reasonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the English at sea, and their vain-glorious pretensions to the sovereignty of the ocean. The mere striking to their flag was in itself trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not desire to extend their right, appeared to the states a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were established. The English had already claimed the right of examining, not only their merchantmen for illicit goods, but even the Dutch men of war; they might

The Dutch prepare for war.

b Bainage, pg. 220. 1 Grot. lib. vi. pg. 44. Bainage, ibid.
in course of time assume the power of directing the destination of their fleets, and even prescribing whether the republic should maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. The tribute demanded by the English for the liberty of fishing on the British coasts, appeared unreasonable to the Dutch, though this perhaps was the justest demand of the parliament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had been granted; but now the number was augmented, and the tribute rendered exorbitant. To oppose these encroachments on the rights of nations, the states equipped with the utmost expedition a prodigious fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships of war, part of which they sent under the command of Martin Van Tromp into the Channel, to convey their homeward-bound merchantmen (A).

The first hostilities previous to a declaration of war, were commenced by the English. One of their ships of war falling in with a fleet of Dutch fishermen, demanded the usual tribute and homage; which being refused, the man of war sunk one of the Dutch ships, with all its crew; a fact that is variously related, just as it happens to suit the purposes of the different parties. Complaint of this action was immediately made to the English, and the states reluctantly declared, unless the captain was punished, they should be forced to make reprisals. As no notice was taken of the demand, they immediately put an embargo on all the shipping in their ports. Tromp, before his departure, directed the minuteest instructions with respect to his conduct towards the English. He acquainted the states, that, during the late king's reign, it was usual to pay homage to the English flag upon the British coasts, and in the Channel; but that since an instance occurred where this compliment was required on the open sea. To avoid therefore the necessity of entering upon any disputes, or of acknowledging the superiority of the parliament, the states ordered he should not approach the English coasts, unless forced by circumstances. Lord Clarendon alleged, that the admiral had instructions to answer the English, if they demanded a compliment to their flag, that the states had out of respect paid homage to the king's flags, from a desire of maintaining a good correspondence with that court; but that circumstances being altered, they now thought themselves at liberty to act otherwise. Should this reply prove unsatisfactory, his orders were to defend himself with vigour. These instructions, he says, were infused from the admiral; but his lordship seems mistaken in the powers of that board.

After Van Tromp had cruized on the coast of Scheveling, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards Flanders, where, for the security of his fleet, he sailed down the Channel, and stationed himself between Dover and Calais; but in passing the Downs, where admiral Blake lay with a fleet of six and twenty men of war, he was saluted with a discharge of cannon, without shot, as a signal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topsails to the English flag. Dutch writers affirm, that, previous to this, he dispatched two of his captains with compliments to Bourn, the English commodore, and to assure him that he had been driven to that station by freaks of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that Tromp paid no regard to the signal made by the English admiral, who upon this fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadside. Immediately an engagement ensued, which was maintained for the space of four hours with the utmost fury and conduct. Commodore Bourn arrived critically with eight ships to the assistance of the English, upon which Tromp retired behind the Goodwin Sands, with the loss of two ships, one of which was sunk, and the other taken. No Dutch writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loss of the English was equal, though they allege, that the reasonable interpolation of night probably saved the enemy from destruction. Nor is this at all improbable, considering the great superiority of Tromp's squadron, and his own ability, which was in no respect inferior to that of the Englishman. Van Tromp, in his letter to the states general, reflects severely on the insolent carriage of Blake, which reduced him to the necessity of returning his fire; and alleges, that he bore two broadsides from the English, by which several persons perished, before he gave the signal to engage. In proof of this, his biographer quotes a letter from the English admiral, in answer to a message sent by Tromp to demand the prisoners; and it must be confessed, that here Blake has shewn his high untachable spirit, assuming to himself such an air of superiority as afforded suspicion on the part of the others. It is however impossible to ascertain the truth, except on prejudice evidence, the accounts on both sides being fo diametrically opposite and contradictory.

(A) Readers who would make themselves perfectly acquainted with the dispute about the sovereignty of the ocean, and the right of fishing upon the British coasts, may consult the learned performance of Clavius, intitled Mare Liberum, and the answer, called Mare Clausum, wrote by the learned Selden. To enter upon such a controversy would be exceeding the province of an historian.
or Republic of Holland.

In London, the news of this battle so exasperated the populace, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who were forced to shelter themselves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appease the public resentment, by demonstrating that Tromp had no orders to fight; that he stood alone in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the gros insulit offered. The states likewise sent Adrian Pauw, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm this allegation, by laying before the parliament Van Tromp's letter to the states, and likewise the insolent answer he received from Blake before the battle. He conjured them to enquire dispassionately into the particulars of the affair; assuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English flag, he should be punished by the states general for his presumption. Certain it is, that now the Dutch sincerely wished an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to set on foot a negotiation; but possibly the boldness of Blake had shook their resolution, and convinced them by this first trial, that England was not to be reduced to reason by violence. No regard was paid to the ambassador's remonstrances; on the contrary, the government of England affected to fight, in the most contumacious manner, the solemn assurances of the states general, and to continue their earnestness of avoiding a rupture into dread of the English courage. Cromwell and Bond were sent to Dover to encourage Blake and the seamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every necessary.

This conduct, and the orders issued for augmenting the navy with forty more ships, could not be regarded by the states general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared resolution of coming to a rupture. In consequence they recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, specifying the injuries they had sustained, which was answered by another from the parliament. Little stress can be laid on those declarations, in which both sides asserb readily, and suppress every circumstance that reflects light on their real intentions. Sufficient it is, that Cromwell possibly imagined it necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from considering the ambitious scheme of sovereignty he had projected; and that the Dutch, grown rich by commerce, elated with prosperity, proud of liberty, and infiendently of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportunity of afflicting an equality with the English commonwealth.

The Dutch ambassadors having in their return met with Van Tromp off Ziriczea, Pauw advised him to attack Aisquith on his way from Barbadoes, with three Dutch prizes richly laden. This measure was embraced; but disconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which Van Tromp's fleet was shattered and dispersed, many ships not having been able to join him in the Teseil for several weeks after. Van Galen, however, was sent with a squadron to the Mediterranean, to oppose in that sea the English commodore Bodely. Blake, ever vigorous and alert, seized the opportunity of Van Tromp's absence, to assert his country's right to the British fishery. With this view he steered to the northward, attacked the Dutch fisheries off Sketland, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but suffered the fishing buffes to escape, on a promise never to return, without leave from the English parliament; an act of generosity highly blamed by the historians of that country. Van Tromp pursued Blake to the north; but his squadron suffered a second time in a hard gale, just as he had given the signal to engage, as if the elements had conspired against the glory of this hero.

Van Tromp's misfortunes rather animated than discouraged the states general. They promoted de Ruyter, afterwards so famous in history, to the command of a separate squadron, consisting of fifty sail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. Ruyter was of obscure birth, and he had raised himself to distinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin-boy, unsupported by patronage, or those specious qualities which sometimes secure the friendship of the great, to the undervaluing. He now first appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct soon justified the election of his countrymen. Near Plymouth he met with admiral Aisquith, with whom he began a furious cannonading about four in the afternoon, alone sustained the whole fire of the admirals and vice-admirals for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity, disengaged himself, joined the rest of his squadron, and renewed the attack with such impetuosity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after most of their ships had exhausted all their ammunition. Aisquith had a squadron little inferior to de Ruyter's; he behaved with the utmost gallantry, was once surrounded with nine of his ships by the Dutch, extricated himself by a desperate push, which broke the enemy, tore their ships, and gained the weather-gage; but still he was constrained to confine his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerness; both sides suffered extremely, and at last the squadrons separated, as if by mutual content: on the third day, each admiral claimed victory, with
almost equal justice. Both laboured under disadvantages; 
Afgoule intended ammunition, a
and Ruyter's orders were disobeyed, either from want of skill or courage in his officers;
but the greatest proof of the advantage gained by the Dutch, was, that the merchant
fleet under Ruyter's conduct arrived untouched at Amsterdam, and the English
took shelter in Plymouth. To this victory, if it may be called one, succeeded another, not less bloody,
but more decisive. Van Galen had attacked Bodey in the Mediterranean, and with great
valour fought and defeated his squadron, though he lost his life at the close of the
engagement.

Meanwhile Ruyter was under great perplexity. The last action, though upon the
whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's skill, courage,
and obstinacy; while it afforded but too strong conviction of the want of discipline and b
valour among his own officers. He doubted not but Blake, with a superior fleet, would
revenge the cause of Afgoule; and that admiral's vigour and impertinuity were evinced
sufficiently in the affair with Van Tromp. Under these apprehensions, he acquainted
the states general with his situation, and the probability of his being soon attacked by the
enemy's united squadrons. The fleets immediately resolved to send Van Tromp to take
the chief command, and join Ruyter with a strong reinforcement; but Tromp's late un-
deferved misfortunes, had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his con-
duct, the people had murmured against the event of his two last expeditions. The ruin
of the.herring fishery had excited commotions in Zeeland and Holland; Van Tromp was
like to fall the sacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of under-
standing. In spite of his services in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the space of fifteen
years, it was with difficulty he could justify himself sufficiently, to be retained in the
command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raised him enemies in the
states general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public discontent was augmented
by the great losses sustained in trade, the English having taken and destroyed a fleet of
forty sail from Spain and Portugal, and six ships richly laden from the East Indies. Now
Van Tromp was divested of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeased,
and de Ruyter was removed to make way for admiral de Wit. Even this promotion did
not give universal satisfaction; the sailors loved their two gallant officers, and though
they had the utmost confidence in their new leader, yet did they grumble at the sacrifice
d made of two heroes to a faction. Those who had set foot on shore, refused returning to
their ships, unless half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mut-
ined against the orders, if used to prevent their landing; all, in short, refused to obey
the instructions of the admiralty, and the magistrates of Amsterdam. Vigorous mea-
ures were necessary to suppresse a sedition of such dangerous consequences. A party of soldiers
was marched against the mutineers, who were forced on board, after leaving two of the
ringleaders in the hands of the magistrates, who immediately gave orders for their execu-
tion. This struck a terror into the seamen, and produced the desired effect; the sailors
returned to their duty, and an amnesty was passed to secure their gratitude, by an act of
kindness and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the subject of fresh disputes,
because the provincial states insisted, that the magistrates of Amsterdam had usurped their prerogative, by abluming the power of pardoning. It was easy indeed to justify the con-
duct of the magistrates, upon the principle of necessity. The exigency was pre-posing: it
would not admit of time to assemble the states; yet, after some altercation, they were
obliged to make satisfaction, and acknowledge publicly that they had, in critical circum-
cumstances, presumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them; one of
the greatest inconveniences of a republican government, where the variety of different
rights and departments render them perplexed and dilatory.

In compliance with the humour of the seamen, and from a just sense of his extraordi-
nary merit, Ruyter was again restored, and associated with de Wit in the command. Their
fleets joined off Dunkirk, and it was conceived they should fall in quest of the English
admiral, the intrepid Blake, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this
time the English admiral was returned from the north, and his fleet being refitted with
astonishing dispatch, he was steering in pursuit of the enemy. The vaft booty he had
taken in his late fortunate cruizes, served only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired
immense wealth without danger, he now resolved to obtain glory, without the least view
to private advantage, or forlorn purposes. With these generous sentiments on both sides,
the fleets came in sight of each other; which determined Ruyter to make use of a stroke
of policy, which, if approved by his colleague, might have been fatal to the English.
He drew up behind a sand-bank, in such a manner as secured him from the larger English
ships, and obliged Blake to attack with manifest danger and disadvantage. The utility of

k La Vie de Ruyter, par Brandt, pag. 52. 1 Basnage, pag. 238.
or Republic of Holland.

a this measure was apparent the moment the attack began. The enemy divided into three squadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the Sovereign, at the head, but this ship with three other frigate ships struck upon the Kentish Knocks. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminished the English strength, de Wit abandoned his situation, and determined to engage on the open sea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy, than if separated from them by a mound. Ruyter objected to his proposal; but de Wit, who had no more ardor and courage than naval skill, pursued his own resolution, and soon perceived his error. A furious battle was commenced, during which the commanders on both sides performed the most gallant actions; the sailors too of each nation fighting with surprising courage and perseverance. The English ships got off the bank, and de Wit found that he had made a false estimate of their strength; but relying upon the ability of Ruyter, and the intrepidity of the scamen, he fought with the utmost obstinacy, until night separated the combatants. Though the Dutch beheld with horror the slaughter made by the Sovereign, in which Blake fought in person, and though they were equally astonished and abashed by the courage of the English, yet de Wit proposed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the superiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. Ruyter, however, better acquainted with the disposition of the English, opposed this resolution, and both at last agreed to make all possible fail for the coast of Holland, though they saw the enemy draw up in line of battle. The Dutch rear-admiral was taken, but he had the satisfaction of seeing the capron sunk soon after; another Dutch man of war was shattered to pieces, and sunk by the Sovereign: their loss was greater; but both sides so artfully dispersed this circumstance, that to ascertain the truth, at this distance of time, would be impossible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied but victory declared clearly in favour of the English, who not only offered battle next day, but pursued the Dutch with their frigates, until they run into the Gore.

b In this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made against the captains and inferior officers. The admirals no sooner touched the shore, than they accused their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers reprimanded, by charging de Wit with misconduct and rashness, to which they attributed the loss of their shipping. The flatters endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and restore peace and unanimity. They perceived that de Wit's ardor occasioned his throwing blame on those whose caution he confined into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error arose from an excess of intrepidity, and a glorious resolution of signalizing himself in the cause of his country; a spirit, which, at this juncture, was rather to be cherished than reproved. It was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cause of contention, and preserve the utmost harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved successful; never did there appear such an universal spirit of revenge, and national honour: the crews of merchantmen offered their services to the republic; and in a few weeks the losses sustained from tempests and battles, were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, consisting of seventy-two fine ships of war.

c Van Tromp was restored to the command, both in justice to his reputation, and because de Wit was confined by illness; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of three hundred merchantmen to the Lizard. Between Dover and Folkstone he descried the English fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war: he bore down; and Blake, with his usual intrepidity, seized the occasion of joining battle. On the twenty-ninth of November the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpressible fury, and continued to fix in the evening. The first fire from the English admiral was sustained by vice-admiral Exterizom, and Ruyter, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the most imminent danger, when Van Tromp came up to their relief. The scale was now turned against Blake, who found himself surrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuosity, had he not fortunately been rescued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, fathomed their whole fire, and carried the admiral out of danger. In the end victory declared for the Dutch admiral; Blake was wounded, his own ship shattered, two others taken, as many burnt, and one sunk; and this with the loss only of one ship of the Dutch squadron, which was blown up by an accident. Van Tromp's conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to say that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a bower fixed to his main-top-mast, intimating that he would sweep the Channel clear of the English.

d As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both had armaments in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch supplied the lots of Van Galen, by appointing admiral Cats, an officer of merit, to the command of

La Vie de Ruyter, pag. 58.
The history of the United Provinces,

his squadron. On his arrival at Leghorn, Cats found that captain Appleton, with eight a ships, had taken shelter in this neutral port. He defied the duke of Tuscany would withdraw his protection, and suffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open sea. To this the duke answered, that he was at peace with England and Holland; both their squadrons were welcome to his ports; but hostilities committed there would be a gross violation of the laws of nations, and the highest insult to his sovereignty. Not satisfied with this, Cats was preparing to attack the English, when, under cover of the night, Appleton, who was greatly inferior in strength, quitted the port, and fled, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the Dutch were obliged to combat not only the open force of England, but the pirates of the French nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil disorders of that country gave existence to a swarm of privateers, who pillaged the ships of all nations without distinction, but chiefly of Holland, because the trade of the republic was the most flourishing, and the ships the richest. M. Borcel had orders to complain to the French court, to demand redress, and to intimate that a strong squadron was equipping to retaliate. At the same time admiral Cats had instructions to clear the Mediterranean of privateers, and to protect the Dutch commerce, without respect to the flag of neutral nations. Cats executed, perhaps exceeded his orders; for, after taking several privateers, he drew up before Toulon, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted Dutch captures to be carried to that harbour. The Christian king referred the remonstrance of Borcel, and was highly incensed at the infolent conduct of admiral Cats; but, unable to redress himself otherwise, he demanded payment from the states general of several sums due to his crown since the war between Spain and the United Provinces. This demand was contested, as the money was advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties, and, after some sharp altercation, dropped for the present.

Notwithstanding the late victory gained by Van Tromp, the successes of the Dutch arms was not answerable to the fagacious expectations of the republic. The sailors, accustomed to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the Spaniards, were disappointed in not reaping the same emolument from their bloody disputes with the English. Here fortune was various; they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their successes were diminished by the terrible slaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richest merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire flot was put to the beneficial herring-fishery, by which so many poor families were supported. This begot discontent, which soon produced faction and discord. One party demanded a stadtholder, and another remained fixed in their resolution of opposing invariably the ambitious designs of the house of Orange. The former asserted, that the war could never be pushed with vigour until a stadtholder directed the operations; and the other affirmed, that the restoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults arose in Zealand, and in particular at Middelburg, where the mob assembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the house of Orange. They were inflamed by the clergy, the faithful friends of that family; and the disorder came to so dangerous a height, that the magistrate of Flushing, Middelburg, and other towns, were deposed. Nothing was worn but the Orange livery, and there was no security in the streets without a scar of this colour. Necessity obliged the states of Zealand to fall in with the humour of the people; besides, the influence of the house of Orange was so considerable in this assembly, that it was supposed their inclination likewise led them to represent the necessity of this measure to the states of Holland. The infamy of the prince of Orange was, however, an objection to the proposal; but this might be removed by substituting his cousin, the count de Nassau, his lieutenant. Aware of the consequences of popular commotions at so critical a juncture, the states of Holland sent four deputies to Zealand; but before their arrival at Middelburg, the states of Zealand had adjourned. They demanded that the assembly should be convoked; the people, apprehensive of the consequences, opposed it, and besieged the deputies in their houses. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being sacrificed to popular rage and fury.

When the states of Zealand again met, the deputies returned, under the escort of a party of soldiers, who conducted them safe to the assembly, and took possession of the doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reason and oratory, to display the fatal consequences of vesting any single person with the executive power, and the command of the sea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran so high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the states of Zealand, who appeared overawed by the people, and influenced by the family of Orange. They departed with a general answer, and happily escaped being insulted by the people, who were brought

or Republic of Holland.

a into good humour by the resolute behaviour of the states. The dispute now lay between the two provincial states, and became so warm as to threaten a dissolution of the union of Utrecht. As to the other provinces, they seemed divided among themselves, some towns requiring one thing, some another, though a majority declared for a stadholder, under limitations and restrictions, which were absolutely rejected by the Zealanders. At length, as if by mutual agreement, these civil contentions subsided, and yielded to the general ardor for prosecuting the war with vigour, and opposing the formidable armament equipped by the English to revenge the late disgrace.

Towards the close of the year Tromp arrived in Holland, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and his gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the states general. It was resolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all possible dispatch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the best officers in the kingdom, Monk and Dean, assisted Blake in the command. Royter was joined to Tromp, and they set sail, to convoy through the Channel a vast fleet of merchantmen homeward-bound. It was the intention of the English to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they steered towards the isle of Rye, where, on the eighth of February, they discovered by break of day the Dutch squadron. The fight began under Blake and Dean, seconded by twelve more ships, and the charge was furious, this small division standing the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obstinate: the honour of both nations depended; Blake sought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and Tromp to maintain the laurels he had won in the last battle. Neither side would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days successively; the sea was covered with wrecks, the fun obscured with smoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful shouts and thunders of the combatants, and the terrible thunders of the cannon. For whole hours the ships engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if nature had suspended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmost exertions of skill and intrepidity on both sides, Tromp, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in such good order, that he seemed rather to decline the further effusion of human blood, than yield the victory. His loss, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thousand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the English fleet was far from shattered a condition, as prevented the admiral's pursuing. Besides, his loss was nearly equal to the enemy's, and though he maintained his station, he could not be said to have gained a victory. The English however claimed it; and Blake, in his letter to the parliament, affirms that, by the blessing of providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of prisoners. Bonfires were lighted in all the towns, and the Dutch prisoners conducted in triumph to Canterbury: yet, after all, it must be confessed that there was little cause for rejoicings, or any pretensions to victory. Van Tromp's fleet was inferior in number, as he was forced to leave one division for the protection of the merchant-fleet, his powder and shot were exhausted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: there were the reasons for his retiring; and he had sufficiently obtained his purpose, in frustrating the scheme of the English to crush, at one blow, the United Provinces, by the total destruction of their commerce.

On this occasion, Charles king of England wrote to M. Boreel, requesting, that the flates general would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects, but little regard was paid to this compliment, which produced no great utility to the republic. The flates preferred the thoughts of peace to proposals from which nothing could be expected, besides the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thousand difficulties, however, obstructed this laudable scheme. The English were endeavouring to draw the queen of Sweden into an alliance against the republic, and Van Buijningen found that princes and her ministers violently prejudiced against the Dutch, on his arrival in Sweden. He proceeded, however, to lay his instructions before the Oxenhiem, father and son, representing to them, that the treaties between the crown of Sweden and the republic engaged them mutually to support each other's interests. The Swedes, replied, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which the English ambassador had met with in Holland; an alliance purely defensive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. Buijningen endeavoured to set the chancellor right in this particular, and opposed with all his might the intention of the court to send an ambaiffy to London. He even threatened to quit Sweden if this resolution was perfïst in; but he was given to understand the queen was not to be directed where she went, or to whom she paid her compliments. All that the Dutch ambassador could obtain was, a kind of promise that Sweden would observe a neutrality.
The history of the United Provinces,

Finding all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitless, Buiningen turned his thoughts to the court of Denmark, where he promised himself more success; because it rarely happens but the crowns of Sweden and Denmark embrace opposite interests. Christina, jealous of his negotiations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with England and the republic. Buiningen listened to the proposal, but at the same time privately pursued his application to the court of Copenhagen, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumspection of the king and ministry. Thence the Dutchman strove to remove by a stratagem, which might have proved a severe blow to the English commerce. A fleet of above twenty ships of that nation was then to return from the Baltic, laden with naval stores. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the Dutch squadron cruising in the Sound, the captains desired permission of the king to shelter themselves in the harbour of Copenhagen. Leave was accordingly granted, and the Dutch envoy had influence enough over the sovereign, and so thorough a knowledge of his prevalent passion, avarice, that he persuaded the King to seize the ships, and confiscate their cargoes; hoping by this means to produce an irreconcilable breach between Denmark and England. Some writers indeed charge the whole transaction on the king’s own perfidy and avarice; but Baisnage affirms, and circumstances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the persuasion of the Dutch envoy. The spirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the Danish monarch of the fruits of his treachery; an English squadron appeared in the Baltic, and soon forced him to make restitution, which at the same time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. Christina likewise co-operated to frustrate the proposed alliance, and used every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end, M. Keffer, the Dutch envoy, who succeeded Buiningen, surmounted every obstruction, and finished the treaty with Frederick III. In consequence, the king relinquished to equip twenty ships of war, and the states general to pay an annual subsidy of one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars. The treaty was offensive and defensive; it being agreed, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; and the Dutch drew this advantage from it, that the English were excluded the benefit of trading to the Baltic, and of buying up supplies of naval stores, the king of Denmark having the absolute command of the Sound, and of course of the Baltic. In other respects the alliance proved useless; for the king was so apprehensive of his own coasts, that he would never permit his ships of war to join the Hollanders, or proceed to any distance against the common enemy, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances and complaints of his allies. A number of other circumstances likewise contributed to destroy the expected effects; but we shall avoid mentioning them, as they will more properly be recited in the history of Denmark.

Such was the situation of the republic with respect to the North, when Cromwell rejected the proposed mediation of the crown of Sweden, when it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aside; however, the universal discontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of M. de Wit to the office of penitentiary of Holland, in the room of M. Pauw deposed, made great changes in the politics of Holland. M. de Wit was the son of that burgo-master of Dordrecht, imprisoned by the prince of Orange. He was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the house of Orange, and a strenuous advocate for peace with England, which he knew to be the most effectual method of securing the ambition of this family, and silencing the public clamours for a stadtholder. On his first coming into the administration, he applied diligently to carry this important point, and to finish a war which answered no purpose but exhausting the finances, and ruining the commerce. For the greater security, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiously keep secret the propositions he was about to make; after which he proposed entering upon a negotiation with the parliament of England, without imparting the design to the other provinces. Holland supported the great burthen of the war; it was therefore but reasonable this province should have a principal share in negotiating a peace; but it was necessary to take some steps, before the design should meet with obstruction from the other provinces. De Wit's proposition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on M. Doleman's fleeing letters which he had received from general Monk, assuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of London. Leyden alone opposed the measure, urging that it was a gross violation of the treaty of Utrecht; but this objection was superseded, and the states of Holland wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, should employ their whole force in destroying each other. "What a triumph would this be to the enemies of the reformation, and to those who hoped to lay the foundation of a naval power on the destruction of the masters of the ocean." A variety of other reflections were added; and the states concluded with requesting, that the
parliament would please to appoint the time and place for a negotiation; otherwise they must commit their cause to providence, and leave the event of a just and necessary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to punish that pride and ambition which should occasion the effusion of so much Christian blood. All the Dutch writers unanimously deny, that the republic supplicated peace at this time, as is asserted by the English historians; they proposed it indeed, but spoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whose moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them desirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both sides were losers. They deny that any letter was ever sent to Lenthall the speaker, such as afterwards was privately handed about, under the title of The humble supplication of the states of Holland, praying the English parliament to grant peace. This, they allege, was an artifice of Cromwell, and an impudent forgery to answer his own particular designs upon the parliament. It is, however, a strong argument in favour of what the English writers relate, that no reason can be assigned why Cromwell should take the trouble of such a forgery, as it was certainly his interest that the war should go on, the army become necessary, and the legislative power subject to the executive; which accordingly happened about this time. Some Dutch writers also intimate, that Cromwell, when this negotiation was set on foot, tampered with the envoys about a treaty with the states against the parliament; an insinuation that has not the least shadow of probability; for now Cromwell and the army had actually dissolved the old parliament, and substituted a wrong-headed set of fanatics, entirely at their devotion, as a nominal legislature. The truth is, the states of Holland wished for peace; de Wit proposed it, and the letter we have mentioned was sent; but the republic was not yet sufficiently humble to talk in the petitionary style of that supplication mentioned by the English; it was not before the death of her brave admiral, and the destruction of her fleet, after the most obstinate and bloody battle recorded in history, that she had recourse to prayers, entreaties, and the clemency of the council of state: but as this event happened nearly about the same time, authors have confounded the dates, and mistaken the petition to Cromwell and his council, for the letter addressed to Lenthall, the speaker of the house of commons. This, however, we must allow, that the states appointed three deputies, Beverning, Newam, and Vander Peter, to negotiate a treaty with Cromwell, without consulting the parliament; but before the embassy set out, or the instructions were drawn up, admiral Tromp, with above ninety ships of war, fell in with an English fleet of the same number, but greatly superior in size and weight of metal, under the command of Monk, Dean, Pen, and Lawson. Before he set sail, he complained of the inequality of his strength, the chief part of his fleet consisting of eight merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To shew his obedience and desire of serving his country, Tromp accepted the commission; but acquainted the states that he could not answer for the consequences of a battle. His remonstrance produced a resolution to equip with all expedition a squadron of thirty large ships; but before this armament was got ready, Tromp's fate, and that of the republic, were decided. His instructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to escort back to Holland another fleet of near three hundred trading vessels. This commission he executed with so much address, that not a single ship fell into the enemy's hands, though he was closely pursu'd to the height of Aberdeen. Piqued at their disappointment, the English wreaked their vengeance on a fleet of fishing-boats, and spread terror along the coasts of Holland. Van Tromp, determined upon retribution, failed for the Downs to fight the enemy; but not finding them in that station, after sustaing a warm fire from Dover castle, he failed for the coast of Flanders, where the English fleet was despaired. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interposed. Dean was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loss was concealed with admirable presence of mind, and the battle renewed next day with fresh vigour. Lawson charged with the blue squadron, consisting of forty four ships, with such imprudence as forced the Dutch line, and would have taken de Ruyter's ship, had he not fearfully been relieved by Van Tromp, who pierced through the thickest of the enemy's fire to his assistance. Tromp was engaged by Monk, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loss they sustained amidst impenetrable clouds of smoke. At last ammunition failed, and the Dutch gradually slackened fire, and at last withdrew, all Tromp's menaces and persuasions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury sunk beneath the well-conducted ardor of the English, the weight of whose metal gave them great advantages. Tromp had been twice taken, but his own and de Ruyter's bravery rescued him; six of his best ships were sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; yet only the want of ammunition, and of spirit in his captains,
prevented his renewing the fight, and accepting the cartel offered next day by the English. All the English historians agree that the Dutch slackened fire, and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night separated the combatants, and possibly saved the Dutch fleet from entire destruction, as it furnished Tromp with the opportunity of seeking shelter behind the banks of Weilingen, where he could not be pursued.

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the Texel, until the Dutch fleet assembled at Flushing, from whence Tromp and Ruyter sent remonstrances to the States of the inequality of their strength. They desired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ships; and also that storeships might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had caused the loss of the two last battles. They desired payment of the seamen's wages, a recompense for the wounded, and rewards for those who had signalised themselves. Ruyter, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet was augmented with large ships; and vice-admiral de Wit expressed himself in the strongest manner in the assembly of the States of Holland: "Why, saith he, should I conceal from you, who are my sovereigns, that the "English are our masters, and consequently lords of the ocean?" The States promised to pay due regard to the remonstrances, and immediately sent to the other provinces, to borrow a sum sufficient for equipping thirty first-rate ships, for which the admiral had order to provide seamen, stores, rigging, and other necessaries, and to be directed in those particulars by Tromp, Ruyter, and de Wit.

Yet could not these rigorous vibrations appease the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with consternation, on seeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, shattered, and blocked up in their harbours. Van Tromp's complaints, and the instability of the Orange party, encreased the popular discontent; and it was insinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force sent against the enemy, only to shew the necessity of making peace upon any conditions. To this, the negotiation entered upon with Cromwell, by Buninghen, added fuel, and the flame now burst out with such violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the house of Orange durst not presume to mention peace, for fear of exasperating the people; and the states, contrary to inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the best means of appeasing the public discontent, and obtaining reasonable terms from the enemy.

But what chiefly excited public commotions, was the opposition made by de Wit and the Lowestein party to the creation of a stadtholder. This faction wished for a peace, for the protection of France, and the friendship of England; they were consequently enemies to the house of Stuart; but Van Tromp was popular, he espoused the house of Orange, wished for a stadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon such a footing as would give some chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular discontent. The young prince of Orange was to return from Breda, and the children at the Hague formed themselves into companies, with Orange standards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young soldiery separted at night, and retired quietly to their several houses: however, that they might not entirely lose the expenses bestowed in colours, standards, and military equipages, they assembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magistrates gave orders they should be chastised; their parents flew to the assistance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the house of M. de Wit, whom they imagined the most violent enemy of the house of Orange. The tumult could not be suppressed without application to military force. A party of soldiers was called in, and crowds of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into prison. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was necessary to keep strong guards in the towns, to avert the multitude, who threatened destruction to all government. At Slays all precautions proved fruitless; the herring-fishers, incensed at their being deprived of bread by the English, took arms, sealed on the arsenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and shot the gates against Bredero, marcheval of the camp, sent by the States to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous disorder. In this situation flood affairs for several days, without any possibility of gaining admittance into the town. At last a happy stratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the most fatal consequences. A messenger from the States came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a special commission, upon which he was introduced to the town-house, and the people were summoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houses and posts, eager to hear the propositions; and while the messenger was in a loud voice, reading a paper he held...
in his hand, nine companies of foot seized on the gates, entered the town, took prisoners the ringleaders, without resistance, and terrifled the inhabitants into submission before they had exchanged a blow. Some of the furbish gave out that designs were formed upon their privileges; but their voice was drowned in the general confusion, and the allowances given by the chief officer, that nothing more was intended than to restore the public tranquillity.

This tumult was no sooner suppressed, than another appeared in the Texel, where the count de Neuff arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in England against this island and the Brille. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crowds of men and women went to meet him, strewing the way with flowers. These honours b shewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of assembling some troops without their orders, gave umbrage to the states of Holland, who beheld with surpriife the authority he assumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, displayed by the count satisfied the states; for he retired upon finding that his presence had given offence, and assurred the states, that his intention was only to animate and roule the drooping spirit of the people, terrifled at the thoughts of an invasion.

These tumults had one very unexpeected consequence. It inspired the magistrates of Haarlem with the resolution of electing a stadtholder. They accordingly instructed their penionaries to lay before the states their determination, to define their concurrence, and to allure them it would not be long possible to withstand the eagerness of the people in favour of the house of Orange. The states were surprized at seeing a penionary imprisoned by the late prince of Orange, charged with instructions which they believed inconsistent with his principles, and demanding the re-establishment of a stadtholder. But his conduct soon exaited their suspicions. He communicated his instructions to M. de Wit before he laid them before the states, and was convinced by the arguments of that able statesman, that he changed his sentiments, and prevailed on the magistrates of Haarlem to drop their intention.

the Zealander were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. The preceding year they had demanded a stadtholder, perfunding themselves they would be supported by the states of Prus and and Groningen. They even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year; but the addres de Wit, and the firm opposition of the states of Holland frustrated all the endeavours of the Zealanders. But to enter justly into the politics of Holland, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of England, and the intrigues of Cromwell. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power in the hands of Cromwell, and the council of state. Beverning, and the other Dutch deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace; but his behaviour was always supbercious; and his answers equivocal. Notwithstanding this, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence, than Cromwell's agents intimated, that the Dutch were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negotiation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the Hollanders contented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, Nieuport, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in Scotland; concluding that Cromwell proposed treating the republic as the parliament had done the Scottif nation. It was Cromwell's design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismission of Van Tromp, whom he knew to be a fierce partisan of the house of Orange. He therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the Dutch contented to the union proposed, an immediate cessation of hostilities would ensue, a free trade be restored, and the privileges of fishing adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the United Provinces. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negotiation as ideal; but what proves its reality, is the advice sent to the states by the commissioner, of all the proceedings with Cromwell's agent, and the consequences of that notion, which had almost defeated the whole design. The correspondence was discovered by the Orange faction; and Cromwell concluding it could not be long kept secret in England, where it might ruin him with his party, assumed a more sezure brow, and next time he met the commissioners, declared, that such was the situation of affairs in Holland, that England could have no security in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commissioners received from the council of state an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms: That the two republics should

1 Barnace, p. 308.
coalesce, the whole united dominions be subject to one government, composed of the natives of both countries, in such a manner as should be to their mutual advantage; and that each should, without any distinction, enjoy the same privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the respective countries, as to houses, lands, possessions, commerce, fishing, and every other particular. Such was the scheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if possible, they would have established over the face of the whole earth *.

It is sufficient for our purpose, that the proposal was highly resented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the scheme of an enthusiast. Without, however, giving Cromwell a definitive answer, they acquainted the states of Holland with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for further instructions.

It was during this suspense that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a speedy issue. After the late action de Witt and the Dutch government made forti-
fying efforts to recover the severe blow then received, and put the fleet in a more respectable footing than before. Several large ships were added, and all more completely manned and provided; every pretext for quitting the service was taken from Van Tromp and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred sail of fine vessels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the sailors, their pay was doubled, the ships were crowded with volunteers of the first fashion, and nothing less was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to screen themselves in their harbours. Young Van Tromp, who had destroyed an English man of war in the Straights, and distinguished his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his squadron, and every measure pushed to the utmost, to oblige the haughty usurper to hasten to reasonable proposals. The enemy still blockaded the Texel, the coasts of Holland were besieged, and the harbours so narrowly watched, that all the merchants fell into the hands of the English. It was of the utmost consequence to oblige them to retire, as they equally disf
tired trade and the government, by exciting clamours among the people, who exclaimed, that they were sacrificed to the treachery of the states, and cowardice of the naval officers; a reflection that was pointed at the heads of those captains who had been accused of negligence in the late engagement. The Dutch armament was now in two divisions, under Van Tromp and de Witt, in different harbours; and the great difficulty was how to effect a junction, without being separately attacked by the enemy. Before they set sail great debates arose in the states concerning the instructions to be given their admirals: some opposed venturing another engagement, and urged it would be sufficient to convey the homeward-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from India, which would enable the republic to equip such a navy as the enemy could not presume to face: others pressed hard for an engagement, affirming that the public murmurs were only to be silenced by the din of war, and the roaring of cannon: a victory, they said, would infallibly re
tore peace and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and Van Tromp had orders to fight the first opportunity. With eighty-five sail this admiral sailed along the coast of Zealand, and on the thirty-first of July discovered the English fleet, consisting of ninety-four fine ships, under the command of Monk, Lawton, and Penn, at the distance of five miles a-head. By the shifting of the wind the enemy gained the weather gage, which determined Van Tromp to avoid an engagement, make all possible sail for the Texel, and there join the division commanded by de Witt and Ruyter: happily for him a storm arose, which prevented the English from forcing him to an engagement, and he embraced the opportunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now augmented to one hundred and twenty sail, with which he proceeded in quest of the English, despaired them on the sixth of August between Scheveling and the Moult, and immediately gave the signal for battle. Tromp took his station on the right, Ruyter led the left, Evertsen was in the center, and the command of the rear was assigned to de Witt. At seven in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal ardor, within sight of the shore, which was crowded with inhabitants, eager to be spectators of an action, which should determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved with wonderful address, and fought with such prudent and sedulous courage as never before appeared in any sea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired incessantly; the sea was covered with blood, and wrecks of ships, either burnt or shattered to pieces. Tromp, agreeable to custom, pierced the enemy’s line, and put it in confusion; but, on his return, encountered admiral Godsted: here he was surrounded by the enemy’s ships, and defeated by his own; but he fought with such desperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately shot dead with a musket-ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the quarter-deck


La vie de Tromp, pag. 172.

command,
command, concealed the admiral's death from the rest of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the successor of the brave Van Tromp. The Dutch fire-ships made great havoc among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the divisions commanded by Lawfon and Ruyter. At last the Dutch admiral's ship was flattened to pieces, the was tossed out of the line, and Ruyter, shifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle: but all his efforts could not restore the spirits of the seamen. It was now known that Tromp was dead, and an universal dejection succeeded, as if victory depended wholly upon his arm; several ships fell back from the line; the whole was in confusion, a rout ensued, and terrible slaughter of men, and destruction of ships. Agreeable to the best accounts the Dutch lost twenty-six men of war, four thousand men were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from being swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchased at a high price. Most of the English ships were disabled, some were entirely destroyed: they had fix hundred men killed, and near a thousand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in so wretched plight as to be unable to pursue the blow, and destroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The Dutch instead of that, the losses were nearly equal; but the confederation demonstrated that they were defeated. The United Provinces were overwhelmed with grief and consternation, while every town in England blamed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. The loss of Tromp was alone sufficient cause of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the universality of the dejection evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and detested by one party, as he was adored by another (A).

The republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the Texel; but they resolved to profit by it. The English fleet withdrew from the coasts of Holland, in consequence of the late battle; and Ruyter was now ordered to convey a vast fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This prospect of reviving commerce fortified the Dutch against every misfortune, and the flattering promises of cardinal Mazarin inspired them with courage, under the pressure of a signal defeat, to dispute the terms prescribed by England before the late battle. Yet Cromwell was apprised how impossible it was for the Dutch government to continue the war, while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a stadtholder. All their preparations gave no disturbance to the penetrating usurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotions among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that seemed to warm every breast, and the appointment of the celebrated Oppen, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceased Tromp. If he regained the advantages which Mazarin had lately acquired over the balance of Europe, he was sensible that all his other wishes would follow. The states perceived his design; they knew his ability, perverence, and courage. They saw his great preparations, and resolved to anticipate confederations. Accordingly two deputies were dispatched to London, with orders, however, positively to reject the scheme of union proposed by Cromwell. When Nieuwpoort, Beverning, and Longueval, had laid their instructions before the council of state, they were agreeably surprised to find Cromwell relax confidently with respect to the coalition of the two nations, and in some other severe demands; particularly as to the right of fishing upon the British coasts: but two very disagreeable articles were now added; viz. that the states should engage to exclude the prince of Orange from all the employments held, by his ancestors, especially those of stadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the republic to a certain number of ships, not to be exceeded without leave from England. These points were disputed by the commissioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with respect to the article regarding the prince of Orange, they desired leave to lay the state of the negotiation before their constituents; for which purpose Beverning returned to Holland.

Peace with England was the wish of every dispassionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the states general. The Zealanders, however, inflamed on the re-establishment of a stadtholder, and a close union with France, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a short time to the necessity of relaxing in the rigid conditions prescribed; but Holland constantly opposed this measure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic.

(A) No sooner did the fleet arrive in port, than the states ordered Ruyter and Everisz to attend, in order to be minutely informed of the circumstances of the engagement, and the state of the losses. From the examination which passed on this occasion, it was obvious, that the Dutch believed all their officers had not performed their duty, though the public thanks of the assembly were returned to Ruyter, Everisz, and other admirals, for their gallant behaviour; and they were exhorted to continue their services, with the same zeal, intrepidity, and fidelity, they had hitherto displayed.
The states general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with a
the English. They were aware of the inconveniences under which a republican government
laboured in all disputes with a despotic enemy. Cromwell, though his situation in
the supreme power was unstable and irksome, yet managed with such address, as to ac-
quire an absolute authority. The legislative and executive power being vested in the same
person, action was as quick as thought, and the measure no sooner dictated, than it was
executed with the promptness peculiar to monarchy; for in this light England was now to
be regarded. Besides the inability of bringing the war to a happy issue, they were sen-
fible of the inconveniences of the attempt, which would be violently opposed by a strong
party, unless their favourite views of restoring the stadtholdership were indulged. In a
word, they had a moral certainty, that the prosecution of the war could only terminate in
the ruin of the finances; in the destruction of commerce, and the harmony of the
people, without a single counterpoising advantage. It was upon this account, the return
of Beverning, with proposals of peace, gave great satisfaction; and the exclusive article
respecting the house of Orange, was kept a profound secret. The mysterious behaviour
attending this article, gave rise to an opinion that it was supported, if not originally pro-
posed by the pensioner de Wit; but when the affair came to be publicly known, he cleared
himself of this accusation, and proved that peace was to be purchased on no other con-
dition.

When the commissioners arrived at the Hague, they found the states disposed to ac-
cept peace, even with this limitation, provided Cromwell would relax in the article which
restricted the number of shipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however,
the consent of the other provinces was absolutely necessary, though the negotiation had
been set on foot without their knowledge. As the ceremony of assembling all the pro-
vincial states would be tedious, the states of Holland sent Beverning back in the same fri-
gate which had brought him from England, that the ardor of Cromwell for peace might
not cool, or any obstruction be thrown in the way of the negotiation. This measure gave
offence to the other provinces, who thought themselves entitled to an equal share in the
conduit of this important affair. They accused the states of Holland of an infrac-
tion of the treaty of Utrecht, by separating themselves from the other provinces in the cloze,
as they had done in the commencement of the negotiation; and Beverning was regarded in
d England, not as the ambassador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he
had been only a few days absent, the court of Cromwell put on a new appearance, and
the general voice of the nation seemed to declare for the prosecution of the war. Turenne
complained, that the Dutchman was in no character, had no instructions, credentials, re-
tinue, or compliment, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation;
and Beverning desired that this might be imputed to the earning desire of the states, to lose
no opportunity of promoting peace, and stopping the effusion of blood, and destruction
of the human species.

It was, perhaps, a lucky circumstance for the Hollanders, that Don Alonzo de Cardenas,
the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured by all possible intrigues to thwart the negotiation. Cromwell, who had his design upon Spain, proposed no advantage to that court, from
the ruin of the trade and navigation of the United Provinces. The Spaniards offered large
subsidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that Dunkirk would be put into his hands,
if he continued the war. He doubted not but such propositions would prove flattering
to Cromwell's pride; but he was mistaken. The protector amused with Spain, only to pro-
cure the better terms from Holland, and demonstrate to the republic, that he could ba-
 lance the alliance of France, by opposing to that nation the whole power of the Spanish
monarchy.

While matters were in this train, commissioners were appointed in Holland, to exa-
mine the propositions brought by Beverning; but after they had reduced them to tolerable
order, and made them consistent with the articles drawn up at the Hague, St. John and
Striißland, the English envoys, raised up fresh difficulties. New instructions were sent to
Beverning, and he had orders to solicit the ratification settled at the Hague, and have it in-
serted in the treaty; and at length, the provinces finding that Spain had made overtures to
Cromwell, determined to vest Nieuwport, Beverning, and Jongslie, with the character of
ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The
chief remaining difficulty, was the exclusion of the prince of Orange, without which
Cromwell declared he could think no engagements with the states secure. The ambition
of that house, and their connections with the Stuarts, would always give disturbance to the
republic and England, unless the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of
ever filling the offices held by his ancestors. So little hope was there, that the provinces
in general would ever be brought to consent to this article, that it was religiously con-
sealed from Jongslie, who was a Frislander, and transacted between Cromwell and Bever-
ing,
or Republic of Holland.

The latter promising in the name of the states of Holland, that they would never consent to the elevation of the prince to the stadholdership. Cromwell thought himself secure of the republic, once he obtained the promise of Holland, the most wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that Holland alone could not relinquish the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union, and exposing the republic to the most dreadful calamities of a civil war; if they strenuously persevered in having a stadholder, Holland must yield, or the republic must fall; and possibly it formed a part of the protector's policy, to light the flames of civil division, by which he might be able to extend his own influence over the whole.

At length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were signed by the Dutch ambassadors; that the republic should in no shape assist, aid, or abet, the house of Stuart, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that her ships should pay the required compliment to the British flag; that due punishment should be inflicted on the cruel perpetrators of the horrid massacre at Amsterdam; that eighty-five thousand pounds should be paid to the English, as an indemnification of their losses; that the island of Poeljon should be restored to the East India Company; and that commissioners should be sent to London, to adjust farther particulars, relative to the truce, in the East Indies, for which reasonable satisfaction had never yet been made to England. The ratification immediately succeeded the signing the treaty; but now the mystery between Cromwell and the provinces of Holland was to appear, with respect to the exclusion of the prince of Orange. Some writers affirm, that the secret lay between Cromwell, de Wit, and Beverning, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expressed the utmost astonishment when it was mentioned by the pensioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of Cromwell vindicated the conduct of the pensioner. His envoys told the states, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they chose peace or war; either was in their option: such was the protector's categorical answer. De Wit enlarged upon the subject, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric, he shewed the necessity of peace, and the impossibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a solemn act was passed, whereby the prince of Orange was excluded the stadholdership, and the other wide offices, held with so much dignity by his ancestors. This act of exclusion was sent to England; but de Wit, foreseeing it would one day involve his country in civil division, charged the ambassadors to make one last effort to satisfy Cromwell, by a general treaty, without particularizing the exclusion of the prince of Orange; but all remonstrances on this head proved fruitless. The act was no less necessary to the interests of Oliver, with respect to the Stuart family, than to the completion of his triumph over the house of Orange, and the republic of the United Provinces. In this manner was peace concluded, signed, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foundation of those unhappy divisions, which had almost involved the provinces in ruin.

Though the exclusion-act was kept as profound as could possibly be expected, where the affair was entrusted to the discretion of one hundred different persons, yet it could not be long concealed from the Prince of Orange, who was so deeply interested. It even took air in the cities, and occasioned some popular commotions at the Hague. No sooner was the prince acquainted with this article of the treaty, than the presented a strong remonstrance to the states general, signed by himself, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. They there expressed their astonishment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority possessed with so much glory and advantage to the republic, by his ancestors. They represented in the strongest terms, the violence offered to the treaty of Utrecht, the privileges of the other five provinces, and particularly the insult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the sex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightiness to interpose in behalf of the infant, that gave not gros to flinch to an affront to a child of his birth, expectations, and promising qualities, the representative of those heroes who had spilt their blood in the glorious cause of liberty, and defense of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded with observing the applause which such an act of justice would meet with from the world and their own confinements, the unhappy consequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as soon as the prince was of sufficient age to thank his protectors. To the same purpose was a letter sent to the states by his electoral highness of Brandenburgh, but neither produced any effect. The resolution was taken; it was powerfully supported, and was now irrevocable, unless they run the hazard of incurring the resentment of Cromwell, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmness and constancy.
The history of the United Provinces,

But the remonstrances of the princes, though not to be disregarded, were of less importance than the discontent of the people, and the violent opposition of the provinces. All protreated with one voice against the act of exclusion. The deputy from Friesland entered a protest, with the secretary to the states general, against the secret negotiation with Oliver, and the iniquitous exclusion of the prince of Orange, by which Holland had given a violent stroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had shewn herself equally unjust and ungrateful to the house of Orange. This protest was, however, condemned by the states of the province, though they were prevailed on soon after, by the influence of the count de Nassau, to enter another more bitter and severe, in which they complained of M. de Witt personelly, as the first author and projector of this injurious act, as they were pleased to term it. Zeeland shewed no less vivacity and attachment to the house of Orange; Gelderland was more moderate; but in the same interelt; Overijssel, though torn by domestic broils, entered into the sentiments of the other provinces, and Utrecht embraced the same cause, though with less warmth, and with more caution and reserve. As to Groningen, we are not told what part this province took in the dispute 1.

Holland opposed itself vigorously to this combination, which threatened the dissolution of the union, the being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appease. Before the states entered upon any opposition, they lent instructions to the ambassadors in London, once more to try their influence with Cromwell, to procure some mitigation in the act of exclusion, thereby to restore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was so incensed at further applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unless the act was immediately put into his hands, which was accordingly done to prevent worse consequences. The next step was to procure a letter from Cromwell to the states of Zeeland and the other provinces, demonstrating the necessity as well as the utility of the peace; but this epistle produced no effect, and it was fully answered by the Zealanders, and afterwards sent for the perusal of the states general. Holland objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming, that the protector’s letter ought to have been communicated to the states before an answer was returned; presuming it now could answer no purpose, except that of blowing up the sparks of discord.

In order to regain some degree of popularity, the states of Holland went to make an apology to the princes of Orange, assuring their highnesses that no disrespect to the family, but the urgent necessity of the state, had forced them into such a measure, equally disagreeable to them as to the warmest friends of the house of Orange. She received the apology in the most gracious manner, and returned such an answer as gave the states the highest opinion of her moderation, prudence, and sweetness of disposition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, she only lamented the unhappy circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmost endeavours to restore the public peace and tranquillity. Not satisfied with this, the states appointed commissioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, soon after, their apology was published, by the name of Deductions, or Inferences from the state of affairs. In this piece was examined, whether Holland had a power of entering upon a separate negotiation with Cromwell, and how far this province had the right of sovereignty, independent of the other provinces included in the union? The whole design was to prove the affirmative from positive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of Spain relative to this province. Though the discourse was laboured, and the arguments specious, the wrong principle upon which those opinions was founded, was obvious to every attentive reader. By acknowledging that the abdication of the Catholic king vested this province with sovereignty, they acknowledged the hereditary right of the kings of Spain, and which could not be destroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his successors. Besides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of Utrecht, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any separate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negotiation, alienation, &c. without the joint consent of the other provinces. Such were the objections to these deductions, as they were called, though they at that time escaped observation. It is true, this writing was severely censured, and several bitter criticisms upon it were published; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonstrating the fallacy of the principles. Gelderland, Friesland, and Zeeland, taxed the states of Holland with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic on the brink of dissolution; and the ambassadors, who had carried on the negotiation, and signed the treaty, in the most mortifying disgrace 1.

1Basnage, p. 442. = Idem ibid. & seq. Ibidem. Le Clerc, p. 84. tom. ii. 2
or Republic of Holland.

In this situation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of Denmark engaged a part of the public attention, and diverted it from a dispute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the state, and particularly to de Witt, the ambassadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before observed, that king Frederick had not complied with a single article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithstanding he received punctual payments of a large subsidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of England, by the seizure of a fleet of merchants belonging to that nation, the states general indemnified the English merchants, in hopes thereby of more easily attaching that monarch to their interest, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. Frederick, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his use and conveniency; after which he entered into a close alliance with Cromwell, leaving the states general to claim against his injustice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of Denmark proved of the greatest advantage to the United Provinces; it silenced their private animosities for a time, though it by no means removed the cause, or extinguished those sparks of discord, which flamed out with redoubled vigour after the prince of Orange came of age, and Lewis XIV. had invaded the Netherlands.

S E C T. XI.

The history of the United Provinces continued; the particulars of the second war with England, and other transactions, to the invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.

N O T H I N G occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the United Provinces until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the north, and purified with such invertebrate animosity between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as foreboded the destruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial interest of the republic. Charles Gustavus had scarce ascended the throne of Sweden, when his politics gave great uneasiness to the states general, at that time incumbered by a war with England, and a fruitless but close alliance with Denmark. Though the exclusion of the prince of Orange, and the little regard paid to the remonstrances made by the electors of Brandenburg in behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldness between the electoral court and the republic; yet that wise prince was sensible he could not more effectually fortify himself against the grasping views of the Swedish monarch, than by entering into an alliance with the United Provinces. The states general had one reason for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their interest with respect to the public trade, to provide that the Swedes did not gain possession of the ports of Puffin; and though the duke of Newburg, and the emperor, advertised them that such an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of Cleves; yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other consideration. In effect, an offensive alliance was concluded, whereby the states undertook to protect the elector’s dominions, including his coast, and the duchy of Cleves, against all enemies whatsoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the Baltic against all attacks, and to give the shipping of the republican free entrance into all his ports in Puffin and Pomerania. This treaty gave offence to the elector of Saxony, to whom the Swedish ambassador intimated, that it tended to cut off his pretensions to the duchy of Jutland.

During these intrigue count Koningsmarck had great success in levying troops in the duchy of Bremen, which gave the alarm to the states general. To obviate danger, they formed a body of horse and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the Jefel, under Brederode. Another corps, led by the count de Nuffeau, was posted in such a manner as to cover Emden, Cooerden, and other towns of West Friesland; but on Koningsmarck’s passing the Elbe, and joining the Swedes, these troops had order to return to winter-quarters. Thus the Dutch were eased from the apprehension of an immediate attack. After the Swedes had taken the capital of Poland, and forced king Casimir out of his dominions, the conquerors were penetrating to the provinces of the elector of Brandenburg, which obliged him to enter into negotiations with the Swedish monarch. He offered to join his forces to the Swedes, provided the king would abdicate the homage for Ducal Puffin required by the Pole; but the treaty with Holland proved a great obstruction to his designs. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowledged himself a vassal of the crown of Sweden, for Ducal Puffin, and the ports of that kingdom and of Pomerania were opened to the Swedish shipping. Thus the treaty between Holland and Brandenburg was rendered
rendered useless, and the republic was exposed to all the vengeance of Charles Guflavus, irritated at her engagements with Denmark, and the late treaty with the court of Berlin, formed evidently against the crown of Sweden. To prepare against accidents, oblige the Swedes to return to their own ports, and secure the navigation of the republic, the states general resolved to equip against the spring a squadron of fifty ships of war. The Dutch commerce in the north was interrupted by a Swedish fleet which blocked up Dantzick, where no vessels were suffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and Guflavus had imposed a duty on all merchandise sent to Pillau and other sea-ports of Prussia. This conduct he justified by the example of the Hollanders, who had prohibited the Swedish ships from entering the ports of Flanders during the war with Spain, although they themselves were furnishing the enemy with ammunition and provision; and likewise by their conduct in the late war with England.

This last transaction it was that determined the states general to dispatch M. Van Buiningen to Copenhagen, to engage his Danish majesty to declare openly against Sweden; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of Guflavus. They likewise made some overtures to Cromwell with respect to the situation of affairs in the north; but Charles Guflavus had anticipated them in their designs on the electorate. He had sent an ambassador to England to explain his reasons for declaring war against Poland, to propose means for preventing the Dutch from trading to the Baltic, under pretence that it was injurious to the English commerce, and to settle a treaty of commerce with respect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

All this time, M. Nieuport continued in London, in quality of envoy from the states, to regulate the affairs of the Indian trade, the disputes relative to Ambonya, and to study the protector’s dispositions towards Sweden. Commissioners were appointed by the two East India companies for adjusting their disputes; but the limited time elapsed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the Protestant cantons of Switzerland were chosen arbitrators; the worst they could possibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The Swifs no sooner opened their mouths as umbrellas, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the terms allowed for the negotiation. It was not the desire of giving satisfaction to England but of obtaining redresses, that made the Hollanders solicitous about this negotiation. The English East India company accused the Dutch commissioners of stultifying and duplicity in the restitution of Poleron, and indemnification of the losses sustained by the company in India; and the commissioners wanted to balance this against the losses of the republic, in consequence of the seizure of their ships by English privateers before and since the war. They pled Cromwell with remonstrances upon this head; for still the grievance was sore felt, and their merchants daily plundered in the high seas by swarms of privateers fited out against the Spaniards, with whom Cromwell was now at war. In the end, these alterations subsided in a treaty between France and England, in which the republic was included, after which, both nations sent fleets to the Mediterranean, to suppress the Algerine corsairs, who had given abundance of disturbance to their commerce.

While the republic was fortifying itself against the designs of Sweden on the one hand, and of England on the other, a variety of circumstances contributed to disturb the internal tranquility of the provinces. One of the chief was the project concerted by M. de Witt, for bringing the revenue into proper order, by the reduction of interest paid by the government; but the great address of that statesman surmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner altogether unexpected, and convinced the creditors, that it was more to their advantage to receive four per cent. than to withdraw their money; because by this means the foreign debts might be paid off, and the interest of their own loans increased as the capital debt diminished. This was de Witt’s project, and not what we are told by some English writers, of equal affections on all the provinces, which would have proved the severest oppression, considering their inequality in point of wealth and ability. To this was added another subject of debate. The death of Brederode, marshal-general of the camp, roused up a variety of candidates for that employment. Thoef of most consideration were both of the house of Orange. Maurice claimed it as the right of seniority and long services; and William, governor of Friesland, founded his expectations on his own influence and avaricious connections. All the partizans of the Orange family fided with the other; but the province of Holland patronized the former, out of personal pique to prince William. The states of Holland had not forgot the attempt upon Amsterdam, nor the violence with which William had opposed the exclusion-act. The count would have carried his point in the assembly of the states general, were it to be decided by a majority of voices; but here unanimity was necessary, and Holland affirmed, that the office was dangerous.
a dangerous in time of peace, as it constantly gave the command of the army to the same person, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. M. de Wet presented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather served to quiet for a time, than remove the divisions; for the office in dispute remained vacant, and the candidates soon after resumed their pretensions. Next followed some altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of Orange. Some were for appointing a minister of the gospel for his preceptor, that he might be early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was supported by Zealand; but the states of Holland opposed it, from an apprehension that the clergy would blend politics with religion. The princes governante requested that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the states general, and the courts of justice, that his tender mind might receive deep impressions of the constitution and form of government; but the states general fearing that the intended by this compliment to gain an influence over the most considerable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper business of the prince’s guardians. This debate renewed in some provinces the old affair of the stadtholdership; particularly in Overijssel, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confusion. As usual, a thousand other points of altercation arose from this single question; and the point now was not, whether there should be a stadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges? It was a dispute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore scarce worthy of notice in a general history.

We shall conclude the year, with observing that a violent plague appeared in Leyden, which swept off near four thousand of the inhabitants; but was happily prevented by the diligence of the magistrates in spreading itself further into the provinces; and next, the magistrates of Amsterdam laid the foundation of that immense pile of building, since universally known by the name of Stadhuis.

The new year produced fresh causes of apprehension, that the Dutch commerce might suffer from the rapid conquests of the Swedes, as the states were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large squadron for the protection of the Baltic trade; but the assurances given by the Swedish ambassador lulled the states into security, and prevented the failing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all Dutch traders to Riga, again roused the republic, and determined her to act vigorously. With this view, the sent ambassadors to Copenhagen and Stockholm; to the former, with intention to excite his Danish majesty against the Swedes; and to the latter, to remonstrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary impositions. The envoys were arrested at Lausenburg, through which they proposed passing in their way to Danzig, but afterwards released, and apologies made to the states general: however, this conduct served only to inflame their animosity. In consequence, admiral Opdam received orders to sail directly for the Baltic, to protect all the Dutch shipping, and lay every possible obstruction in the way of his Swedish majesty, if he resolved upon the siege of Danzig. Oliver Cromwell interpreted, exhorted the states not to break with Gustavus, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences, under pretence of a zealous regard for the Protestant religion; but his intentions were suspected. Cromwell was well known to have used religion as a mask, to conceal the most daring and villainous designs; the states perfused themselves, for this reason, that he must have some other object in view, than the good of the church. In their answer, therefore, to the protector’s letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in such a manner that Cromwell should perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with Gustavus, they had sent ambassadors to renew the antient alliance between the crown of Sweden and the republic.

About this time Gustavus turned his thoughts towards Denmark. He sent M. Durell to the court of Copenhagen, in hopes of persuading the king to join with him in opposing the entrance of admiral Opdam into the Baltic. Previous to this, the senate of Denmark had remonstrated to the court of Sweden on the consequences of the war with Poland; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then absent. This affair M. Durell had instructions to take into consideration; but the king of Denmark declared, that he could not treat with Sweden without the consent of the Dutch ambassador M. Van Buiningen. Durell insisted that no strangers should be admitted to the conferences; the Danes took the part of Buiningen, and the dispute rofe high, about the time that Opdam arrived at Danzig, where he was received as the favour of the city. Sweden insisted that the republic could lend no assistance to the magistrates of Danzig, without violating the treaty of 1629, and Opdam pleaded his instructions. At last, conferences were appointed at Elbing, where

BISHAGG, p. 455.
The history of the United Provinces,

this affair was to be maturely discussed. In consequence, a treaty took place; the treaty of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be disturbed in the Baltic by the war between Sweden and Poland; a tariff was established, and the duties on trade regulated upon the former footing. The kings of France and Denmark, the protector of England, and the elector of Brandenburgh, were likewise included in this treaty. The city of Danzig also had permission to continue subject to the king of Poland, provided the magistrates afforded no affiance against Sweden. 4

The treaty of Elbing gave satisfaction only to the parties immediately concerned. The king of Denmark could not persuade himself that the Dutch, after the expense of equipping so considerable an armament, would return to their ports, upon no other security than general promises set down on paper. M. Buiningen took fire at Danzig's being deserted, and wrote in the most preening manner to the penionary de Vis, to procure an order from the flates general for admiral Opdam to seize upon some of the islands of the Baltic, where the fleet might winter, under the direction of the king of Denmark, who had it in his power to serve the republic effectually. Notwithstanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed against the unnecessary expense of the armament, and the flates vindicated it, by demonstrating, that to it was owing the treaty of Elbing, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and necessary to the republic.

While the flates were endeavouring to vindicate the measures they had taken for securing the trade of the Baltic, the loudest complaints were made to the several colleges of the admiralty, against the depredations committed by the English privateers. De Ruyter was ordered to put to sea with a respectable squadron, for the protection of the Dutch commerce; but he soon found the office extremely disagreeable, and remonstrated to the flates upon the liberty assumed by the smallest English frigate of searching the men of war of the republic. Alarmed at this report, Ruyter had orders to restrain the English from committing violence, or any way injuring the subjects of the flates; but he was likewise cautioned to avoid, at all events, the necessity of coming to a rupture with Cresswell, by shewing the English the clearest proofs in his power, that none of his ships under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewise remonstrated to the protector; but Cresswell knew his own superiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in the means of gaining possession of Dunkirk, the price of the affiance given to the French against the Spaniards, and consequently not at leisure to examine trifling matters, regarding Dutch traders. As the flates knew their inability to redress themselves, they were forced to support with patience insults which they could not repel.

Next year produced some new difficulties with respect to the affairs of the North, and the treaty of Elbing, which the flates general, after long delays, refused at last to ratify. The king of Denmark exerted his utmost influence to prevail on the Dutch not to consent to a treaty so inconsistent with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces likewise exclaimed against it, as it disapproved their mighty expectations from Opdam's expedition. Neither were the Danitzgers at all pleased with a measure, which tied them down to the necessity of giving no opposition to the ambitious views of Gustavus, although they had no other security than a general promise for his not attacking their city. As to the king of Denmark, he resolved to profit by the present situation of Sweden, involved in a war with all her powerful neighbours, for executing certain designs he had formed on Schonen, Norway, and Germany. It was of the utmost consequence to engage the republic in his interest, and this he laboured by his ambassador at the Hague; but found the flates little disposed to accept the proposed defensive alliance. However, the negotiations upon this subject retarded the ratification of the treaty of Elbing, and gave the Danish monarch hopes, that he might at length be able to succeed. There was, besides, another objection to the treaty. It was, that some of the articles were by no means clearly expressed, particularly those relative to the duty on merchandise. The king of Sweden infibted on the execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in 1640. To this the Dutch answered, that all the subjects of the United Provinces, who built ships in Sweden at their own expense, were intitled to all the privileges of natives of that kingdom. This the king denied, unless they fixed their residence in Sweden, and became subjects of that crown. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worst consequences to his people, to suffer strangers to cut down the finest forests to build ships, perhaps to fight against their own king and country. In a word, he intimated this point so strongly, that the Dutch ambassadors were silenced, and forced to content themselves with a general reply, that they would wait for farther instructions from the flates.

Though the flates were unable to answer the arguments urged by Gustavus, they nevertheless withheld the ratification desired, and strongly intimated that this could only 

4 PUFFEND. tom. vii. lib. vii.  68AVO.  
5 BAXNGE, pag. 477.  
6 Idem. ibid.
or Republic of Holland.

It was not the business of Gustavus to drive the Dutch into the arms of Denmark. He was sensible of this, and tried every expedient to gain them to his own interest. He made divers specious proposals, all of which the states rejected, as they knew well the terms that would be expected. The true interest of the states consisted in suffering the northern princes to exhaust each other by wars and bloody battles; for this reason it was, that M. van Buninghen was blamed for animating the states of Holland against the king of Sweden, by representing the advantage they might deduce from the alliance of the crown of Denmark. By his intrigations the city of Amsterdam, of which he was pensionary, inclined strongly to the crown of Denmark, and had already supplied that kingdom with a great number of armed ships to serve against Sweden under Dutch colours. Several deputies of the states general were accused of corruption, and this matter was put beyond doubt, by letters from the Swedish ambassador at the Hague, which were intercepted by the king of Denmark, and sent over to Holland. Here the Swedish minister appeared perfectly acquainted with all that passed in the assembly of the states general, and had likewise acquainted his master that divers of the deputies received pensions from the crowns of Spain and Denmark. He even went so far as to specify the sums, and the channels of payment and intercourse. Complaints were made of the Swedish ambassador for the liberties he had taken with the reputation of their high mightiness; and he vindicated himself, by affirming, that he was only answerable to the king his master for the contents of his letters, and that his Dutch majesty had violated the laws of nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not satisfied with this, he wrote a farcical epigram upon the states, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct they refused to enter into conferences with him; upon which his Swedish majesty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the states, and accordingly refused them audience, though they bore the character of ambassadors extraordinary. This encreased the animosity. The states refuted his Swedish majesty’s putting their ambassadors upon a footing with his minister, vested with no higher character than that of a resident: they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was affronted to see a people who had but a few years before granted precedence to the envoys of electors, talk in so high a strain about the dignity of their ambassadors. The province of Holland immediately sent orders to the ambassadors to return, unless the king apologized for the conduct of his resident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces opposed this resolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture; upon which Holland relaxed, and consented that the resident should be referred entirely to his Swedish majesty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought proper; in hopes that this instance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of Stockholm. Gustavus did not fail to decide the dispute in favour of his resident, though he at the same time acknowledged the civility of the states, by immediately granting audience to their ambassadors. The truth is, he still regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, overawed by fear and interest; the event justified the king’s opinion.

DENMARK having now come to an open rupture with Sweden, general Bilde traversed Holstein, palled the Elbe, and poured in with a Dutch army into the duchy of Bremen. After Wrangel had defeated part of his fleet before Stade, he was more sensible than ever, that the affluence of the Dutch was absolutely necessary to the success of his measures. With these sentiments he offered terms to the states general, so advantageous as subdued all objections to coming to a rupture with Sweden, and entering on engagements with Denmark. The states were, however, so cautious as to contract only a defensive treaty, where the parties agreed to assist each other, if attacked, with a body of six thousand men, and a squadron of ships, or a fitted-up sum of money, as an equivalent.

Immersed in the politics of the North, the states did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to Cromwell of the deprivations committed on the high seas by his privateers; but all were disregarded, at least no satisfaction could be obtained. The Dutch commerce suffered equally from the swarms of small armed vessels that issued out of the French ports, and preyed upon the vessels of the republic. The Dutch merchants computed that three hundred and twenty-eight of their ships had been taken by those privateers. M. Boreel, the Dutch envoy, applied to the French court for satisfaction, and above fifty arrests of council had passed, to oblige the capons to make reparation, but without effect. At Marseilles they attacked the Dutch confid publickly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, because he had attempted to enforce the ambassador’s orders, and the king’s arrests. This last violence so incensed the states, that they sent instructions to de Ruyter to take all ships coming out of Toulon. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with
two Toulon privateers, the one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. These he took, a removing all the prisoners on board his own ships, where they soon introduced a contagious disorder, of which the greater number of themselves, and many of the Dutch sailors died. It was well known that these ships had been built in Sweden; that they belonged to the French king, and that cardinal Mazarin had procured commissions for the reputed owners, on condition that he shared in the captures. They were the finest going ships of France, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruise. Mazarin was incensed at the preemption of de Ruyter, and the loss of his ships, and the immense sums of money on board. He represented him as a pirate, who, under false colours, made prize of the French vessels. He said, that if the Dutch commerce had been injured by private subjects of the French king, the states ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, especially as the king had issued arrêts to oblige the captors to make satisfaction. It was urged in council, that such an indignity to the crown could only be washed out by the blood of those who had committed it; and that if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared against the republic, and the whole nation perished with the utmost rigour, for fritereing so notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the French monarchy this spirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. Villeroi, who strenuously opposed the entering upon violent measures; however, they could not prevent the cardinal's issuing an order for seizing upon all the Dutch ships and effects in the ports of France. This was accordingly executed. At one of the courts, the states ordered M. de Ruyter to represent their astonishment at seeing their ships arrested by the king's order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of de Ruyter's conduct, without even reflecting whether necessity did not require that a check should be given the privateers, as they had assaulted the Dutch convoy, in contempt of the king's own authority. Boreel did not wait the orders of the states to fulfil the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He reproached with great spirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who said, "his speech was not the declaration of a minister, but the declamation of a rhetorician." Boreel's reflections upon the minister were indeed so free and severe, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonstrance. All he obtained was a tolerably silent hearing from the young monarch, guided entirely by his prime minister. Nor did Mazarin content himself with paying no regard to the representations of the Dutch ambassador. He sent M. de Thou to the Hague, to demand satisfaction for the insult committed by Ruyter, without so much as releasing the Dutch shipping. De Thou entered into a detail of Ruyter's conduct, which he ascertained, before the states, was contrary to the custom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. It defrayed the seaveest chastisement, as treachery was added to injustice. He had hoisted the English flag, and deceived the French under false colours, which was never done, except by barbarous nations and Turkish pirates, when they lay in wait for their Christian prey. He had likewise shewn the utmost treachery to the fieur de Land, captain of the largest frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unsuspecting Frenchman to visit de Ruyter on board, where he was detained prisoner. He aggravated the offense by a thousand additional circumstances, and concluded with requesting their high mightiness to reflect well upon the consequences of such ufage to the servants of a great king, and protesting that his instructions would allow him to enter upon no other business, or receive any propositions, until he received a definitive answer to his demands. To this M. de Ghent, who presided in the assembly of the states general, replied, that the Dutch had so evidently a right to make reprisals, that his excellency, who was himself a lawyer, if he would reason impartially, could not but acquit de Ruyter, and justify the conduct of the states. Two days after an order was issued for stopping all the French ships and merchandise in the ports of Holland. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous resolution, it was proposed to augment the navy with twelve capital ships, and to block up the coasts of France so closely as to prevent all attempts of revenge, and render useless the armaments of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The states of Holland, who had projected these spirited designs, represented them to the states general; they applauded the conduct of Boreel, who had supported his character with dignity, and even justified de Ruyter. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with France; but the states general were more moderate. Their first care was to guard strictly against corruption, as it was infamized that M. de Thou was charged with large sums of money for this purpose. With this view an oath was drawn up and sent to the states of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no presents, strenuously to stand up in the interest of their country; to be biased by no private designs, and not only to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining.
or Republic of Holland.

a taining an undue influence, but to render public every such proposal. At last the states general and the states of Holland, each in a body, gave their final answer to the ambassador. They complained of the depredations, piracies, and robberies, committed by the subjects of the French king, for which no satisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrest granted by the council, restitution of the ships and effects seized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity passed on the republic in the person of her consul at Marseilles, particularly for the liberties taken by the commissioners at Rouen, and other places, of examining the papers, sealing up the chests, and taking possession of the warehouses of Dutch merchants.

D' E THOU, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for b more moderate instructions; and he was ordered to assure the states they should have ample satisfaction, upon restitution of the two frigates taken by de Ruyter, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce should be settled. Even this proposition was rejected; upon which the ambassador declared the king would be contented with a promise of restitution, as an equivalent for the ships, and he would in the mean time give all the satisfaction required. From such ample concessions, it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of these preliminaries: upon which the states took fire a second time, prohibited all intercourse with France, and gave orders to the naval officers to take French ships wherever they were found. Never had the states displayed more firmness and intrepidity than upon this occasion; but though they bid defiance to all menaces, they were easily appeased by concessions. The king wrote them a letter, which entirely subdued by lenity that spirit which seemed to rise with opposition.

The confederacy of the republic was, in a great measure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between Cromwell and Mazarin. Mean time, an accident happened, which had almost destroyed the effect of the king's letter to the states, and the treaty concluded in consequence. Ruyter, then upon a cruise, was informed by the Dutch consul at Leghorn, that five French ships of war had put into Via Reggia, a port belonging to the little republic of Lucca: thither he pursued them; but being driven out of his course by a storm, they had intelligence of his design, and made the best sail for Porto Lame, a harbour in the Genoese dominions. Here they were blocked up by de Ruyter, who, though he was c not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means so to distress them, that they were on the point of surrendering at discretion, when advice arrived from the states of the treaty signed with the French monarch. De Ruyter's conduct was so much approved on this occasion, that the states, to shew their sense of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in testimony of their regard.

Scarce had the republic got clear of these disputes with the court of France, when she was involved in others with that of Portugal, about their several pretensions in Brazil. Meff. Tenhoen and de Witt were sent envoys to Lisbon to adjust the affair, and prevent the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The Portuguese ministry were equally afothithed at the propositions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied.

d Not a moment was lost in taking every measure for the security of the kingdom; the guards at Lisbon were doubled; all the captains of ships had orders to prepare for action, and a body of infantry was encamped on the shore to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet. After these vigorous steps had been taken, the ministers ventured to acquaint the Dutch deputies, that the court would not listen to proposals made with such an air of defiance, and with all the rigour of conquerors. This was highly remented by the Hollanders, who, in the heat of passion, expressed themselves in disrespectful terms of the royal family, and de Solas, secretary of state; upon which orders were issued to seize upon all the Dutch merchantmen in the Tagus. To such open violence a declaration of war must necessarily ensue; the deputies quitted Lisbon without taking leave, and de Ruyter took several Portu-

guese ships in the mouth of the river.

Before their departure the Dutch commissaries had left a declaration of war, sealed up, in the hands of Don Pedro de Sivva. Ruyter now thought himself at liberty to act offensively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three squadrons, and resolved to cruise in certain latitudes for the Brazil fleet, daily expected in Europe. His own division fell in with a fleet of forty sail; but the haziness of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ships were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was so numerous. Another fleet, homeward-bound from Brazil, was every day expected; but the scarcity of provisions obliged Ruyter to quit his station, and return to Holland.

While the states were thus engaged in an open rupture with Portugal, an affair hap-pened, at first of seemingly trivial moment, but in the end of serious consequences, with the neighbouring princes of the Rhine. The electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the

a BANNAKER, pag. 512.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 7 I
The history of the United Provinces,

The unwelcome, and the bishop of Munster, were desirous of entering into a strict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the states of Zealand and Friesland, though the province of Holland approved of a treaty of commerce, respecting the navigation of the Rhine, upon the terms proposed a few years before by the elector of Cologne. This point was under deliberation when the bishop of Munster, quarrelling with his own subjects, interrupted the negotiation, and made the republic and the princes, instead of joining in an alliance, embrace opposite parties, and fight with all the bitterness of inveterate enemies. Bernard Van Galen, for long the bishop was called, had some years before got possession of the see of Munster, by a stroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himself secure of being elected, when he found himself outvoted by his nephew, and disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused to confirm the election of Van Galen; but that bold enterprising genius, spurning difficulty, maintained his ground, in spite of all opposition, rendered himself respectable, and even formed vast projects for extending his power and dominions. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his understanding the sword. By nature he was intended for a soldier, and he followed his inclinations as soon as opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating such vast designs with such flender forces, he replied, That little saints frequently wrought great miracles. Besides the large sums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his subjects for the support of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppression, was used to say, That a scire also should have no more compassion than the devil. He soon began to profit this maxim upon his own subjects. Like most other bishops in Germany, the fee of Munster is subjected to the bishops in temporals as well as spirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre the crozier and the sceptre. Some towns, within their jurisdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and amongst these was the city of Munster. The burghers insisted, that they were not obliged to receive the bishop's garrison, but that the sole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two years before the bishop had introduced a body of troops, as necessary to the security of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the dispute was referred to the assembly of the provincial states, who decided in favour of the burghers. Van Galen refused to stand by their award, submitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained six months delay, to produce new arguments in support of his pretensions. Alarmed at this proceeding, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the bishop, the magistrates sent a deputation to the Hague, requesting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the Hans towns. The grand penitent de Witt, who foresaw the issue of entering upon such engagements, would do nothing without consulting the states, particularly those of Overyssel and Groningen; but their deliberations were so tedious, that the opportunity slipped of strengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The bishop invested the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with such fury, that in the space of a few hours above two hundred houses were set on fire, two churches demolished, and a priest, as he was administering the sacrament at the altar, swept out with the concreted bread, by a cannon-bullet. This terrible sacrilege, committed by a bishop, roused all the fury of the townsmen; they rallied out vigorously on the besiegers, and slew great numbers of the prelate's forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themselves into companies, resolutely defended the walls. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony interposed, as vicars of the empire; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike son, and blamed the bishop's ardor to take arms upon so slight an occasion; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requisite.

When it was known in Holland that a war broke out between the bishop of Munster and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a posture of defence, and sent two members from the states general, and one from the council of war, with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the bishop; but their mediation was rejected, the prelate excusing himself, under pretence it would be an affront to the states of the country, and the princes of the empire, to submit to any other arbitration than theirs: nor would he suffer the deputies to enter the city, lest their presence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incensed the states general, and determined them to succour the besieged; but four towns in Holland opposed this resolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command was given to M. Ribingrave, commissary-general of the cavalry, and governor of Maasbricht, as prince Maurice of Nassau was at that time in Friesland.

Van Galen had minute intelligence of all that passed in the states general of the United Provinces. He perceived that this affair would soon take a very serious turn. He made some rigorous proposals to the besieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who esteemed the country made the theatre of war, used all their influence with
with the burghers to accept of an accommodation; and the bishop, who apprehended he should in a few days be forced by the Dutch to raise the siege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromise was struck up, the gates were opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of December, but without being honoured with the usual rejoicings and acclamations. The Dutch were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the bishop was irritated at not being received with the accustomed honours by his subjects, and at the march of the Dutch forces; he resolved secretly to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of Munster. We shall see, in course of our narrative, how he accomplished his purposes.

Those foreign disputes in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domestic broils. The province of Overijssel was involved in violent altercation about certain privileges, for some years past, and there appeared no prospect of an issue, when suddenly the parties came to a resolution of referring their differences to the prince of Nassau, stadholder of the province, and M. de Wit, grand pensionary of Holland, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no sooner ended, than the election of a marshal de camp became a new subject of diffusion in the provinces. The states general had appointed to this office, and the states of Holland opposed the election, insinuating that the states general assumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the house of Orange would be strengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been abolished; and that was the true reason of their opposition. The affair was agitated with great heat, until the rapid progress of the Swedish arms, and the miserable situation of the king of Denmark, called for the interposition of the United Provinces, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war, and the destruction of the republic.\footnote{Le Clerc, p. 582. Burnaby, p. 528.}

Former engagements to the king of Denmark, the ballance of power in the North, and the commercial interest of the United Provinces, all required that Sweden should not become too powerful. As Copenhagen was now invested, the states general proposed sending immediate succours to Frederic; but the provinces of Zealand, Friesland, and Gelderland, insisted upon first creating a marechal de camp. However, this point was dropped, upon the great resolution that was taken of only sending a naval force. Gustavus had given the states the strongest assurances that he would never molest their commerce; he had likewise remitted large sums of money to his ambassadour at the Hague, to be duly applied, in order to retard the affront offered to Denmark; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of de Wit, and the spirit of the people, who unanimously reßented the encroachments of this enterprising prince. A large fleet accordingly set sail, early in the spring, for the Baltic, under the conduct of admiral Opdam, who had orders not only to protect the ships of the republic, but to assist, by every possible means, the king of Denmark, and fight the Swedish fleet the first opportunity: if Copenhagen and Copenhagen should be in the hands of the Swedes before his arrival, his instructions were, to assist, aid, and abet, all the enterprizes of the Danish monarch, and with his fleet to block up such places as the king might chuse to invest by land. In a word, the republic seemed determined to keep no bounds with Sweden; and Van Buiningen, who still refuted at Copenbagen, contributed to spur on the states, by representing the inßamy and danger to the republic that would ensue, from defecting Frederic in his distress, and the benefits he might receive from his gratitude, if a timely vigorous diversion was made in his favour. That minister had great weight with the pensionary de Wit, who entered the more readily into his measures, because he was under no apprehensions from France or England.

After Opdam had long struggled with adverse winds, he arrived in the Sound, where the Swedish fleet was immediately discovery; upon which he assembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet back for four days, and the Swedes shewed no inclination to become the aggressors. At last a fresh gale sprang up, and Opdam advanced in three divisions, while the Swedish admiral, Wrangel, was drawn up in the same order to oppose his passage. Gustavus was in the castle of Copenbagen, a spectator of the action, and witness to the conduct of his admiral, who had already won so many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon Opdam and Wrangel; both fought with equal skill and courage; their strength was equal, but not so their fortune. Wrangel was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortresses, and yield a victory which he had at the expense of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the Dutch lost two admirals, de Wit and Florizen, they suffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy lost more private men, and suffered greater damage in their hulls. Wrangel's own ship was pierced through and through; and when he quitted the engagement, he had nine feet water in his hold. Three Swedish ships were taken.
The history of the United Provinces,

taken, the same number sunk, and four more were driven ashore; but what gave Opdam clearly the advantage was, that he landed two thousand men, military flores, and provisions, in Copenhagen, by which the city was faved. Swedifh writers have disputed the victory, only because it was not pursued, and because a process against Opdam was commenced on his return, for not having destroyed the Swedifh fleet at Landverron.1

This engagement gave great disturbance to Guifacwus, as it seemed the harbinger of a declared war with the United Provinces. It was debated in his council, whether it should dissemble his resentment at this act of hostility, or denounce war openly against the states. A variety of reasons were offered in support of both opinions, and the arguments appeared so equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In Holland the people reasoned differently. It was not thought sufficient to have afforded the king of Denmark the slender assistance of two thousand men, when by treaty they were engaged to assist him with double that number; it was therefore determined to augment the number of auxiliaries to fix thousand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with respect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies proposed, that his Danifh majesty should put Ghifckf ifd into the hands of the Dutch; but de Wit answered, that this would excite the jealousy of France and England, who were already displeased with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonstrances of M. de Thou, the French ambaffador.

It was the first intention of the states to leave only a squadron of six or seven men of war in the Baltic, because it was not doubted but Copenhagen, with the succours thrown in by Opdam, would be in condition to defend itself for the winter; but upon advice that England was about to declare for Sweden, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in Denmark, to follow the instructions of Frederic, to oppose the passage of the Swedifh forces from Holstein, and pursue every measure which could contribute to the common interest of the allies, and disappoint the schemes of Guifacwus. It is certain that Cromwell harboured designs against Denmark and Holland, but a variety of domestic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got possession of Dunkirk, which had lately been taken from the Spaniards by the joint forces of France and England. Surrendering Dunkirk to the protector was equally irksome to France, Spain, the pope, and the United Provinces; but Cromwell carried the point with a high hand. The Dutch in particular had reason to complain. They saw the English in the quiet enjoyment of a port, which would serve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a short time be filled with the pilage of the Dutch shipping. The states had rather see Dunkirk in the hands of the Spaniards than of the English, for the interest of the former, with respect to commerce, began now to be re-united to those of the provinces. They now saw France and England strongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that Furnife, Graveline, Mockin, Ypres, and Oudenarde, were likewise in danger. M. de Turenne was fixed upon by the cardinal to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to affûre the states, that the king had no other view in the conquest of the Netherlands, than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and to unite in a form of government similar to that of the United Provinces. He added, that if a republican government was once established, the king would willingly restore all his conquests since the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of Artois. The friends of France looked upon this proposal as so equitable, that they preferred the states to secede the designs of the most Christian king; but M. de Wit headed the contrary party, from a conviction that Mazara's design was only to low diffusion among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expense of the Netherlands. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the sudden illness of the French king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the states were relieved from their apprehensions on the side of England, by the death of the enterprising, the ambitious, the successful, and the splendidly wicked ifuper, Oliver Cromwell; at the same time, the horror, the terror, and the admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial throne likewise made considerable alteration in the state of affairs, and Holland was forced to change her system with the circumstances of Europe.

It was evident that the United Provinces were deeply interested in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke Leopold, the king of Hungary, the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Neufburg. It was contrary to the interest of the republic, to see the power of the house of Austria enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; because the states were not so thoroughly reconciled to Spain, but that some articles left undetermined by the treaty of Munster might still be disputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any opposition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would necessarily spread itself

or Republic of Holland.

a to the provinces. The present situation of the republic required that France should be afflicted in setting upon the imperial throne, a prince less powerful than Leopold. However, all their designs, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of Leopold, without bloodshed, or scarce any opposition in the diet.  

LEOPOLD, immediately after his election, sent M. Trequot in quality of envoy to the Hague, to acquaint the states with his elevation, and to solicit their close alliance with the house of Austria. This minister hoped the more readily that his commissiion would be successful, because the union tended to affix Denmark, and oppose the growing power of Sweden. Besides, as the states were on the point of sending another fleet to the Baltic, he presumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though b indeed this proved diametrically opposite to their designs, which were to affix Denmark, but not to afford the house of Austria any footing in the islands of the Baltic. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromising some disputes about certain frontier towns with the Spaniards.

It was not so easy to make up the breach with Portugal, as the republic continued to demand reparation of her losses, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained by her subjects. The king of France offered his mediation, and de Thou exhorted the states to content to suspention of hostilities, in order to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the states general granted an armistice for two months, on condition that his Portuguese majesty should send an ambassador into Holland, to treat with the states, and that in failure of his arrival, the war should go on with the usual vigour. In the mean time the admiralty was busied in preparing for the war, and equipping such a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the Portuguese to listen to reason. This fleet set sail under de Ruyter in the month of June, but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exercising his valor; though his constancy met with severe trials in a terrible storm, which overtook the fleet soon after it quitted the coast of Holland. At length he arrived in a shattered condition in the Tagus, which rendered the Portuguese more averse to an accommodation, relying upon the divisions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the India company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of Denmark, that would prevent their paying the necessary attention to the affairs of Brazil. The commissioners met, and disputer, but c settled nothing.

Still the war between Sweden and Denmark raged with unremitting fury. Copenhagen A.D. 1646 was besieged by land, and blockaded by sea, while the Dutch and Danish fleets were locked up by ice, and the Swedes making vast conquests over every part of the Danish dominions. At last, the allies broke the ice, and made way for some of their ships to put to sea. Early in the spring they encountered a swipe Swedish men of war, who valiantly sustained their first attack, though pressed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity. After an exceeding obstinate engagement, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly superior force, and retire with the loss of two ships of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other sunk, leaving a complete and decisive victory to the Hollanders.

d This defeat, the vigorous descents of the Dutch fleet, and the treaty concluded between France, England, and Holland, to restore the tranquility of the North, operated powerfully on the mind of Gustavus, who had still obstinately persevered in besieging Copenhagen, and ruining the dominions of his adversary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic sent de Ruyter with another fleet to the coasts of Jutland, and communicated to him the articles entered upon with France and England, as the clearest explication of his instructions, and rule for his conduct. His Swedish majesty now entered into negotiations with the Dutch deputies; but the arrival of an English fleet in the Sound, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unsteady, and unhinged in its internal government, disconcerted all the meaures of the Hollanders, and broke off the negotiation after f it was far advanced. Ruyter and Opdam even apprehended an attack from the English, until they received the most solemn assurances to the contrary from the lord Montague; whose departure from the Sound disappoited all the hopes of the Swedish monarch. No sooner were the Dutch left there at entire liberty to act, than they renewed their operations, harraffing the enemy by descents on every side. It was by the desperate courage of a body of soldiers, headed by de Ruyter, that the victory at Fyen was gained, which gave the first shock to the fortune of Gustavus; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, those were regarded as of less consequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the Dutch, first dispatcled the king of Sweden to reasonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was feizied with a disorder that proved g fatal.

\[\text{Le Clerc, pag. 324. tom. ii.} \quad \text{Bassin, pag. 556.} \]
The history of the United Provinces,

This event produced various effects; Charles Guiscrav was deeply regretted by all the Scandes, while the Densth monarch, and the city of Copenhagen, could not refrain from indecent transports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both sides, who were almost reduced to the verge of desperation, by their obituary and implacable animosity. A peace, under the mediation of England and Holland, was concluded, and reposed once more referred to Denmark, which for near the space of two years had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every species of distress and misfortune to the truly miserable inhabitants. Yet in one respect the people were losers, as their gratitude for the valiant and persevering defence of the king, moved them to compliment him with their liberty, and render him one of the most despotic princes in Christendom.¹

CARDINAL MAZARIN now offered his mediation to reconcile his Portuguese majesty and the states general; but the negotiations proved more difficult than the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obstruction was the indemnification required by the Dutch for the loss sustained in the Brazil; now the India company had driven the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon, thereby engrossing the most valuable of all the India spices, the cinnamon, which constitutes one of the most essential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquisition was due to the diligence and valour of M. Gabant, counsellor of state at Batavia, who first made an attack upon some of the smaller Portuguese factories in the island; and encouraged by his success, and the invitation of the natives, grievously oppressed by the tyranny of their old masters, ventured upon an attempt in Jaffnapatam, the head settlement of the Portuguese. The situation of this place rendered a formal siege impracticable; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the Dutch forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take shelter in the Portuguese fort, which was in a short time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after the city was first invested, the besieged desired to capitulate, and the Europeans were permitted either to remove to Goa without their effects, or remain in the country in subjection to the conquerors. The king hated the Portuguese, but he was alarmed at the rapid progress the Dutch made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquished Portuguese and the natives. He accordingly determined to crush them in the infancy of their establishment, raised an army for that purpose; but was overawed, and forced to relinquish his design, by the Dutch squadron. In the end, he compromised matters with the company, and left the Hollanders in full possession of whatever the Portuguese had claimed in this delicious island.

THOUGH the articles of pacification with Portugal were rendered more intricate by the latest conquest in Ceylon, yet it contributed to make his Faithful majesty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making restitution of the lands and merchandise taken from the republic in Brazil. Sensibly touched with the loss of the valuable settlements in Ceylon, he sent an ambassador to Holland with fresh propositions; and to facilitate the way to an accommodation, he applied to Mazarin for the mediation of the court of France. Mazarin committed this affair to M. de Thow, resident at the Hague; and that minister acted so warmly in the affair as to incur the displeasure of his eminence, who apprehended that Spain would reject his taking part in the affairs of Portugal, at a time when the two courts were settling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the situation of Holland with regard to Portugal, when fresh occasions of discontent arose. The Portuguese Jesuits traded, under a variety of shapes and disguises, to a prodigious extent in the East Indies. By a thousand arts and machinations they obstructed the Dutch commerce; and by the efficacy in which they were held in the different countries of India, not only forestalled the markets, but even so far prejudiced the natives, that in many places they refused to hold any intercourse with the Hollanders. They not only infiltrated themselves into the court of the emperor of China, by their addresses and skill in geometry, astronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in India, particularly to Dehli, where the grand mogul resided, and to Calkonda, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the finest water and size, and the most precious jewels. The arts used by the Dutch to counteract them, were not very justifiable. They were, however, perfectly confiscent with the genius of this people, who stick at nothing to promote their interest. They are accused, and the charge hath never been disproved, of arresting clandestinely the Jesuit pilgrims, and strangling them privately: they are even charged with using poison in the most base and infamous manner. We have already explicitly related the progress of the Dutch commerce in India, and it is not agreeable to us to repeat facts which disgrace humanity, and so deeply stain the character of a whole nation. Sufficient it is, that by a series of the darkest arts and g

¹ Bainage, pag. 628. ² Mod Hist. vol. x. octavo.
or Republic of Holland.

a intrigues, the Dutch firmly established themselves, ruined their adversaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives (A).

The revolution which now happened in England, and the king's restoration, affected the politics of the states general, who had never been cordial with Cromwell, and since his death, were in a state of uncertainty about the conduct they were to observe to his son Richard. How differently now did they behave to Charles II. to what they had done some years before, when that fugitive monarch was in his deplorable condition denied the protection of the republic, and was forced to quit the court of his cousin the prince of Orange, without knowing where to find another retreat. The transactions in England were no sooner known than Charles set out for Breda, where the states dispatched a solemn deputation to congratulate him on his happy prospect, and welcome his majesty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the states general and the states of Holland, the former insisting not only upon their precedence at Breda, but even in the province of Holland, as the representatives of the seven provinces, and the sovereign authority in the republic. Both resolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the Hague; but Charles interposed and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was opprised with honours and civilities during his stay in Holland; and upon his departure, was followed by a splendid ambassa,
d to his newly recovered dominions. M. de Beverwurt was appointed the first in this ambaniss; and a present, which was made by the king to the son of that gentleman, became the subject of debate among the divines and politicians of the United Provinces. Beverwurt acquainted the states with the present made to his son; but he said, it could not be regarded as a gratification to the ambassador, in any way contrary to the oath he had taken of receiving no bribes or presents, which would have the least tendency to bias his integrity. It was the king's unrelative gift to the son, from a mere regard to the person of that young gentleman, as some affirmed; while others were equally confident that the son and father were both included in the present, and incapable of being distinguished in any mark of respect. We mention this circumstance only to shew the delicacy of the government respecting the conduct of ambassadors. It is also a proof that the public had nothing of considerable importance to gain attention, else it would not have canvassed so rigidly a trivial affair, while the most flagrant corruptions had been winked at in the assembly of the states, and in all the embassies during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

It was this year that the French king had taken violent possession of the principality of Orange, upon an antient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longest sword. The disputes between the princes of dowagers furnished a pretext for refusing this claim, and Lewis did not chuse to lose so fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alleged, that the princes governorate had shewn him many instances of disrespect during the minority of her son the prince of Orange. He likewise maintained that he was performing a signal service to the prince, by easing him of the load of useless expensive garrisons. This opinion was supported by the enemies of the house of Orange, who insisted that the finances of that family had been so mismanaged and misapplied since the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garrisons, and fortifications quite intolerable. They could not therefore conceive what design Maurice could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place situated in the heart of the French dominions, which could prove of no use to the republic, as a barrier against the encroachments of France. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in Holland was sufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterprise to which he was before disfoped. He was at that time in Provence upon other affairs, and resolved to seize this opportunity of making himself master of the principality of Orange. M. de Mi'tet was sent to summon count Dobna to surrender his trust to the king, as mediator of the differences between the princes dowagers, and legitimate tutor, and protector of the young prince. Upon Dobna's answering, That he would only act by the orders of the princes, who had vested him with the office of governor, Mi'tet replied, That he was affronted at his presumption, in refusing obedience to the command of the king his master, adding, that the most Christian king would support his right with the irrefragable proof of twenty thousand men, who would make him repent his obstinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, persevered in his duty, and sent notice of his situation to the Hague. The court of the young prince was instantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the here-

b The states receive the king of England with great respect.

c The king of France seize the principality of Orange.

d The king of France seize the principality of Orange.

(A) The treaty with the king of Maccassar was not concluded till the year 1662; but we have here mentioned all the transactions in India under one head, the better to preserve the connection, and avoid transitions to subjects that bear not the least relation to each other.

ditary
The history of the United Provinces,
ditary dominions, and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princes, as the
only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their
differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconci-
llication would take away all pretext for so unjust and oppressive an invasion on the rights
of a minor. Mean time the garrison was unprovided with stores and every necessary of a
siege, while the king's army under the mareschal Pleiss Pralin, advanced to the gates of
Orange. The count de Dobna, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the
consent and advice of the magistrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the mareschal.
The king promised to exercise justice in the prince's name, and to restore the principality,
with all the stores, cannon, effects, &c. as soon as he arrived at age; or in case of his
death, to the electors of Brandenburgh, or the nearest heirs: but he took care immediately
to demolish the citadel, erected at a vast expence by prince Maurice. Dobna was accused
of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princeses exclaimed violently against
the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themselves upon the protection of the states
general, and imploring the aid and assistance of their high mightinesses, in defence of an
helpless injured minor. They had no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter
terms to the king, accused him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of
a child, and the weakness of two women, his only protectrices.

Lewis's designs were too evident, and the case of too much importance for the states
to pass it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's diplomacy. However,
instructions were sent relative to the principality, to their ambassadors in France and
England. The princesess herself visited England, not only to congratulate the king her
brother upon his restoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her son, his nephew.
Before her departure, the states of Zealand th ewed their attachment to the family of Orange,
by proposing that the prince should be declared the first nobleman in the provinces, and
vexed with the authority of stadholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and pre-
rogatives held by his ancestors, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins. They
also demanded that he should immediately be admitted a member of the council of state,
in order to be early instructed in the arts of war and government, and the other neces-
saries necessary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They however allowed, that
he should not enter upon the functions of his office, until he attained the age of eight-
teen years; and that neither the stadholdership, nor any of the other prerogatives, should
in the mean time be exercised by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their proposal,
the zealous states of this province went in a body to the Hague, and presented themselves
in a cavalcade of twenty coaches to the states general. M. de Witt, their penonier, re-
cited in a long-laboured oration, the services done the republic by the house of Orange,
and the reasons why the states of Zealand thought the acceptance of their proposal necessary
to the security and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a single argument that could
enforce his subject; and his views were seconded by the states of Friesland and Overfjeld.
Holland however and the other provinces kept aloof; yet to shew their respect to the
princes and the king of England, they assigned the prince a yearly revenue of forty thousand
flo rins, to support the dignity of his house, and the expenses of his court and education.
They even proceeded so far as to abolish the act of exclusion, which had railed such di-
fusions in the provinces, and was passed merely out of dread of Oliver Cromwell. In this
manner did the complaisance of Holland prevent the other provinces from putting their
defe nses further at that time, and open the way to the young prince of Orange, to all the
honours and dignities of his illustrious ancestors.

Notwithstanding the Dutch had been extremely successful in the war against Portugal,
tho ugh they had obtained all they could propose to themselves by the sword, and
though the king had no hopes of recovering his losses by the continuance of the war, yet
no peace had been concluded. As the hostilities were confined entirely to a distant coun-
try, it could not be expected to be carried on with the same vigour as if Europe had been
the theatre of war. The difficulty of transporting troops into those remote regions, and
of meeting with other fleets in that vast expanse of ocean, rendered their mutual opera-
tions languid, and decisive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was
high time to sheath the sword, and turn their thoughts to a solid durable reconciliation.
The Dutch especially gave way to these pacific sentiments, from a desire to taste the sweet
fruits of their conquests, which could not be done with security, while the rupture con-
 tinued with a kingdom still powerful by sea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of
France and England promised their good intentions, from views widely different. His
Christian majesty rejoiced at having this thorn in the side of the Catholic king, and was
S defirous by taking off the Dutch, to give Portugal weight in his negotiations for a peace

1 Samson Hist. de Guillaume III. pag 375.
with the court of Spain; while the king of England, who was upon terms with Catherine, the infant of Portugal, was eager to render to signal a service to a family with which he was soon to be linked in the closest alliance. The news of this intended marriage was received with more chagrin than surprise in Holland. It was obvious that such engagements must necessarily cement the king of England to the interest of Portugal. The states represented to the king by their ambassadors, the injustice done them by his Portuguese majesty, in refusing to make restitution of Breslau; but their remonstrances were coldly received; Charles even declared, upon hearing that great preparations were making in Holland, his intentions to affix the crown of Portugal. Though he expressed himself in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his answer contained a menace, if the Dutch should longer pursue their repentances. At the same time he offered his mediation, which however was too much suspected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of France and England were both meditating the means of supporting Portugal; while the minister of Alphonso VI. was diligently negotiating a peace at the Hague, where he had gained over a great number of friends. The great obstacle was the restitution of Breslau. This the states had long demanded in vain; it was now determined to relinquish the project, rather than prosecute hostilities against a crown so powerfully supported by France and England, and on the point of being reconciled with Spain. Four provinces, however, opposed this resolution upon late assurances from the Spanish court, that they were determined to come to no accommodation with Portugal, and that Breslau should be restored to the republic the moment his Catholic majesty should again become possessed of the kingdom of Portugal. Zeeland in particular insisted, that, by the treaty of Utrecht, this resolution could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of voices, which was requisite in all matters of so high importance as the making peace or war. The debate was pulsed to a great length, but it never broke off the conferences with the count de Miranda, the Portuguese minister. At length a treaty was concluded, by which his Portuguese majesty promised to pay the republic five hundred thousand livres annually, in money, sugar, and salt; and a million of money to indemnify her losses in the Breslau. He likewise conferred that the Dutch should enjoy the same privileges of trade to Portugal, Breslau, and the coast of Africa, as the English. Hostilities were to cease in Europe two months before the exchange of ratifications, and in the Indies, immediately upon public notice of the treaty in those parts.

England had already manifested no favourable disposition to the interest of the republic, in the bias the king plainly shewed for the court of Portugal: the intentions of that court became still more obvious by the proposal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the crowns of England and France, and the United Provinces. It was the manner rather than the terms of this proposition, which gave offence. The coldness was increased by the reception which the Dutch ambassadors met with at the court of London, where they were treated with diffident respect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made by the late protector. They wrote back to the Hague soon after their arrival, that their negotiations were likely to prove tedious and difficult, because the king insisted upon the conclusion of a treaty favourable to him, before he entered upon the subject of navigation and commerce. The first obstruction that occurred in course of the conferences, were the rights of fishing for herring on the British coasts. The next was the prerogative assumed by the English in visiting and examining Dutch vessels at sea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the will of the Hollanders to abolish this custom, equally inconvenient to trade, and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of superiority of which the English were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in Holland by the late king, and the not delivering up to punishment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken shelter in Holland, together with certain hostilities committed by a French officer on the coast of Africa, all contributed to enrage the coldness between the two nations, and render the disputes of the commissaries fruitless. It was plain from the king's general behaviour, that his designs were rather to avail himself of the power of the republic, than live with her upon the antient footing of friendship. His supporting the claims of his nephew the prince of Orange to the stadtholdership, his reconciliation with the prince of Orange, with whom he had been at variance, and his entering into a closer union with the elector of Brandenburgh, excited the jealousy of the states, and persuaded them that Charles was no way affected to Holland, or disposed to promote the interest of the republic. Both the king and the states courted Mazarin; but in doing this, Charles embroiled himself with the pensioner de Wit, and inflamed the populace of Holland, by distressing their fisheries, at the time too when his nephew most wanted their assistance. But what gave the greatest offence, was the king's insinuating

that the India company should allow free liberty to the English to trade to all the ports of Asia, not immediately in the possession of the Dutch, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the English factories should be an asylum for all the natives who sought protection of the British nation. Such demands, from a prince who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aspiring princes love to exercise over their neighbours, as well as their subjects; but it was the business of the states to suppress their repentment to a more reasonable opportunity. In compliance to the king, three of the regicides were to be seized, in order to be delivered up to punishment. Downing, the English minister, threatened the deputies with the king's repentment, if they refused to sign an order to that purpose. He obtained the order; but the magistrates of several towns intercepted, affirming it would be the greatest injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees; and that, in this instance, it would for many reasons be safe and infectious. In despite however of their opposition, the regicides were taken into custody, embarked at the Brill, and sent to London. De Witt was the principal manager in this transaction, which greatly astonished all his friends, who were no strangers to his declared enmity to the king of England and the house of Orange.

Already the tutelage of the prince of Orange had given birth to various diffusions, which were now renewed upon the death of the substitutes appointed by the princes, upon her departure for England. That she should nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies of the house of Orange, some of whom were the leading men in the republic, resented highly her subtituting the king of England, who, they said, would educate the prince in despotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependent on the Orange family with his creatures, and sap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of so vast importance, they thought themselves justified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and striking what they called a blow of state. Accordingly they seized upon a strong box which the prince's dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the clearest information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to establish his own sovereign authority, of the enterprise against Amsterdam, and the secret intercourse he was supposed to hold with divers members of the states general. Charles d'Entragues complained that the laws of nations had been grossly insulted by this action; he likewise alluded that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the secrets of a sovereign family so nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of England. To this the states of Holland, which had authorized the courts of justice to execute this affair, could make no reply, besides the interest they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in consequence of the prince's departure. They found means, however, to shift off the restitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the secretary's office. It is probable, that the occasion which the princes had for the suspense and countenance of the states, in her proposed journey to France, to procure restitution of the principality of Orange, made the king her brother inflect less strenuously upon this point.

The death of cardinal Mazarin, which happened soon after the arrival of the Dutch ambassadors, set to demand restitution of Orange,occasioned great changes in the court of Lewis XIV. That prince was now, for the first time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He used the affiance of his ministers; but he did not suffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done: and this he evinced by the sudden disgrace of M. Fouquet, which the Dutch ambassadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always opposed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of Colbert, who succeeded, greatly disappointed the hopes of the states general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambassadors were on the point of departing, without advancing an inch in the negotiation. They perceived that the new sur-intendant had formed vast projects for the extension of the French commerce, which was altogether inconsistent with the treaty they required: however, they found that the intereat of M. Leguier, Tellier, and the marechal Villeroi, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and restrictions. In effect, they persuaded the king, that it was for his interest to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with Holland; but Colbert guarded against their proveing injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the design he had projected of raising the French marine to a respectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies should be checked, and the offenders punished; that the merchants of both nations should reciprocally trade to each other's ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any distinction of commodities, except

1 Bannage, p. 651.
whale-oil. Great difficulties arose about the king's guaranteeing the herring fishery, which
the court knew would give umbrage to the English. Lewis, under pretence that he could
not guarantee a contested claim, without expressly declaring against one of the claimants,
contented himself with general expressions; but the Dutch ambassadors, sensible that a
general guarantee would be useless, made pressing insinuations that the conditions of the
king's protection should be minutely specified. In the end, the treaty was signed upon this
footing; but Lewis deferred the ratification.

No sooner had the republic secured her commerce against the attacks of French pirates,
by the treaty we have just mentioned, than she resolved to check the insolence of the Algerines,
who had committed a variety of depredations on the high seas, confiscated the goods
and shipping, and enslaved the subjects of the United Provinces, while the states and they
were in profound peace with each other. For this purpose de Ruyter was dispatched to the
Mediterranean with a powerful squadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight Algerine pirates,
which he dispersed, after taking one, and sinking another. A violent storm, that arose in
the midst of the engagement, prevented his destroying the whole squadron. It was upon
this he received a challenge from the dey of Algiers, couched in the following terms:

Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we shall agree with respect to the fol-
lowing proposition, and that you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make.

You have three times given me chace; and if I have avoided fighting, I desire you will
not attribute it to a deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my strength. Mine
is only a small bark, yours a large ship, and floating castle. It is for this reason I desire
you will meet me upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and valour. If you
conquer me, I shall be your slave; but if fortune should be propitious to my endeavours,
I shall rest satisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this request; and if I prove
backward, rank me among the number of timid spirits. Receive the compliments
which I lend you.' Ruyter accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for
the engagement; but he heard no more of the Algerine brave. His constancy on this
occasion inspired the Turks with the highest opinion of his courage and generosity.
They wished to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince
of Tunis immediately made overtures; but the Algerines would have perfished in their de-
defence, had their ships been any way proportioned to de Ruyter's strength. This inequality
alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give security
for their future behaviour, and enter upon the strictest engagements not to molest the
Dutch commerce.

Every foreign occurrence would seem to heal the divisions in the United Provinces; but
this was only a temporary, not a radical cure. It suspended the animosity of the parties,
but did not remove the cause of their mutual resentment, which gathered strength from
their long continuance. The education of the prince became again the subject of vehem-
ent disputes between the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. Holland insisted, that, by the
Roman law, and the particular laws of the Netherlands, the tutelage of a nobleman, or
young prince, rightly belonged to that sovereign power in whole obedience the father of
the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that Zeeland had no pretensions,
either by sovereign right, or testamentary election. The Zealanders replied, that the young
prince of Orange was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, subject to certain laws,
and chambers erected for fostering his estate: the prince's chief territories were situated
in Zeeland: it was therefore reasonable he should have his education under the direction of
that province. This dispute begot other subjects of contention, which greatly disturbed
all persons attached to the true interest of their country; though de Witt alone, whole in-
fluence was every day increasing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The dissensions
were not confined to Holland and Zeeland; they spread themselves to Groningen and Utrecht,
and at last terminated in an altercation with the duke of Newburgh, which was soon com-
promised 4.

France and Holland appear at this period to have been under the direction of the
same spirit, and to have co-operated in precisely the same measures. There subsisted a
thorough understanding between the pensionary de Witt and the count d'Estrees: the let-
ters of the most Christian king are full of acknowledgments of the services done him by
the pensionary; and, speaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of France and
England, he expressly declares, that nothing should be concluded in it contrary to the in-
terest of the United Provinces. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued
without warm opposition and loud clamours. The English and Spaniards had each their
faction in the states general, and both joined with the Orange family to distress de Witt, who
was thus forced into a dependence on France, by which he triumphed for a time over all

---

his adversaries. Spain, jealous of the growing power of France, laboured to form a federal union between the republic and the other ten provinces, for their mutual security. This d'Estrees travelled with all his address and influence with the pentinensy. In consequence de Wit drew up a counter-project, the apparent design of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, though the effect would probably have been to gain France possession of the Ten Provinces, without the trouble, hazard, or expense of a war. Lewis, however, was unwilling to be put off with the bare possibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to pollute: for this reason he continued the negotiation; but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an issue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealousy of the states, he laid aside the mask and the project together.

All this while Sir George Downing, the English ambassador, was supporting the negotiations of Gamarra, the Spanish minister, to form the league of the Seven Provinces we have already mentioned; but, incensed at the secret transactions between de Wit and d'Estrees, he had instructions to demand repARATION of the injuries done by the subjects of the states to the British commerce. A variety of circumstances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture between the two nations, to which this remonstrance was a prelude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies in every emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Reciprocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence, and each in his turn became the aggressor. Holland had, it is true, left unperformed several of the articles of the treaty of peace made with Cromwell; but England had baulanced these by similar neglects. One circumstance indeed highly reflected on the dignity of the British crown, namely, that no satisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her commerce in Asia, or atonement for the massacre at Ambon, except the unexecuted promise of a trifling sum of money. The Dutch contended themselves with penalties and prosecutions on this head, by which even Cromwell had been duped, and prevailed on to with-hold punishment, when he had the whole nation at his mercy: can we wonder if the inconstant, irresolute Charles, with all his natural penetration and good sense, which he never exerted, should be over-reached by their artifice? The Dutch, perceiving the humour of the English, knew that the king would be forced into violent measures: they therefore published a long charge against the English Envoy.

* D'ABLANCOURT's Memoirs, p. 162.

(A) As this point is curious, entirely omitted by Dutch writers, and only mentioned by the French, we shall present the reader with an abstract of de Wit's project, which was to the following purport. First, it was proposed, that endeavours should be used to prejudice the provinces under the dominion of Spain, in favour of a free republic; and that assurances should be given them of powerful succours from France and the republic. Secondly, That the revolution however should be effected by the voluntary consent of the inhabitants, and particularly the magistrates; for without this consent, no violence should be used, or arms introduced into the ten Spanish Provinces, as it was the intention of France and the republic to maintain their treaties with Spain. But in case of the king of Spain's death, the inhabitants of the省 should be cantonized by force, if necessary, and formed into a free republic. Thirdly, That to secure the frontiers of the United Provinces against all foreign powers, all possible efforts should be used, in case the scheme for forming the ten Provinces into a republic succeeded, to put into the hands of the most Christian king the cities and places of Cambray, St. Omer, Dix, Newport, Farnes, Bergues, and Lens, with their depending lordships and counties: and into those of the cities general of the United Provinces, the cities, towns, and places of Ostend, Platindal, Bruges, Douennes, Blenkenbergues, with that part of Guelderland now possessed by Spain, the four quarters of Oostenraef, and the callies of Novogage and Argenates, with their dependences. Fourthly, That if the proposed scheme of cantonment should succeed, either voluntarily before the decease of the king of Spain, or by compulsion after his death, both sides should heartily labour that the said places be put into the possession of France, and the states general respectively, as well for the considerations before alluded to, as for several other reasons of importance to the common welfare and peace of both states.

The alterations made by the court of France in this project, had an eye to the duration of the Spanish monarchy, and seemed to foresee what happened many years after, when the partition-treaty and triple alliance were formed, to prevent the enormous growth of France, and preserve a just political balance in Europe. Here the king already set aside the renunciation made by his queen of right to the Spanish succession, calling it null and invalid, because extorted from her at Fontarabia, before she came to France. He, besides, accused Spain of a breach of contract, and the non-performance of several of the conditions stipulated between the two courts. He alleged, that these truths were so well known in Flanders, that the principal inhabitants had jointly debated upon them. But the king added, that but for the becoming evils, and the more prudent had proposed, as the most effectual method, to canton themselves into a free republic, allied to France and the states general. The king, therefore, out of his great moderation, proposed, it being submitted to the king of Spain, to throw up his just claims in Flanders, and be contented that the people, who ought naturally to be under his government, should become free, and allied to the lords the states general, under his majesty's protection, except only some places, which lay commodiously to the king, for protecting the frontiers of his kingdom. To this he defined the allusion of the states general, and also their concurrence in preserving the treaties with Spain, during the life of the reigning monarch: and he further added, that, in case the succession of Spain devolved upon his queen, before the inhabitants had taken the resolution of forming themselves into a republic, that then his majesty should be at liberty to polices, for the greater security of his kingdom, such other places as might be thought necessary for the protection of his frontiers, besides those specified in the pentinensy's proposal. Such was the ideal scheme planned by M. de Wit and the court of France; from which, however, the states general, no other consequences than those which publicly appeared. England got scent of these negotiations, and it proved one cause of the succeeding rupture between that kingdom and the United Provinces; for it was obvious that the execution of such an object would greatly extend the power of France, and prejudice the commerce of Great Britain.
or Republic of Holland.

a India company, which likewise answered the purpose of an apology for their own conduct; and this was answered by a paper, proving that the charge was a deliberate affront of frivolous pretences, and unjust and insolent demands, made without any regard to honour, truth, reason, or the law of nations. Lifts of damages were mutually delivered, which both sides supported by several strong memorials. We have already specified these particulars in the history of the East India companies: it will therefore be unnecessary to say any more here, than that Charles declared to M. Canon, the Dutch resident in London, that he would receive no memorials from his hands, as he expected the states would send an ambassador in the manner promised by M. Bevercorte, when he took his leave. His majesty, besides, laid a great restriction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged in Holland; and he considered it as a particular mark of his regard for Amsterdam, that he confined the usual time of performing quarantine to thirty days, instead of forty. The prosecution would have been just, had the fact been true; but, in any event, it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as Holland, which, on this occasion, was fended out, in enmity to the penionary and the states of that province.

b DOWNING, indeed, by his violent remonstrances to the states, and the partial accounts remitted to England every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He insisted, in his memorials, of restitution of two India ships, called the Bonadventure, and Good Hope, as likewise of several other English ships, rather as scaffolds than the building, as collateral circumstances, but not the main foundation of the proposed rupture. This is obvious, from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty-five articles of damages now presented was contained. As to the India ships, the English were left, by agreement, to prosecute their claim; and eighty thousand florins were deposited by the Dutch company, by way of indemnification, should the decision turn out favourable to their adversaries. The Dutch alleged, that the English greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with respect to the India ships. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the dispute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural interest of both parties in the Guinea trade, and the extension of their commerce in America. Sir Robert Holmes had been dispatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa, to assert the rights of Great Britain, and check the encroachments of the Hollanders. This he executed very effectually, by despoothing them of Cape Verde, and Cabo de Corfo; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himself master of Nova Belgia, since called New York. These hostilities the Dutch commissaries on the coast of Guinea refuted, by detaining the English shipping and merchandise in the ports belonging to the republic. These vessels and effects belonged to the new-established Africa company, of which the duke of York was governor. Downing exclaimed against the insult offered to the king and duke, instead of giving satisfaction for the hostilities which had occasioned this retaliation. It is for this reason we cannot join issue with the English historians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the states general. Had they attributed it to Charles's resentment of the unatoned barbarities committed in the East Indies upon English subjects, their plea would have been passable; but to charge the Dutch with being the aggressors on the coast of Guinea, evidently proceeds from natural prejudice, and a superficial enquiry into the facts affected by both parties, and incontestably proved by the Hollanders.

c The grievances of the Dutch were still greater on the side of America. Hudjon, an English captain, had made a descent on the Dutch colonies, situated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north side of the continent of America. This was in the reign of James I. From that time the claims of the Dutch and English were extremely intricate. The situation was too remote to admit of a clear state of the objects in dispute. Mutual hostilities passed, and each endeavoured not only to support but to extend their settlements by force, fraud, and violence. Holmes attacked the Dutch by the king's authority; the Dutch with India company therefore carried their grievances before the states general: but before they could take any measures for redressing them, advice arrived that the English had landed on the island Montbattian, and had made themselves masters of the town of New Amsterdam. Downing not only supported this action, by affirming it was a consequence of the insults offered to Britains commerce on the coast of Guinea; but he so warmly espoused the interests of Sweden and Denmark, with respect to the Baltic trade, that it was manifest no terms could be long preferred. By this means he had the address to involve the states in disputes with the northern powers, the elector of Brandenburg, and even the French monarch, from whom Sweden received a subsidy. His conduct towards the house of Orange had inspired the elector with a personal animosity to the penionary of Holland; the same cause had irritated the king of England against this mi-

d Mod. Univ. His. vol. xvi. 8vo.

e Bannage, p. 715.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 7 M

niter s
The history of the United Provinces,

different, de Wit, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding against the impending blow was to unite closely with France, and sacrifice trivial claims to the real and necessary protection of that powerful prince. The project with respect to the cantonment of the Spanish Netherlands was again renewed, and the occasion seemed natural, as the king of Spain’s life was in great danger, and the infanta labouring under an acute fever. Matters proceeded so far, that four deputies were sent from the Ten Provinces, to confer upon the subject with M. de Wit. At last, after several conferences and proposals, they were divided, without coming to any resolution.

No sooner the project of forming a new republic vanished, than another was substituted. De Wit laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with France, whereby the house of Austria should be excluded from the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, in which the emperor Joseph marred the infanta of Spain. This was no other than a division of the provinces between France and the republic. But several difficulties arose in the execution. A mistake committed by d’Estrades, in deciphering a letter of instructions from his court, had almost broke off the negotiation. The ambassador insisted, that Ghent and Mechlin should be assigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be exposed to his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming, that he had never demanded the latter, and that his minister had mistaken the former for Cambrey. Now the greatest difficulty was to engage the deputies of the towns in his design, and this the petitioners effected by a very extraordinary stroke of policy, which, at the same time, dispays his knowledge of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He visited them, with all his apprehensions left the infidels should, after conquering the empire, penetrate into the Netherlands, and establish a footing in the vicinage of the republic. The court of France laughed at the wildness of M. de Wit’s project; but they were astonished when they perceived the effects, and that he drew from it the very consequence he proposed. He persuaded the deputies of the necessity of entering into a closer alliance with the king, whose power alone could stem the torrent of Turkish conquest, and protect the republic of Holland. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of visiting his uncle, he made the tour of Holland, and conferred in person with all the magistrates, while d’Estrades was taking the same measures in some of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote his scheme happened at Conflantipole, where the Dutch resident was arrested, because a Dutch ship, freighted by the grand signor to Alexandria, had fallen into the hands of the Maltese. Warner, the resident, was at length forced to pay the damages, upon which he was set at liberty. De Wit turned this circumstance to his advantage, and enflamed the people to such a degree, that the states laid an additional duty on all commodities from the Levant, until the losses of the resident should be indemnified. All the magistrates of the principal towns were now unanimously of opinion, that the republic ought to enter into the strictest ties with the French king. Some towns, however, opposed the scheme of a partition of the Netherlands, from an apprehension that this must embarrass the republic with Spain and the emperor.

A.D. 1654. While things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between France and England, and of an armament equipping by the former, said to be against the pontiff, excited jealousy in the states, and even alarmed the penioner, lest France might have secret designs of becoming entirely master of the Netherlands. The Spanish minister at the Hague likewise propagated a report, that a treaty between Spain, France, and England, was likewise in agitation, which produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this we may add, the revival of the old disputes between the provinces of Holland and the states general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both de Wit and the states began to apprehend they might bewildered themselves in such a labyrinth of intrigues, as should incur the displeasure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings of Spain and England, while they could have no reliance upon the friendship of the French monarch. This determined the penioner to act with more caution, and to call about for the means of avoiding a rupture with England, until the republic was fortified by alliances, or at least secured against the resentment of Spain and the empire. But this point was found impracticable. Hostilities had for long been pursued on the coast of Africa, and in America, that both nations were highly exasperated, and there appeared a necessity of terminating the quarrel by the sword. Wulchenberg, director-general for the Dutch East India company on the coast of Guiney, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company, but even of the states general, set forth a claim to the whole coast, and prohibited all other nations from settling in that quarter. The insolence of this order extremely irritated the English in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body resolved, that the wrongs, injuries, and indignities, done to his majesty by the subjects of the United

b Lettres de comte d’Estrades, June 1744.

Pro-
Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and America, and the dangers done to the English commerce, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade; his majesty was therefore intreated to take speedy and effectual methods for redressing the grievances of the nation, the commons alluring him they would assist him with their lives and fortunes.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the English parliament, and the mutual resentment of the parties, it was still a doubt whether a rupture might ensue, as de l'Isle strenuously opposed the coming to extremities. The states, however, determined to provide against the worst, and make the necessary preparations for war. The English company offered to defend the settlements on the coast of Africa at their own expense, on condition they were ceded to them in form. D'Epréades endeavoured to prevail on de Witt, and the leading personages, to embrace the proposal, as the most certain means of distressing the English by putting the African trade on a respectable footing; but as Ruyter was now upon that coast with a squadron, the states were willing to be first acquainted with the success of his expedition.

Mean time, a squadron commanded by admiral Opdam put to sea, and cruised upon the Flemish shore, to watch the designs of the British fleets; but he could not put a stop to the depredations committed by prince Rupert, who, before war was declared, had taken above a hundred Dutch merchantmen, laden with wine and fruit from Bouchard, and other French harbours. It was this circumstance that determined the states to send l'en fiançage in quality of ambassadoir to France, to implore a more effectual mediation than the king's promised guarantee, and to signify, that de Ruyter had been sent to the coast of America not to attack the ships, forts, and settlements of the English, but to protect the Dutch trade, and regain the losses of the Dutch merchants; an artifice which served only to exasperate the English, who now regarded the whole conduct of the states as insidious and designing.

In the beginning of the year they had invited Charles to act in concert with them, against the Algerines. The king complied, and a squadron was sent to the Mediterranean to join the Dutch. On the meeting of the squadrons, some difference arose about the honours of the sea: Ruyter complained that he was affronted; Lawson, the English admiral, denied it; but the Dutchmen, under this pretext, parted company, failed for the coast of Africa, and reduced all the places lately taken by the English, except the fortification at Cape Coad. He besides battered and feizd upon fort Comante, which had always been an English settlement.

He also feizd upon eight English merchantmen just arrived, and appropriated their cargoes to the West India company. To render their treacherous schemes still more unsuspected, they came to a resolution of communicating to the court of London their intention of sending a small squadron to the coast of America, such as could afford no apprehension that they proposed acting offensively. This, at least, is the charge of the English historians; and indeed it must be confessed, that the conduct of the states was extremely ambiguous; but whether from necessity, irresolution, or design, we cannot pretend to determine.

While Europe was in suspense about the issue of the intrigues carried on in France, England, Spain, and Holland, the Dutch, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in commerce, were disturbed by some alarms from Denmark, the empire, and the busy reliefs bishop Munster. The Danes complained that the Hollanders had monopolized the trade of Africa; and every measure which might accelerate and injure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of London. It was artfully intimated at Copenhagen, that the states proposed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coast of Guinea; the court of Vienna was reminded of the injuries and oppressions sustained by the subjects of the empire, of the enterprising disposition of the Dutch, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the bishop of Munster was taught, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himself upon a republic, whole meddling policy had obstructed the accomplishment of his favourite projects. The Danes however were awed by the importance of the Dutch trade to their dominions, and the revenue arising from the duties they paid in the Sound; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repelling the infidels: he even went so far as to propose an alliance to the states general, which they rejected, from an apprehension it might give umbrage to the French monarch. As to the bishop of Munster, Downing the English minister found him more ready to listen to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controversy about some lands, with the prince of Liechtenstein. The process was determined in his favour by the imperial chamber at Spiras; and believing it necessary to profit by this award, the bishop used force, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the states general. He surprised fort Eyseler, garrisoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this proceeding, the states complained that their frontier was in danger; and the bishop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were sufficiently guarded by

Bassage, pag. 725.

other
other fortifications. France and Spain wanted to accommodate the difference, and offered their mediation; but the bishop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would suffer no violence to be done the prelate, and the approaching war between England and Holland, which he foresew would give sufficient employment to the states general.

Incensed at the interposition of the emperor, and his evident partiality in favour of the bishop, the states presented spirited remonstrances to the court of Vienna, and shewed the necessity they were under of securing the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a distance so enterprising a neighbour as the bishop, and depriving him of his late acquisition. As this produced no effect, they wrote to the bishop, that unless he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to invest Eydelter. The firmness of the states staggered the resolution of the bishop; he now despatched an envoy to the Hague, began a negotiation, and had the address to prevail on the states to recall the prince of Nassau, who was laying siege to the town. However, the conferences were broke off, the war renewed, and the prince of Nassau sent with an army to lay siege to Wilder-ksen, a strong place, before which he died of a putrid fever. We shall have occasion to relate the progress of the war in its proper place.

The situation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war with a bold, resolute, ambitious priest, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with England, the most powerful maritime power in Europe. The king of England, inflamed by his brother the duke of York, who never forgot the usage he received at the Hague during his exile, and was besides inflamed with a violent desire of signaling himself against a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with Holland, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the sword. Mutual animosity rather than interest actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought some advantage, and acquisition of territory to the victor; but the naval engagements which now cost such fees of blood, produced nothing but glory, and terminated wholly in twining laurels round the temples of a few general officers. Every superiority gained was dearly purchased; and it answered no other purpose, besides the destruction of a greater number of the human species, the sinking, burning, and blowing up of vessels, which had been built at the expense of oppressive taxes upon the subjects. The commerce, even of the conqueror, must suffer irreparably, where the powers at war are upon a nearly equal footing in strength; and it may be questioned, whether the word peace between trading nations be not preferable to the most successful war. The states were sensible of this truth, perhaps too late; and after the mutual hostilities committed, had fixed both nations to a degree of resentment, not to be appeased but by repeated trials of skill and fortune. The prodigality of the king of England likewise urged him upon this expedient from the supplies which might necessarily be granted for the prosecution of the war, he foresew he should be able to with-hold considerable sums for the support of his pieufures. Besides, that prince had a taste for ship-building, and a passion for equipping such an armament as should give law to all the maritime powers of Europe.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the states solicited the mediation of France, by means of Van Buiningen, whole vivacity, genius, and oratory, began now to give him distinction, and raise his reputation high in the esteem of Lewis. The French king seemed to yield to the intrigues of the Dutchman, at the very time it was suspected he was supplying his brother the king of England with money to maintain the war, which now appeared inevitable. Another circumstance likewise contributed to render the situation of the republic, with respect to France, very dubious. Several French ships, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of Holland; particularly five large vessels bought up for the service of the East India company. These the Dutch fitted out for the use of their own company; they were reclaimed by d'Esandrés, in divers fruitless memorials; but the states alleged, that the embargo which the approaching war with England renders necessary, ought to extend to the shipping of all foreigners. Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the Dutch were soliciting the friendship of France publicly by their ambassador, they were implying his mediation between them and the king of England, and yet they were privately taking such measures, as they ought to know must have confirmed France in the interest of their enemies. Such untried measures can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that subsisted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions supported by de Witt on the one hand, and the friends of the house of Orange on the other. That minister was fixed in the interest of Lewis, while the opposite party watered between their respect for England, and the necessity of keeping upon fair terms with France, at the same time that they secretly obstructed the designs

* Bannage, p. 722. 1 Woerterfeit, Hist. pag. 15. Lettres d'Esandrés. du 17, m. 1665.
or Republic of Holland.

and projects of the pensioner. This explains the detention of the shipping; a measure merely calculated to traverse de Wit's schemes. The nation in general had no opinion of the sincerity of France; they complained, that Lewis only watched an opportunity of seizing upon the Netherlands, and to gratify his indignation, and stop the cravings of his ambition, they joined issue with de Wit about restoring the shipping; which they did in terms the most honourable and submissive.

Nor was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The dispute about the shipping was no obstacle to the negotiations of Bunningen, who kept his majesty steadily in the overtures to England, of his mediation. However, the ambassadour, by express order of the states, had given such a turn to affairs as highly displeased Lewis. While they pretended to relax in numberless points, they closely adhered in fact to their old terms, which obliged the king to complain, in the most lively manner, that they trifled with him, by offering to England conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the present state of affairs, he could not afford the least hope of accommodation; and that, if some proposals were not made relative to the future settlement of trade, he should have reason to suspect their designs were to engross the whole commerce of the world. This did not move the resolution of the states: they knew it was Lewis's interest to support the Leursfein faction against the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle the king of England; and, in fact, notwithstanding the firmness of the states, and the many cautions of displeasure they had given, Lewis strongly inclined in favour of the pensioner, and particularly respected the creature of that minister, Van Bunningen. Yet he was apprehensive of declaring against Charles, lest he should throw himself into the arms of Spain, whither that prince had now dispatched an ambassadour. To gain time, this politic monarch sent the duke de Fereval, at the head of a splendid ambassage to London, with further orders of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for several months, though his conferences proved fruitless. The truth is, he found that the republic had not prepared a sufficient fleet to oppose the English; he had been misinformed as to the strength of the Dutch naval armament, and had strongly recommended a defensive war, and keeping close in their harbours. It was matter of aloofment to him, to find that the states had actually in commission a fleet of three hundred men of war, besides traders, yachts, and fireships, manned with twenty thousand seamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of Holland, made him now regard the republic with more respect. To find that such an armament should be equipped without any noise, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inspire him with sublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vast extent of her commerce.

While the French king was thus ballancing between England and Holland, the duke of York set sail in the month of May, and cruized for fifteen days before the Texel, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ships, homeward bound, before the Dutch fleet had assembled. On the duke's return to Harwich, the fleets of Holland and Zeeland joined; but they were dispersed by a storm, and several ships forced into the English ports. Again they rendezvouz'd at the mouth of the Meuse, to the number of one hundred and twenty sail, exclusive of fireships, ketches, &c. under the command of admirals Opdam, Everettez, Cartenmaur, and Van Tromp, who had lost his life in the last war. The utmost resolution and spirit appeared in all the officers and seamen, all emulous of the opportunity of signalizing themselves, and of recovering the lost honour of the republic; for such they deemed the humble supplications made to the usurper Cromwell. The pensioner himself went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promises of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to sea, where he delivered the order of the states to fight the English at all hazards. Opdam, in compliance with his instructions, proceeded in quest of the enemy; but the wind blowing in such a manner as to give the English the weather-gage, he chose rather to deviate from the orders of the states, and bear away for the Meuse, than risk a defeat by fighting under a disadvantage. His conduct incensed the pensioner, whose interest now predominated in the republic. De Wit had resolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce France to declare for the states; he therefore obtained an order, requiring Opdam, under pain of death, to seek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at instructions that strongly reflected on his courage: he perceived the orders had been dictated by de Wit, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the house of Orange, and resolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully discharging his duty, and demonstrating the injustice of the aspersion, and the prejudices of the pensioner. With this view he weighed anchor on the third day of April, and in a few hours fell in with the English fleet, of equal force, and under the conduct of the duke.

---

"Lettres de comte d'Etsele, p. 1665.  "Baininge, p. 742."
The history of the United Provinces,

The Dutch fleet is defeated by the English.

of York, the earl of Sandwich, Sir George Aisquich, and the admirals Peu and Lasen, who had so eminently distinguished themselves under the protectorate. The fleets met between Yarmouth and Harwich; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides maintained it with their usual intrepidity, conduct, and animosity. Opdam is blamed for suffering the English to gain the weather-gage, but unjustly; circumstances would not suffer it should be otherwise, and yet he was under the necessity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and shewed them his instructions. "We must," says he, "pluck laurel or the cypress; there is no alternative." He would even seem to have some foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he sent all the money back to Holland immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a sea-fight more confused or terrible; scarce a ship kept to its proper station, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valor. The duke and Opdam, by a reciprocal mistake, fought ship to ship with the most desperate fire. Three perfection of quality were killed by the side of the duke of York, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and soon after admiral Opdam, with a great number of volunteers of distinction, were blown up into the air, and crumbled into ashes. Above fix hundred men perished by this accident, which arose from a spark of fire falling into the powder-room. His flag was hoisted by Cartenaar, who was soon killed by a cannon-ball, that carried away his leg. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have separated the combatants, had not several Dutch captains withdrawn themselves. They had been promoted, by the interest of the prevailing faction, as spies on the conduct of Opdam, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and some in courage. The enemy profited by their negligence, and pushed with redoubled vigour the ships that continued in the line. Evartsen, and even Tromp, defended themselves with the utmost obstinacy; but the former was obliged to shift his flag, and have his ship towed away. This circumstance, and the destruction of several of the ships, either devoured by the flames, or swallowed up by the ocean, first introduced confusion, which was succeeded by an unusual dependancy: in a word, the Dutch were defeated with the loss of eighteen ships, either sunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near six thousand mariners, besides two of the best admirals in Holland. Van Tromp, however, made an admirable retreat, and by his valour, and the skill of his disposition, prevented the enemy from pursuing a victory they had purchased with the loss of the brave admiral Lasen, two thousand seamen, and seven capital ships.

Admiral Evartsen was the first who brought the report of this defeat to the Brille, where the people were so exasperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reason to approve his conduct. It was with the utmost difficulty he could pass under cover of the night to the Hague, to lay the situation of affairs before the states: his narrative overwhelmed them with consternation. The Orange party demanded an immediate peace with England, and the elevation of the prince of Orange to the stadtholdership. M. de Witt was greatly disappointed in his fannous hopes of victory. However, he supported his opinions with a resolution, that shewed he was prepared for the worst that could happen. He did not, nevertheless, openly oppose the faction; but he answered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the French king. He procured an immediate order for Van Tromp to keep the sea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminish the glory of the conquerors, suffuse the reputation of the republic, and persuade the people that the defeat was less decisive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly sent to Tromp; but he refused to run further hazards with officers, in whose skill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependence. Upon this several captains were tried for cowardice and negligence of duty; three were shot; four had their swords ignominiously broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were superceded and declared incapable of service, and the chief pilot was sentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which he was beheaded.

By these rigid and just punishments the states gratified the officers of merit, answered the public expectation, and inspired the seamen with a spirit of emulation, a dread of the consequences of negligence, and with respect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmost expedition was used in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for de Ruyter, daily expected from the coast of Africa, with his greatly inferior squadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no easy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. Van Tromp had skill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the seamen, but he had disobeyed the deputies sent with orders from the states. He was beheaded attached to the house of Orange,
or Republic of Holland.

which, in rendering him suspected by the pensioner, proved a great obstacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occasion only that de Witt subjected his private resentments to the public good; he had often raised merit without respect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of opposite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. Van Tromp was now without a rival in talents, and he was fet at the head of the navy until the arrival of de Ruyter, an old officer, of at least equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly esteemed by the pensioner. In this post he had not continued long, when Ruyter arrived, after having happily escaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no sooner arrived in the port of Delfzil, in Groningen, than the sailors mutinied, inflicting upon being sent on shore and disbanded, before any orders came from the states. They were disgusted with the toilsome, tedious, and sickly voyage: they dreaded being immediately again sent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the English had used their prisoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence, which the admiral repose in his honour, the leave he gave them to visit their friends upon their promise to return on the first notice, secured them in his interest so strongly, that not an individual defected.

The safe arrival of de Ruyter's squadron diffused the utmost satisfaction and spirits; it was particularly agreeable to the pensioner, whose intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-admiral-general. The council of state made the proposal to the states of Holland, who immediately accepted it, ordering de Ruyter to take the oaths, receive his commission, and enter upon his employment. Tromp complained of the preference given to his rival, and refused to serve in a subordinate capacity; but the states sent orders for the fleet to sail immediately to sea, for Tromp to keep the faction appointed him, and denounced vengeance against the least opposition to their will, being determined to pursue the general good, without regarding the humours of party, and of disappointed ambition. So impatient was de Witt for the departure of the fleet, that to accelerate matters he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he exposed thereby his fortune and character to the cenure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his defection of his proper business on so critical an occasion. The French king was alarmed at so unprecedented a measure; and his own party imagining he intended serving in the expedition, being left without a head, funk into depondency. His friends applied to him, and M. de Witt's answer plainly indicated what were his resolutions. He resolved to hazard his life, and replied, "My person and my interest are inseparable from the preservation of the state; a second naval engagement will determine the fate of my country. Tromp has ability and courage; but he may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his superior, and in experience to conduct an important action. The impetuosity and ardor of the officers may blind their judgment and occasion the loss of the fairest opportunities, and those rivalships may generate divisions; I therefore think my honour, my conscience, and my duty to my country, require that I should prevent the fatal consequences either of too much pride, or too much valour."

DE WIT's inflexibility raised an universal clamour; he was accused of having brought the republic into the most imminent danger, and then deferring the helm, at the moment his steadiness and ability were most required. At Paris it was believed, that he took this step to avoid the perfecution of his enemies. The clergy in Holland, always attached to the house of Orange, declined violently from the pulpit against the administration, and the states were under the necessity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs; however they still persisted, and some of them were suspended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the state, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, which could only be appeased by violent remedies, and the execution of the ringleaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverse winds, shallow water, and other accidents, while the king of England was meditating a project, the success of which must deeply affect the commerce of Holland, and strike at the being of the republic. A vast fleet of East India and Turkey merchantmen, having failed north-about to avoid the English' cruisers, put into Bergen in Norway, where they proposed laying until de Ruyter should conduct them to Holland. It was proposed to the king of Denmark, by the English envoy at Copenhagen, that he should seize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his losses in the Swedish war, in which the Dutch had involved him. The Northern monarch could not withstand the powerful temptation; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the measure highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute so important an enterprise. This was directly his language to the Dutch some years before, when they advised the seizure of the English merchantmen put into Copenhagen, to avoid their squadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of England's assistance, which
The history of the United Provinces,

which he did not fail to embrace; upon this the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize should be equally divided. Lord Sandwich had orders to sail immediately to Norway to execute the project; but he contented himself with dispatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the Dutch with great imprudence. As the governor of Bergen had not yet received orders to join the English, or even remain passive, he thought himself bound by the laws of nations, to protect a fleet that had taken shelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the Hollander, and gave it a warm reception to the English admiral, as forced him, with considerable damage, to abandon the enterprise; both kings reaping only the dishonour of so base a compact.

Scarce had the count d'Allefeld delivered the Dutch merchants from the hands of the English, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large sum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his Danes majesty sustained upon their account. This unjust claim he was preparing to enforce by violent measures, when, fortunately, de Ruyter arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet set sail for Holland. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent storm, dispersed, shattered, and some of the ships thrown into the hands of the English, the remainder arriving in a wretched plight, in different parts of the United Provinces. The utmost expedition was used in collecting and repairing the ships, so that in a short time a more powerful squadron than the former put to sea, under the same commanders, and with much the same fortune. A storm arose more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his shattered armament.

Nevertheless the elements seemed combined against the republic, the states, encouraged by de Wit, resolved upon one more effort, for fear the English, who had suffered in the same tempest, should have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the spoils of the Dutch commerce. The vigilance and activity of the pensioner met with the thanks of the states: he was the actuating spring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmost diligence to strike some decisive blow, which might at the same time silence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. It must, however, be confessed, that the terrible plague which was at this time decimating the capital of Great Britain, contributed more to the security of Holland, than all the endeavours of the states and M. de Wit. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's disposition, damped the spirit of the English, enfeebled every resolution, and infused a languor into the councils of that nation.

While the third expedition was preparing, the states general proposed revoking the commission granted to the deputies de Wit, Huygen, and Boreel, to attend the armament, which they believed dispirited the officers, and rendered men who had not studied the art of war, the chief directors of military operations. This was opposed by the states of Holland, who not only refused to comply with the states general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the pensioner resigned his naval employment. Ruyter was appointed for his services, with a present from the admiralty of Amsterdam, and invited to sit as president of that college, until the seaman permitted his putting to sea.

At this time the king of France kept aloof. He apprehended de Wit's party should, in his absence, be forced to sink under the weight and popularity of the opposite faction, now greatly strengthened by the pensioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. Van Buiningen plied his majesty closely, and endeavoured by every artifice to draw France into the quarrel; but could obtain only general assurances, until the arrival of M. de Vaal from Bergen, when he ordered his ambassador to declare to the states, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promised guarantee. To give this declaration the stronger air of sincerity, the ambassador presented to the states a memorial, drawn up by his court, respecting the operations of war, should it be found necessary to come to an absolute rupture with England. Here it was examined whether the war ought to be pushed with vigour, and determined by general battles, or spun out, in order to tire the English nation, and rouze the clamours of the people against the government. Lewis hoped, he said, to become master in the Mediterranean, with a fleet of twelve French men of war, joined by an equal number of the ships of the republic. He proposed blocking up Tangier, now annexed to the crown of England, by the king's marriage with the infant of Portugal, and thereby to disturb and annoy the British trade to the Levant. As to the grand fleets, Lewis proposed maintaining a squadron of thirty-two capital men of war, to act in conjunction with the Dutch fleet, which he expected should at least be as numerous as it was before he entered into a treaty with the republic. A variety of schemes were likewise proposed for disturbing the common enemy; though, in fact, Lewis had not yet finally resolved to break with England, and was actually mediating a pacification, by which
which he hoped to obtain greater advantages than if he came to extremities, and forced Charles into an union with Spain.

In this fluctuating situation was France, upon the return of M. de Vivit, and his refraining the employment of pensioner. It soon appeared what the presence of one great man can effect in a state, whose counsellors are languid, and distracted by opposite opinions and interests. The pensioner no sooner arrived at the Hague than the face of affairs were changed, and fresh vigour and spirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were silenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wisdom, the policy, and the sagacity of the pensioner, who now was deemed the life and soul of the states. The enemies of the republic were multiplying; but her resources and strength seemed likewise augmented by the ardour inspired by de Vivit, who made sure that his return would engage France openly to declare against Great Britain. Van Galen, bishop of Munster, excited by ambition, and engaged by a considerable subsidy from Charles II., determined to pursue his inextinguishable animosity to the states. This prelate perceived that the whole attention of the provinces was employed in equipping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garrisoning their strong holds, in order the more readily to man and fit out their squadrons. In Guelderland and Overasself the fortifications were totally neglected, and all considerations for so petty, though implacable an enemy, as the bishop of Munster, absorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence against the powerful monarchy of Great Britain. Van Galen resolved either to profit by this conjuncture, or to lose his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of Overasself, at the head of eight thousand men, feigning upon Almelo, and other places, before any measures were concerted to stop his progress. Bertcius alone made any resistance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the bishop, who, as soon as he had it in his power, slaughtered in cold blood the soldiers and burgheers, without distinction. Terror diffused itself through all the provinces; and the states of Holland, and the pensioner, laboured diligently to apply remedies to a disorder, observed when too late. New levies were made, a treaty struck up with the duke of Lunenburg, and instructions sent to Van Buiningen to demand of the French king the six thousand auxiliaries stipulated by the treaty.

every day the bishop was increasing his strength, and acquiring fresh vigour by his successes. Not satisfied with ravaging Overasself, he meditated an enterprise against the city of Groningen, the capital of a province of that name. Leaving a part of his army to reftis the forces raising by the dukes of Lunenburg, Zell, and the bishop of Osnoburg, he marched into the heart of Groningen, with intention first of surprizing Delfzijl, in which the English promised to assist him; but a party of his troops being repulsed with loss, by a small corps formed out of the neighbouring garrisons, defeated his design. However, he proceeded, after ravaging the territory of Drent, to lay siege to Groningen, into which the princes of Friesland threw herself and family, to animate the garrison by her presence; a resolution worthy of the daughter of prince Frederic-Henry of Orange. She had sold her plate and jewels to raise a sufficient body of men for the defence of the city, and took such vigorous measures as retarded the operations of the enemy, and gave time for the Dutch forces and the French auxiliaries to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and she was the instrument of the safety of Groningen, expressly contrary to the commands of the princes of Orange, who wished to see the bishop successful, that the administration of the pensioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army, the bishop was forced to raise the siege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the ensuing campaign.

Lewis’s first step towards a declaration in favour of Holland, was the body of auxiliaries he had sent to check the aspiring views of the bishop of Munster. He now went farther, recalling his ambassadors from England, and taking every measure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The suspence he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and consequently the power of the republic, occasioned his so long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king Charles into an union with Spain; but he was now more apprehensive of the ruin of the republic, since the real state of affairs had been presented to him by the count d’Estrades, who demonstrated, that the strength of a commercial people was not always to be effimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this that he recalled his ambassador from London, and in the month of January declared war against England.
interest, by virtue of a large subsidy; in consideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service. The judicious distribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour, and the bishop of Munster, who had lately been so formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raised against him by the republic. Little confidence however was placed in the doubtful conduct of Lewis, who seemed equally inclined to serve the states, and avoid entering the lists with Charles. Friends and enemies in vain looked out for the French fleet, to give the English battle, and join the Dutch squadron; but the admiral had the address never to be found, while his court was flattering with the states about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it should belong to Beaufort the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant-admiral of Holland. The mode of operations were likewise disputed, and at last each determined to pursue their own particular views and interests, without regard to the common cause. It was the design of the Hollanders to come to a general engagement, to which Lewis was averse, left his own infant marine might be destroyed, or the English power sustain such a blow as would give too great a naval superiority to the republic.

When the Dutch fleet was ready, Ruyter put to sea, in three divisions, assisted by the admirals Evertzoon, Tromp, Moppel, Nes, and Vries, the whole fleet consisting of eighty-three capital men of war, besides theketches, tenders, and fireships. To prevent confusion, each of these squadrons was subdivided under the conduct of an admiral, the signals were all agreed upon, and in this order they proceeded in quest of the enemy. As to the English, they were equal in number; but the duke of York declined taking the command, because his force would be unequal, should the French fleet join itself to the Hollanders: the command therefore was given to prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, the fame officer who had distinguished himself by the name of Monk in the last war. On advice that the French squadron approached, prince Rupert failed with twenty-five ships in quest of the duke of Beaufort, who was laid to be cruising off Bellisle, ready to enter the Channel. By this separation the advantage was greatly on the side of the Hollanders: however, Albemarle bravely resolved upon giving battle; for which purpose he bore down upon Ruyter on the first day of June, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The Dutch admirals, no less eager to engage, fipt their cables, that they might be the more able to close with the enemy. Both sides were determined to exert their utmost valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had shewn the most skill, obstinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled intrepidity. Tromp and de Ruyter were both forced to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage as rendered them unfit for service. While Sir William Berkley, an English admiral, failed with his division into the midst of the Dutch fleet, where, after a gallant resistance, he was killed, and his ship taken; Evertzoon was engaged in person with Albemarle, and after an obstinate engagement, killed, but as two of his ships blew up. Several ships were sunk and destroyed on both sides; yet the battle raged with unremittent fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either side full of admiration of each others ability, intrepidity, and obstinate resistance.

Next day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardor, desperately crowded into the midst of the English, attacking with the utmost efforts of valour, guided by conduct; but his strength proving unequal, he was reduced to the last extremity, when de Ruyter, his mortal enemy, generously came up to his relief, rushed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival in glory and interest, with a dignity of mind that cannot be sufficiently applauded. By this time the Dutch were reinforced with sixteen ships, and the English shattered in such a manner, that not above thirty sail remained fit for action. This determined the duke of Albemarle, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardour of a youthful warrior, to make the best of his way for England, and leave the glory of victory to the Dutch, after he had shewn them how deferring their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the best order possible, and was closely pursed by de Ruyter, when a calm ensued, that prevented the Hollanders from beginning a fresh attack.

Not all the horrors of the battle, which was desperate beyond description, could discourage the Dutch: they determined to pursue the advantage obtained by their superiority; while the duke of Albemarle, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, disposing his fleet in a rear-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze springing up about four next morning, Ruyter bore down a third time, and began the action; when the duke discovered prince Rupert and his squadron to the southward, making all the sail in his g power to come in for a share in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this

* Comte d'Estrader Lettres.
feasable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of Ruyter to prevent their junction, though with the loss of a first rate, commanded by admiral Ayscough, that had the misfortune to strike upon the Gellipper-Sands, where she was surrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous resistance. The endeavours of the several admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage, by a variety of different motions, continued the third day; but on the fourth the battle was again renewed with the same impetuosity, as if all the ships had come fresh to the engagement. Four successive charges were sustained and given by both admirals, who, like Caesar and Pompey, fought as if the one would not suffer a superior, or the other an equal: at last, a thick fog interposed, under cover of which the English retired; but with so formidable an appearance as gave them some title to dispute the victory, which the Dutch claimed. Ruyter twice broke the enemy's line in the last day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ships, and burnt or sunk an equal number. The slaughter on both sides was prodigious, and hardly a ship of either side escaped undamaged: in a word, it was the opinion of de Witt, who was no friend to the English, "That, if they were defeated, their misfortune resulted more to their honour than all their former victories. No fleet but theirs, after the severe usage of the first day, would have continued an engagement for three successive days longer. Englishmen may be killed, English ships may be burned, but English courage is invincible." Such a testimony from an inveterate and judicious enemy, reflects real honour on the nation (A).

Though, in consequence of these bloody engagements, neither the English nor Dutch were able to keep the sea, both had vast resources: they exercised them to the utmost, and both fleets soon felt as formidable as before. De Ruyter had orders to join the French squadron under the duke of Beaufort, who had artfully suffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's squadron in the quarrel. Even the English themselves allow, that had he joined de Ruyter when he might, the victory must have been decisive, and the consequent fatal to the naval power of Great Britain, which however was by no means the intention of the most Christian monarch. De Witt applied with his usual activity to repair the fleet; and the great object of the states was to destroy the English shipping, in the docks and yards, in the river Thames. With this intention they felt safe on the tenth of July; but some accounts received from England, and the ignorance of the pilots with respect to the foundlings, obliged him to lay aside the enterprise. It was next proposed to make a descent on the coast of England, near Harwich; but all the places of debarkation were found so well lined with troops, that this scheme too was found impracticable, and a resolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of war by another general engagement. By the twenty-fourth he fell in with the duke of Albermarle and prince Rupert, who commanded a fleet of one hundred sail, while de Ruyter's did not amount to eighty-two men of war and some fire ships. Flushed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuosity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and spirit; but Evertsen, brother to the admiral of that name killed in the last engagement, was at length surrounded, overpowered, and defeated by Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, with the loss of three inferior admirals, and dreadful slaughter of the seamen. Van Tromp, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue squadron; but, pursuing the chase too eagerly, he was entirely cut off and separated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between de Ruyter and the duke of Albermarle. Here Ruyter sustained for three hours the utmost efforts of the whole British fleet, maintained the fight with seven ships only in the line, and at last yielded the victory, not until his men were so wounded, faint, and exhausted, as to be unable to work the ships, and keep up a continued regular fire.

(A) Though bonfires were made in London, and thanksgivings for the victory ordered to be observed in all the churches, cannon must confes, that victory decayed clearly on the side of Holland, though obtained with the most terrible carnage. Three admirals and seven captains were killed; above two thousand seamen were thrown dead into the sea, to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ships taken by the enemy, but four were sunk, and otherwise destroyed, and the whole miserably shattered. Ruyter and Van Tromp had wished their flags to fix different ships; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompense of all the danger and labour they had undergone. Lord Ardguing, the English secretary of state, in fact, acknowledges that the king's fleet was defeated.

In a letter to Sir William Temple he expresses himself thus: "Neither do I take pleasure in repeating any thing of this engagement. This advantage, I am sure, they had of us, that they have carried home their trophies; whereas we have not one, what we took being all drowned or burnt." He might have added still more indisputable proofs, though this testimony from a minister will alone appear sufficient. As to what bishop Burnet and other writers allege, of the penitentary de Witt's being in the engagement, it has no foundation in truth. The penitentary, indeed, visited the fleet before it set sail; but the clausurae ratified against his last expedition, deterred him from repeating the experiment.
fire. It was now only he made that signal to retreat, which was readily observed by all the fleet, which was saved from destruction by the feabolable calm that ensued. De Ruyter's disposition, however, was so excellent as to deter the victors from pursuing; and indeed his conduct through the whole action was so cool, resolute, and determined, that even his defeat added lustre to his former glory. Had he been duly supported by Tromp, the victory would at least have proved doubtful.

Now the English crowed in pursit of Van Tromp, who had been separated from the main fleet ever since that desperate effort by which he broke through their line. They discovered him near Harwich, and attacked him with vigour; but that gallant officer sustained the shock with such admirable firmness as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loss to the Texel; notwithstanding which loud complaints were made by Ruyter to the states, that the loss of the battle was owing to his rashness and misconduct. The number of killed and wounded was very considerable on both sides: some writers alleged, that the Dutch lost above two thousand men, besides three admirals. How warmly Ruyter had been engaged, we may judge from the loss on board his own ship, in which two hundred men were killed, and near an equal number wounded. Twelve captains were besides slain, and seven ships funk and destroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the English by its consequences. The Dutch took sanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, terrifying their coasts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the states were turned into mourning; and as the expectations of the populace are always fagnune upon every instance of prosperity, their clamours and discontents rise in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embarras the government still more, the animosity between the two best admirals of the republic broke out with redoubled violence; their retentions were now implacable, and their hatred mortal. The feamen likewise, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two opposite factions, came to blows, and threatened the dissolution of the government. Tromp was supported by the house of Orange, and greatly beloved, on account of his generosity and valour, by all the feamen; yet had the states courage enough to supercede him, and prosecute his family for a paper they published in his justification, because it reflected on their conduct. The French king, however, did justice to his merits, by sending him the order of St. Michael, his picture finely set with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, testifying his senfe of that gallant conduct which had brought off a small squadron of no more than eight ships, though furiously attacked by thirty ships of the enemy. It was nevertheless true, that his imputousy in the beginning of the action had occasioned the succeeding misfortunes, though he now gloriously effaced that error. In his defence he says, "I cannot suffer de Ruyter, actuated by envy and animosity, to stain my honour with so disfaggareable a reflection, as to attribute the enemy's success to my wilful misconduct. Errors I may have committed; but my private retentions shall ever yield to the interest of my country. The most glorious triumph I could wish over my rival, would be to approve myself worthy of his esteem and gratitude."

Meantime M. Buat, a discarded domestic of the prince of Orange, had, by the instigation of lord Arlington, the English minister, entered into secret measures for concluding a peace, separating France from Holland, and restoring the prince of Orange to all the honours held by his ancestors. This plot was discovered by a blunder committed by Buat, who, instead of another letter, delivered lord Arlington's to the pensionary. De Wit was altogether with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by Buat, who was feized, imprisoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above sixty accomplices, some of them the principal personaes in Holland; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's desire of saving his own life, many of the persons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, Buat suffered upon a public scaffold, and the plot was suppressed.

To fill up the measure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the English fleet entered the road of Vles, under Sir Robert Holmes, piloted by a Dutch skipper, and burned one hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coast (B), the whole damage being computed at six millions. It is the opinion of some writers, that this enterprise formed a part of the conspiracy for which Buat was executed; but the conjecture is rejected by the best historians. The merchants, on whom this immense loss fell, raised loud clamours against the government, and endeavoured to

\* Bashage, pag. 775.

(B) This village was called Brondaris, in the island of Schelling, a rich, populous, and flourishing place, containing above a thousand families, all of which were now reduced to extreme misery, their effects having been pillaged, or consumed in the flames.
The Orange faction reared up her head; and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with such a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herself, and implored a pacification; but the spirit of de Witt was invincible, and the resources of his genius inexhaustible. He applied himself diligently to the means of quieting the seditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to prosecute the war with vigour. In this design he gained the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expense. He approved himself master of the art of governing parties, by a due attention to their passions and interests. By the proper and judicious distribution of a large sum of money, he appeased all the mutineers in the fleet, and the discontent among the seamen; while d’Estrades, the French minister, was no less successful in his practices upon the states. Had the court of France intended the destruction of the republic, as is intimated by some writers, it needed only to withdraw her countenance upon this occasion. The very exisitence of the states depended on the pleasure of Lewis; his sentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preserve a rival to the maritime power of England: accordingly, the king no sooner received advice of the defeat of the Dutch fleet, and the disturbed condition of the government, than he determined to rouse his infant naval force, the first and dearest child of his policy, reared by the hand of the sable Colbert. The duke de Beaufort now had express orders to join the Dutch fleet, and to act in the most vigorous manner against the common enemy. Accordingly he returned to Rochelle, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction, as soon as the allies of France should be ready to put to sea. M. Bellesfonte was dispatched to the Hague, to concert with the penonary and the count d’Estrades the most probable means of accomplishing this delicate and important measure, with the utmost safety and expedition; yet, after all, de Witt harboured suspicions of the French sincerity, and a warm altercation passed between him and M. de Lionne.

These disputes did not divert the penonary’s attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible short time. It put again to sea under de Ruyter, with instructions to cruise between the freights of Dover and the mouth of the river Thames, to watch every motion of the English, until it was certainly known in what manner the French king intended to dispose of the duke de Beaufort’s squadron. Ruyter set sail on the tenth of September, and had no sooner arrived at his station than Prince Rupert’s fleet was descried at a distance, bearing down full sail before a favourable gale. The Dutch writers allege, that de Ruyter had thrown out the signal to engage, and his ships were clearing for that purpose, when the interception of night, and abating of the wind, obliged Prince Rupert to retire. Others go so far as to affirm, that his disposition disconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave Ruyter an opportunity of clearing for several hours; the very contrary of which is reported by English historians. It is certain that a storm came on, which damaged both fleets considerably, and reduced the Dutch admiral to take shelter in St. John’s road, near Boulogne. Here he was feigned with a fever, and the whole fleet grew sickly; upon which the states sent orders for him to return to Holland. As to the duke of Beaufort, he failed up the Channel as far as Dieppe, upon a supposition that the Dutch were still in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and finding his mistake, directed his course to the coast of Brittany, where three ships in the rear of the squadron fell in with the English, maintained an obstinate engagement, and were defeated with the loss of one man of war.

It was upon the return of the fleet that the states resolved to send three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the assistance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of Zealand and Friesland, which were each to send a deputy, disapproved of the measure. This determined M. de Witt, nominated by Holland, to charge himself with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found Ruyter in so bad a state of health, that he was sent to Amsterdam, where he remained until the month of September. However, the fleet proceeded to sea, under admiral Van Nes, subject to de Witt’s orders, arrived on the coast of England, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a second time driven back by a furious tempest, which occasioned the French king to complain that his squadron was exposed to the mercy of the English. In fact, however, the English were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had destroyed great part of the capital, public credit was affected; universal dependancy feized the minds of the people, and all was fear, suspicion, distrust, and dif- fention, the ministry and the nation being divided among themselves. The conflagration, which had destroyed above six hundred streets, was supposed to be the effect of malicious
design, and erroneously attributed to the Roman Catholics and the Republicans, as the stream of faction happened to be directed. Hence arose the jealousies and divisions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the disturbances in Scotland, arising from the perpetuation of the Presbyterians in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaisance for the king and ministry. This situation of the British nation was the great security of the republic. Charles, now tired of a war grown irksome to the nation, from which he had not reaped the proposed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of Sweden offered his mediation. Yet still he kept in view the antient pretensions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading subjects in India, and elsewhere. He demanded that the states should send their deputies to London, to adjust the preliminaries of a peace. Other marks of submission were besides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some afferred, that the advantages gained by England were not so considerable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought those insinuates of an alloyed superiority and pride of too little consequence to obstruct a necessary accommodation. The states however declared, that they had no objection to the proposal of holding the congress at London, but the consideration for their allies the kings of France and Denmark, who refused to treat in any part of England. Several towns of Holland and Zealand were earnest for a congress, without regard to punctilios; but de Wit found means to secure the states, and exerted his utmost influence with the court of France to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with respect to the terms of negotiation. Lewis, however, had now sufficiently established his credit in Holland, and disappoointed the extensive schemes of England. Growing jealous of Lord Sandwich’s negotiation at Madrid, and that an union between Spain and Great Britain might take place, he resolved to establish peace; and for this purpose not only recommended, but enjoined the states, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted Ruvigny to correspond with the earl of St. Albans, to bring the court of London to the most pacific dispositions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in such terms as should excite the jealousy of the Hollanders. However, that the states might have no reason to tax the king of France with duplicity, the letter was first communicated to the pensioner, and he found it so general and ambiguous, that it was impossible to make objections. On receipt of Ruvigny’s letter, the earl of St. Albans signified to the court of France, that his Britannic majesty was not averse to treating in a neutral place, provided France would prefer a neutrality. The English ministry took advantage of this clandestine correspondence to inuite notions, that his most Christian majesty was treating without the participation of his allies. This alarmed the provinces in general, and especially the towns and cities of Holland, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and stop the torrent of abuse thrown out in Holland against the insidious conduct of his ministry, the king ordered the count d’Epréades to give the states the most solemn assurances of his resolution to adhere strictly to the terms of his alliance, though he was desirous of effecting a peace, in which he should chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic.

In the mean time the king of England, as if perfectly satisfied with the apology made by the states for declining to open the congress in London, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the Hague, where the ambassadors of the allies then resided. This motion gave the alarm to M. de Wit and the French party, who concluded that it must imply some deep and dangerous scheme to divide the republic, and dissolve the confederacy. The proposal immediately begot diffusion, no less than four provinces taking the occasion of expressing their animosity to the pensioner. To oppose so growing and imminent an evil, the utmost address of the French and Dutch ministry were necessary. It was not thought advisable to shew any suspicion of the king of England’s design; a letter was therefore sent to him from the states, recommending the choice of Maastricht, Bois-le-Duc, or Breda, for holding the congress, as more convenient and secure than the Hague, which, being an open town, afforded no protection to the ministers of the different powers; that consequently, while those powers were at variance, they were exposed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy insinuates of which had already happened, in violation of justice; and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majesty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the considerations mentioned. To this letter from the states to the king of England, succeeded one from the French king to the states; in which he enlarges upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the ministers of an hostile prince, who would not fail to raise suspicions, foment divisions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impressions of
or Republic of Holland.

a false and real suggestions. Afterwards he proceeds to recommend Dover, as a place not improper for carrying on the negotiation; though it appears, from Lion's letter to d'Estaires, that the court was sensible that the proposal would not be relished in England.

It was plain, from the strange conduct of Lewis, that he must have farther designs than mere friendship to the states; and indeed the Orange faction began thus early to declare their suspicions, that he would approve himself more dangerous as an ally than he could be as an open enemy. The penioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the French king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the best support against the house of Orange, bent upon his ruin. It was visible indeed to all Europe, that the course of France was paving the way for the execution of their schemes.

b upon Flanders. The emperor, who had a reversionary claim to this fine country, began likewise to think it his interest to interpose in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. In pursuance of this opinion, the baron d’Ijala was dispatched to the court of London, under pretence of offering his imperial majesty's mediation; though it is probable the real business was to diffusae Charles from an accommodation, as Lewis would thereby have left leisure to pursue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this confusmate politician the proposal made by Charles of opening the congress at the Hague; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual measure for keeping up the retentions of both nations, and frustrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either state. The superficial politicians regarded it as the highest compliment ever paid to the states, to have the honour of bringing the ambassadors of the three greatest powers in Europe to treat of peace in the dominions of the republic; while the more Discerning viewed the overture in a very different light. Even the first mention of the proposal set the provinces at variance; Holland and Friesland positively refusing to furnish their contingents, if it were rejected. At length Breda was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences should be opened in this city; and thither the several parties sent their plenipotentiaries.

c The first point debated at the congress was the restitution of the two English ships, Congres at Breda, which had partly given birth to the war; and of the island of Poleron in the East Indies, which had been first violently wrested from England, then restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the present rupture. Upon this Charles insisted as an essential preliminary; but the Dutch deputies appearing determined in their refusal, he relaxed in the last article, and thought there would now occur so little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of these sentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own use the sums granted by parliament for the prosecution of the war, he ordered all his large ships to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a small squadron of cruisers for the protection of the coasts. Of this precipitation de Witt resolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige Charles to make peace upon such conditions as should be thought requisite for the honour and security of the republic. While he cruized the preceding year upon the English coast, he had

d taken care to have the mouth of the Thames exactly found; with a view probably of pushing his way into that wealthy river, whenever an opportunity should offer. Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in person. France disapproved his quitting the helm of state to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by d'Estaires prevailed on the penioner to substitute his brother, Cornelius de Witt, in his room, to assist de Ruyter to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet set sail from the Texel in the beginning of June, and was hardly out of sight of the coast when it was driven back by a furious tempest, in which four transports filled with soldiers perished. When the tempest abated, Ruyter again set sail with a fleet of fifty large ships; besides frigates and transports, steering directly for the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth of June. He began his operations with reducing Skenes fort, which he effected with little difficulty. Next he broke down a strong boom, laid across the mouth of the river Medway, and destroyed three guard-ships, moored within tide for its protection. M. de Ghent, advancing in boats as far as Rochester, burnt and carried off a great number of small vessels, which rode in the river without apprehension of danger. De Ruyter cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk, by order of the duke of Albemarle, in the Channel: then sailed up as far as Upnor-castle, which he took and demolished. His last exploit was the burning three ships of the line, in executing which he met with an obstinate resistance; and then he fell down the Medway, with intention of attempting the river Thames.  

* Aud. supra citat.  
+ Id. ibid.

The
The history of the United Provinces,

The sailors, who had escaped the conflagration at Chatham, spread the alarm through London, and filled that capital, not yet recovered from the dreadful devastation made by fire the preceding year, with conflagration. Troops immediately filed off towards Gravesend, ships were sunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms were railed in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. Yet it must be confessed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented de Ruyter from pillaging and destroying the most flourishing city in Europe, besides the want of a sufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without these he found it impossible to succeed, and therefore set sail for Portsmouth, where he attempted in vain to reduce: then he directed his course to Torbay, where he made prize of a great number of vessels, with which he proceeded to bombard Plymouth. This enterprise failing, he sailed up the Channel, infested Harwich, gave chase to a squadron commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, once more entered the Thames, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom in terror and confusion: after which glorious exploits he returned to Holland, where he was presented by the states with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraved the actions at Scheer, Chatham, and Upnor-castle. He made a kind of triumphal entry at Dort, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magistrates, and supported by the two oldest burgomasters. De Wit met with the same honours, and had besides the particular thanks of the states general. Nor was M. Van Ghent, the lieutenant-admiral, forgot. He had the thanks of the states, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms.

The kings of England and France equally exclaimed against this expedition, while the English nation was stirred with indignation at seeing itself exposed to the inult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. Charles complained, that the Dutch, taking advantage of his security, ravaged his coasts with the utmost barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alleged, they had violated the faith of treaties, though, in fact, no armistice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, Lewis disapproved of an enterprise which tended to retard the pacification; and at the same time reproached, by implication, his bias towards the interest of England, and little regard to the alliance contracted with the republic. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, instead of retarding, served actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of de Ruyter’s squadron, the bad terms upon which the king of England stood with his subjects, and the defenceless state in which he left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to set aside all airs of superiority, and treat with the Dutch deputies upon a footing of equality. By this means every difficulty vanished, and the peace was signed upon the following conditions: that Acadia should be yielded to the French king, who had agreed to reoffer to the English the island of St. Christopher’s, and some other incon siderable conquests he had made in the W. Indies; that England and Holland should reciprocally retain their acquisitions, by which means the colony of New York in North America remained with the former, and the island of Poleon, one of the Moluccas, with the latter. The rights of the flag were the most difficult to adjust; though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. France was so sensible of the consequences of these honours, that the now invested upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. Lewis refused to suffer his men of war to lower their topails to those of England. Charles pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obstinate; and, to avoid its breaking off the negotiation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions some years afterwards ensued.

While France, England, and Holland, were negotiating at Breda the tranquillity of Europe, Lewis was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at universal empire, again threatened to involve Christendom in the flames of war, and particularly the empire, Spain, and the United Provinces. His ambition grasped at everything, and his power enabled him to gratify every aspiring with. On the death of his father-in-law Philip IV. he prepared to invade the Netherlands, though, before the solemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their decision was supported by the secular arm, and M. Turenne at the head of forty thousand men. Already Athl, Lille, Tourna, Courtray, Charleroi, and Oudenaerde, confessed his power, by receiving his garrisons; and Lewis waited only for the death of the sickly Charles II. of Spain, to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every state in Europe took the alarm. The Dutch, from the nature of their situation, were immediately exposed to his designs: they wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy, that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the loathing ambition of the French monarch. Now,
Republic of Holland.

or Republic of Holland.

a when too late, the artifice of Lewis's friendship was discovered: still, however, the states A.D. 1668. imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promised; and that by ceding Courtray, St. Omer, Aire, and Franche Comté to France, the rest of the Netherlands might be put under the protection of the empire, England, and the republic. It was the Dutch that suggested the idea of the triple alliance, which took place soon after. The king of England, finding his credit on the wain with his subjects, willingly embraced any measure that was likely to retrieve his popularity; and no scheme promised to fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in support of the liberties of Europe. The court of Spain too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raise a powerful confederacy against Lewis: though she entertained the highest opinion of her own strength, and the courage and ability of her forces; yet it was impossible to avoid feeling the superiority of the French, as far as could be judged from the most rapid successes. The Spanish ambassadors represented to Holland the proximity of the danger, while they flattered England with the glory of holding the balance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier should be formed to stop the progress of Turenne; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed, by the address of Sir William Temple, who subdivided all the fructules of M. de Witt, the pensioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample testimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined statesman. At first, England and Holland were only the contracting powers; but Sweden soon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with respect to the Low Countries. They even pretended to take cognizance of the dispute between Spain and Portugal. The object was to restrain the power of Lewis, support the tottering Spanish monarchy, and prevent the direful consequences of a war, in which all Europe would probably be involved.

b The next step was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to set the army upon a respectable footing. For some years all military employments were held by the children of burgomasters, because they were generally in the interest of the pensioner; while the old experienced officers were laid aside, on account of their attachment to the prince of Orange, under whose ancestors they had acquired all their knowledge. The bishop of Munster's late invasion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly useless: they therefore began to clamour about the distribution of commissions, and to insist that all the old officers should be restored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained constantly in the service. It was with reluctance the pensioner had yielded to the necessity of the late treaty concluded against France: the blow now meditated struck deeper at his power, and tended obviously to change the scale in favour of the opposite faction. It was impossible, however, to stem the tide of popularity: he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion, that the chief command of the army should be conferred on a foreigner, notwithstanding this preference was offering the greatest injury to prince Maurice of Nassau, to whose whole, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reasonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in some measure gratified.

c As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige Lewis to execute the proposals he had made to the court of Spain, of relinquishing the rights of his queen, the provision would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the Low Countries, or in lieu of those cede to him the Franche Comté, with the towns already specified; the queen-regent of Spain kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the Dutch and the king of England in a war with Lewis, under pretence that he refused standing by the alternative which they guarantied. But finding herself disappointed in this hope, she consented to his retaining his conquests, on the supposition, that, should he ever attempt to extend them, he would necessarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This cession paved the way to a congress, which was immediately appointed at Aix-la-Chapelle. We have already specified the particulars of this treaty. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that the Dutch ordered a pompous medal to be struck, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe (A). Nothing

d (A) This medal is preferred by M. Le Clerc. Here Holland is represented by a young beautiful female figure, surround ed by trophies, holding in her hand a pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the United Provinces. On the reverse:

thing could be more absurd than such an instance of unnecessary vanity, at a period too a when de Witt was proposing a new alliance to d'Esfrades between France and the republic, jointly to oppose the pretensions of his Britannic majesty to the sovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ships to pay the due honours to the French flag. To facilitate this measure, which must have inevitably kindled a new war with England, he reminded the French minister of the conduct of the English admiral, Sir Thomas Allen, towards de la Roche at St. Helen's; an indignity, he said, which, if winked at, would encourage that proud nation to commit further inults. D'Esfrades supported this opinion, and represented to his court, that nothing but embracing the proposal could prevent the penioner's being forced into the interest of England, however contrary to his resolutions, and disagreeable to his sentiments and inclinations. How far M. de Witt was serious in this proposal, can only be conjectured; perhaps he had already reason to suspect that Charles was falling into his old bias of cultivating the cloest union with France. This might therefore be either an expedient to found the dispositions of Lewis, or frustrate the overtures made by the king of England. Be this as it may, it is certain that Lewis allowed little weight to the request of the penioner, though supported by all the arguments his own ambassador d'Esfrades could suggest. On the contrary, he sent M. Colbert de Croissy, brother to the celebrated minister of that name, his ambassadour to the court of London, and recalled d'Esfrades from the Hague; yet the harmony between England and Holland still subsisted. Sir William Temple was dispatched to the states, vested with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the strongest assurances of the continuance of the king of England's good intentions towards the republic, but to negotiate a treaty of commerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee, on the plan of the late triple alliance 4.

A.D. 1669.

**FRANCE** was quick-fired in discerning her own interest, and alert in pursuing it. The acquisitions which Lewis had made in Flanders, served only to inflame his ambition to posses the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the Franche Comté, the very name of which distressed seemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to dissolve the triple alliance, as a necessary prelude to his other designs; and Spain, by refusing to pay the Swedish subsidy, furnished the means of accomplishing this important affair. Such progresse indeed had Colbert made at the court of London, that M. Puffendorf, the Swedish ambassador at the Hague, acquainted the penioner, as early as the month of January, 1669, that England was already changed, with respect to all those councils she had formed in conjunction with Sweden and Holland, notwithstanding the secret was yet in few hands; and lord Arlington confessed, about the same time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the Swedes were gained over to the French interest. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumstances, which more plainly indicated the designs of his Britannic majesty. Besides the refusall of a proposal made by the states of a defensive and offensive alliance, Sir William Temple was suddenly recalled; and, as the king had sought an opportunitie of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yacht, sent for lady Temple, to sail through the Dutch fleet, then in the Channel, in spite of the admiral's lowering his topails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours should be paid to the British flag. It is evident, that Lewis had now fully digested his project to invade the Netherlands; that he had gained the king of England, whose necessities made him the penioner of France; and that these instructions to the captain of the yacht were intended as a plausible excuse to the nation for entering upon a war, equally unjust, unnecessary, and imprudent. Lewis practised the most intriguing arts to seduce Charles from his real interest, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the French monarchy, and blind him to the consequences of his ambitious projects. Besides the private subsidies remitted to support the king of England in his extravagant pleasures, the duchess of Orleans was sent to England, upon a visit to her brother, where she spent a fortnight in a continual round of diversions. She was accompanied by mademoiselle de Scudery, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching address, elegant accomplishments, and a fund of wit and vivacity sufficient to engage a heart more insensible

4 Le Clerc, ibid.
or Republic of Holland.

a than that of Charles. This lady was carried with him to London, created duchess of Portsmouth, and retained in the highest favour during the whole course of his life, suffering her to govern his conduct with a sway that rather proved him the tender lover than the prudent monarch. It was by means of this artful visit, and the address of mademoiselle Quenonville, that Lewis first gained the entire ascendant over his Britannic majesty, and made him the instrument of those bonds he was forging for the liberties of Europe.

Thus stood affairs when Sir George Downing, left beloved by the pensioner, left in the friendship of the states, and the interest of the republic, was sent to Holland to succeed Sir William Temple, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yacht, who was committed to the Tower for not having sufficiently affected the dignity of the British crown, and relishing satisfied with a salute from the guns of the Dutch admiral. The prince of Orange’s visit to England made no alteration in the councils of that nation; for after that event Mr. Coventry was sent to Stockholm, to exert his utmost abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, so inconsistent with his Britannic majesty’s engagements to Lewis. These changes in the English ambassadors were deemed ominous by the more discerning. De Wet had the greatest friendship for Sir William Temple; but he regarded his successor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the states. Downing, indeed, on his first arrival solemnly protested, that the king his master was determined strictly to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the strongest assurances, that Charles had no other design in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himself respectable among his neighbours, and guard against the designs of the most Christian king, whom he had good reasons to distrust; and, indeed, this was all that Charles had acknowledged to the parliament when he demanded supplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ships of the line into commissiion, besides the cruisers and the squadron already in the Mediterranean. Nor was Downing satisfied with these insidious declarations; he complained of the backwardness of the states, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which respected the colony in Surinam, and specified some causes of difference between the English merchants and the Dutch East-India company. The pensioner had too much penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the best intelligence of the transactions in the British cabinet, and was well informed of every circumstance of the negotiation between the courts of France and England: he, therefore, considered every change of measures as a step towards an approaching rupture. But he most dreaded the ambitious projects of France, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invasion, but those of domestic faction and confusion. The smallest alarms on the side of Flanders would stir up the populace to demand the restitution of their former honours to the Orange family; than which nothing appeared more dreadful to the pensioner, in regard to his consequences on public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, should Lewis purrue his designs, how could the provinces provide for their own security without a military force? and how could that force be raised, regulated, paid, and disciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under these embarrassments he fought the friendship of Spain, tho’ his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of Lewis and Charles became so very apparent, that the Spanish ministry were at length reduced to the necessity of ordering Don Emanuel de Lira, the king’s ambassador at the Hague, to enter into a defensive treaty with the republic. This affair was conducted by de Lira, and count Monterey with so great secrecy, that it remained for some time unknown to all the powers in Europe besides the contracting parties. Both de Lira and Monterey were the declared enemies of France: the former detested the perfidy of her politics, the ambitious schemes of her ministry, and the injudicious methods she practised to destroy the liberties of Christendom, and establish universal empire: the latter was the son of Don Lewis 4’ Hero, and consequently no friend to measures erected upon the foundation laid by cardinal Maxamtm, the implacable rival of his family.

When the treaty between Spain and the republic was divulged, ambassadors were sent from France and England, to use the utmost efforts to render it void. France spoke in a high strain of authority, while the British ambassador endeavoured to fap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the artifice of the one, nor the insolence of the other, could prevail. The court of Spain ordered Lira and Monterey to proceed in the treaty with the republic, and use every method to draw the knot of union harder, and to blend the interests of the two nations as to render them ineparable. The firmness of Spain proved extremely

---

The history of the United Provinces,

couraging to the states; but it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed against them between the crowns of France and England, the elector of Cologne and the turbulent, ambitious, enterprising, and warlike Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who embraced every opportunity of displacing his implacable animosity to the republic. Besides, the Orange faction openly espoused the claims of England, insisting that the required satisfaction should be given to his majesty, in hopes not only of warding off the impending storm from that quarter, but of cementing the two nations in a strict union of interests. Had Charles studied his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the interests of Europe in general, the fairest opportunity now offered of nipping in the bud all the aspiring projects of Lewis, which afterwards filled Christendom with blood and carnage. On the other hand, the states, under the influence of de Mit, fought to pacify the indignation of the most Christian king, who highly resented the influence of the republic, that broke out in various insurrections, subsequent to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. They made the most objeét submissions; they disavowed the medals which had given so much offence; and they promised immediately to redress all his majesty's complaints, to remove from the councils every person who had incurred his displeasure, and to square their conduct entirely to his royal will. But Lewis had another object in view besides the mere gratification of revenge; and this opposite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliments to Lewis and Charles, but as measures to destroy each other. Could France be appeased, the Orange family must remain in obscurity; and could the king of England be gained over, there would probably be an end to the influence of the pensioner and his party. Neither side appeared to have any thoughts of preferring the republic by a coalition, or even a fettering of their animosity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the states hesitated about making these submissions to Charles which Lewis refused, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of France, Cologne, and Munster, their commerce ruined, and their fleets destroyed by the combined squadrons of France and England. Nothing retarded the immediate commencement of hostilities but the indigence of Charles, who was always receiving supplies from his parliament, and always needly and diffused.

Among the schemes projected to fill the royal coffers, one may be regarded as a bare-faced act of piracy against the Dutch, with whom he had hitherto come to no open rupture. The attempt was equally perfidious and unsuccessful: before any declaration of war, and previous to the departure of Sir George Downing from the Hague, it was proposed to intercept the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Smyrna, estimated worth two millions of money. Sir Robert Holmes was sent in this service, with a small squadron. In his voyage he fell in with Spragge, returning with his squadron from the Mediterranean; but resolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himself, he concealed his purpose from the other British admiral, suffered him to pursue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprise, because his strength was too inconsiderable. Van Nes, who conveyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no sooner descried the English flag, than he put his little squadron into an admirable posture of defence. Holmes attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, skill, and obstinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and maintained with the same fury, until night separated the combatants. On the third day the action was again renewed; but Van Nes had taken such measures that he now got off with the loss of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were sunk and useless to the enemy, disappointed in all their sanguine hopes, and left only the dishonour of having, unsuccessfully, violated the most solemn laws of nature and nations. The Dutch exclaimed against the baseness of an action which would have disgraced one of the piratical states of Africa; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a casual rencontre, occasioned by the obstinate refusal of the Hollanders to pay the due honours to the British flag. Holmes, however, though he was the instrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowledged that the Dutch admiral had actually lowered his topgallant and paid him the usual compliment.

By this action the states were convinced they had nothing to expect from Charles, and that their diligence must be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The seizure or confiscation of four of their East-India ships corroborated these sentiments, which were soon confirmed by the king's declaration of war against the republic. In this frivolous and impertinent piece the world is defied to believe that nothing but absolute necessity, a regard to the liberties of his subjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majesty to carry matters to extremities: but the evasions of the states with regard to the claims of the British East-India company, their refusal to send home the English families settled at Surinam, agreeable to the treaty of Breda, their denying to pay the due honour
honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of England in arrogant medallions and inscriptions, had obliged him to use the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their insolence and secure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdom. Two very remarkable circumstances were mentioned in this declaration; viz. that the states had made a proposal of acknowledging the king's superiority by sea, provided he would join them against France, and never use their concessions upon this occasion as a precedent to their disadvantage; and that they had lent to England an ambassador extraordinary, who, in positive terms refused giving the satisfaction required, and indeed promised in former treaties. Notwithstanding these pretences, it is certain that Sir George Downing, when sent to the Hague, was bound by his instructions not to accept any satisfaction after a certain number of days prescribed; a method of proceeding in embassies always irregular and unusual, especially in Holland, where the very nature of the constitution renders all deliberations tedious. In a word, there was so much chicanery and artifice in the conduct of the ministers, that the whole people of England clamoured against the war, their ancient animosity to the Dutch being absorbed in their resentments against the measures of the administration. As to the Dutch, they answered the king's declaration with great propriety and strength of argument, refusing irrevocably almost every article it contained. They denied that the English families in Surinam were detained, and demonstrated that they had refused to quit the colony; they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to strike sail on their own coast to an English pleasure boat; this alluded to the affair of the yatch: they asserted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inscriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of England: they declared it had always been their study to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repose of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very existence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the strongest colours, the insolvency of Downing, the English minister at the Hague; the intention of the English ministry in recalling Sir William Temple, who had engaged the affections of the states, by the justice, honour, and openness of his proceedings, as well as the amiableness of his character, the iniquitous attempt upon their Smyrna fleet, and the insidious capture and unjust detention of their East India shipping.

The court of Spain could not be persuaded that England would ever come to extremities with the Dutch, and enter upon an iniquitous war upon groundless and at best but frivolous pretences. Even France could hardly depend upon the promises and engagements of a monarch incapable of constancy and perseverence. Nor did the states imagine their calamities were so near: all Europe, indeed, was astounded at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was sudden and unexpected.

LEWIS now entered upon the scene of action, with such an air of superiority, that Charles seemed little more than the harbinger to usher in the giant. His declaration of war against the states-general was published in the month of April, under the supercilious title of An Ordinance by the King. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of England to his interest, but he retained Sweden by his subsidies, and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces against the republic. He did not condescend to specify particulars in his ordinance: it was sufficient that the insolvency of the states had incurred his displeasure, and merited chastisement. It was in this lofty spirit his minister de Greymouville talked to the emperor when he desired the court of Vienna might not interpose in his quarrel with the Hollanders. At other Roman Catholic courts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the Dutch with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the cloister alliance with a heretical monarch, and the head of the Protestant church; though four hundred thousand crowns were given annually for the friendship of a nation which had by severe laws prohibited the residence of Catholics in the kingdom (A). Scarce any thing can convey a higher idea of the power, weight, and importance of the republic, than a consideration of the variety of precautions taken by the two kings before they ventured to declare their hostile intentions. Lewis's power was unrivalled by land, and Charles might justly regard himself as the most potent maritime prince in Europe. Holland was divided by faction at home, and had scarce time to form any solid

* Le Clerc, ubi supr.

(A) This was the subsidy paid to Sweden by the allies, for holding herself in readiness to act against the emperor or the empire, should they offer to interpose. If the Swedes took the field, the subsidy was to be augmented to fix hundred thousand crowns (1).

(1) Le Clerc, p. 102. Newville, t. iii. p. 54.
measures for the security of the state: yet were the efforts of this republic sufficient to 

baffle all the attempts of the most formidable combinaison Europe had beheld since the 

famous league of Cambrics, against another republic, contemptible in respect of power, 

grandeur, and territory, to her enemies. The bishop of Munster declared war against the 
Dutch, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns; 
and the elector of Cologne received a body of French troops into his dominions, under the 
pretense of providing for his own security.

The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now to be devoted to destruction. 
Nothing appeared capable of suspending its fall. Lewis was ready with three armies to 
burst like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions, while on her side there was 
no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppose the inundation; the whole 
value and power of the state confuting in her navy, upon which the penitency had bestowed all his attention. France had no sooner veered round than de Witt lost his credit, 
and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the prince of Orange had certainly carried 
him too far in his opposition to England, and compliance to the court of France had oc-

casioned his extinguishing every spark of military spirit in the republic, disbanding 
the greater part of the army, and filling up all commissions in the remainder with the sons and 
kinsmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of 
an enemy. His confidence in France prevented his acting with his usual vigilance and 
caution. Fear of giving offence, by suspicion, hindered his making preparations against 
the impending invasion. The populace demanded that the prince of Orange, a youth just 
attracted to the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of the army, if a body of 
twelve thousand men, little better disciplined than militia, merited that name. There was 
no refuting the voice of a whole nation; de Witt yielded, and resolved to make one powerful 
effort by sea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raise the spirits 
of the people, revive discipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every necessary for a 
vigorous resistance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the storm would 
fall, and where to direct the force of the republic, which was too inconsiderable to ad-
mit of being divided. Every thing was kept so close in France, that not a syllable about 
the army transpired; no letter was suffered to pass into Holland that contained the most 
distant hint of the intended invasion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay 
siege to Maastricht; we have shewn the reasons why he declined this measure, and rather 
chose to penetrate in three divisions into the provinces, take advantage of the present 
forlorn and dispirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort destroy all pretence 
of mind and hope of resistance. We have seen with what quickness he over-ran the 
Netherlands, and reduced the Dutch to the necessity of laying their country under water. All Europe 
flood amazed at the king's irresistible progress, while the republic was given up for lost, 
and without the smallest prospect of deliverance. The preparations of the states could not 
keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from Flanders were just sufficient 
to draw complaints against the court of Spain, from the two allied kings, but too in-
considerable to do the republic real service. Tho' the states were negotiating a treaty offen-
defensive and defensive at Vienna and Madrid, it was probable their fate would be determined 
before it could take place. They were besides harried in every step by the enemy, and 
their applications to the elector of Brandenburg and the princes of Lauenburg, it was feared 
would be frustrated by the machinations of Lewis, and the terror of the French army.

In this situation it was hoped a bold push with the fleet might produce some favourable 
change. The ships of the republic were as numerous, her stores as full, her mariners as 
abundant, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever: it was therefore resolved 
to employ them in the most vigorous manner for the preservation of the last remains of 
the commonwealth. Ruyter was accordingly sent to sea with ninety ships of war, and forty 
frigates and foreships, Cornelius de Witt acting on board as deputy from the states. The 
first intention was to prevent the junction of the French and English squadrons; but this 
was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in Solent, under the command of the 
duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, and the count D'Estrées, to the amount of one hundred 
and thirty ships of the line. The chief authority was vested in the duke of York, who im-
prudently affronted the earl of Sandwich, for representing that the ships lay in great disorder, 
and exposed to the utmost danger, if attacked in that situation. He refused standing out 
to sea, as the earl advised; and, indeed, regarded nothing besides his pleasures, which some 
political English historians relate he carried, on this occasion, to unusual excess. It is certain,
a. the Dutch began to attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged: several ships were forced to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in such confusion, that the vessels ran foul of each other. Van Ghent opposed himself to the earl of Sandwich, who led the van of the enemy, and a most dreadful action ensued, in which the Dutch admiral was killed, after performing prodigies of valor. Sandwich sustained for a while the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, that the duke might have time to reduce the rest of the ships into order. He destroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he sunk three fire-ships, before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almost killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardour, until another fire-ship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even now he might have escaped into another vessel, but he disdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of York: his ship was blown up, and the earl and every person on board were destroyed. The benefit of the disposition he had made was felt after his death: Sir Joseph Jordan, his vice-admiral, filled the same plan of gaining the windward, and at last succeeded, by which he was enabled to come to the assistance of the duke of York, who was hotly engaged with de Ruyter. Now the engagement was so close for above two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The duke and Ruyter each shifted their flags twice; but the duke d. d. not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the English and Dutch; but it belonged to the latter, if we may judge by consequences; for Ruyter, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen safe into the Texel, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one side, while it sunk under the prelude of misfortunes on the other (A).

A disputed victory, however, could not serve the purpose of de Witt, as affairs were then circumstanced. He had no prospect of standing his ground, and frustrating the views of the young prince of Orange, except by some signal success and decisive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impossible to put the fleet again to sea with sufficient expedition to remedy the mischief that arose from the present disappointment. He saw the French king extending his conquests on all sides, three provinces wholly subdued, and Lewis exerting not only the power of the conqueror, but the authority of a sovereign; changing constitutions, enacting laws, publishing edicts, creating magistrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himself the allegiance due only to the majesty of the states general. Believing longer resistance fruitless, and perhaps dreading more to become vassals to the prince of Orange than tributaries to France, the Levantin faction determined, as the last resource, to appease by supplications the power they were unable to withstand. Accordingly deputies were dispatched to Lewis and Charles, with hopes at least of breaking their union, if they should fail in subduing their refractory. On the arrival of De Groot at the French court, his proposals were demanded; but he answered, he was come to know the king’s pleasure, his masters desiring it more respectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that Lewis expected proposals, in which the states should consider all that his majesty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the further progress of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this answer the deputy returned to the Hague, and was immediately sent back with full power to treat, and conclude a peace on the best terms that could be obtained.

After repeated conferences, Lewis gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretensions of the king his master, upon granting which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehensions of the states were so extravagant as to offer that every thing should be surrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and sovereign power could be preserved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expenses of the war, yet this was insufficient. Lewis demanded that the commodities of France should be imported, free of duty, into all the provinces; that the states should permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion, share the churches between them and the Protestants, and appoint regular salaries for the Roman priests.

(A) Some French writers allege, that D’Estrée was hotly engaged with his whole squadron of thirty ships, with the division of Flying, whose fire he sustained with the utmost resolution and valor. The truth is, only a few French ships were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might destroy each other. Voltaire confesses as much (1).

The history of the United Provinces,
priests; that they should cede not only all the frontier towns, but Sieck, Nieuwesch, Kui-
zemburch, part of Guelderland, the islands of Bremen and Veern, and the forts of St. Andrea, 
Leughum, and Crevecour, in a word, that they should make him as completely master of 
the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the sword; and, besides, pay 
an immense sum of money to indemnify his expenses; send a yearly embassy to Paris with 
a golden medal, confessing the subjection of the republic, and that to the king she owed 
the preservation of that liberty which his ancestors had enabled her to acquire. Finally, 
that in the space of ten days the states should signify their assent to these intolerable proposals, 
in which case he would withdraw his forces. Here it is remarkable, that not the least 
mention was made of England: we shall see how that court seemed to be wholly directed by 
the will and pleasure of Louis.

The deputies sent to England were met at Gravesend, forbid entering London, and 
conveyed directly to Hampton-court, where they met with a very harsh reception, though they 
excited the compassion of a generous people, reduced it to an unjust war against a republic 
with which they had no real quarrel. At Hampton they were kept in a kind of honourable 
confinement, until the pleasure of Lewis should be known, and whether they were to be 
favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accom-
modation. Bishop Burnet intimates, that the deputies gave Lord Arlington to understand, 
that the states were disposed to advance the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadholder, 
and all the other offices possessed by his ancestors, as was plain from their giving him the 
tire command of the army. They requested, that his majesty would appoint plenipoten-
tiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the French monarch; and their petition was 
granted, merely because Charles was at a loss in what manner to act singly, and before he 
had his instructions from Lewis. The duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington were according-
ly nominated to attend the French king, at that time with his whole court at Utrecht; it 
would seem, however, that though Charles did not choose to treat separately of a peace, 
that he felt uneasiness at the rapid progress of his ally, and at the high strain of authority 
in which he talked; that he forebore the intire conquest of the provinces would be a 
favorable occasion of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his 
interest to have the king of England dependent upon his subjects. Besides, Charles showed an 
inclination to share in the spoils of the republic. Poverty had made him avaricious, and now 
was the opportunity of gratifying the new-born passion, and of administering to the 
gratification of all his pleasures. Holland was in such a situation, that he doubted not of 
procuring whatever conditions he should think fit to prescribe. His demands were exorbit-
ant. In concert with the court of France, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following 
preliminaries to the Dutch deputies: That the states should do honour to the British flag, 
without limitation; that whole fleets should strike their colours, and lower their topgallant, 
to any single king's ship in the British seas, or on the coasts of Holland; that his majesty's 
subjects at Surinam should have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms prescribed by the 
treaty of Breda; that all the king's enemies and calumniators should for ever be banished 
the republic; that the prince of Orange and his descendants should enjoy, by hereditary 
right, the dignities of captrain and admiral general, and of stadholder of the United Pro-
vinces, in as ample a manner as they had ever been held by his ancestors; that a million 
sterling should be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten 
thousand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fish in the British seas; that a treaty of commerce 
should immediately be set on foot, wherein all his majesty's claims, respecting 
the affairs of India, should be acknowledged, without contradiction; and that the isles of 
Valoeran, Cadzant, Goree, and Veern, with the town and castle of Smyly, and their depen-
dencies, should be put into the king of England's hands, by way of security for the per-
formance of the several articles of this treaty. Grie
dous as these terms were, to the prince of Orange alone it was owing they were not ac-
cepted. He had infused such a spirit into the people, that on him depended the alter-
native of embracing or rejecting the proposals. Nor were the allied kings ignorant of 
this. They addressed themselves chiefly to him: they knew his ambition, and they piled 
him on that side with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced, that, in the end, he 
must yield to the temptation. The sovereignty of the provinces was presented to his view, 
to dazzle his eyes with the luster of the object; but William's ambition apered higher. 
Eager to become the favour of his country, he spurned the thoughts of trampling on her 
liberties, at a time when the most wanted his affiance: he defiled owing his elevation to 
tyrants, and sacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary love-
reigny. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of Lorrain: the example was g
or Republic of Holland.

a recent, striking, and sufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendship, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whose ambition grasped at subjugating all the neighbouring powers. Full of these heroic sentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or perish in the last dyke. The spirit of the prince infused life and vigour into his party; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the passions of the populace against the penitent and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to France. To this, and the subjection in which the house of Orange was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their most prosperous condition the vulgar painted for a fladholder, with the glitter of whose authority they were dazzled: in adversity, they knew no other relief than from an application to the descendants of those heroes who had by perseverance, valour, and magnanimity, rescued the state from the insolent dominion of the house of Austria, and established religion and liberty on a solid basis.

The penitent de Wit was deemed the source of the strong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence sufficient to overwhelm the constitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his ancestors: his nobility arose solely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vast abilities; but he was subject to the frailties of humanity. His staunch republican principles, and opposition to the aspiring views of the house of Orange, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of England, and the prince his nephew, threw him into the arms of Lewis, by whom he was now deserted and betrayed. In the full luster of prosperity, the penitent was envied and admired; in his decline, he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his account that their commerce was prey to the English, that their towns were swallowed up by the French, the dignity of the republic lost, and public liberty and religion tottering. He was presumed to be, as a Dutch writer expresses it, the fomes of the state, whom by throwing overboard the storm would be appeased. Actuated by these prejudices, the provinces fell into the most violent ferment: the dregs of the people, buoyed up to the surface, floated like scories upon the superstructures, and dictated to their masters. The states were disregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the house of Orange, and the universal cry was a fladholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged, upon oath, never to acknowledge the prince of Orange as governor-general, or to vest him with the dignities possessed by his ancestors. The two brothers, Job and Cornelius, still continued to oppose the repeal from motives of true patriotism: they saw the madness of the people, and apprehended that, in the transports of their zeal for the prince, they might dispose of their liberty, and, by one act of indiscretion, afford matter of perpetual iniquitude. At length the populace broke through all restraint. At Dort, where Cornelius de Wit was ancient burgomaster, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of Orange to come thither, and forced the magistrates to invest him with all the dignities belonging to his family. Five days after (June 30) the same scene was acted at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, the Hague, Middelburg, and in general throughout the provinces. Nor did the popular fury stop here: they purged the public offices of all disagreeable persons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magistracy all the adherents of his family, and insinuated that their own deputies should have seats in the administration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. At Amsterdam the populace were in continual tumults. In one riot the magistrate, equivalent to high sheriff, was wounded; and a burgomaster carried off in triumph, insulted, and confined prisoner in the town-house. At Dort the pictures and statues, erected in honour of Cornelius de Wit, were pulled down and broken. Their rage against both the brothers was inexpressible; but it seems to have risen to the greatest height against Cornelius, who had first refused to sign the instrument whereby the prince was elevated to the fladholdership.

John de Wit had, between resentment and despair, resigned the office of penitent, after having been assailed by four ruffians, and left for dead in the street. The gallant de Ruyter was attacked in the same manner at Amsterdam; and Cornelius de Wit was becket in his own house, and, being confined to his sick-bed, was with the utmost difficulty protected by his servants. It was a short time after that this honest patriot was accused, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thousand guilders for attempting the life of the prince of Orange. The charge was improbable and absurd; but the times favoured the accuser, and prevented the magistrates from doing justice to the accused. So strong was the current of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced, against their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confute his estate, divest him of his dignities and employments, and sentence him to perpetual banishment. His constancy never shrunk under the most excruciating pains, which he bore with unfallen fortitude, protesting his innocence; and, at every respite from the pangs of torture, repeating that beau-

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.
The history of the United Provinces,

[Text continues]
The states were scarce ever named, the legislative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the constitution seemed entirely unhinged.

The first good effect which this change of measures produced, was the putting an immediate stop to the treaty with France. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, assembled merely for the sake of form, the young stadholder represented, in a speech that held three hours, the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by Lewis: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perseverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet rescue their liberties: he demonstrated the possibility of raising the necessary supplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with observing, that too great a price could not be paid for the security of religion and liberty. His knowledge was so extensive, his judgment so solid, his arguments so irreproachable, his calculations so clear, and his nervous manner so animating, that the states appeared at the first time astonished and convinced. New spirits seemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inspired with courage and hope, from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young stadholder; that grief and depondency which had long clouded every face, were now dispersed before the radiance of his illing fun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country. Wise deliberations paved the way to vigorous resolutions: the proposals of the two kings were rejected, and every necessary disposition made for defending themselves to the last extremity. It was even resolved, rather than submit, to transport themselves, their families, and effects to the East Indies, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have secured a retreat against the greatest calamities.

By this time several of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the French conquests, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of Orange had made surprizing efforts to assemble an army capable of taking the field. His first attempt was on Naarden; but the vigilance of marechal Luxembourg rendered it unsuccessful. Still, however, the chief hopes of Holland centered in the English parliament, which it was believed would thwart the king’s inclinations, oblige him to break off from Lewis, and pursue the real interest of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was soon perceived by the new levies made in England, and the vast armament sent to sea under the conduct of prince Rupert, the earl of Offsry, and Sir Edward Spragge, who immediately joined the French squadron commanded by d’Estrées. It was now that the project was formed of invading Zeeland. A considerable body of land-forces was put on board the fleet, and such dispositions made as threatened the republic with unavoidable destruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for success. The Dutch fleet was not yet put to sea; the prince of Orange could possibly make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coast was covered with the ships of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption: but it pleased the Divine Providence to interpose in defence of this injured and oppressed republic. A tempest came on, which drove the enemy from the shore, and forced them, in a shattered condition, to shelter themselves in their own ports. Nor was this all: the same storm which had removed danger, brought the most reasonable relief to the provinces. In the absence of the combined squadrons, a large fleet of India merchant-ships, richly laden, entered the Texel, and added naves to all the operations of war, and measures of defence. Twice in the same war the states were saved from certain ruin by the immediate interposition of the hand of the Almighty. Luxembourg was on his march over the ice to attack Amsterdum and the Hague, when a sudden thaw had almost ruined himself and his army. To proceed was impossible; to return was attended with a thousand difficulties, had the Dutch officer of a fort flood firm, and discharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the safety of Luxembourg, who was equally astonished at the conduct of his daftardly enemy, and his own good fortune. These are events which the republic has cause to remember with gratitude and admiration.

At this time scarce a single power in Europe, of any consideration, pursued its real interest. The policy of all was false and delusive. France grasped at so much, that there was danger of exciting a combination of enemies, who would depopul her of all her conquests, and leave her feeble, exhausted, and emaciated, with the loss of blood and treasure spent in the fruitless pursuit of ideal projects. England acted in direct opposition. In order to re-establish and defend the nations of Europe from the impending bondage. Their tedious deliberations suffered Lewis to acquire
quire strength, Holland to be reduced to the last gap, and the foundation of a bloody general war to be laid, when one resolute vigorous effort would have checked the pride of France, and secured the tranquillity of Europe. Holland herself committed the greatest blunders. At first her whole attention was given to her marine, and the means of opposing England, though it was impossible to avoid facing a storm gathering in another quarter. She concentrated herself with France, relied upon the faith of treaties, and shut her eyes to all consequences. Now, however, the determined to repair her errors by a series of the most spirited conduct. Royter was sent to sea with a powerful fleet in quest of the English, whom he found on the coast of Holland, under the command of Prince Rupert. Before the action the French squadron had joined the prince; but Royter was not diverted from his purpose. He made the signal to attack, bore down with the most undaunted resolution, and maintained an obstinate bloody engagement with his utmost intrepidity and conduct. The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either side, though both claimed an advantage. They put into their ports to repair, and soon appeared again, with intention to finish the dispute more decisively. On the fourteenth of June they met a second time off Flushing, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a general engagement by tempestuous weather. Prince Rupert was, indeed, supposed to be averse to the war, and for that reason less eager to exert himself than usual, agreeable to his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. Royter would have come to an engagement but the prince, being deficient in many necessaries, had retired into port. He was no sooner supplied than he again appeared on the coast of Holland, and was attacked by de Royter and Van Tromp, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the stadtholder, who laboured to unite all parties in the service of their country. The action was fierce begun when each of the Dutch admirals singled out the commanders of the combined fleet. De Royter opposed himself to the prince, Van Tromp engaged Sir Edward Sprague, and rear-admiral Braklert attacked d'Etrees, the French admiral. Never did greater emulation appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardor, and determined courage, which distinguishes true military genius. Braklert lost a head of the French division, separated prince Rupert from the division of Sir John Chicheley, and closed him between two fires; Royter plying him with fury on the one side, while the rear-admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite surrounded, Royter fought with undaunted valour and presence of mind, which seemed to rise with the danger. After several desperate efforts, he at length extricated himself; and joining Chicheley, bore down to the affluence of Sprague, almost overpowered by Van Tromp. He had shifted his flag from the Royal Prince, in which he had fought until the ship was best to pieces with the enemy’s shot. He then engaged in the St. George, and fought her while the wind was fresh; but going in the pinnace to shift his flag on board a fresh ship, he was flogged by a cannon-ball, after having gained the eftream and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. Van Tromp had been in much the same situation: he had twice shifted his flag, after his ships had been disabled; and at last bore so hard upon the earl of Ossory, who succeeded Sprague, that he forced him to retire. English writers however allege, that had the French obeyed the prince Rupert’s signal to engage, when he put the Dutch fleet in confusion by his firehips, the victory would have been undisputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all that we know for certain is, that, finding himself extremely roughly handled, he collected his straggled ships, and hailed off to the English coast. Royter was greatly cared for his conduct: the stadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the faft friend of the pensioner de Wit (A). Happily, indeed, the spirit of party seemed now extinguished, and all men united in the common defence of their country.

Every thing began to take a turn favourable to Holland. Spain renewed her alliance with the states, was raising an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with France. The emperor had sent the famous Montecuccoli into the field, to oppose his great rival Turenne. The elector of Brandenburg was at the head of a body of troops, making a diversion in favour of the republic; and the prince of Orange took Naarden, and by a series of masterly motions, and judicious encampments, left all the French generals behind him, joined the Imperialists, and invested and reduced Boume in the space of a few days. The bishop of Munster had been driven out of Groningen, and several places in the electo-

---

(A) It was after this battle that d’Etrees wrote to M. Colbert, “I would have sold my life for half the glory which de Royter has obtained (1).”

(1) Poëzie, tom. i. p. 150.
or Republic of Holland.

a rate of Cologne, and forced to receive Dutch garrisons; in consequence of which Lewis was forced to abandon all his conquests, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with France. Immediately upon this event the king of Sweden, seeing the parties grow more equal, and Europe likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded so heartily for peace, that a congress was opened at Cologne. The Dutch were no longer under the necessity of abjectly imploring compassion. They refused listening to terms, unless the two kings would recede from the intolerable conditions they had before prescribed: they funk in their own offers; and their ambassadors now again began to assume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The French endeavoured to protract the negotiation; but at last, finding themselves greatly embarrassed, they retired from Cologne with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of Furstenberg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologne, and now apprehended by an order of the court of Vienna, as a subject of the empire, who had betrayed his country.

Though the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Hanover had suffered themselves to be seduced from the interests of Europe, the one signing a neutrality with the court of France, the other suffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet still Holland was sufficiently supported not to be discouraged. The treaties with Spain and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be desired: there every measure of defense was flippulated, and a variety of offensive schemes concerted. In the treaty with Spain, the first seven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual assistance, in case either party was attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumstances of such mutual aid, were likewise specified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace should be concluded by either contracting party, without the consent of the other; and also, that no engagements should be formed that were not perfectly consistent with the present treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and provision was made for the due observance of the treaty of Munster, the guarantee of the treaty of Aix, and the triple league, when the war with his Britannic majesty should be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of Spain promises not only to co-operate with the states general, in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engages, should their proposals be rejected, to declare open war against France; and that his governor-general shall, in the mean time, contrive to affright the prince of Orange with all the strength of the Spanish Netherlands. In the fifteenth article it was flippulated, that no peace should be negotiated without full restitution made of all towns, cities, and countries, which had or might be taken from the states; the republic, on the other hand, entering upon the same engagements, until all that had been taken from Spain, since the peace of the Pyrenees, should be restored. By the eighteenth article, the states engaged to surrender the town of Maestricht, the territory of Ujenhohe, and all they possessed beyond the Meuse, to his majesty, together with their pretensions to the villages of redemption. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to last for the space of twenty years, and the ratifications to be exchanged in two months.

What respects Great Britain is very particular, and therefore deserves to be inferred at full length, especially as we find it but imperfectly related in the bulk of English historians. Notwithstanding, by the present treaty between the most Catholic king and the republic of the United Provinces, his majesty only engages to declare war against France, should the propositions of peace be rejected; yet the king will find himself under the necessity of coming to a rupture with his Britannic majesty likewise, since every thing plainly indicates that he co-operates with France in obstructing the pacification, and since it would be impossible effectually to affright the states general, and keep upon friendly terms with Great Britain. It is therefore agreed, that if the means of pacification, proposed by his Catholic majesty, should prove fruitless, his majesty shall then declare war against the king of Great Britain, in the same manner as against his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, to shew his good intentions towards his Britannic majesty, the states general are required to make one last effort to bring the king to a peace, offering him such conditions as must appear reasonable. This almost was followed by the subseuent proposals; first, that the affair of the flag be adjusted to the satisfaction of the king of England; secondly, that restitution be made of all places that have or may be taken by the states general from Great Britain, since the commencement of the present war; by this article are underflood places out of Europe, of which the restitution shall be reciprocal: thirdly, that a sum of four, five, six, or more, thousand doubloons be made payable at the following instalments. Cix. a fourth upon exchange of the ratifications; another fourth at the close of the first year after the peace; and the remainder in the two subsequent years 6.

Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 97.
The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 1674. Such was the treaty by which Spain and Holland became again united in the same cause, after they had been at variance and open war for near the space of a century. In consequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of Vienna and Madrid denounced war against France, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, assisted with their forces. It was likewise to the peremptoriness of this treaty, and the determined resolution of the Catholic king, that the states owed the peace soon after concluded with Great Britain. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed against the ruinous measures supported by the English ministers. They were incensed at the conduct of the French admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unpromising issue of the last action to the artifice of d'Estrees, who paid no regard to prince Rupert's signal. They clearly penetrated into the designs of the French monarch, and determined, by refusing the supplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the United Provinces; but first it was resolved to wait the event of an enterprise formed by the earl of Offley upon Helvoetsluis. As this scheme came to nothing, the Dutch commissioners and the Spanish ambassador renewed their application to detach England from France, and they succeeded. As this was a matter of the highest importance, the states did not scruple writing a submissive letter to Charles, and empowering the marquis de Frelno to conclude peace upon terms nearly similar to those recited in the treaty between Spain and the republic. Charles, finding it would be impossible to support the war without the consent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the solicitations of the Spanish minister. He made a virtue of necessity, communicated the proposals sent him by the states to the two houses of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their sentiments were well known: they exhorited his majesty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis de Frelno was referred to Sir William Temple, and at three meetings the whole affair was finished. The treaty of Breda, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the basis of the present pacification. Little more was added, than that the states should compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or in single vessels; and that they should pay a sum of money to defray the king's expenses. How little they regarded the article respecting the flag, appears from a man of war's refusing to strike to a king's yacht, with an English ambassador on board; an incident that happened before the ratifications were exchanged.

The truth is, the states were perfectly informed of the temper of the British nation and parliament, the breach between them and the court; and they resolved to profit by this circumstance, and to improve their terms in proportion to the king's necessities. This appeared more obviously from the supercilious air with which the English ambassadors were treated at the Hague. On their return from Cologne they waited on the prince of Orange, to know his sentiments of the king's mediation with France: they were forced to solicit this audience by the interposition of Sir Gabriel Syvius, and to wait several days before it was granted. It was indeed the deepest reflection on the weaknesses of the English administration, to see the ambassadors of the British crown supplicating an audience of a prince of Orange.

Though Charles had negotiated the peace with Holland in a dirty, clandestine manner, the French king's pride was by this time so mortified, that he did not relent the ill usage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by Charles, from whom he had reason to expect some partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the English monarch with an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds. Charles made the offer, to qualify his defection, and Lewis accepted it, as the most rational means of warding against the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the fame reasons that induced him to relish the proposed mediation, rendered the overtures from the British king distasteful to the emperor, Spain, and Holland, who scrupled not avowing that the court of England retained the same attachments it formerly had to the French king's interest, though the king's immediate necessities obliged him to accommodate matters with the states general. This it was, which had probably occasioned the prince of Orange's cool behaviour to Sir Joseph Williamson, the English ambassador.

While the mediation was in suspense, the prince of Orange took the field with a numerous army, and tried every stratagem of war to bring the prince of Condé to a battle: we have seen the progress of this campaign, and the manner in which William of Orange ex posed a wing of his army at Senieff, of which the vigilant Condé did not fail taking advantage. The conduct of both generals was such as engaged their mutual esteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deserving...
or Republic of Holland.

a. The rencontre however was decisive in one respect; it frustrated the scheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of France, and disappointed that project upon which the prince of Orange had set his heart, of drinking wine in Champagne, before the end of the leavest. It likewise facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the French to penetrate into Franche-Comté, which they soon reduced. Turenne was superior to the allies in Adige; he defeated the duke of Lorraine and Caprara at Zinzheim, attacked and routed a body of Germans at Mulhausen, drove the elector of Brandenburg from Colmar, obtained a victory over him at Turckheim, and at length forced the enemy to repass the Rhine, and abandon their design of invading the king's frontiers, with damage and disgrace.

b. These successes did not prevent the king of England from persisting in the offers of his mediation, or animate Lewis to prosecute the war, could reasonable terms be obtained. The states general themselves were disposed to accommodate matters; but the courts of Vienna and Madrid formed ambitious projects, of clipping the soaring wings of Bourbon, and of humbling the pride of Lewis. The stadtholder too was inflamed with the desire of military glory, and he pushed his resentment to France so far, that the pensioner Fugel acknowledged, it would not be possible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had settled the balance of Europe, on such a footing, as must for years check the elevation of the French monarch. Animosity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm William in those sentiments, and we find he already flattered the general plan of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of Great Britain. Actuated by these principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the English ministers during the campaign, and at last told them, until France received further great mortifications, nothing salutar to the peace of Europe could flow from a negotiation. In the second conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards cost England and Holland such an immensity of blood and treasure, that it was the interest of both to set bounds to the power of France; whence he took occasion to urge, that the king should actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince Lewis that he had the same views with the other confederates; namely, the security of the repose of Europe, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to pursue his design, that the elector of Brandenburg had again broke with the French king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement scarce sufficient to balance the inconveniences arising from dissensions among the generals, and troops of different princes, since the battle of Zinzheim. The Luxembourgers had openly condemned the conduct of the Imperialists in this aession, for several hours they singly sustained the whole weight of the enemy, they had suffered extremely, and were with reason loud in their complaints. The Brandenburgers embraced their cause against the Imperialists; a diversity of interests produced a diversity of opinions; councils only created confusion, and every transaction was as perfectly known to Turenne as if he had been present. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. Montecuculi again refused the command, opposed himself to Turenne, reduced all things to order, displayed the most extensive capacity, held the scale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, suddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then resigned the command, because the enemy had no general worthy of opposing the man who had shewn himself equal to the great Turenne. At this time the illustrious Condé was employed in Flanders, where, with an inferior army, he had kept at bay the prince of Orange for the whole campaign. He was sent to succeed Turenne, but the same reasons which had prevailed with Montecuculi to withdraw, now influenced Condé. He retrieved the king's affairs, and then resigned, with the dignity of a hero.

It was during the recess from military operations, that the sovereignty of Guelderland had been offered the prince of Orange, under the antient title of duke, which it was pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occasioned various conjectures. Those who had no opinion of William's patriotism, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alleged that he was himself the main spring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the states of Guelderland to make the proposal. His friends and admirers were of contrary sentiments. They insisted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had so bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and refused almost beyond probability the liberties of the United Provinces. William wisely deliberated on the offer, and submitted it to the states of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. The last temporised, and

g. were for his accepting it; the second were as positive, in dissuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to asperse his character, and

* Univ. Mod. Hist. vol. xxv. octavo.
The history of the United Provinces,

flain real patriotism with the infamous blot of hypocrisy. Before Holland came to any resolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour, which would have cost more than it was worth, by diminishing his popularity, while it increased his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the states of Utrecht, was his conduct in that province, upon his first resolution after he had been elevated to the fladholderhip. In order to reform abuses, and settle the government upon the antient principles of the constitution, he convened an assembly of the provincial states. Here it was determined, that new members should be elected to compose the body of the nobility and the magistracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In consequence the old constitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was vested in three distinct societies, the counsellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of Orange upon this occasion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave rise to the motion of rendering the fladholdership hereditary in the heirs-male of his body. The Lowgstein faction was now wholly suppressed, and there scarce was heard a murmur against a proposal in which the gratitude of the people, and the interest of the republic, appeared interested. The instrument for this provision was made out, and the example was followed by some of the other provinces.

The calamities of war, which had almost depopulated the empire and the Netherlands, excited the compasion of divers princes, who laboured to establish a negotiation. In this none was so hearty as the king of England, for the reasons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the interests of Europe. His mediation at last operated so powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, where a congress was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious, however, that the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Berlin, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining such advantages as would induce the French monarch to acquiesce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his present situation. The states general, likewise influenced by the fladholder, did not express that forwardness for a negotiation which became their former professions. Hence it was that the armies of every side took the field, and military operations were pushed with vigour, while the ministers were treating about peace in the cabinet. Lewis appea-ed early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced Conde, Aire, and Bouchain. The prince of Orange retaliated, by laying siege to Maestricht, which he pulled with the utmost impetuosity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the scarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterprise. With this event ended the campaign in the Netherlands, when immediately the eyes of all Europe were again turned upon the congress at Nimeguen.

The Spaniards were averse to peace, from a full conviction that the court of England could not long remain blind to the interests of Europe. They persuaded themselves, that rather than see Lewis in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, Charles would join the confederates. On the other hand, the French monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with Holland. Charles asifted in this design; the states general lent an ear to the proposal; but the fladholder of himself refused to enter upon a measure which might have incurred the imputation of treachery, and given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whose defence they engaged in the quarrel. It was a bad remembrance of their generous services, and feanoble interposition, to be now deserted, and left to extricate themselves out of a dangerous war, by the best means in their power. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as some writers affect, might have some influence with the prince; yet it must be confessed, that his sentiments are founded upon justice and generosity. Besides, he perceived that the English nation in general detested their sovereign’s attachment to France; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiscriminate depredations of the French privateers, who made no distinction between Dutch and English merchant-ships, and regarded as lawful prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in England. His valour, steadiness, zeal for the good of Europe, implacable resentment to France, and unvariable attachment to liberty, raised him extremely high in the opinion of a people enamoured above all others of patriotism, and oftener the dupes of hypocrisy than any other nation. The ill-humour of the English was increased by an indignity put on the flag by a French squadron, which refused the compliment to captain Herkert of the Cambridge. The same conduct of Charles, who contented himself with demanding satisfaction by a letter, further incensed the people, and at last the house of commons exhorted the king to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch.
Another circumstance likewise contributed to prevent the separate peace between France and Holland: so successfully had the French ministry laboured in establishing the navy, that France might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in Europe. One of the first remarkable instances of the strength and spirit of her navy, appeared off the coast of Sicily. Messina had lately rebelled from the Spaniards, and the duke de Vicomte was sent with a squadron to support the citizens in their rebellion. This occasioned the junction of the Spanish and Dutch fleets, who set to oppose Vicomte. On the 7th of January they fell in with the enemy, consisting of twenty-two men of war, fix fire-strips, and several bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freshened, and the sea rolled to high, so that the Spanish galleys were forced to put into Lipari. Ruyter, however, did not decline the combat: he bore down upon the enemy, begun the action early, and sustained it with admirable constancy until five in the evening, when the French found means to withdraw, and accomplish their design of succouring Messina. Reyter upon this separated himself from the Spaniards, and repaired to Legbo in, where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the Catholic king’s squadron, which produced a second junction of the fleets, and a resolution to lay siege to Augus by sea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the Spanish viceroy. Three days after the place was invested, the French squadron quitted the port of Messina, for the relief of the besieged. The fleets were nearly equal in strength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, the one determined to gain, and the other resolved not to lose the empire of the ocean. The Spaniards fired at too great a distance, and did little execution; de Reyter with his division supported the brunt of the engagement, broke the French line, gave chase for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a shot from the stern-chase of a French ship. A fever ensued, by which this gallant officer was carried off in the space of a week, to the irreparable loss of his country. He yielded his last breath in Syracuse, lamented as the ornament of Holland, esteemed by all Europe, and recorded by the ablest pens as an example for posterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and rigid republican patriotism. This contributed to the prince of Orange’s future against concluding a peace until France should be humbled. He saw Lewis aspiring after maritime power, which of consequence must ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches, and he hoped to combine England with Holland in destroying his marine, while the confederate land-forces were retrenching his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the side of Germany and the Netherlands.

The event which soon followed justified the prince’s zealous enmity to the house of Bourbon, and his dread of the rising naval power of France. After the late action, the combined fleets of Spain and Holland proceeded from Syracuse to Palermo, where they were pursu’d by the duke de Vicomte. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, composed of twenty-seven men of war, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships. The mole was on their left, the battions of the town on the right, and the fortress of Castile Mare composed the centre. This disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vicomte, or rather du Quafte, the greatest genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this situation, with a squadron scarce equal in strength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely sustained on both sides, when the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent their fire-ships among the allies, oblig’d them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, which however rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital men of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thousand men perish’d on this occasion; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, Lewis became master of the Mediterranean, and joyfully claimed the empire of the ocean. We have thrown these facts together, though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more distinct view of the policy by which the prince of Orange was influenced in his opposition to the negotiations of a separate peace.

William had great reason to expect that the king of England would at length find himself under the necessity of declaring against Lewis. The nation in general expressed the utmost aversion to the measures of the administration, and the house of commons addressed his majesty to break off his connections with the court of France. Some of the leading persons of the kingdom were in the prince’s interest, and negotiating a marriage between him and the prince’s Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York. The earl of Denbigh, by the suggestions of Sir William Temple, first proposed the match to the king and the prince. At first the king was averse to it, then neutral, and at last well disposed to

The history of the United Provinces,

the alliance, in hopes it might engage William to favour his designs, and listen to the separate peace proposed by the French monarch, while the prince always relished the prospect, because he imagined it would engage the English the more strongly to espouse his interest, and enter into his views, with respect to the war. It was from this consideration he accepted the invitation his majesty had given him of visiting England, as soon as the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in the month of October, and repaired to the court at Newmarket, and after various difficulties celebrated his nuptials with the princes; after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of York, the earl of Denby, and Sir William Temple. Now it was agreed that Lewis should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and duke of Lorraine; that there should be a reciprocal restitution between France and Holland, and that Spain should have certain terms specified. This point the prince gained, that Charles solemnly engaged to renounce all connection with Lewis, and openly to espouse the confederate cause, should he refuse to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All these projects, however, had almost been disconcerted by the king's unsteadiness, who was cajoled by the French court to forget all he had promised to his people, and the prince of Orange. It was the earnest wish of Charles to be set above the necessity of applying to his parliament for money, and Lewis artfully turned those inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly subsidy to a considerable amount. To dazzle the eyes of Europe, he struck up a defensive alliance with Holland, but this neither satisfied the prince of Orange nor the commons. Both insisted that he would denounce war against France, unless Lewis accepted the plan drawn up by the prince of Orange and the English ministry.

While the king was thus involved with his parliament, and the republic in suspense whether she was to rely on the good offices of England, in listening to the proposals made by France, the armies took the field with the same views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining some advantage which might give the negotiators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related: we shall only observe, in this place, that towards the close of the season, the states general came to a resolution of accepting peace for themselves and the Spaniards, provided certain towns were ceded to the latter, and ample restitution made to the former. Just as the treaty was on the point of being signed, Lewis's temperament had almost broke up the congress. He refused making the required cession to Spain, unless certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previously granted to Sweden. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmness of the states; the treaty was concluded, the frontier of the United Provinces was secured, the tranquillity of the republic established, and in a few months all Europe enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the issue of a war, which had brought the United Provinces to the verge of desperation, and almost established the French monarch in that universal empire, after which he eagerly aspired (A).

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the history of France. Our intention is no more than to convey a just idea of the policy of the republic.

S E C T,
Comprehending the affairs of the republic from the peace of Nimenguen, to the general treaty of pacification at Ryswick.

**S E C T. XII.**

AN embassy, sent to France by the republic immediately after the peace had been signed at Nimenguen, gave birth to certain disputes about the honours due to the representatives of their high mightinesses, who seemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and insolent inscriptions and devices, had occasioned all their late calamities. Because the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the Louvre, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambassadors passed, they refused proceeding to the audience, though Lewis was expecting them, until they should be received with the same honours as the last embassy sent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the ministers of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambassadors, it was merely the effect of chance, the guards possibly being relieving as they passed. This was denied by the ambassadors, who proved, by the registers of former ministers, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the United Provinces, but to Venice and the duke of Savoy, and cantons of Switzerland. At last this affair was adjusted to their entire satisfaction, and the ambassadors were introduced with all the honours of state, and requited the respect they had had.

LEWIS had his designs in this conciliation. He was labouring a defensive treaty with the states, and had given instructions to that effect to his ambassador at the Hague, the count d'Avaux. To this Mr. Sidney, the English envoy, opposed himself, declaring, in positive terms, that his majesty should regard this treaty as a league against Great-Britain, and a resolution again to disturb the peace of Europe. A whole year had passed in negotiating the point, and France had made no progress; the states contenting themselves with general expressions of esteem and regard for his majesty. Enraged at the disappointment, Lewis ordered d'Avaux to have recourse to menaces, where solicitation and intreaty had failed. An attempt was made to awaken the antient terrors of the republic, by a thundering memorial delivered to the states by the ambassador. Here he represented the king's astonishment and displeasure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the states, their resolution to wait only a few days for their answer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the subject, but to refuse all proposals relative to the defensive alliance, to beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity of securing his majesty's friendship, they must expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumstances to the best advantage he could to his own subjects, and the advancement of the commercial interests of his kingdom. Mr. Sidney perceived the drift of d'Avaux's memorial, and resolved to frustrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of his Britannic majesty, which was presented next day to the states of Holland. This piece was drawn up by a masterly pen, and produced the consequence proposed. The states rejected the French proposals, and ordered their deputies to declare their sentiments to the states general, from whom the count d'Avaux was to receive his answer. Before their high mightinesses could be prevailed upon to communicate the resolution of the states of Holland, a great number of libels were dispersed by the friends of France and England; and it again appeared that the Louvoisian faction, always attached to the French monarch, was not yet wholly subdu'd. The hydra faction again recovered its head, and the opposition to England arose solely from a desire of harrassing the views of the prince of Orange. The defensive treaty proposed became the subject of all conversation, upon which every A.D. 1680. man expressed himself agreeable to his connections, interests, or prejudices. Those who approved the defensive alliance with Lewis, insisted that the United Provinces could not remain neutral, because they had already entered into a defensive treaty with England in the year 1678, by which the contracting parties were bound to assist each other if attacked, and in the space of two months to come to an open rupture with the enemies of either nation. What reason, they asked, could be urged for increasing the resentment of Lewis, by refusing him the same terms which had been given to Charles? Besides, England was so torn with civil divisions, that the republic could have little dependance from that quarter, should she be attacked. It was otherwise with France; it was not only in the power of Lewis, but it was his interest to defend the republic against all the neighbouring powers. The faction did not recollect that Lewis himself was the only dan-
dangerous neighbour, and that his pretended friendship had led the provinces into the a
moist critical situation they had ever experienced. On the contrary, the house of Orange,
and the adherents of England, affirmed, that Great Britain was the most natural ally of the
republic, and by means of her fleets the most powerful protector. The provincial
states were divided: those of Friesland and Groningen were for accepting the French pro-
posals; Holland remained fixed in the refusal; some of the other provinces proposed a
neutrality; and this at length proved the opinion of the states-general, who communica-
ted their resolution in the most delicate terms to the French ambassador, assuring him of their
sincere desire to cultivate and endeavour the friendship of the most Christian king, and their
full determination religiously to adhere to the peace of Nimeguen.

Notwithstanding these protestations, they extremely retented the demands of the b
French king, of the arrears due upon the contributions raised in the last war in the terri-
tory of Borssele, the barony of Breda, and other parts of the dominions of the republic.
Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed
it was observable, that scarce were the bonefires which had been lighted for the late pa-
cificasion extinguished, before a diposition to a fresh war began to shew itself. The
courts of Versailles and Madrid entered into disputes about the title of the duke of Burgundy;
these paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other subjects, in consequence of
which the envoy extraordinary of Spain at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states
general, containing a long list of the infractions of which his catholic majesty demanded
redress. The states sent an order to their ambassadors at the court of France, to use their
cutmost endeavours in composing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from
laying the foundation of another war, which might disturb the peace of all Europe. Spain
at length yielded to the firm resolution of Lewis, and produced a temporary harmony be-
tween the two courts, by ceding the title of Burgundy. The court of Madrid, nevertheless,
endeavoured to fortify itself by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly solicited
on the one part, and as cautiously avoided on the other, from an apprehension of giving
umbra to the French monarch.

While the states were using their good offices to terminate all differences among their
neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For some years they had been in a
state of hostility with the little pyrrhal states of Barbary, though no transtaction worth
d regarding had occurred. That the states were at war could only be known by petty de-
predations, and the seizure of some Dutch merchantmen. However, it was thought con-
vienient to negociate a peace with the Algerines, which was signed the preceding year.
This did not prevent the dey of Algiers from annoying the Dutch commerce, when he
could do it to his own advantage; he had taken several ships since the publication of the
treaty, and was full as dangerous under the mask of friendship as when he professed open
enmity. The Dutch commissaries complained of these infractions, and the dey alleged that
the treaty had not been ratified, because he had not received the present of cannon which
the states promised. At last the expected present arrived at Algiers, was received with
great demonstrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was published by sound of
the trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey solemnly declaring that he would strictly observe
the peace with their high mightinesses.

A.D. 1681.
The court of Spain had for some time been soliciting England to conclude a defensive
treaty. His catholic majesty perceived that Lewis had little regard to the treaty of
Nimeguen, and the subsequent agreement about the title of Burgundy; he was therefore de-
sirous of fortifying himself by alliances. Charles, during the civil broils in his kingdom,
lihtened patiently to his proposals; but he no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his
own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with Spain, and renewed his connec-
tions with the French monarch. Lewis, notwithstanding his late disappointment, and the
rough checks he sustained in the prosecution of his plan of universal monarchy, had f
not yet wholly abandoned that design. After the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers
had disbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, divested to the
neighbouring states, and infamously erected chambers at Mentz and Brinaz, for enquiring
into titles, and refuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. The
authority he assumed was extravagant. He summoned sovereign princes to appear before
his chambers, and occasionally issued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in
case they disobeyed his imperial mandate. He seized upon Caflal, and the free town of
Strausburg; demanded Alof of the Spaniards, and in consequence of their refusal to cede
that place, he reduced Luxemburg. This incensed the catholic king to such a degree, that
he declared war against France, without reflecting on his inability to support it, and had g

6 Suite de Hist. de la Nuville, par Anonym. p. 28. et seq.
or Republic of Holland.

...the mortification to see all the Spanishe Netherlands over-run without opposition. Lewis's A debateable treaty between the states and Sweden. conduct alarmed all Europe, and in particular the states general, whose vicinity to the Spanishe Netherlands made them peculiarly interested. It was this consideration which sug-
ggested the idea of a treaty with Sweden for the guaranty of the peace of Nimegue. As Great Britain was likewise deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, M. Van Buiningen was sent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the strongest remon-
frances, to which the king listened attentively, but to little purpose; for though confe-
rences were appointed to negotiate the affair, he still adhered to the interest of Lewis, and in the end declined the proposed treaty.

The treaty of guaranty concluded between Sweden and the republic was not all
relished by Lewis, who ordered his ministers at the Hague to present divers memorials
upon the subject, to the states general. In thes he declared, that he regarded this alliance
as an association injurious to himself, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more
fatal in its consequences than the former. The states vindicated their conduct, by alleg-
ing, that as his majesty had repeatedly acknowledged the republic, he must necessarily
allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances the might think proper, which was
the essential and distinguishing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they af-
irmed, was to secure the freedom of Europe, and preserve the repose of the republic, as
well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to present the count
d'Avaux with a copy of the convention; and defended themselves with so much candor and
force of argument, that Lewis appeared satisfied. An unfortunate accident however hap-
penned, which had almost been attended with the most serious consequences, and an open
rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garrison of Ypres, had orders from the
king to seize a Frenchman, who had taken refuge in Amsterdam, and been admitted a bur-
gels by the title of the count de Sardam. His reasons for withdrawing from the French
dominions were not known; but it was the bufiness of the states to prevent an infraction
of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arrested at Rotterdam,
and sent prisoners to the Hague. Several memorials were presented by d'Avaux to procure
the release of the prisoners, or at least a suspension of the proceedings against them, which
were actually begun. He alleged they were the king's subjects, waiting at Rotterdam for
a conveyance into the French dominions: but this excuse not answering his purpose, he
threw off the mask, and declared they had acted by the king his master's directions.
The states pretended great astonishment at this confession; and perceiving the conse-
quence of diffambling in a point that did nearly affect the liberty of the state, they ac-
quainted the ambassador, that as the trep fas was committed in the provinces of Holland
and Friesland, he must apply to the states of those provinces for redress. He did so, and
obtained no satisfaction. He was told, that surrendering the criminals would be found-
ing a precedent for every prince in Europe to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that
if they complied with the king's request, the same would be expected by other potentates,
who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to understand,
that the proceedings must go on, and the prisoners be either condemned, or acquitted le-
gally. In consequence, the process was carried on, the officer solemnly condemned to be
beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for a space of ten years. Accord-
ingly the lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, scaffolds were erected, a
hearse, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal: he was brought to the block,
and there pardoned and sent back, with his party, to the garrison. By this flatness,
conduit the states asserted their liberties, without giving just cause of complaint to the most
chiftian king. D'Avaux at first talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance; but
he was in the end forced to acknowledge that the equity and firm resolution of the Holland-
ers were equally commendable.

The states of Holland con-
demned a French
officer to death.

Meantime the emperor perceiving that Lewis's design was gradually to depopil him
of all his dominions in Aisace, desired to be admitted into the guaranty treaty lately ex-
ecuted between the court of Stockholm and the states general. He, at the same time,
formed an alliance with the circles of Francenia and the Upper Rhine, in order that he
might have an army on that river, if necessity required. Already he had brought a
body of troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given
to prince Walde, now created a prince of the empire. The states were not dis-
pleased with these motions, which intimated a resolution to oppose the ambitious designs
of the French monarch. They were particularly pleasing to the prince of Orange, who,
besides his general enmity to the French, had now personal causes of complaint against

Lewis. That monarch could not avoid resenting the zeal with which the prince of
Orange espoused the liberties of Europe, and combated his ambition. He saw that his vi-

...
The history of the United Provinces,

prince as the most formidable of his enemies, because he directed the councils of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in Spain and Great Britain. It was this which inspired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of Orange, hemmed in by his dominions, and envirothed by Provence. It was not possible to make the haughty soul of William drop to conceptions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the pride of his ambition, though that was his predominant passion: but it was in Lewis's power to punish his obstinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of innocent people, for the crimes of their sovereign.

While the negotiation for a defensive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppressions which his highness had sustained, either by the connivance or direction of the French monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the consideration of the states general, to be discussed previously to the expected treaty. D’Avaux, however, had the address to have the motion set aside, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjudging than was allowed for the conclusion of the treaty. When the duchy of Luxembourg was invaded by the French troops, the commanding officer had exposed to fire, by sound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the prince of Orange, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the states of the country. It was of the losses he sustained that the prince desired to be indemnified; but as the defensive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretensions to a more feasible opportunity. Lewis, not satisfied with denying the prince justice, had recourse to further violence. He obliged the magistrates of the town of Orange to expel all the French scholars from their college, and the French artisans out of their city. He sent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. As these arbitrary proceedings were complained against at every court in Europe, he was at no loss to colour them over with specious pretexts. He spirited up the prince of Condé to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of administrator to the duke de Longueville. To prefer all the appearances of justice, he cited the prince, by the title of messire William count de Nassau, living at the Hague in Holland, to appear before his privy council. The provinces of Zeeland, Holland, and Utrecht, were unanimous in the prince’s defence. They represented the affair to the states, who mentioned it to the count d’Avaux; but this minister having no instructions upon that head, M. Heinsius was sent to solicit the prince’s affairs at Paris, where he resided above a year to no effect.

To account for the indifference with which the states of Holland and the states general beheld the oppression of a prince so nearly connected with the republic, and to whom and his ancestors the United Provinces owed the greatest obligations, it will be necessary to enter more particularly into the situation of parties at this period. It was the chief business of d’Avaux at the Hague, to rear up an opposition to the power of the stadtholder, and cherish the remains of the Louvenstein faction. In pursuance of this scheme, he proved successful beyond probability, conferring the depressed state of the opposite party a few years before, and the valetudinary and power of the prince of Orange. The first trial of the strength of the faction was made on the refusal of the Spaniards to cede Alkmaar, and the invasion of the Ten Provinces that ensued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, caused an extraordinary meeting of the states, and, in concert with the pensionary Vogel, the Spanish resident, and the council of state, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of 16,000 men, to augment the forces of the republic. The states declined the request, under pretence of the necessity of consulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the French faction, to gain time for starting such objections, or raising such an opposition as should utterly disconcert the prince’s design. At the next meeting of the states this became apparent. Several of the deputies were instructed to give their negative to the motion. The city of Amsterdam was at the head of the opposition; and after violent debates, which lasted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his interest and credit were on the decline; for the states separated without coming to any decision. Even after the marshal de Humieres had over-run the Netherlands, the opposition to the levies continued without shrinking; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful consequences from the power of the stadtholder, than from the ambition of the French monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of Amsterdam into his sentiments, the prince, at the head of a solemn deputation, waited upon the magistrates; but though he was received with respect, his errand proved fruitless. Amsterdam not only positively declared against the levies, but was supported in this resolution by Leyden, Delft, Schiedam, the Briel, and other towns.

Disappointed in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a resolution, destructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very basis of the union of Utrecht. Finding he could not carry his point in the constitutional method, by the consent of every individual city,
he determined that a plurality of voices should be sufficient authority. So rash a measure, dictated by passion, was of the utmost service to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of excusing against his ambition; it rendered their cause popular, and furnished them with the patriotic side of the dispute. Grafting opposition upon public spirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the constitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it must be an enemy to his country, and that he must have deeper designs than those which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by rushing into the war, kindled between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, they should plunge themselves into greater calamities than those they pretended to remove. In proof of this, they alleged, that the French minister had already offered a plan of pacification, which Spain ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuse, even though supported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the close of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependence, they asserted, on the promises of the German princes; and as to the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Spain had no title to expect their interposition, as they had not guaranteed the treaty of Nimeguen. The emperor was fully employed in opposing the Turks, Sweden had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of England, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to espouse the French monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the proposals now offered, than to rouze the indignation of France, by making useless levies, which would produce no other effect than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raising enemies to the republic.

Notwithstanding the plausible plea urged by the city of Amsterdam, and the heads of the French faction, the prince still insisted, and indeed seemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this instance, where the safety of the state was endangered by the infatuatet opposition of party prejudice, should be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the constitution. This was certainly so daring a trespass on the constitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out suddenly into a flame; yet the prince of Orange pursu’d his design with that cool determined resolution, which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in ashes. He obtained both a majority of the cities, and likewise of the provinces. Zeeland, Friesland, and Holland, firmly opposed him; but the former was at length gained over to the stadtholder’s measures: yet would neither Friesland nor Groningen so much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the will of a majority. As to the city of Amsterdam, it carried matters so high, as not only to enter a protest against the levy in question, but to declare that she could never regard this resolution as an act of the states of Holland, because it was not authorized agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous consent; she therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expenses of the levy.

In the midst of these diffusions, the Spanish envoy presented a memorial, urging the states to declare against France: in consequence of which the states sent a deputation to the count d’Avaux, proposing a suspension of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of Orange thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the states, and humbling the city of Amsterdam. In concert with the Spanish ambassador, he had intercepted some dispatches from the French ambassador to his court, in which he acquaints his majesty with the methods he had practised to influence the magistrates of the city, and the sums expended in corrupting the deputies. These letters were produced in a full assembly of the states, the prince moving, that two of the deputies chiefly concerned should withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandestine correspondence between M. d’Avaux and the city of Amsterdam, inconsistent with the honour, the liberty, and the safety of the republic. Upon this they were read aloud, and produced such an effect, that the states ordered copies to be transmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be sealed up, until the Senate of the states general should be consulted. The stream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured against the magistrates of the city; the French ambassador preferted a memorial to the states general, renewing his master’s former proposals of peace; but little regard was paid to overtures which were used as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the pensionary, and the council, urged the necessity of new levies with more vehemence than ever; and they left no means untried of procuring the same submission to an act of the majority, which the principles of the constitution required to the act of the whole body.
The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 1624.

With respect to the letters read in the assembly, they were vindicated by the magistrates of Amsterdam, who alleged, that the cypher was misinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted entirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deposition, which had been seized, and security for their deputies to attend the public service. Not satisfied with this, they sent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, M. d'Avaux insisted upon the restitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the laws of nations, and the rights of ambassadors. All this was adding combustibles to the flame. William adhered to the charge with his usual stability. Instead of restoring the papers, he insisted upon an inquiry, which however he could not accomplish, as the privileges of all the deputies were interred in the event. At the same time he purged the main object of the levies, and procured a farther supply of horse and foot for the service of his Catholic majesty: his own guards were specified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he should take the field in person, when the states of Groningen and Frisland objected to the vote of augmentation, because their deputies were absent. They therefore insisted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all possible means should be used to disperse the court of Spain to accept of the proposals made by the French, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preserved. William, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement sent to the marquis de Grane amounted to fourteen thousand horse and foot: the states signified, in their answer to the remonstrances of Frisland and Groningen, that they could not recall this reinforcement; the last division of the prince's guards were on their march to Flanders, his own field-equipage was in readines, and the day was appointed for his setting out to co-operate with the Spanish general in the conduct of the campaign, when a menacing memorial from d'Avaux, expressed in a file of authority, shook the resolution of the states, diffused a panic through every department of the republic, and, in despite of the stadholder's utmost efforts, put a stop to all vigorous proceedings. D'Avaux's memorial was opposed by a counter-memorial from the Spanish envoy, in which he put on a great show of magnanimity, that operated but little on the minds of the states, as it was unsupported with the requisite power. A resolution was therefore taken to treat with the French minister on the proposals made in his former memorials. But d'Avaux now refused to stand by those conditions. He alleged, that circumstances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch government had obliged the king to enter upon new measures, and that his majesty was determined not to deviate in the smallest degree from the proposals he now delivered. The states showed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, struck with the power of Lewis, and incapable of being wound up by the spirited remonstrances of the prince of Orange to the necessary pitch of resolution. Frisland and Groningen besides continued in their opposition to the levies, and the city of Amsterdam positively refused contributing to the support of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with d'Avaux, and his terms accepted; upon which orders were sent to the troops in Flanders to desist from all hostilities. The French faction, having gained this great point, determined to subject the prince of Orange to still greater mortifications. As soon as the treaty with France had passed the usual forms, the states came to a resolution to disband all the forces raised to assist Spain, consisting of one thousand four hundred and forty-five horse, and nine thousand and forty-two foot. The magistrates of Amsterdam pushed their animosity so far, as to invite prince Casimir of Nassau and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the stadholdership, in the room of his cousin the prince of Orange. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony subsisting between the two princes, and the magistrates determined to compensate their disappointment by some other method of revenge, no less signal and mortifying. Their deputies were instructed to propose in the assembly of the states, that enquiry might be made into the state of the navy; that the fleet should be augmented; that the army should be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and soldiers should be diminished; and the money issued for repairing fortifications, and other public services, should be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. These proposals were directly pointed against the power and authority of the stadholder; but they had such an appearance of patriotism, that they could not be openly opposed. Yet as they affected the interest of such a number of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the dispute, to parry the thrust made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the assembly. Thus Lewis again revived the diffeisons of Holland, routed a faction which had for some time lain dormant, and once more gained such influence in the repub-

\[b \text{ Le Cleer, tom. ii. p. 123.}\]
lic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous resolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of subjection, and limit the authority of the stadtholder.

The events of this year afforded a prospect to the stadtholder of a closer connection with England. His father-in-law, the duke of York, succeeded to the crown; and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the French monarch to procure justice to the prince, with respect to his principality, and other territories, oppressed, impoverished, and seized by Lewis. He was fully apprised of all the grievances of which William had cautiously and fruitlessly fought redress. The maréchal de Lorges came ambassador from Versailles, to compliment him on his accession: he had the fairest occasion of doing his fon eminent service; but he refrained, and displayed a coldness which was soon after improved into invincible hatred. All the Dutch writers, contrary to the testimony of English historians, assert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendship of James; and that his highness proceeded so far, upon the king's accession, as to intimate to the duke of Monmouth, then residing at the Hague, that he might look out for another asylum. Yet did these renders of friendship produce no return; on the contrary, James was reserved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the states general. To the former he shewed some remains of the dislike he expressed to the marriage of the prince's daughter; and to the latter, his bigotted aversion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the Hollanders. Yet he affected complying with the temper of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the balance of Europe with the steady hand of justice, and treat upon a level with the proud Lewis le Grand. His embassy however to the court of Rome afforded a bad prognostic, and became the subject of uneasiness, not only to the states general, the prince of Orange, and all the Protestant princes and powers, but even to Catholics, who wished well to Great Britain, and forebore that the king's bigotry would subject him to the counsels of the pontiff, and connect him more closely with the house of Bourbon. Rouquelaure, the Spanish ambassador, is said to have intimated his apprehensions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the monarch.

Though the duke of Monmouth had retired to Brussels, in consequence of the hint given him by the prince of Orange, great numbers of malcontents still resided in Holland, particularly the earl of Argyile, who was making the utmost preparations to return in an hostile manner to his native country, and continually furring Monmouth to those ambitious projects which he was on the point of relinquishing. Skelton, the English minister, had notice of what was transpiring. Accordingly he presented a memorial to the states, desiring the persons of the refugees might be seized, and the vessels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to Great Britain stopped in the harbours, which he specified. He gave in a list of names obnoxious to the government; and the states seemed willing to shew the utmost respect to the court of London, but without violating the laws of hospitality. They ordered the search required to be made, after having hinted to the malcontents the necessity of withdrawing themselves and their effects. This has been urged by English writers as a proof that the Dutch government connived at the intended invasion; though, if we consider the artifices by which the disaffected subjects of Great Britain procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all strangers by the fundamental laws of the constitution, the late dispute with the French king upon a subject of a similar nature, and a variety of other circumstances, it will appear evident, that the states were far from giving them any encouragement; and that they did all in their power to oblige the king of England, consistently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. The Continuation of Nuville, indeed, affirms, that notwithstanding they had no reason to be satisfied with a prince who was the author of two wars, and had constantly fomented divisions between the king his brother and the republic, yet they presently complied with the envoy's demands, by lending copies of his memorials, and of his list, to all the towns and cities of the Seven Provinces, commanding the magistrates to make diligent search after the persons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malcontents were actually embarked for Scotland before these orders were issued, was certainly one of the first public causes of discontent between the two nations. James alleged, that the states had affixed in stirring up rebellion among his subjects; and, to shew his resentment, he encouraged the Algerines to declare war aforesight against the United Provinces.

However solid and sincere the late peace concluded between their high mightinesses, and the piratical states of Algerines, might appear, the great commerce of Holland in the Mediterranean, and the valuable prizes every day before their eyes, together with the suggestions of the court of London, were too powerful temptations to be refuted by a barba-

* Nuville, Hist. tom. iii. p. 84, 85.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 7 Y
rous, avaricious, lawless people. They therefore first began their piracies, and to sanctify those robberies with the name of justice. They published a declaration of war, in which were specified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had not previously demanded redress. An incredible number of vessels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ships abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpless hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon James, that while every Christian port in Europe was shut against those violators of equity, order, and the laws of society, they were in a manner protected in England. They had leave to fculk in the creeks and harbours on the English coast, to lay in wait for their prey, to retire thither when pursued, to sell their prizes, and to supply themselves with every necessary. This at least is the allegation of foreign writers; nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologists of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the states, by way of reprisal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crowds to take shelter under the wing of the republic, and the states thought themselves justified in pursuing the dictates of humanity and hospitality, while they at the same time obtained their revenge. Sir Robert Peyton was among the number of the English refugees: he was highly obnoxious to the court, and shielded himself against the king's resentment, by a timely retreat to Amsterdam, that universal asylum for diffracts, misfortune, and too frequently for villainy. James formed a design of seizing this exile by open violence, knowing the resolution of the states, not to surrender him in consequence of remonstrances. Certain natives of Great Britain, who held commissions in the Dutch army, were employed in this outrage on the laws of the commonwealth; and Skelton the envoy conducted the attempt in person. Peyton was seized; but he was rescued by the populace, who committed to prison the officers who had thus unjustifiably trespassed upon the constitution. The states remonstrated to the court of London, and in such lively terms, that the king thought proper to disavow all knowledge of the violence: however, when a process was formed against the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, James interposed, and requested that their punishment might be referred to him; and that, as they were subjects of Great Britain, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occasion the states shewed their respect for the king; -they even paid him more deference than they had shewed for Lewis the Great, in the zenith of his power and glory. The French king's officer was condemned, and brought on the scaffold; the English offenders, though in the service of the states, were sent over to England, in hopes the king would have at least not countenanced them; but they were disappointed. James not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed. Besides these causes of mutual discontent, James enlarged the breach, by a revival of the antient disputes between the English and Dutch East India companies, with respect to the trade of both nations to Bantam, which the Dutch, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The English company indeed had presented a petition to the king, praying his interposition, and shewing the injury sustained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Hollanders in that quarter. They specified a number of violations committed by the Dutch, under the sanction of the young king of Bantam's name; they demonstrated their design of excluding all Europeans from that trade; they expected his majesty to procure them justice, reparation of their losses, and security for their future commerce. James mentioned the affair to the Dutch ambassador, and he denied the charge; upon which instructions were sent to the English minister at the Hague, to represent the complaints of the company to the states general. This produced conferences between the commissioners of the two companies, of which the reader has already had an account (A). From the king's so warmly patronizing the India company, and other circumstances, it was inferred at the Hague, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

While the states kept a strict eye on all the occurrences that passed in England, they were not neglectful of the conduct of France. They endeavoured to conduct themselves, with respect to the court of Versailles, as to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repose of Europe. They suppressed all emotion, at the inhumanity shewn the French Protestants, and the cruelties committed in the principality of Orange. Party and
policy both contributed to prevent their interposing for the prince of Orange, and procuring him the justice he petitioned. They winked at many other acts of Lewis's delpostism, out of dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a slight accident had almost embroiled them with that monarch. Two Dutch men of war, going to Villa Nova to wood and water, fell in with a French squadron of eight men of war, commanded by the duke de Mortemert. The French admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's flag, to grant which the Dutch captains were not authorized. On their refusal, the duke fired a broadside, and an action ensued, which lasted for five hours. One of the Dutch captains, perceiving the superiority of the enemy, sheered off, the other bravely maintaining the engagement, was killed, and his ship taken, after he had made the French admiral pay dear for his victory. Immediately the count d'Acques presented a memorial to the states general, demanding satisfaction for the insult offered to the king's flag. He alleged, contrary to all probability, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and confirmed his allegations with such menaces, as determined the states to send an amicable to Verbiest, to put an end to the affair in the best manner possible. Notwithstanding justice and equity were on their side, it was found necessary to make concessions, and procure restitution of their ship, by mean submission. This commonwealth has indeed been always distinguished for temporising, and converting every incident, every despicable compliance to her own advantage. Pride in one or two instances blinded her to her interests; in general that and every other passion were made subservient to her avarice. While she was making acknowledgments to Lewis, and impairing her pardon for injuries she had suffered, for presuming to stand in her own defence, this republic was harbouring the ingenious, diligent artisans, driven out of his dominions, and persecuted in account of their religion; she was establishing new manufactures upon the ruins of the French industry, and rendering the liberty or her constitution useful to the extension of her commerce. Hitherto the Dutch traded wholly with the commodities of other countries, now they tried to raise a foundation for trade among themselves, and they succeeded by dint of perseverance. They imported a breed of cattle from Jutland, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hardware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their East and West India colonies, and in a short time they became the most distinguished of any people in Europe, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid sale, not only among the barbarians of Asia, Africa, and America, but all the civilized nations of Europe.

The jealousy between the states and Great Britain in the mean time daily increased; and it was considerably augmented by the share the prince of Orange had in the famous league of Augsburg, which was supposed to operate so powerfully on the subqueous revolution in England; though we must confess we cannot discover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The states took the alarm at the king's assembling his forces, inflating our conscriptions for repairing and augmenting his navy, afflicting a stated annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds, to be issued quarterly out of the treasury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful squadron in continual readiness. They suspected, from these formidable preparations, that some great blow was meditated; and their writers all alleged, that the priests who swarmed about the king's person, and were presumed to be entirely acquainted with the secrets of his cabinet, infuriated, that the stroke was levelled against the republic, and that the French monarch would join his weight, to render it decisive. If we may credit the testimony of bishop Burnet, this suspicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, James certainly had not laid aside the appearance of friendship for the republic. His envoy Skelton was recalled from the Hague, and succeeded by the marquis d'Abbeville, vested with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his first public audience, this minister gave the states the strongest assurances of the king his master's regard for the republic, and firm resolution inviolably to observe all treaties concluded with the states since his accession. He endeavoured to dissipate all the apprehensions they had so rashly entertained, from the malicious suggestions of persons disaffected to his majesty's person and government; and he concluded with solemn protestations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preservation of the repose of Europe, and the defence of the British dominions. In his private negotiation with the prince of Orange, he assured his highness, that the king had no design of injuring himself and the princeps in their right of succession to his crown, in case of failure of direct male issue. Other matters were likewise treated of, in a variety of conferences the British minister had with the prince; but as they have no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we shall omit them.

* History of his own Times, pag. 668, Fol.

London,
The history of the United Provinces,

London, with instructions to expostulate boldly with the king, upon the measures he was pursuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better understanding between him and the statesholder. Before the departure of this minister, Abbeville had presented two memorials, one upon the subject of the India commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor Burnet, an English clergyman, afterwards raised to the see of Salisbury, might be banished the territory of the state.

A.D. 1688.

The negotiations in England and Holland turned upon the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the test-act, to which the king wanted the prince of Orange’s consent, who was now considered as presumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princes; but William did not seem inlinable to yield any of the liberties of the Protestant religion. He even declared positively, that he could not carry his respect to the king so far, as to sacrifice his religion to his inclination to oblige his father in law. This firmness determined the king to have recourse to violent measures. He made fresh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the English seamen in foreign service, and by a letter to the states general, demanded the six English regiments in their service; a demand with which he was sensible the states would not, and could not comply. A civil answer however was returned; in which his majesty was given to understand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authorized their sending back the English troops, especially at so critical a conjuncture, unless the kingdom should be attacked by some foreign enemy. The arguments which the states urged in apology for their refusal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of Orange had no hand in procuring this resolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of England, because the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the express testimony of all the English historians, that Dykvelt had private instructions from the prince, to treat clandestinely with the English malcontents, and that he executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. Bishop Burnet, who then resided at the prince’s court, acknowledges that, previous to Dykvelt’s departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princes upon the affairs of England, the discontents of the English nation, the danger which threatened the Protestant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concourse of the nobility and gentlemen of distinction at the prince’s court, the correspondence he kept up in England, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are stronger proofs of his ambition and policy, than of his filial duty, his sincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often used as a cloak, by princes, to cover designs not authorized either by religion or morality.

At this time the vacancy of the episcopal see of Cologne, for which prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, were candidates, furnished the states general with a pretext for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimuegn. The pretensions formed by the most Christian king justified this measure; and the augmentation of the English navy afforded them a specious handle for putting their marine in a posture of defence. Both were admirable marks for the prince of Orange, at this time making preparations to invade England. He had an interview in Westphalia with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Luxemburg, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of so much confluence to the interests of religion and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of Holland during his expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, and such a number of transports freighted, as would serve for the accommodation of twelve thousand land-forces. France and England were alarmed at these preparations, but neither could penetrate into the object in view. The count d’Avaux, however, received instructions to present a memorial to the states, expressing the king’s astonishment at the mighty preparation they were making by sea and land, especially at a feason of the year when the augmentation of the marine intimated some extraordinary enterprise. The marquis d’Abbeville, in the name of his Britannic majesty, supported this memorial by another, in which he insisted on his right of demanding the object of so extraordinary an armament. This remonstrance was followed by a second memorial from the French ambassador, in which he declared, that the intimate friendship subsisting between the king his master and the king of England, would oblige him not only to assist that monarch, should he be attacked, but also to regard the first act of hostility against England as a manifest violation of the peace, and a direct, formal design of coming to a rupture with France. To this memorial, which entirely consisted of menaces, and a declaration of Lewis’s purposes, the states returned no answer: and with respect to d’Abbeville’s remonstrances, they contented themselves with replying, that the preparations in England rendered it necessary for the republic to be upon their guard.
or Republic of Holland.

a guard, especially as every power in Europe was busied in raising forces. Besides, they demanded an explanation of the treaty between France and England, in which the states thought themselves particularly interested.

Upon any other occasion, so rough an answer would probably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew another memorial from the English minister, and an assurance, that his majesty was ready to co-operate with the states in preserving the peace of Europe, and enforcing the treaty of Nimeguen. It was evident that James at length perceived his danger. He now betrayed symptoms of fear, and proceeded so far as to express his desire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was disregarded, from a conviction that he was secretly in the interest of France, and actually in treaty with Lewis.

b The truth is, the states were so sensible of the weight it would give the republic in the scale of Europe, to have the prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain, that they pushed this measure with the utmost vigour. This was the secret spring of all their motions: it was this that silenced the voice of faction, and rendered every man attached to his country, though possibly at enmity with the house of Orange, ready to promote with all his might the great design.

The first direct confection of the destitution of the armament proceeded from the pensioner Fagel, who frankly owned to the marquis d’Abbeville, that the prince of Orange, in consequence of an invitation from the English nobility, was determined to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. Soon after the states published their reasons for assisting the prince with troops and shipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifesto, drawn up by the prince of Orange, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to England. Here he enumerated the grievances of the English nation, recapitulated the fruits of attempts which had been made for procuring redress, touched upon the supposed injustice in the birth of the prince of Wales, and professed his own and the prince’s regard for the English nation, and for the liberties and religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a measure which must unavoidably produce a rupture with France, the prince took his leave of the states, and embarking on the nineteenth day of October, failed out a few leagues, when a storm arose, which scattered the ships in such a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapsed before they could reassemble at the place of rendezvous. A second time the prince failed; a favourable passage, arrived safe in England, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation.

c The success of this expedition extremely embarrassed the court of Versailles. Lewis had already laid an embargo upon all the Dutch shipping in his ports, by which he violated an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, framed expressly for the mutual security of the commerce of France and Holland. What was still a greater violation of the laws of nations, the ships crews were forced by threats to enter into the king’s service, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, Lewis urged the resolution laid to be passed in the states to prohibit the importation of French manufactures, though his majesty had by an edict expressly forbid the importation into his dominions of Dutch herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hostilities in Germany, and the dauphin commanded in person at the siege of Philippolis. It was not the interest of Lewis to multiply his enemies; but he saw that the prince of Orange’s success in England would necessarily engage the Dutch to enter into the confederacy against him; it was therefore his business to anticipate their designs, and attack them before they could be assisted by the prince of Orange, and probably by the whole strength of the English nation. With this view he declared war against the republic, on pretence that their high mightinesses manifested, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppose the elevation of the cardinal Farnese to the electorate of Cologne. It was no prize to the states to see this declaration: it was expected, and soon answered by a counter-declaration, in which the affront of the French monarch was refused, and all the encroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppreessions committed by the court of Versailles since the peace of Nimeguen, were clearly enumerated. They demonstrated, that ambition, and the lust of conquest, were the causes of the invasion of the provinces in the year 1672: that necessity alone, and the value of the prince of Orange, had forced Lewis to make peace with the republic in 1678, only to recover fresh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve Europe again in the flames of war, from which, however, if he attended to his real interest, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the Dutch com-
The history of the United Provinces,

were with every kind of imposition, and had actually put an entire stop to some branches of trade, expressly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could display in stronger colours his arrogance and injustice, than his seizing all the Dutch ships in his ports, and obliging the mariners to serve in his navy, without any other shadow of excuse for so flagrant a violence, than the republic’s charging French commodities with the same incumbrances to which their own were subjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed, that all his assurances, by solemn ambassies, were only in order to lull the neighbouring states into security; his treaties of peace, necessary steps towards renewing the war; his word, his honour, and his faith, prostituted to the purposes of ambition, and the rage of conquest: in a word, that his whole conduct was a series of thuggish, turgid, fation, tyranny, oppression, and perfidy.

Nothing could be more keen, animated, and sarcastic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The states were sensible they could expect no favour from Lewis, and they determined to rouse the spirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the arts of the French monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince Waldek, and composed of the troops of Brandenburgh, Lusenburgh, Heffe Caffel, and other German states, joined to the forces of the republic. They were opposed by the mareschal de Humieres, and both armies were encamped on opposite banks of the Somme. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was constantly declined by the mareschal, who was strongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage.

The whole preceding year was consumed in preparations, encampments, stratagems, and endeavours to bring on a decisive action. Spain, Germany, and Savoy, now declared against France; but Lewis had sent such numerous armies into the field as were sufficient to make head against all his enemies. His strength seemed to increase in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never so formidable as when he combated singly more than half the powers of Europe. Luxembourg succeeded de Humieres in the command, and Waldek soon experienced, in the plains of Fleuris, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illustrious Condé. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict, about six thousand prisoners were made, all the cannon taken, and prince Waldek reduced to the necessity of acting defensively for the remainder of the campaign.

Notwithstanding the Dutch were defeated at Fleuris, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince Waldek performed all that could be expected from consummate abilities. Luxembourg did justice to both, and confessed that never was victory more obtinately contested, or a retreat more formidable than that of the Dutch infantry, who were exalted above the Spanish infantry at Rocroi. It was now the endeavour of the states to reinforce their army with all possible expedition, and to restore the spirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A sum of money was distributed among the infantry, and the highest praisés were bestowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had suffered most were relieved by fresh troops drawn out of garrison, the elector of Brandenburgh with a body of forces joined the army, and such vigorous measures were taken as prevented Luxembourg’s drawing any advantage from his victory.

England and Holland were now united in the strictest bonds of alliance, though the disturbances in Ireland prevented William from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great scheme proposed of humbling Lewis, it was necessary first to establish himself firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate James of ever recovering his dominions. The Dutch and English fleets were lying at St. Helen's, when advice arrived that the French squadron had entered the Channel. On the twenty-third of July the admirals weighed, having express orders to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their inferiority. In all, the French fleet amounted to one hundred and nineteen sail, eighty of which were of the line, while the combined squadrons did not exceed fifty-six ships of the line, besides frigates. The van was led by the Dutch squadron, formed into three divisions, under the admirals Everittzen, Callenberg, and Vander Putten. Lord Torrington, the English admiral, commanded in the center. Off Beachy they came up with the enemy, and the Dutch began the engagement with the French van, led by the famous Chateau Renauld, who sustained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at last put in disorder, after a sharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however supported by another division of the French squadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmost vigour. As the English division lay at a considerable distance, the Hollander were surmounted. Torrington endeavoured to extricate them, but with so much caution, that, perceiving their safety depended upon their own courage, the Dutch made one violent effort.

---

1 Le Clerc, pag. 138.
or Republic of Holland.

a effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loss sustained, that the Dutch bore the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ships were sunk, and an equal number stranded on the coast of Suffolk, to which they set fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Besides, they had several gallant officers killed, particularly the rear admirals Dick and Breckel, and captain Nordet, with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. Next day the French came up with captain Varden Poet, in a sixty gun ship, disabled by the loss of her masts in the preceding action, and took him after a desperate resistance. In a word, it was universally acknowledged, that the Hollanders fought with the utmost skill and intrepidity, and that, had they been properly seconded, the enemy must have yielded the victory. So feasible were the states of the gallant behaviour of the admiral, that they received them with the highest respect, continued them in the command, and issued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all possible dispatch; yet was it some mortification to see two states who had lately disputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upstart maritime power, reared in the space of a few years by the care, vigilance, and genius of Colbert.

It was now expected the war on the continent would assume a favourable aspect. King William, by the battle of the battle of Breda, had defeated the designs of the French monarch and the unfortunate king James in Ireland. He crossed the seas to preside at the congress at the Hague, the most splendid and sumptuous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the Hague was magnificent; his arrival diffused vigour through the provinces; he was considered as the head of the league forming against Lewis for the defence of public liberty; and the personal qualities of the prince of Orange received additional lustre from the British diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the states, to whom he paid his first compliments. In a studied speech, his majesty acquainted them with the success of his endeavours to secure the liberty and religion of the people of Great Britain, with the state of affairs in Ireland, and with his resolution now to oppose in person all the enemies of the republic, to prosecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole strength of his new dominions in curbing the influence of France, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and solid peace for Europe.

HAVING dispatched matters with the states general, the states of Holland, and the council of state, William, in the next place, turned his attention to the business of the congress, which was composed of a great number of sovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a labouring, spirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. He demonstrated, that the interests of every individual concerned in the league were comprised in the success of the confederacy: he enlarged on the power of the enemy, the daring ambition of Lewis, the number of his forces, and the ability of his generals, trained up under Turenne and Conde, the great matters of the military art. In the present circumstances action was more requisite than deliberation. All the principal fortresses, which formed the barrier of liberty, were posseffed by the enemy, who would soon like a torrent over-run Germany and the Netherlands, if they were not checked by the most spirited efforts. Divisions, dilatory proceedings, or a failure of engagements, would prove equally fatal: it was in vain to oppose fruitless complaints, or unprofitable remonstrances, against injustice; the sword alone was the adequate protector of innocence, and avenger of wrongs. Neither the resolutions of a barren diet, nor the airy hope of sanguine persons, built on a chimerical foundation, but soldiers, action, courage, conduct, and unanimity, could withstand the proud elated Lewis. He concluded, that, for his own part, he would exert his utmost credit, employ his forces, expend his whole revenue, and hazard his person, in rescuing the liberties of Europe out of the hands of an insolent oppressor; and he doubted not but the Almighty would prosper his endeavours, if seconded by the same resolutions in all the other allies.

Upon this the congress proceeded to adjut the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furnish. The whole exceeded two hundred thousand men, of whom the republic sent thirty-five thousand. Next the operations of the campaign were concerted, every article of the alliance was fully explained, the conditions upon which peace would be accepted clearly determined, and the whole confederacy formed agreeable to that plan which William had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of Orange and stadtholder of Holland.

While William was thus exerting himself to cement a powerful alliance against France, A. D. 1691, while he was performing every function of a great monarch, an able politician, and staunch affector of liberty, the French monarch, perceiving that he should be deprived of the ad-

† Suite de Neuvellé, cap. vi. tom. ii. † Id. ibid.
vantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous measures for
continuing the course of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the con-
ederates, and produce those solid benefits which he proposed, by making his chief push on
the side of the Netherlands. He hoped to disconcert all the projects of his enemies by striking
some signal blow, which should decide the fate of the war; before the allies could be ready
to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations,
and the diffidentions which would probably arise in so heterogeneous a league, composed of
such a variety of members; connected only, as he imagined, by one eye, that of their gen-
eral animosity to France. His design was to attack Mons, and thereby open the gates of
Brussels, Antwerp, and Liége. In a word, he perceived, that as yet the allies had neither
troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty schemes; and it was upon these cir-
cumstances he founded his fatiguing expectations. Besides, Lewis had prodigious magazines
upon the frontier; and his army was cantoned in such manner as to be assembled at the
shortest notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to shake the credit of king William,
and detaching from the confederacy some of the allies, by shewing them that the person
they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this
view that the French troops were put in motion in the month of February, and that Mons
was invested, before the allies had thought of taking the field. All William's endeavours
could not relieve the besieged; they surrendered, and Lewis thus shewed his contempt of
the grand confederacy. A medal was struck at Paris, representing a town besieged, with
an army looking on, and the following explanatory inscription, Amor victoria tabis; alluding
to king William, who lay with his whole army, at Hall, a spectator of Luxemburg's triumph.
Scarce any thing further was attempted during the campaign. Lewis returned to Paris,

Notwithstanding it was the mutual interest of Denmark and the republic to live on
terms of amity, a variety of causes arose to disturb their friendship, and produce a rupture.
Denmark, sensible that she commanded the trade of the Baltic, by means of the Sound,
frequently made use of that circumstance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and con-
trary to the faith of treaties, imposed new duties upon all merchandise passing through the
Sound. The custom paid by Dutch vessels was rated by treaty; but this did not satisfy the
Danish monarch. Without giving the states any previous intimation, he demanded an
additional duty; and being refused, he seized upon twenty four merchant-men in the port
of Copenhagen. So gross a violation of all the treaties subsisting alarmed the Dutch: they
sent an ambassador to Denmark, and his spirited remonstrances brought the northern mo-
lichkeit to reason. Conferences were held, the Dutch ships restored, the quarrel was com-
promised, and the trade of the provinces established upon the usual footing.

This year William, as chief of the confederates, sustained fresh mortifications. In the
preceding campaign he was an eye witness to the glorious triumph of Lewis, in the reduc-
tion of Mons: It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to Luxemburg, by the fruitul
attacks he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raise the siege of Namur. The loss
of this city; and the bloody battle that ensued at Steinkirk, though they detracted nothing
from the reputation of the king of Great Britain, proved extremely irksome to the states
generals, who beheld the Netherlands gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in despite
of their utmost efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the Spanish provinces, obliged Wil-
liam to decline the offer of them made by Spain, and recommend the elector of Bavaria
to the government, which however proved but a faint security. To preserve the residue
of the Netherlands under the dominion of Spain, and prevent the exorbitant growth of France,
by the addition of the ten provinces, was evidently the object of the grand alliance. Hi-
thero all attempts to regain what had been lost proved fruitless. France was every day
adding to her conquests; it was necessary therefore to redouble the efforts to oppoise her:
All the powers engaged in the confederacy were sensible of the necessity of the most vi-
gorous measures; but they thirsted the burthen from their own shoulders. The empe-
ror's favourite point was the making conquests on the side of Hungary: the German princes,
nearest danger, could ask only under the protection of the whole empire; and those more
remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable consideration. The Sweri
cants studied only to convert their neutrality to the best advantage. Spain seemed declined
in the use of all her faculties: her usual strength and vigour were vanished, and she relied
entirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and security; England and Holland,
indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all defi-
ciences; and William blended indiscriminately the duties of a British monarch and a Dutch
statetholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abstrac

* Suite de Hilt. de Neuvillev, cap. xiii. l. ii.
himself from the affairs of the continent: as the stadholder of Holland, he was immediately interested in checking the progress of Louis's conquests. But, unfortunately for his new subjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation, and the fundamental necessity of the other, in the safety of the Netherlands. Great Britain contributed perhaps more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that island expect an additional foot of territory by the most fortunate issue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the foundation of that enormous structure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the astonishment of all Europe.

The French king did not confine himself to the efforts made by his generals in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. He projected a scheme which would have proved decisive, had it succeeded. This was a descent upon England, the measures for which had been so admirably concerted, that king James looked upon himself as already restored to his throne. As Louis made no secret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of England, regent in the king's absence, to frustrate its effects; and the states-general heartily co-operated with her majesty, ordering a powerful squadron immediately to join the English admiral, though they yet smarted under the severe blow received in the last sea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight sail, near double the number of Toulon's squadron, who was then waiting at La Hogue for the Toulon squadron, commanded by M. d'Estrée. To the positive orders received from the French court to fight the English, before they should be joined by the Dutch fleet, may be attributed the miscarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwise have at least answered Louis's purpose of making a powerful diversion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of England and Holland had not yet taken place, Toulon sent sail, and encountered the enemy off Cape Brest, on the twenty-ninth of May. The allies were divided in three divisions; admiral Allemande, with the Dutch ships, leading the van; admiral Ruffel, with the English red squadron, composed the center; and Sir John Apsley, with the blue English squadron, being stationed in the rear. The engagement began between d'Amfreville, who led the French van, and Allemande. The former bore down upon the Dutch, and made a very brisk attack, which was sustained with unshaken firmness. Toulon engaged the red squadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear divisions of both sides came up to support the centers, by which the battle became general, as far as the situation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm, that ensued, prevented Ruffel's closing the line. Both sides fought with the utmost vigour and impetuosity for some hours, until so thick a fog arose as obliged the combatants to separate. This retreat was, however, but of short duration: the fog was dispelled, and Toulon was seen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himself unequal. Rear-admiral Sleveil had the address to gain the windward, and separate Toulon's division from the squadron destined to support him under Paunatier; by which the engagement was again renewed, and the French admiral inclcde between two fires. Never did French valour appear more conspicuous: after incredible efforts, Toulon broke through the enemy, and escaped a pursuit by the favourable position of night. The fleets, however, were so scattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for La Hogue; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day some of the divisions on both sides came to an action, in which the French were worsted. Several other encounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, Toulon's squadron was entirely defeated and dispersed; and by the destruction of sixteen capital ships, including those burnt in La Hogue by Rozel and Allemande, a fatal blow was given to the marine of France, and the defeat on England wholly frustrated. Censure is the inseparable attendant on disappointment. Toulon was blamed by the French for engaging rashly. The English nation, who expected, from their great superiority, to see the French fleet brought in triumph into the river Thames, did not refrain from aspersing the character of Allemande and the Dutch officers. They in their turn recriminated; and had even the boldness to assert, that admiral Carter, a gallant English officer who lost his life in the engagement, was corrupted. They even threw reflections upon Ruffel's conduct, and highly blamed his disposition and tardiness in closing with Toulon, after the Dutch were engaged with the enemy's van. These, however, are the suggestions of prejudice and passion. Facts evince that both admirals behaved with the utmost gallantry. The states did justice to the valour and conduct of Allemande; Ruffel became the darling of the English nation; and posterity must confes, that Toulon performed every duty of a brave and able seaman, who had received express orders to fight, against his own judgment.

VOLTAIRE Sicle, t. i. SMOLLET, RALPH, and the English Historians.
The history of the United Provinces,

A.D. 1693.

Though the marine of France languished, in consequence of the fatal defeat at La Hogue, Lewis made the most spirited efforts to restore its strength and vigour. Animated by disappointment, that monarch, fruitful in resources, ordered all the ships in his ports to be equipped. All hands were set to work in building new vessels. So much business was carried on in the docks, that a spectator would have imagined the whole attention of the administration was employed in repairing the navy, and putting the fleet in a respectable posture. Before the month of June, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with persons who had scarce ever beheld a ship, put to sea under Tournelle, who was kept in the command, notwithstanding the French nation was exasperated at his conduct in the last action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of English and Dutch merchantmen, outward bound for Spain and Portugal. Sir George Rooke and rear-admiral Vandergoes were appointed to effect this fleet, with a squadron composed of thirteen English and eight Dutch men of war. On the twenty-third, turning Cape Vincent, they defied the French squadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadsides with the enemy, after which they slackened sail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented Tournelle's coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuse to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a prospect of being supported. For four days the two fleets were in sight, without coming to an action: at last an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which Tournelle embraced with great alacrity. His great superiority rendered the event almost certain; and Sir George Rooke was so sensible of the impossibility of saving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmost diversion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline battle, and make the first harbours he could on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The enemy, however, came up with the forecastle ships, where they were gallantly received by three Dutch men of war, who fought with astonishing resolution, and for some time employed the whole strength of the French admiral. After they were surrounded, they obstinately refused to strike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy had got into the ports of Cadiz and Gibraltar. At last the Dutch ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchantmen, most of which Tournelle either burnt or sunk, after taking out their cargoes. Tournelle is justly censured for not dividing his strength, by which he could have prevented the possibility of an escape; and Sir George Rooke is perhaps no less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant- fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the French and confederates were dispirited, the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Tournelle, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of Cadiz; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better successes in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ships out of the bay of Gibraltar. Two frigates, and several armed boats were employed in this enterprise; but the gallantry of the Dutch and English sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent six ships among the enemy, by which means seven Danijb, four English, two Genoese, and six Dutch merchantmen were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition, unfortunate indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to France.

Mean time the campaign in Flanders went on with great vigour. The battle of Landen was lost by the allies, and the king of England's reputation was somewhat diminished for not avoiding an action, in circumstances when even a victory could have produced no solid advantage, and he could fearlessly hope not to be defeated. France magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their disgrace. Chaverois surrendered to Luxembourg, and this was almost the only fruit of a victory dearly purchased, and highly celebrated. The French general's address in improving every advantage, and the king of England's alacrity in repairing an error, acquired both immortal honour. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the states-general, began to complain of the conduct of the Swiss cantons, who had engaged to observe an exact neutrality. The reduction of Namer, and the victories at Steinberg and Neuwinde or Landen, were attributed to the valor of their troops in the service of France. The states alleged, that hiring out their forces to Lewis was contrary to the neutrality they professed, and an actual hostility against the allies. Besides, by the treaty of Milan, the cantons engaged that their troops in the French pay should only be employed in the defence of towns, of which Lewis was possessed in the year 1663. In consideration of this, Spain and the empire had paid them a subsidy, which was doubled at the approach of the present war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offensively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of Swiss infantry, who had fought with the same desperate fury and animosity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of Vienna and Madrid now joined the states-general, in remonstrances upon this proceeding so contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of solemn engagements. The most spirited memorials were presented and disregarded.
or Republic of Holland.

a guarded. The emperor and Catholic king expressed their resentment, not only by stopping the subsidies, but by cutting off all communication between Switzerland and their Italian dominions. In particular, they forbade their subjects to fall conrot to the Swiss, which, upon account of the scarcity then reigning in France, put the cantons to great necessity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with Lewis, who buoyed them up with lofty promises, and encouraged them by some real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of Spain and the empire, and to the deputies of Holland, that they would lay themselves under no restraint, though at the same time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At last the affair was discussed at a diet at Baden. Expedients were proposed; but they proved insufficient and unfaithful to all parties. Yet the interposition of the Protestant cantons, and the revolution formed by several of the Catholic divisions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of Spain to remove the prohibition respecting grain, and again to open the communication between Switzerland and their dominions.

b While the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over some of the best troops in the French army, an occasional congress sat at Coligny, composed of ambassadors from England, Holland, the emperor, the electors of Treves, Cologne, Brandenburg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Palatine, the landgrave of Hesse, and bishop of Mainz. The design of this congress was to reconcile all the jarring interests of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous steps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions arose about the chief command of the army on the Rhine, which could not fail of prejudicing the interest of the confederacy, and proving as serviceable to France as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was France more fortunate in this particular than successful in the intrigues carried on at the Portes, to retard the pacification in treaty between the Emperor and the Grand Signior. Such influence and credit had the French ambassador acquired in the divan, that Heemskirk, the Dutch envoy, could neither obtain an audience, nor an answer to the proposals which he had delivered in writing to the vizier. It is true, he was treated with great respect, and the denial of his request palliated by apologies and pretences of the necessity of waiting until the arrival of lord Poet, expected upon an embassy from England; but it was evident, on that nobleman's appearance at court, that the allies had nothing to expect. The vizier expressed the same backwardness to a negotiation: at last he threw off the masque, and began openly to make preparations for opening the campaign.

c Lewis was thus sweeping all before him in the cabinet and the field, when the two maritime powers were preparing to wipe off the disgrace their fleet had lately sustained, and to repair the loss by some stroke, which should at least weaken the enemy, if it should contribute nothing to their own emolument. The diligence employed in equipping a fleet in England and Holland attracted the eyes of all Europe. It was obvious, that resentment spurred them on to level a mortal blow, and it soon appeared where the stroke was aimed, by the arrival of the combined fleet before St. Malo's. This, however, formed only a part of the scheme concerted by the allies. No more than twelve ships of the line, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, were sent to bombard this place. The squadron anchored (November 13) before Quinsee fort: three of the bomb-vessels, with a number of brigantines and well-boats, bore down and anchored within half a mile of the town. They continued firing for five hours, and were then obliged to tow off, from an apprehension of being grounded. For several subsequent days they continued to throw in bombs, with frequent intermissions; and at length, under favour of a brisk gale, a dark night, and a strong tide, they sent in a prodigious fire ship of three hundred tons burthen, which would probably have reduced the town to ashes, had the not, happily for the inhabitants, struck upon a rock, on which the engine set fire to the train. The explosion was dreadful; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthen ware for three leagues round, and unroofed three hundred houses. The curtain towards the sea was broken down, and had there been a sufficient number of land-forces on board the squadron, the town might easily have been taken by storm. Such was the issue of the expedition to St. Malo's, which struck a panic into the inhabitants of the whole coast of France, and evinced the French king of the power and spirit of the two maritime allies, though it produced no other consequence.

d The winter produced overtures for a peace. Lewis had reduced cities, gained battles, A.D. 1694; and dispersed fleets; yet, in the midst of victory and triumph, he wished for an accommodation upon terms not injurious to his honour. Already he had dispersed, at the courts of the German princes, a manifesto containing his pacific sentiments, and conditions of peace.

* Suite de Hist. de Neuville, t. ii. p. 8.  
† Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii.
to the emperor. These proposals, though advantageous to the imperial court, were rejected: however, not discouraged with one repulse, Lewis applied himself to the king of Great Britain and the states general, by means of the Danish envoys at London and the Hague, who presented memorials, with a project for a general peace. To the states were represented the particular advantages they must derive from accepting the proposals. A barrier was offered, that should remove all inquietude and caule of apprehension in the United Provinces. Mons and Namur it was intended should be ceded to Spain, Cherleroi should be demolished, the town and citadel of Hue were to be restored to the bishop of Liege, and Dinant and Bouillon were to be indemnified, by uniting to the bishopric such a portion of the county of Luxemburg as should be assigned by arbiters. The Danish envoy added, that the states general ought to be satisfied with the power of obtaining important restitutions, and of terminating to so much advantage a war in which the allies could not possibly think they had been very fortunate. He likewise took it upon him to declare, that the most Christian king would make no attempts to extend his dominions on the side of the Netherlands; and that, from his present pacific disposition, such further conditions would be granted as should be found just and equitable. Neither the king nor the states chose to enter upon negotiations, without the concurrence of the other allies; and the emperor had not only rejected the proposals, but sent prince Lewis of Baden to England, to keep the English steady in their engagements. He took the Hague in his way, had an audience of the states, warmly represented to them the necessity of continuing the war, and dispelled all doubts which might arise about the expediency of trying the fortune of another campaign. In truth, king William had not yet fatigued his revenge. Every general action had proved unfortunate, and he pantned after an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace of so many defeats. The states were entirely led by his opinion, and that party which had strenuously opposed the prince of Orange, resigned itself entirely to the direction of the king of Great Britain: such influence had he acquired since his accession to the throne.

DENMARK, finding her mediation rejected, determined to convert this circumstance to her own advantage. The states general, she was sensible, would be so deeply engaged in war as to be in no condition to attend to the minute affairs of commerce. The opportunity for renewing the old disputes about the duties of the Sound was favourable. His Danish majesty, therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or the neutrality professed, began first to intimidate his intentions, by avowedly affixing the French monarch. In this the Swedes concurred with him: both had carried on a profligate commerce with France during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom for corn, naval stores, and all the commodities of the North. At this the allies connived, while there remained hopes of inducing those powers to accede to the confederacy. So far England and the allies in general were concerned; but Holland had complaints of a private nature, in which the Dutch commerce alone was interested. His Danish majesty had ordered the antient duties of the Sound to be exacted from all Dutch shipping; and on their refusal, they were seized and brought to Copenhagen. These concurrenct circumstances determined the states to come to extremities: and the king of England joined issue with them about the expediency of making reprisals, and punishing the northern powers for a breach of treaty and professed neutrality. It was resolved to make both the kings of Denmark and Sweden sensible, that, notwithstanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important war, they had strength and courage enough to resent the insults of neutral states. Accordingly, the commanders of the English and Dutch men of war and privateers had instructions to stop, examine, and seize all Danish or Swedish shipping bound to French ports, or laden with such commodities as seemed designed for the markets of that kingdom. The orders were punctually observed: several ships were taken, but none condemned, as the experiment was made only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to an open rupture. The Dutch went farther. They stopped, in different ports of Holland, to the amount of twenty-four Danish ships, of which they gave notice to the Danish envoy, declaring they should be detained, until restitution was made of the Dutch ships at Copenhagen, and the owners amply indemnified for all the losses they might have sustained by their detention. A conduct so spirited soon produced the expected effect. Sweden not only avoided making reprisals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling the king of Denmark and the republic. In consequence the ships were mutually restored, the treaties concerning the duties of the Sound renewed, and all things placed on the former footing.

In general, the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies than any of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was lost.

* Le Clerc, pag. 142.
or Republic of Holland.

a and the French king suffered more by the death of maréchal Luxembourg than if half his army had perished: besides, the coasts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the squadrons of England and Holland. By this means a great number of troops were kept stationed towards the coasts, and a considerable revulsion was made from that strength which Louis would otherwise have exerted in the Netherlands. Brest was bombarded by the combined fleets; Dieppe afterwards met with the same fate, and more than half the town was laid in ashes; adverse winds probably saved it from total destruction. Having finished this business, the allied fleet proceeded to Havre de Grâce, where they began bombarding with such succour, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their station the citadel almost demolished: in a word, an universal panic seized the inhabitants of the coast; the innocent industrious subjects were punished for the ambition of the sovereign, and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the most barbarous.

While the grand armament was thus employed in desolating the enemy's country, a sea-fight between the Dutch squadron of eight men of war, under the conduct of Hidde de Fries, fell in with the famous du Bart and his squadron of seven ships of the line and three frigates. The Dutch admiral had a considerable fleet under his convoy, and would if possible have declined an engagement; but du Bart pursued, overtook, and attacked him between the Meuse and the Texel. The dispute proved obstinate. Du Bart fought with his usual intrepidity: he boarded de Fries, and though vigorously sustained, was repulsed with loss. Had the Dutch captains supported their admiral, the Frenchman would have found himself roughly handled; but the terror of du Bart's name kept them aloof, while de Fries, covered with wounds, was faintly engaged. The event was unfortunate: he was taken prisoner, and great part of the merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the enemy (A).

On the return of the squadron to Holland, all the captains were cashiered, and the states confiscated for their loss by new gifts from the East Indies that Potsherry had surrendered to the governor-general of Batavia, with all the artillery, stores, and merchandise belonging to the Dutch company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by sea this season. Besides the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved Barcelona, blocked up Tourville, and bombarded Dunkirk and Calais. Dunkirk had, for time immemorial, been the great rendezvous of privateers in every war. Even as far back as the reign of Philip II. of Spain, the commerce of the Netherlands was greatly disturbed from this quarter, and frequent attempts had been made to destroy the town and harbour. It had successively been in the hands of the Spaniards, French, and English; and Lewis found means to have it restored to him for a sum of money in the disolute reign of Charles II. The allies had long meditated an attack on Dunkirk; but it was always laid aside on account of the hazard and difficulty of the enterprise. At last Sir Claude Hovey Shovel set sail from the Downs on the fourteenth of September, and arrived before the harbour with a squadron of thirteen English and five Dutch ships of the line, and a great number of frigates and bomb-ketches. The garrison and inhabitants were greatly alarmed: they lent to maréchal Villeroi, then at Treport, upon the first appearance of the fleet, and he came to their assistance with two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons. Shovel was ambitious of aspiring after glory, and eager to collect laurels; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the strength of the place, and the vigilance of the garrison. In short, he returned, after having thrown the place into consternation, and alarmed Calais by some bombs which he threw into the town.

Towards the close of this year, the theological controversies that had so long disturbed the provinces were now again revived. King William, before his accession to the throne of England, had silenced some rising disputes, by his authority as stadtholder. He was now again forced to interpose, and it was at his request that the states of Holland and Friesland published an ordinance on the eighteenth day of September, for the preservation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, equally prudent and necessary, it was ordained, that all doctors, preachers, and lectors in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of Holland and Friesland, should conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formulary contained in the catechism, confession, and canons of the national synod of Dortrecht; and that they should live in the utmost cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without dispute.

(A) Dutch writers, to qualify the disgrace resulting from this defeat, endeavoured to persuade the world, that as Bart's squadron was composed of large men of war, whereas it really consisted of light, neat, clean-built privateers (1). They likewise affirm that he was a Dutchman by birth, who, upon some discomfiture, retired into the French service; but they do not vouch this fact by proper authorities.

The history of the United Provinces.

...dispute, discussion, or controversy upon points already settled by the church. That with respect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national synod, these were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwise than was authorized by the scriptures, and the general sense of the synod of Dortreeft. That they should introduce into their writings, sermons, lectures, or public courses of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no disputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines: in a word, they were ordered to abstain from whatever could raise doubts, create schisms or divisions among the people; and if, through inadvertence, any of them should have given room for disputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the established faith. All professors were farther enjoined from encouraging their pupils to apply philosophy to the mysteries of the Christian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reasoning to matters purely philosophical, and not to examine by the light of reason what was intended by the Author of our being to exceed reason. Upon the whole, the pastors of the church were fervently requested to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate sobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordinance had a good effect, and suppressed in the birth controversies which might in time have created much trouble to the government.

A.D. 1695.

The operations of the succeeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king William; but it ought to be remembered, that marshall Luxenbarg was now dead, and the command of the army given to Villeroi, a general neither equal to the marshall in capacity nor experience. Naurn, defended by Baufiers at the head of a numerous garrison, and covered by a formidable army, surrendered to king William; and the French king, in revenge, ordered Brussel to be bombarded. This was followed by the bombardment of Calais, and some attempts upon other sea-ports on the coast of France. But their successes, though they inspired the allies, weakened Louis, and drew the war nearer an issue, produced no immediate advantage. The states general had prosecuted the war with great vigour, in hope of obtaining such a peace as would recompense the expense and trouble of supporting vast armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the last, and this encouraged the people to submit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent disappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly against measures calculated only to oppress the industrious subject, and ruin commerce. A new tax laid upon burials, by the magistrates of Amsterdam, was highly resented by the populace; though the intention was to abolish a pernicious custom, that prevailed in almost all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feasting, and rioting, upon occasions where decency required the most solemn conduct and strict temperance. No sooner was the resolution of the magistrates known, than some evil-disposed persons excited a popular tumult, by perilling the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax must be buried with such marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceased, and add insult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increased. The whole rabble of Amsterdam, foreigners and natives, assemled to oppose the regulation; and there were not wanting several substanial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjust and iniquitous. The mob threatened to set fire to the city; all was in confusion, shops were shut up, and every kind of business at a stand. It was difficult to apply remedies to so desperate a danger: the military force in the city was insufficient to dispel the concourse. The multitude were emboldened by the defenceless condition of the magistracy: they flew to the house of M. Boreel, one of the principal persons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, destroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time capt. Spappege had collected a body of soldiers, with which he hastened to the defence of Boreel's house. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with such fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own house. Thither the mob pursued, destroyed all before them, and committed every violence which of an incensed brutal populace is capable. Happily for Amsterdam, night came on before they could proceed to farther business: this determined them to postpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had passed. By day-light placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax, which had given so much offence, should not take place. Orders were likewise issued for all the burgurers and soldiers to assemble under arms. Endeavours were also made to mount a few companies of horse, which were composed of all the young gentlemen in the city, persons of distinction in public offices, and rich merchants. These precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from assembling, and attacking in a body the house of Kirby, the English consul, who, they alleged, had...
or Republic of Holland.

a suggested the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulsed with great vigour, upon which they turned their indignation against a Jew, distinguished by the name of the *rib Pinto*. To this resolution *Amsterdam* probably owed its safety. In an instant the whole *Jewish* quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, assisted with indefatigable industry. To them the burghers joined themselves, both marching in good order against the fideistics, who, struck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to disappear. Some were seized loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; which produced such an effect, that in the space of a few minutes the streets were entirely cleared, and the city restored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought advisable to remove all cause of fresh insurrections, and to annul the edict passed for levying the new imposition. The whole affair ended with the publication of a great reward to whoever should discover the authors of this sedition. It was fearfully suspected that some persons, who were enemies to the magistracy, had excited the people; but proofs never appeared to justify the suspicion.

b Nothing considerable this year was performed in the *Netherlands*; and as to the naval operations, they were equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice, is the misfortune of a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward-bound from *Portugal*, which fell in with *du Barry's* squadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred and ten, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largest ships, while the others were dealing destruction among the trading vessels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themselves vigorously, but were at last overpowered, one only escaping. Scarcely was the action finished when the victorious *du Barry* defied a squadron of *Dutch* men of war, upon which he set fire to all his captures, after unloading the most valuable effects, and taking all the crews prisoners, and made the best sail he could out of the reach of danger.

c About the close of the year the duke of *Savoy* detached himself from the confederates, accepted of the terms proposed by *Lewis*, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with *France*, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, which enabled *Lewis* to reinforce his army in the *Netherlands* with several regiments drawn from *Italy*. Probably this defection of an useful ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to listen to the conditions proposed by the *French* monarch, who declared that he had now attained a war longily against all *Europe*, for several successive years, with no other view than to establish the tranquillity of Christendom on a more solid basis. The king of *England* saw the difficulties that would arise in procuring the supplies for continuing the war; the states general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces, against the burden of taxes; both were sensible of the mischief to be apprehended from *Poland* should the *French* interest prevail at the ensuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger, that other powers might follow the example of *Savoy*, and strike up a separate peace. It became now a very serious question, whether the crisis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to sheath the sword? *France* appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went so far as to demand passports for *M. Callières*, to go to *Holland* to lay the basis of a general pacification.

d With the king of *England's* approbation the states had granted the passports required, and *M. Dyvveld* was appointed to confer with the ambassador. *M. Callières* had been instructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, respecting the treaties of *Vienna* and *Nimeguen*. This *M. Dyvveld* reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who transmitted it to the states general. After mature deliberation the states declared, that as the *French* monarch had made the concessions required by the court of *Vienna*, matters were now in such a situation, that, in concert with their allies, the offered mediation of *Sweden* might be accepted. A transcript of their resolutions was sent to the different courts in *Europe*; but it soon appeared, that neither the emperor nor the Catholic king were satisfied that the conditions offered by *France* were either satisfactory or explicit. Yet were the *Spaniards* forced to sign a treaty of neutrality for *Italy*, whereby *Lewis* was set at liberty to employ all his strength in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*.

e This was the situation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; A.D. 1697. Yet did all the parties resolve to treat sword in hand. In the spring the usual rivalry arose, who should first commence hostilities; and the *Dutch* were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding; however, as the whole allied army was not assembled, no considerable enterprise was undertaken. The *French* would likewise seem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the ma-

---

4 Saute de Hitl. de Neuville, tom. ii. pag. 147.
ritime powers. This spring their cruizers had been extremely successful. A small squadron fet sail from Dunkirk in the month of February, encountered a fleet of Dutch and English merchantmen off Ostend, and made prize of fourteen vessels, most of which belonged to Holland. Three weeks after another fleet of Dutch merchantmen, under the convoy of three men of war commanded by admiral Wassenaar, fell in with a French squadron in the bay of Biscey. The enemy were greatly superior in strength; but Wassenaar fought with great gallantry, and defended himself until he was mortally wounded, and his ship shattered in pieces, when the next in command struck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a short resistance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchantmen, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodities.

This was the last act of hostility that passed between France and Holland. As early as the month of February all the allied powers, Spain excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of Sweden, which was accordingly notified in form to the Swedish minister at the Hague. By the ninth day of May the congress was opened at Ryswick, when France proposed, by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimiguen should form the basis of the present negotiation; that Strafsburg should be restored to the emperor on the same condition as before the war; that Luxembourg should be restored to Spain, together with Mons, Charleroi, and all the places in Catalonia, taken since the peace of Nimiguen; that the city and citadel of Dunkirk should be ceded to the bishop of Liege; that restitution should be made to the other allies, of all conquests since the peace of Nimiguen; and that Lorraine should be restored, agreeable to the conditions of the said pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length signed, and peace restored to Europe, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and so unpopular in France, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for some time to appear in public. The reader will find them specified in former parts of this work.

Suive de Hist. de Neuville, tom. ii. pag. 142.
The History of Denmark.

 Sect. I.

Containing the Geography of Denmark; the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars, which characterize the present State of that Kingdom.

It is agreed upon all hands, that the kingdom of Denmark is one of the most antient monachies in Europe, as a series of kings, either fabulous or true, may be traced in the Danisb historians from the year one thousand and thirty-eight before the birth of our Saviour; that is, for the space of two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years.

How this part of Scandinavia, formerly called Cimbrica Cherusiones, acquired the name of Denmark, is a point greatly disputed among antiquarians, and still as doubtful as the etymology of most other names. Some believe the Danes to be the progeny of the antient Danai; and many of their kings have boasted of their having sprung in a direct line from Antenor. Others affirm, that they are the descendants of the antient Dabi, a people of Scythia, who, by an easy corruption, came in progress of time to be called Dan, and the country Dan-mark, or the land of the Dabi; Marc, or Mark, signifying a country in several of the dialects of the Teutonic. But the most probable opinion is that of Saxo Grammaticus, the most antient and best Danisb historian. According to him the Danes are so called from Dan, the son of Humble, the first founder of the Danisb monarchy; and Denmark, compounded of Dan and Marc, that is, the country of Dan, which etymology we shall retain, without entering upon an ocean of criticism and conjecture, in which, perchance, we might overwhelm ourselves and our readers (A).

Before we enter upon the history of Denmark, we shall first give a description of the country; the genius and character of the people; the nature of the soil, and produce of the countries under the dominion of the king of Denmark; the forces and revenues of the kingdom; the laws, government, religion, and manners of the country, with every other particular that relates to the present state of the people. If we consider only the extent of dominion, the king of Denmark may justly be reputed one of the greatest princes of Europe, his title being that of king of Denmark and Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Dithmarsh, EARL of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; all which countries he actually possesses, except a moiety of the duchy of Sleswick, belonging to the duke of Holst in-Goltsby. Denmark, including Holstein, in which the king has an undivided moiety, is bounded by the sea called Categate, towards the North; by the Baltic on the East; by the river Elbe, which separates it from Bremen, on the South; and by the duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg towards the South-East; extending from 54 degrees 40 minutes to 58 degrees 20 minutes North latitude.

Besides which, the kingdom of Norway, separated from Denmark by the Categate, includes a space of about 11 degrees in length; that is, from 59 to near 71 degrees North latitude, being bounded by the ocean towards the North and West; by the kingdom of Sweden and Sweedish Lapland on the East; and by the Categate sea to the South. It is a long narrow country, enclosed on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by the high barren mountains called Dofrante, which divide it from Sweden; most geographers reckoning it about eight hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth.

Previous to the war with Sweden, which ended in the year 1660, the provinces of Schauen, Holland, and Bicking, belonged to the crown of Denmark. They were wrested from it by the famous Charles Gustavus, and could never since, notwithstanding frequent attempts, be recovered, though the richest provinces belonging to his Danisb majesty. Thus Denmark, at present, is on every side circumscribed by the sea, except a neck of land about three Danisb miles over, by which it joins to Holstein.


(A) Such of our readers, however, as have a taste for this species of critical knowledge, may thoroughly indulge their appetite by consulting the learned John Isaac Pontanus in his Chorographia Danica Descriptio, page 639.
The dominions of the king of Denmark are generally divided into six grand districts or provinces, viz. Denmark properly so called, comprehending under it the islands of Zealand, Funen, Lolland, Falster, Møn, Samsoe, Arroe, Bornholm, Anholt, LFera, and that part of the continent called North Jutland. 2dly, The duchy of Schleswig, or South Jutland. 3dly, The duchy of Holstein. 4thly, The earldoms of Oldenburg and Dithmarschen. 5thly, The kingdom of Norway: and, 6thly, Iceland, with the islands lying in the northern seas. Of this large tract, Jutland, in extent and fertility, is the most considerable division, though the islands have the advantage in point of situation, and especially Zealand, in which stands Copenhagen, the capital of the Danes dominions, and the residence of the princes.

This island is nearly of a circular form, measuring about sixty leagues in circumference. The channel called the Sound, divides it from Schonen; the strait called the Great Belt, from the island of Funen; and from the islands Møn, Falster, and Lolland, it is separated by a narrow channel to the southward. Its fertility is not extraordinary, though it produces a sufficient quantity of rye for the consumption of the inhabitants, but no other sort of grain. The face of the country is prettily diversified with little hills, woods, and lakes; but in all Zealnd there is not one river, and only a very few brooks sufficient to turn a mill. With hardly any meadows, it produces great abundance of hay; all the grass springs up on the borders of corn fields, and banks of lakes and brooks, short, but sweet and nourishing. The lakes are well stocked with fish; the cattle numerous, small, and generally lean, owing to the necessity of keeping them within door for at least eight months in the year. In general the climate is but indifferent, especially near the capital, where, from the low situation, the air is rendered unwholesome by thick fogs; however, a gentleman who long resided at Copenhagen, in quality of envoy from his Britannick majesty, observes, that he seldom saw any of the natives afflicted with colds of the lungs, owing, as he imagines, to the atmosphere's being purified by the great consumption of beeck wood in firing, the only forest of timber found in any quantity in Zealand. Here, as well as in almost all the other parts of Denmark, are only two feasons of the year, winter and summer; for, from the extremity of cold, the air immediately changes to an almost insupportable heat, and suffocating grofs warm atmosphere, by which myriads of flies and vermin are generated.

COPENHAGEN, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the latitude of 56 degrees two minutes North latitude, and 12 degrees 53 minutes longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. This city is neither very large nor ancient, though the precise date of its foundation is disputed (B). In extent it approaches the nearest to Bristol, says Molesworth, of any of our English cities. The walls inclose a great deal more ground than is occupied by houses; however, as they were daily encreas'd in his time, and that Denmark has not been since exhausted by any considerable wars, it is probable the city has received great improvements and additions. Its advantageous situation for trade, and the excellency of its harbour, are not to be surpassed, and were Copenhagen a free port, there is no doubt but it would soon become the emporium of the commerce into the Baltic. The harbour is surrounded by the fortifications of the town, and the entrance so narrow, that only one ship can enter at a time; besides which, it is shut up in the night by a strong boom laid across, defended on the one side by the cannon of the citadel, and on the other by a strong blockhouse, well mounted with heavy artillery. The whole haven, containing five hundred sail of large ships, is enclosed by a wooden gallery, close to which every ship has her appointed station; a circumstance that adds greatly to the beauty and convenience of the scene, than which nothing can more be rich and regular, when a number of shipping happen to lie in port. The city is strong, both by nature and art; the situation being marthy, deep canals cut all round, and the fortifications executed agreeable to the best modern improvements; yet the works are chiefly composed of turf and earth. Experience has shewn its strength, it having sustained two remarkable sieges against a fine Swedifh army, flushed with victory, and headed by the most magnificent princes of their age. It is probable indeed, from these instances, that an enemy may carry on their approaches more easily in the winter than in the summer, the dykes being then covered over with ice, upon which the Swedifh army marched. Its security, however, in this particular, consists in the impossibility of an army's keeping the field long, amidst the rigorous winters of all northern


(B) A castle was first built on this spot in the year 1168, by archbishop Wibe, as a protection against the pirates, which at that time swarmed in the Baltic. The convenience of the situation, and the security which the

castle afforded, induced a number of the inhabitants of the island to resort thither, by which means it in time became a fine city and the capital.

countries,
countries. As to the buildings of the town, they are in general mean and despicable; even the king's palace is surpassed by the houses of private gentlemen in other countries. There are, notwithstanding, a few good public buildings, such as the change, arsenal, and observatory, erected by order of that excellent prince Christian IV. to whom almost all the decorations of Copenhagen are owing. To compensate, in some measure, the meanness of the royal palace, the king has at the other end of the town, a handsome pleasure-house, fine stables, and a beautiful garden, to which in the summer he frequently retires. What adds greatly to the convenience of the city, is the contiguity of the little island of Finkke, or rather Amack, joined to it by a bridge: hence, the markets of Copenhagen are plentifully supplied with fowl, beef, mutton, venison, corn, and culinary vegetables, all of which

Amack produces in the utmost abundance.  

The other towns and fortresses of Zealand, or as others call it, Sealand, are Elsinore, or Helsingor, about fifteen miles to the northward of the capital, standing on the narrowest part of the Sound.  

Copenhagen, a very strong castle, situated about a quarter of a mile from the former.  

Fredericksburg, twelve miles west of Elsinore, a castle and royal palace, much admired by the Danes, it being built in the middle of a fine lake.  

Roschild, antiently the metropolis of Denmark, situated at the bottom of a gulph, twenty miles to the westward of Copenhagen. Here is a fine, large, and very antient cathedral, filled with the tombs of the Danes monarchs, some of which are very magnificent. As to the town, it has declined in proportion as Copenhagen increased, and is now reduced to an incon siderable and ruinous monument of its former grandeur.  

Holbeck stands at the bottom of a bay, eighteen miles west of Roschild.  

Prestoeb, a port, and town of some trade, on the Zealand coast, opposite to the island Mona.  

Kallenburg, said also to have some trade, situated on the sea-coast, fifty miles westward of Copenhagen.  

Koge, a small town on the Zealand side of the Sound, about twenty miles south of Copenhagen.

Kersor, standing on a promontory opposite to Funen, which forms a good harbour on the north side of it, which, with the towns of Skelbar and Warenburg, make in all about eleven cities, towns, and fortresses; besides which, Zealand is computed to contain about three hundred villages.

Next in consideration and situation stands Funen, an island bounded by Samsæ on the Island of Fa: North, the Baltic on the South, the Great Belt, a strait about twenty miles over, that separates it from Zealand, on the East, and on the Welt by a strait, which divides it from Jutland. This island, formerly called Fionia, is about fifty miles in length, forty in breadth, abounds in lakes, woods, corn fields, hogs, and horses; the last being the only commodity the inhabitants export. Its capital is called Odense, and was formerly a flourishing town, but now on the decline: besides which, Funen has three other towns, and no less than two hundred and fifty villages (C).

Laaland, or Laland, is a small but plentiful island, having Zealand on the North, Laaland. Falster the Baltic on the South, and Langland on the Welt, measuring about thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. Grain and wheat in particular, is the principal production of the soil; and with this the inhabitants supply the markets of Copenhagen, and other towns of Zealand, and the rest of Denmark. The Dutch used likewise to buy up a considerable quantity of corn here; but whether that trade be still continued, is what we cannot affirm. Molesworth calls this likewise a Stift's-ampt, which has several of the neighbouring seabeer islands under its jurisdiction.

Langland borrows its name from the figure of the island; its length being upwards of thirty miles, and the breadth scarce eight. Here is a pretty market-town called Rud-koping, and about sixteen large villages.

Falster is separated from Zealand by a narrow strait on the North. It is about Falster: twenty miles long, and sixteen broad, and has two considerable towns, Nykoping and Syd- koping.

Next stands Mona, a small island, not exceeding fifteen miles in length, and five in breadth, separated on the South-Welt from Falster by a narrow strait (D).  

*Fontan ibid. Molesworth, ubi supra.*

(C) The island of Funen is a principal government called Stift's-ampt; a term we shall explain when we come to treat of the nature of the government.  

(D) Molesworth calls this island Mona, though we constantly find it in all Latin writers specified by the appellation of Mona, which we have therefore retained.
The history of Denmark.

ARROE and Allen are two small islands at no great distance from the former, which produce large crops of anil seeds, a carminative much used in seasoning the food, and mixing with the bread, over all the Danish dominions.

BORNHOLM is an island of more consideration, both on account of its extent, and the frequent contentions it has occasioned between the crowns of Denmark and Sweden. The length of Bornholm is twenty-one miles, and the breadth above thirteen. It has three considerable towns, Rottum, Sandwick, and Nexia, a great number of villages, several extraordinary privileges, and is fertile and populous. To these islands may be added the small islands of Leftoe, Samoe, Ambout, with a variety of others of lesser consideration, with which this part of the northern sea abounds. But we shall leave these petty divisions of the potent kingdom of Denmark, to give a description of North Jutland, one of the most valuable and ancient provinces of the Danish monarchy.

JUTLAND, the country of the ancient Jutes, called Cimbri by the Romans; and their country, including Sleeswiek and Holstein, Cimbrica Cherfonius, is bounded by the German ocean on the West and North, by the Baltic on the East, and by the duchy of Sleeswiek on the South. This large country is divided into the provinces of Aalborg, Wiburg, Arhusen, and Ripen; the first of which is sometimes called Burgelow. Aalborg is situated on the most northern part of Jutland, and comprehends a space from the North-East to the South-West of about one hundred and fifty miles; some writers say one hundred and thirty, and forty miles in breadth. It contains thirteen bailiwicks, one hundred and sixty parishes, and fifteen very considerable towns, called Aalborg, Nykopping, Tyske, Seby, and Schagen.

The province of Wiburg, bounded on the North by Aalborg, is of a circular form, about forty miles in diameter. It is divided into sixteen bailiwicks, and two hundred parishes, containing the towns of Wiburg, Nybye, Harkier, and some others of less note. The country is beautifully watered by three lakes, among which one is called Oboe, from the emperor of that name, who threw his javelin into it when he made an incursion into this country.

Next in order comes the province of Arhusen, bounded on the North by the former, about sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. Arhusen contains about three hundred villages, two capital cities, called Aarhus and Rander, besides several market-towns of lesser consideration.

Lastly comes Ripen, the fourth province of Jutland. Within this district lie the cities and towns of Ripen, Kolding, Fredericiaf, Weil, Warde, and Ringkoping. Ripen is situated on the river Ripfick, which, separating into three branches, runs through the city and divides it into as many parts. This is a place of some trade, was formerly a bishop’s see, had an university, has still a fine magnificent cathedral, a great number of good private buildings, and a large assembly of the nobility and gentry of the province.

The duchy of Sleeswiek, or South Jutland, is the joint property of the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein. It is about sixty miles in length, forty-five in breadth, and contains the towns of Sleeswiek, Gottlebo, Ekrenford, or Eklesford, Fredericstadt, Tonning, Hufum, Flensburg, Glücksburg, Haderfleben, Tonderen, Løn-Cloëf, Sunderburg, and Nordburg, whence the duke of Holstein-Nordburg takes his title. In most towns and bailiwicks, both princes have a separate and distinct authority and jurisdiction, particularly in the bailiwicks of Haderfleben, Ripen, Flensburg, the territory of Christianaest, the islands of Roam and Mandov, and the west-side of the island of Feer, all which are subject, without participation, to the king of Denmark; whereas the bailiwicks of Gottlebo, Hufum, Tonderen, &c. belong exclusively to the duke of Holstein. In Gottlebo stands the noble palace of the duke of Holstein, situated in the middle of a lake to the westward of the city of Sleeswiek. This is esteemed by all good judges, one of the finest buildings of the North, and has the advantage of a large well-laid-out garden, adorned with fountains, cascades, and every thing that can render the abode delightful. The duke has likewise here a fine library, and valuable collection of books and curiosities, both natural and artificial, particularly a copper globe, ten feet and an half diameter, with a sphere, shewing the sun’s course in the ecliptic, and the motion of all the celestial bodies, by means of wheels turned by a stream that falls from a neighbouring mountain (E).


(E) The palace of Gottlebo suffered greatly in the year 1689, from the barbarity of the Danes, who, without any right, or even plausible pretence, seized upon it, together with the duke’s person, and all his other domains; which, however, our nation and some other powers that interred themselves in the duke’s quarter, obliged them to restore in the year 1692 (1).

(1) Vid. MouldsORTH’s Account of Denmark, ibid.
The history of Denmark.

As to the duchy of Holstein, it is divided in the same manner as Siliswic, between the
king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein. It is a fief of the empire, and the king of
Denmark is, for that reason, called among the German princes; whereas, Siliswic is abso-
lutely a fief of the crown of Denmark. This duchy extends about an hundred miles in
length from East to West, and nearly half as much from North to South, including Dit-
emarks within these limits, and even Wegerland and Stormar, though the country, properly
called Holstein, consists chiefly of the inland parts, lying between Jutland and Stormar. The
chief towns included within this district are, 1st, Kiel Cblomen, a place of considerable trade,
a good harbour, and strong citadel, rich, and populous for this country. An university
was founded here in 1669, and here also is held the annual assembly of the states of Hol-
stein. 2dly, Reinsburg, or Reinsolzburg, esteemed the strongest fortress in the whole duchy,
being almost wholly enclosed by the river Blank. 3dly, Wilster, a neat well-built town.
4thly, Ivabo, situated on the river Stor; and 5thly, Neumuenster, at the mouth of the
same river. Some years since there arose a dispute between the king of Great Britain, as
elector of Hanover, and the king of Denmark, as likewise a prince of the empire, about the
lordship of Steinfurt. The former instigated, that it belonged to his duchy of Lauenburg;
and the latter, that it formed part of the Danis Holstein. Without entering upon the
merits of this altercation, it will be sufficient to observe, that the difference was amicably
compromised, his Danis majesty relinquishing all right to the said lordship, on receiving
from the king of Great Britain the sum of seventy thousand crowns, as an equivalent.
There were also some other points, chiefly respecting precedence, adjusted in this treaty.

The province of Dithmarsen lies between Holstein Proper and the German ocean. It has two
considerable towns, viz. Mellorp and Lunden, both carrying on some trade.
As for the province of Stormar, or Stormarh, it is very considerable on account of its trade,
and the great care with which the country is cultivated, which greatly resembles Holland,
being like it, low in the situation, and protected against the sea by strong dykes and banks.
The vicinity of the Elbe, and of Hamburg, gives it great advantages in commerce, in-
much that Altena once became the rival of that opulent hans town; a circumstance which,
some think, brought on its ruin, it being burnt to the ground by the Swedes, at the in-
vasion of those jealous merchants. No historian has, however, flattered this fact in a clear
light; and Voltaire, with all his profound candour, has left it in so great obscurity as he
found it. Since then it has been rebuilt, and appears with more splendor than ever, but
with less solid wealth and power. Besides Altena, the province of Stormar has three other
considerable cities, viz. Kremn, or Kremmen, Pennynburg, and Gluchsfat: the last is a small
city, placed on the Elbe, about thirty miles from Hamburg, and said to be strongly fortifi-
ced. The king of Denmark had once formed a project of obliterating all ships, going or re-
turning from Hamburg, to pay a toll here; but the execution was found impracticable,
as to many powers, and particularly the two great maritime powers, were so particularly
interested, in opposing a scheme which would lay their commerce under restrictions, and
subject it to the caprice of the Danes.

The last provinces which we shall describe for the present, are Wagen, Oldenburg, and
Delsmohr. The first of these, bounded by Holstein Proper on the West, is about fifty
miles in length from North to South, and thirty in breadth. The country had its name from
the Wagen, a people of Slavonia, by whom it was subdued. The chief towns are
Sageburg, Oldesflb, Ples, and Oldenburg, formerly a town of great trade, though now on
the decline. We shall defer the description of Norway, Iceland, and the other dominions of
the king of Denmark, as we propose assigning to each of these a separate section, on account
of their extent, and their having once been distinct kingdoms.

In dominions so far extended and divided by seas, as those of Denmark, the nature of
the soil must be various. At least a fourth part of the island of Zealand is laid out in royal
forests, filled with stags, wild boars, and other game, reserved entirely for the king's use,
it being criminal in a peasant to kill one, though he finds them in large flocks devouring
his corn.

The island of Funen produces corn and wood sufficient for the purposes of the natives;
however, the only article for exportation it affords, consists of a few horses. On the con-
trary, Lolland is a fine grain-country, plentiful especially in wheat, with which it supplies
most part of the Danis dominions in small quantities; for this is a kind of bread but little
used by the Danes.

The islands of Falster, Langland, and Mona, all afford corn sufficient for the consumption
of the natives. Jutland abounds in cattle, and is not deficient in corn. The horses and
hogs of the country are excellent, and nourish the pasture, that it is incredible how
sheep and black cattle fatten upon the barest spots of ground, though it is indeed a general
practice, to transport lean cattle from thence to Holland, a sort of trade in which the Dutch
find their account. The duchy of Siliswic is so abundant in corn, cattle, and horses, that...
the inhabitants dispose of a considerable quantity of horses to their neighbours. Helsingør is a pleasant fruitful country, which has been compared to England in its variety of woods, hills, rivers, meadows, and cornfields. Odense abound in a breed of horses, much esteemed for their beautiful cream colour. In a word, the dominions of his Danish majesty afford the inhabitants most of the conveniences of life, though they furnish but few articles of luxury or commerce.

As to the persons of the Danes, they are in general tall, robust, and well made; their features and complexion good, and their hair of a flaxen, yellow, or red colour, in curling and adorning which they take infinite pains. Another writer, however, assures us, that the Danes are for the most part gros, like the Dutch, in their shape, and their men rather forbidding. This remark is, in particular, applicable to the women, who cannot be surpassed by their sex in clumsiness of shape, and awkwardness of address. Both men and women, however, affect to imitate the French drefs in the summer, though in winter, like the other northern nations, they wrap themselves up in furs and wool, keeping themselves always neat in their linen, shifting often, and affecting a genteel appearance.

The vulgar live chiefly on rye bread, lean salt-fish, stoe-fish, roots, and bad cheese; but the tables of persons of condition are plentifully covered with a variety of dishes. Gluttony and drunkenness are, indeed, the vices to which a Dane is most addicted. The coldness of the climate first introduced the drinking of strong spirits, and custom has carried it into excess. The men, says Mr. Mollesworth, are fond of strong liquors, and the women do not refuse them. A friend, whether male or female, no sooner enters a house than brandy is presented, and the same cordial goes liberally round at table. The women, indeed, retire soon after dinner; but the men generally sit till they have conferred the compliment of depriving each other of all sense and motion.

It is a general observation, that Denmark has produced but few great geniuses, either in the arts or sciences; that they neither excel in imitation nor invention; are neither good mechanics, nor deeply skilled in speculative learning; yet there have prodigies in every species of knowledge appeared in Denmark. It has produced one remarkable astronomer, more than one profound critic, and several very valuable historians, however low the taste for polite learning may have sunk at present. Philosophers have endeavoured to explain the reasons, why thriving talents are seldom conspicuous in northern cold climates; and to the phisical causes we may probably add some political ones, which would seem to have a great influence over Danish genius. Their excesses in eating and drinking must necessarily blunt the faculties of the mind. Fancy, judgment, and memory, are all weakened or destroyed; and these causes greatly corroborated by the despoticism of the present government, and the little encouragement given to literary merit. It is true, the vulgar in general read and write; the clergy usually talk impure Latin, and the gentry cannot be called illiterate; but this mediocrity is the summit of their ambition, a glorious contention and rivalry for excellence being utterly unknown in Denmark.

The character of the people exactly tallies with their erudition; they are no more emulous of excelling in virtue than in knowledge. Mollesworth observes, that the common people are a poor mean spirited saunterly race, totally degenerated from the warlike disposition of their ancestors; equally addicted to fraud themselves, and culpable of it in others. Puffendorf says of the nobility and gentry, "that they have lost much of their antient glory; "at present they seek rather to enjoy their revenues in ease and luxury, than to toil for military fame;" and it is even the interest of the court, that the nobility should neglect the exercise of arms, which once rendered them so formidable to their kings, and the nation so respected by all her neighbours. If once their military spirit was roused, it would probably be attended with efforts for the recovery of their liberties.

Before the government was made hereditary and absolute in the present royal family, that fatal measure in the year 1660, the nobility or gentry lived in great splendor and affluence. Their country seats were magnificent, and their hospitality unbounded, because the means of supporting it was adequate: they spent most of their time about their estates, and of their revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were considered as so many princes. When the states were annually convened, they met their sovereign with retinues as numerous and brilliant as his own; they frequently ate at the same table with him; their suffrages were of the greatest weight in all public debates; for the commons were generally directed by them, because upon them was their dependence. Now they are fallen from that height of influence and power, their condition is low, and they diminish daily in number and credit. Mollesworth affirms, "that their estates scarce pay the taxes imposed on them, which obliges them to grind the faces of their poor tenants, to get an overplus for their own subsistence. I have been assured, (says the noble writer)
The history of Denmark.

a "ter) by some gentlemen of good repute, who formerly were masters of great estates,
that they had offered to make an absolute surrender to the king of large possessions
in the island of Zealand, rather than pay the taxes; which offer, though pressed with
earnestness, would by no means be accepted. Upon my enquiry into the reason of it,
I have been informed, that estates belonging to those gentlemen, lying in other places
which had the good fortune to be taxed less than the full value of their income, were
liable to pay the taxes of any other estate appertaining to the same gentleman, in case
that other estate was not able; so that some have been seen, with a great deal of joy,
declaring, that the king had been so gracious as to accept of their estates." What a
picture of this of the most abject and deplorable slavery! and how striking a contrast to
b their once happy condition, when their estates were rated for the public support, just as
inclination and public spirit directed the possessors!

These, and several other causes equally oppressive, have effected the fall of the antient
Danish families, and the ruin of those noble seats, resembling palaces, where they lived
with the magnificence of princes. Now they retreat into some obscure corner, as if to
conceal the disgrace they have brought upon themselves, by the want of firmness in the
defence of their privileges. They are all ambitious of procuring employments, civil or
military, at court; this indeed being necessary to secure to their families a competent subsi-
dence, and screen their estates from the exorbitant exactions of the public collectors.
Few of them, however, can expect to be provided for in this manner, as civil employments
are neither numerous nor valuable, and as strangers are generally chosen into public offices
in preference to the natives, the court imagining itself, that they can be more affluent of
the fidelity of foreigners, on whom they bestow fortunes, than on the povertie of those
whose fortunes and liberties they have ruined. To this we may perhaps add another col-
lateral reason for the unnatural conduct of the court, which possibly finds the cour-
age and spirit of the nobility dwindled away with their freedom and poverty. It
is farther remarkable, that in the disposal of posts and offices, such as are of ordinary birth
and fortunes are always preferred to the more antient and wealthy nobility. Here the most
lucrative and honourable posts, are filled by men of the lowest station and education; not
that they have ascended to them by dint of merit, but that they are found the best execu-
tors of the will of absolute power and despotic. Another advantage which the court
finds in the promotion of such persons, is, that if they have grown wealthy by extortion,
and clamours are raised loud against them, they can easily be reduced to their primitive
condition, and the revenue encreased by it, without creating discontent among the nobility,
among whom favor, alliance or friendship. Thus, in some respects, the policy of the court of Denmark resembles the arbitrary measures of the Porte; they both permit their
officers to oppress the people, in order to fatten on the spoils of the nation, without
incurring the odium of being the immediate intruments of the public mischief.

Our tenable author is of opinion, that the difficulty of promising a comfortable subsist-
ence, and the little security there is of property, when attained by toil and industry, is the
occasion of that prodigality observable among all degrees of people in Denmark. Expenses
in equipages, retinues, and fine cloaths, amount to no where to such a pitch of extravagance,
in proportion to the income, as in Copenhagen. Nothing can be more true, than that
parsimony is not only the cause but the effect of riches; for, in general, the more wealth
a man has, the more does he labour to acquire. But in Denmark the courtier never thinks
of realizing his money; instead of buying estates, he remits his cash to the banks of
Amsterdam and Hamburg. The gentleman spends in his pleasures the fortune which might
become dangerous, by gaining him the reputation of riches. The merchant and burgher
live upon credit, there being few of either worth one hundred thousand rixdollars (F).
As to the peasant, he no sooner finds himself in possession of a rixdollar, than he squan-
ders it upon brandy, to prevent his landlord's seizing upon it. In a word, oppression and
arbitrary way beget distrust and doubts about the security of property: doubt beget pro-
fusion, men chusing to squander on their pleasures, what they apprehend may excite the ra-
 paciousness of their superiors; and this profusion is the legitimate parent of that universal
indolence, poverty, and dependence, which so strongly characterize the miserable habitants

* Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, c. viii. ibid.
* Puffendorff, t. iv. ibid. Molesworth.

(F) This is the account of lord Moleworth, who seems to have made very accurate observations on the
then state of Denmark; but we have reason to believe that the wife and politic conduct of his present Danish
majesty, and his royal father, has effected a change greatly to the advantage of the country. The latter
in particular, was the great promoter of the Danish commerce to the East Indies, which, on his accession to
the throne, was sunk to a very languid condition. Every branch of trade and industry revived under his
auspices, which enabled him to support the government, after he had abolished some of the oppressive taxes.
The history of Denmark.

We speak of what the country was in the beginning of the last reign, in consequence of the nature of their government; for though the excellent disposition and mild administration of Christian VI. and Frederick V. alleviated the miseries of the people, they by no means alter'd the fundamental principles of the present constitution. Before their time, the trading towns and villages, Copenhagen excepted, were falling into ruin and decay; boroughs, which had lent their king considerable sums of money upon emergencies, were, in lord Molsfoort's days, unable to raise an hundred rixdollars (B).

To set this affecting picture, which is the best lesson to a people as yet blessed with their liberties, in the strongest point of view, we shall beg leave to lay before the reader a few more observations from the same author. In Zealand, he informs us, the peasants are as absolute slaves as the negroes of our colonies in the West Indies, with this difference, that they are worse fed. They and their poverty are unequally fixed to the land in which they were born; the landholders estimating their wealth by their flock of boors. If an estate be sold, the peasants are likewise transferred with it, like wood, houles, and cattle. Yeomanry, the bulwark of happy England, is a state unheard of in Denmark; instead of which the pitiable drudges, after labouring hard to raise the king's taxes, must pay the overplus of the profits of lands, and their own toil, to the greedy and neceffitious landlord. Should any of them prove of a more diligent and inventive turn than his companions, so as to live better, repair his farm-houle, and put forth the appearance of a degree of happiness and ease, superior to others, it is probable he may be removed from a neat, pleasant and commodious house, to a naked and uncomfortable habitation, that the landlord may increase his rent, by letting the improved farm to another.

The quartering and paying the king's troops is another grievance no lefs oppressive than the former, to which the miserable peasant is subjeg. The late experience of our own innkeepers, and their complaints to parliament in the year 1758, may give us an idea of the condition of the Danib peasants, oppressed with the load of those insolent inmates, who lord it wherever they are privileged by the constitution. Another grievance to which they are liable, is the obligation they are under of furnishing the king, the royal family, their attendants, baggage, and furniture, with horses and travelling waggons, whenever they undertake a progress to Jutland, or Holstein, or even through Zealand, to any of the royal country houles. On such occasions, all the peasants lying on the road, are summoned to attend with their houles and waggons, at their own expence, no regard being had to the harvest, which is the usual feaion for the royal family, to travel. The insolences committed by the petulant and thoughtles lacqueys, and other servants of the court, our author says, have excited his compassion for the unhappy boors, whom he had seen beaten and treated with a footing with their cattle. However, this usage would be tolerable, were they subjected to it only when the king makes a progress; but born to be slaves, the peasants are forced to attend, in the same manner every creature of the court, who has obtained his majesty's order, a favour seldom denied to any man of the least weight and influence.

From all these circumstances it is observable, although Denmark has a tendency to be exceeding populous, as appears from the swarms of northern nations, which, in former ages, over-run all Europe; yet poverty, oppression, and poor diet, greatly obstruct procreation, and prevent the encrease of the people. Before the fatal revolution in 1660, there was hardly a family in Denmark that was not in possession of a piece of plate, besides silver spoons, gold rings, and other conveniences and ornaments, of which they are still fond: at present there is nothing of value to be seen in the houle of a peasant, all being sold to pay the king's taxes, and gratify the rapacious avarice of the collectors.

Another consequence which our author deduces from their poverty, is the frequency of apoplexies and epileptic disorders, among the common people. "One, says he, shall hardly pass through a street in Copenhagen, without seeing one or two of those poor "creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth with a circle of "gazers and affillants about them." Whether these disorders be the genuine refult of the caufes he ascribes, and the nature of their diet, which is composed of lean salt meats, flock-fih, &c. we cannot pretend to decide, without entering upon a disquisition foreign to our purpose; sufficient it is, that the reader has a view of the deplorable condition of the Danib peasant, who wanted nothing beside this dreadful disease to crown his misery. There is one disease they call flact, which may be deemed endemical, on account of its

(B) This nobleman relates, that when he resided in Denmark, the collectors of the poll-tax were forced to accept of old feather-beds, brahs and power pants, and household furniture, instead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of Kieg, though this little town applied Christian IV. with the sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars, upon a notice to shott as twenty-four hours (f).

(v) Vid. c. viii.

universality
The history of Denmark.

universality here among all degrees of people. *Molesworth* says it is a kind of *apoplexy*, arising from discontent and trouble of mind; but how truly the reader is left to judge.

*Formerly* valour and wealth were the only titles to nobility, the nobles and gentry having no real distinction. No degrees of rank, or patents of honour, were dependent on the crown; of late years, however, to compensate the loss of solid privileges, the court confers a few imaginary honours, such as the dignities of *count* and *baron*, to the favourites of the king. These, instead of becoming more independent, arise, in consequence of their empty titles, the real slaves and tools of the crown, and used accordingly as the instruments of legal oppression. One exclusive right indeed they enjoy; it is that of disposing of their estates contrary to the course of law, by will or testament, provided that such will be signed and approved by the king during the life of the testator.

There are besides two orders of knighthood in Denmark, that of the Elephant and *Dans-Bræde*, of which the first is the most honourable, and conferred only on persons of the highest distinction and merit. This order was instituted by *Christian I.* at his son's wedding, the badge being an elephant with a castle on its back, set with diamonds, and hung on a watered sky-coloured ribbon. As to the *Dans-Bræde*, it is the reward of inferior distinction; the badge being a white ribbon with red edges, having a small cross of diamonds suspended to it, and an embroidered star on the breast of the coat, with this motto, *Pietate et Fortitudo*.

The ancient form of government in Denmark was similar to that which the *Goths* and *Vandals*, established in almost all countries where their arms were victorious. To these barbarians do we owe the model of a constitution far excelling all others, in a just mixture of liberty and subordination. Till the people renounced their rights in the year 1660, the king of Denmark was elected by his subjects of all degrees, divided into different classes (G), called *states*. Thrice being convened, were to chuse for their prince a man, whose person was unexceptionable, who was valiant, just, merciful, affable, prudent, a maintainers of the laws, a lover of the people, an encourager of merit, in a word, adorned with all the accomplishments and virtues necessary for the execution of so important a trust. Due regard for the royal line was always preferred, and the people thought themselves happy, if they found in the late king's family virtues and abilities adequate to the great and weighty duty of a monarch. When they happen to be mistaken in their choice, and, instead of the patriot, the warrior, and the statesman, they had promoted a cruel, vicious, and profligate tyrant, they always assumed the right of depopulating, banishing, and even putting to death their king; and this either by open trial before the states, or, if he was thought too powerful to be brought to public justice, by secret conspiracies. In his room they elected the next of kin, if he had merit, or the hero who had hazarded his life for the public, by undertaking the expulsion or the death of the tyrant.

Frequent conventions of the different states of the kingdom was a fundamental article of the *Danish* constitution. Here all matters relative to government were transacted, wholesome laws enacted, peace or war determined, marriages for the royal family projected, taxes imposed, promotions to the great offices made, in a word, every thing that concerned the legislative power. It was a principle of government, that no confiant tribut should be paid, or any taxes levied on the people, but by the consent of all the states, and for the support of a necessary and just war, or payment of marriage portion. The king's ordinary revenue arose from the crown-lands and demesnes, his herds and cattle, forests and servitudes. Thus he lived, like a subject, on the produce of his own estate, and not as now by the sweat of the peasant's brow.

As the legislative power was vested in the states, so the king was possessed of the executive: he was to see a due and impartial administration of justice; nay, often to preclude in person, sedulously to watch for the welfare of his people; to command their armies; to cherish industry, religion, arts, and science; to keep upon terms of friendship with the nobility, and to protect the commons from their insolence and power.

In this situation, with no other alteration than the encreasing power of the nobles, did the constitution remain until the revolution in 1660, which produced a change equally astonishing in itself, and fatal to the liberties of the people. As this new-modelling of

(G) This fact has the testimony of all historians, and is farther confirmed by that memorable answer made by Waldemar to the pope's nuncio, who assumed great authority in the kingdom. "Our nature, says the monarch, we have from God, our kingdom from our

sire, our wealth from our parents, and our re-

ligion from the church of Rome, which left we are

willing to renounce, if you envy us the felicity it

brings (1).


Moid. Hist. Vol. XI. 8 E

E
The history of Denmark.

The government was effected at a period very disfavourable to the nation; after the king had lost a great part of his dominions in the war with Sweden; when the treasury was exhausted; the public spirit low; without bloodshed; without force; and in the space of two days, it may justly be deemed one of the most remarkable events in history: however, we shall only touch upon it in this place, that the reader may have a view of the present state of the Danish government.

Immediately after a peace was concluded with Sweden, a diet of the states assembled to consider of the means to re-establish the public affairs, and enable the people, almost undone by the misfortunes attending a tedious and bloody war, to recover their losses. As the difficulties which would occur were obvious, the king forewarned the disputes that must necessarily arise. He therefore had it artfully intimated to the clergy, and the president of Copenhagen, speaker of the commons, that the public tranquillity might be easily restored, if all the members of the state would bear their proportion of the expence. The commons, in consequence, laid before the nobility the deplorable situation of the people, and the impossibility of raising money for the current service, unless they consented to pay their share, which was the more reasonable, as they were the greatest gainers, and the only moneyed men in the kingdom. The nobility, who were numerous, inolent, and powerful, not at all apprised of the collusion between the king and commons, dealt very roundly with the latter, telling them it was the highest presumption to enquire into their privileges, and the groviest ignorance in them to dictate to their masters; for vassals they were, and should remain. Fired with this haughty answer, the speaker of the commons replied, that since they would not use the means to prefer their privileges, they were unworthy of them; that their answer to the commons was equally insolent and cruel; and that though the commons could not make themselves noble, yet they would shew them it was in their power to make the weight of subjection fall upon others as heavy as, till now, it had lain upon themselves. After this spirited reply, the speaker retired, and was followed by the clergy and commons to a man, to a hall provided at some distance for that purpose. Here they came to the sudden and fatal resolution of devolving their own authority upon the king. Several private messages passed between them and the court in the evening, and next morning they attended his majesty in a body, and were admitted to an audience. They set forth, that as the present constitution did not, in their opinion, answer the end of government, they were resolved to put the administration wholly in his majesty’s hands, because they were sensible of his prudence, virtue, and public spirit, as well as his great love for his people. His majesty at first pretended to have some scruples about accepting an arbitrary power; but, on the commons insisting upon their request, he told them how much he was obliged to them for their just sentiments of his affection; but that the consent of the nobility was necessary to render any public act, of the nature they proposed, valid and of effect. At the same time he ordered the city gates to be shut, under the specious pretext of securing it against danger from the ferment arisen in the diet; and having the army entirely in his power, it was impossible for any of the nobility to retire to their estates, without his leave, which brought his intrigues to a speedy issue. Now the nobility discovered their error; but it was too late and irreparable: some part of their privileges they determined therefore to resign, in order to secure the rest. With this view they made his majesty an offer to advance his prerogative considerably, and to settle the succession in the male line of his issue; but they were given to understand, that this would neither answer his majesty’s purpose, nor satisfy the clergy and commons. At last they were forced to surrender all, and to render his majesty arbitrary, and the crown hereditary in his issue, whether male or female. A few days after the king, queen, and royal family, appeared on a kind of theatre erected for the occasion; and being seated in chairs of state, under canopies of velvet, received the homage of the nobility, clergy, and people, in sight of the army. Thus the states of Denmark, without compulsion, almost without intrigue, divided themselves by a certain fatality of those privileges, which had cost their ancestors so much blood and treasure. In this condition does the constitution now remain, the government being an absolute and despotic monarchy, the rigour of which has, however, been softened by the mild and just administration of the excellent princes who have since reigned.

Although the king of Denmark professes to square his conduct by the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, yet these he takes the liberty of new-modelling, or repealing, as he sees proper. He is the guardian of orphans, and assumes to himself the disponable of heirs and heiresses in marriage. As he is intitled to a third of the money arising upon the sale of lands, no estates can be sold without his permission, except those who are raised to the dignity of counts or barons.

The king, in his council, determines all public affairs; deliberates on war and peace, alliances and treaties; and of taxes, fortifications, trade, &c. without any other assistance than
The History of Denmark.

than that of the secretaries of state, who are esteemed, notwithstanding, rather as ministerial officers than counsellors of state. Of these great officers there are four, who direct business in their separate departments. The first is secretary for the affairs of Denmark; the second, for those of Norway; the third, for foreign affairs; and the fourth, is secretary at war.

One felicity still remains to Denmark; it is the brevity and perspicuity of the laws, justice being no where obtained with less expense, or greater expedition. The whole body of Danish laws is contained in a moderately sized quarto volume, written in the vernacular tongue, and so plainly, simply, and intelligibly, as scarce ever to require a comment. As they are grounded upon equity rendered familiar to the meanest understanding, every man capable of reading, may soon become acquainted with his own case, and even able to plead it, without the assistance of those pests of society, attorneys, solicitors, and the pettyfoggers of the law. Here is none of that chicanery, and mystery of the law, which raifes and destroys so many estates in other countries; a few advocates are sufficient to conduct the pleadings of all the litigious persons in the nation; and as their fees are small, and all suits necessarily determined within a year and a month after their commencement, they are seldom burthened to the parties.

In Denmark are three courts of justice, each of which has power to give a definitive sentence, and must acquit or condemn, though there lies an appeal from one to another, but without the formality and expense of again passing through the whole process. The most circumstanced court is the Herredstjende, similar in nature to our leet-court. It is a tribunal appointed for the dispatch of business in the country, to which the Byfogd's court corresponds in towns and cities. From thence there lies an appeal to the Landsting, or general head court for the province; and from thence to the Higt-Right court at Copenhagen, composed of the first nobility, and often presided by the king's majesty in person, the whole charge not exceeding ten or twelve pounds sterling. The Byfogd's court of Copenhagen has this peculiar privilege; that its verdicts, instead of passing through the Landsting, is revolved by the burgomaster and common-council of the city, proceeding immediately from them to the Higt-Right court. Should the matter in debate happen not to be positively specified in the written law, which seldom happens, the verdict is then in the king's breast, or in that of his representative, who may be called keeper of the royal conscience. The sentences passed in the inferior courts are seldom partial, the judges dreading the revial of the high court, where strict justice is administered between one subject and another. The misfortune however is, that the first article of the law refers to the king the privilege of altering or explaining it at pleasure; whence it is, that in all causes wherein his majesty or his favourites are interested, the subject can expect but little justice, especially if money be the point in question.

In the inferior courts, the reasons upon which every verdict is founded are specified; but in the supreme court, no reason is expressed for the sentence; and the judges of the lower courts, are not only punished for misdemeanor committed in the execution of their office, but obliged also to render satisfaction to the party injured by an unjust sentence.

In Denmark are no public societies of lawyers, or inns of court. Every man takes up the profession at pleasure, as it requires but little learning to become acquainted with laws so concise and intelligible, and indeed, the profits are so small, that few are induced to assume the long robe, who can apply themselves to any other profession. One excellent regulation we must not omit; it is, that all clerks and registers are obliged to bring the whole process of trial within a limited number of sheets, including the allegations, proofs, and sentence. A certain price is affixed to each sheet; and thus the parties have a certainty of the utmost expense of a proceeding. How happy would it be for this nation, which boasts of the freedom of its constitution, could some check be given to the rapacious profiteers of the interpreters of those once simple, but now embarrassed laws!

The salaries of the judges are paid out of the exchequer; and so trifling are they, that a judge of the lower court hath not above twenty-five pounds per annum, and others proportionally, which would be a strong temptation to pervert justice, were they not awed by the supreme court. By the king's order, the magistrates of towns provide pleaders for the poor, and those who are unable to defend their own cause; and institution founded upon humanity, which we could wish to see followed in countries more applauded for liberty and generous sentiments.

In criminal cases the severity of the law is extraordinary; and to this many writers have attributed the good order and strict discipline of the people. The crimes of murder, robbery, house-breaking, high-treason, or even seditionous discourses, are seldom heard of: so fixed is the government now on the basis of despotism, that the most turbulent spirits are
The history of Denmark.

Regulations regarding fires, and good order.

In Copenhagen there is a magistrate of police, who presides over the morals of the people, quiets disturbances, composes differences among the merchants, examines whether their goods be marketable, refrains every profession within its proper bounds, cautions the streets, bridges, and causeways, to be kept in repair, sees the markets properly supplied with bread at a reasonable price, seizes prohibited goods, afflicts with a proper body of men to extinguish fires, with every thing else which regards the good order, the safety, and the convenience of the city.

Chimney-sweepers are bound to keep an exact register, upon oath, of all the chimneys they sweep, that, in case of accidents, those by whole avarice or neglect they have happened, may repair the damage at their private expense. Torches and flameaux are prohibited in the streets; instead of which, persons of the first distinction use large clove lanthorns fixed upon a pole; a necessary precaution in a town where so many houses are built of fir timber. The petty master, as he is called, regulates likewise the price of travelling in open waggons, and severely punishes all impositions on passengers. He imprisons all who travel on the king's particular road, without permission; all poachers and furtifmen, who appear with guns, dogs, or game: lastly, he suppreffes riots among the fol digers, who are prohibited to be seen in the streets after the signal for retiring is made by beat of drum.

Regulations of apothecaries.

Of all the regulations in Denmark, perhaps that of the apothecaries is the most useful and salutary. No man is permitted to exercise that profession, until he passes the examination of the college of physicians, and it is allowed unanimously to be skilled in his function. In lord Molesworth's time only two apothecaries were permitted to open shops in Copenhagen, and one only, in each of the other towns. Their shops and medicines are carefully inspected every quarter by the magistrates and physicians, and all the bad drugs thrown away. The price is affixed to every article, and the apothecaries are obliged to keep registers of all the medicines they sell or make up, with the names of the patients, and the proper dates; so that they are never at a loss upon whom to charge any unfortunate accident.

Siftis-Ampts.

In the country the government is conducted by dividing it into certain districts, called Siftis-Ampts, of which there are seven; four in Jutland, and three in the islands. Every Siftis-ampt is subdivided into a lesser jurisdiction, called Ampt. A person of quality is generally chosen Siftis-amptman, a post equivalent to lord-lieutenant in England, or intendant in France, to which last it approaches the nearest. Amptman, or under-governor of an ampt, is generally a person of inferior rank, who resides in the principal town of his district, and is entrusted with all matters relating to the public; the quartering of soldiers, providing for their march, collecting the king's taxes, directing the peasants employed in public works, or when the king travels; these employments are for life, and given as rewards to those who have faithfully served the court. Persons who have resided at foreign courts in quality of ambassadors, are usually preferred to Siftis-ampts on their return, if their conduct has received the approbation of his majesty. His salary is a thousand crowns, and that of the amptman four hundred; but the chief advantages arising from their posts, are the interest they in consequence have at court, by which they shift off the most grievous taxes from their estates; and the great power and authority which it gives them within their jurisdiction, where they are considered as petty princes.

The king's revenue arises either from the duties paid by his own subjects, from the customs paid by foreigners, or from the crown-lands, fines, and confiscations. The taxes upon his own subjects are either fixed or variable; we mean, that the prince in some cafes chuses to follow a rule, established by himself, which, however, he may alter, if he finds

* Vide Molcsworth's Account of Denmark, ubi supra.

(H) The executioner or headman, as he is called, though infamous by his profession, compensates the want of reputation by solid profits, arising from other employments annexed to his office. His business is to keep the sinks and offices in order, remove all rubbish and every thing offensive out of the streets, keep flables and out-houses clean and sweet, with several other necessary employments, in which no Danish servant will, upon any consideration, engage (1). For this purpose he has under him a great number of servants called Bakers, and as he charges his own price, soon raises a fortune superior to that of some of the chief nobility.

(1) Molcsworth, cap. xv.

(1) One excellent custom is strictly observed in Copenhagen, and enforced by a law, of which the magistrate of police is judge. Here are select companies of men paid by the public, whose sole business it is to watch and extinguish fires, no others daring, on pain of death, to approach within a certain distance, lest, under pretence of helping the unfortunate, they should seize the opportunity of plundering them: a law which not only prevents looses and frauds, but greatly contributes to suppressing fires, by the order and regularity observed on these occasions (2).

(2) Idem ibid.
The history of Denmark.

it necessary. Of the first sort are the duties upon imports and exports, and formerly the excise upon the necessaries of life, now abolished. There are also duties upon marriage licences, upon flamp-paper, on bargains, contracts, grants, and proceedings at law. That is, the duty is laid upon the paper, and all the proceedings necessarily written on flamp-paper, the duty on which half amounts to several rixdollars each sheet. Formerly an excise was laid on brewing, malt, and corn that was ground in mills; but we are told that this duty is either entirely abolished, or at least greatly lowered. Such were the fixed duties, which seldom received any alteration. The variable duties are, the land-tax, assessed not by the acre, but by the annual value of the farm or estate; the poll-tax, imposed upon every subject according to his wealth; money levied for repairing the old fortifications, or erecting new; an occasional tax laid on the marriage of a princess for the payment of her portion; a tax laid upon tradesmen, for the liberty of exercising their several occupations; the ground-rents in all cities and towns, taxed according to the value of the house, or the ability of the tenant. In Holstein the lands are taxed by the plough, each plough paying a certain sum of money monthly. About the year 1690, a valuation was made of all the houses in the cities and towns within the king's dominions, and the lands in the country were surveyed, the more easily to assess them, and determine their real value. The ground-rent in towns and cities was fixed at four per cent. of the real value of the ground, supposing it were put up to sale. As to the poll-tax, the most moderate assessment is in the following proportion. A citizen worth eight or ten thousand rixdollars, pays four for himself, four for his wife, two for each child, one for each servant, and as much for every horse. A publican pays one rixdollar for himself, another for his wife, twenty four fivers for every child, and sixteen for every servant. The tax levied for erecting and repairing the fortifications is usually laid high. A merchant worth five or six thousand dollars, shall often pay sixty-eight dollars; an ordinary citizen eight or ten, and others in proportion; but the reader is to observe, that we have no late accounts of the state of the revenue, which is probably collected in a manner infinitely less oppressive than it was after a long and ruinous war.

In Norway the revenue arises from a certain proportion of the timber, tar, pitch, and oil, that are exported, and also from certain duties upon these. To this may be added a small profit arising from mines; but the laft and most considerable branch is drawn from the crown lands and confiscations. However, the king frequently grows the poorer for the addition to his demesne by confiscations; for he no sooner becomes the proprietor, than labour ceases, improvements are neglected, and the whole is often converted into forsets for his diversion; a most impolitic and destructive practice, happily abolished in our own country.

Upon the whole, the king's revenues are very considerable; and lord Molsenworth has computed them as follows: The toll of the Sound worth sixty-five thousand rixdollars, per annum; the rest of the toll of Denmark, farming at one hundred and sixty-five thousand rixdollars; the excise of Copenhagen farmed at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the excise of the rest of his majesty's dominions at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars, the smaller taxes of the kingdom at one hundred thousand rixdollars; the whole revenue of Norway at seven hundred thousand rixdollars; the crown lands, confiscations, &c. at two hundred thousand rixdollars; the revenue of Iceland, farming at twenty-seven thousand rixdollars; Oldenburg and Delmenhorst at eight thousand; and the toll upon the Wefter, at five thousand: the whole amounting to two millions six hundred and twenty-two thousand rixdollars, from which a deduction of four hundred thousand rixdollars ought to be made, as the poll and fortification taxes were never levied in the same year. The sensible author of the Present State of Europe, estimates the revenue at nearly the same sum, though we are apt to believe he has been led into this mistake by lord Molsenworth, who wrote in the year 1690, without reflecting upon the great increase of industry and commerce, and the extraordinary addition to the revenue from these, as well as from foreign subsidies, which amount to above a million of rixdollars from France alone. Certain it is, that the exportation of beef, butter, tar, timber, &c. has greatly increased of late years, and has proportionably enriched the exchequer, and the private trader, tho' it would be difficult to ascertian the exact value of this increase (K).

(K) That the reader may have a clearer idea of the above revenues, as well as of other particulars mentioned in the preceding pages, it may be necessary to give him a short account of the Danish coins, weights, and measures. A roe noble is eighteen flailings per. A ducat nine flailings, a rixdollar four flailings and six-pence, a sixpenny-three flailings, a six mark eleven-pence, a six mark nine-pence, a twenno pence; besides which, there is a variety of smaller copper coins. It would appear, however, that the rixdollar and dower have no fixed valuation, as several writers reckon the former at four flailings and nine-pence half penny, and the latter at nearly a penny farthing. Their weights are the great and small hundred, the first one hundred and twenty, and the latter one hundred and twelve pounds; they have also their lipound, equivalent to our stone, and their shippan, which makes twenty lipounds. An hundred weight English hardly amounts to ninety-two Danish.
The history of Denmark.

It is allowed on all hands, that specie is scarce in Denmark, few persons having any ready cash lying by them; and the traders through whole hand it passes, having small capitals and large debts in Holland and Hamburg, no sooner receive money than they pay it away again. Another circumstance which greatly contributes to the draining of Denmark of its specie, is the payment of the troops, as at least half the officers are foreigners, who place whatever they accumulate in foreign banks; a practice too frequent among the officers of state likewise. Formerly the balance of trade against Denmark used to carry off large sums; for it was estimated that foreign imports for the consumption of the country, exceeded the exported produce by near a fifth: but how they were for such a number of years able to support so losing a trade, is what we are unable to comprehend. At present we believe the balance is in favour of the Danes, with respect to most countries where they trade, labour being incredibly cheap. The most plentiful coin, even now, is copper; whence if a man has a large sum to receive, he is forced to employ wheel-barrows to carry it off; and we have heard merchants declare, that in their accounts they have charged a certain sum for that purpose; a presumption this of the scarcity of money, notwithstanding we see the bafer coins prevail in rich countries, though for different reasons.

To an Englishman unacquainted with the value of money in northern countries, it would be incredible what an army the king of Denmark supports at a less expense than this nation can maintain eight regiments of horse and foot. It is computed, that Denmark and the German dominions maintain an army of sixteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons, in profound peace; and Norway thirteen thousand foot, and near three thousand horse and dragoons; together with three thousand seamen, who are employed in the king's dock-yards, when they are not wanted for the equipment of a squadron. From comparing this proportion of troops with the revenue, we may easily conclude how small their soldiers pay must be; but the less the treasury is drained by the payment of troops, the more does the poor peasant suffer upon whom he is quartered. All the navy-officers are in constant pay in peace as well as in war; whence it is, that the king of Denmark is able to equip a fleet of thirty fail of men of war upon almost the shortest notice (L). Thus we see that an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, and three thousand seamen, the charges of the civil lift, the maintenance of the courts, king's children, public ministers, officers of justice, &c. are supported upon a revenue not greater than the civil lift of Great Britain; whence we may judge of the economy of the government, the scarcity of specie, and the cheapness of provisions in Denmark.

It is time we should now come to treat of the religion, marriages, and funerals of Denmark, with which we shall close this section, and our account of the present state of the kingdom; adding only a few reflections upon the true political interest of that nation, with respect to the powers with whom she is connected, either by commerce, treaties, or situation.

In Denmark the people were pagans till the year 826, when St. Augustus, bishop of Hamburg and Bremen, first introduced Christianity in the reign of Harold Clakius, the first Christian Danish monarch (M). About the year 1537, the doctrine of Luther was first propagated in this northern kingdom, by Bugenboge, a Pomeranian divine, who met with a strong patron in Frederic I. Since Protestantism was established, no other religion, and particularly that of the church of Rome, has ever been admitted into the kingdom, or, at least, permitted worship in it, till of late years. Perhaps no Catholic country in Europe requires a stricter conformity than Denmark, people being prohibited to talk with freedom on the points in dispute, or to abstent themselves from the churches upon any pretence. The clergy are the tools of the government, their doctrine being a blind and implicit obedience to superiors; in return for which they are protected by the court, and are highly respected by the people, because they are tamely regarded by the administration; which

---

niuko pounds. A Daniko ell is about one-third less than an English; but of their liquid measure we find no exact account, nor indeed any thing so accurate as we could with concerning their weights or dry measure (L). It will not be disagreeable to the more curious reader to see an account of the pay of the several officers and soldiers, which is as follows: a captain of foot is paid twenty rixdollars per month, a lieutenant eleven, and an ensign ten. A sergeant's pay amounts only to six rixdollars, a drummer's to three rixdollars and eight fivers, and a corporal's to about four rixdollars a month. A common soldier receives no more than seventeen fivers weekly, the rest of his pay being applied for bread, clothing, and other things. As to the pay of the super-


[5] This prince is not ranked among the Daniko monarchs, being set up only by the Jutlanders while Roger was employed in a war with the Irish, and on his return deposed and slain.  

[6] makes
The history of Denmark.

makes their precepts be received with more weight. They intermeddle in no civil affairs, nor are they retained at court, or the houses of the nobility, in quality of chaplains; this office being always performed by a lacquey.

In the pulpit the clergy assume the authority of the ministers of Christ, and reprove with great freedom finners of quality, who have practised public vices; nor are any liberties consistent with the duties of their function taken amiss, provided they never intermeddle with politics. The common people adore them for the spirit with which they reprehend their superiors; for nothing is so grateful to mankind, as to see those raised by fortune above them brought down to their own level. Their benevolences to the clergy are in the degree of satisfaction they receive in this respect; whence it is, that a minister of courage can raise his stipend to double the value. Another circumstance that greatly contributes to keep up the authority of the clergy, is their retaining confession, without which persons of the highest quality are denied the sacrament.

The Danes have constituted superintendents in the room of bishops and archbishops, who are deprived of the authority as well as the name of right reverend; however, they take it kindly to be addressed by this title, after which they have a hankering. Within the Danish dominions are ten of those superintendents, viz. one in Zealand, one in Funen, five in Jutland, and four in Norway. They have no temporalities, hold no ecclesiastical courts, have no cathedrals with deans and chapters, but are chiefly employed in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy and people. The superintendent of Copenhagen has a kind of superior authority, and a stipend proportionable, which is fixed at two thousand rixdollars yearly. Each of the other Danish superintendents have fifteen hundred, and those of Norway one thousand rixdollars each; hardly the value of a moderate English living. They preach without book, and the abundance of action. They observe holidays with the same rigid devotion as Sunday, the gates of Copenhagen being shut during divine service, and the people very constant in their attendance; but the service being ended, they relax their spirits with all kinds of pastimes and diversions. It is even common to fit down with a clergyman at cards immediately after he has quitted the pulpit, where he has preached so feelingly as to drown his congregation in tears. The clerical habit is a plaited black gown, with short wide sleeves, a large ruff, and a round flat cap, resembling our university matriculating cap.

Penances imposed by the confessors are readily performed by the people; nor do they refrain coming to church, tho' they are condemned to stand like criminals at the door for whole months. To conclude, there is no country in the world where the minds of the clergy and people are more upon a level than in Denmark. If you meet with few of extraordinary talents and qualifications, as few are seen who merit the appellation of madmen, fools, or enthusiasm. A certain equality reigns among them, every one keeping the common beaten road of sense, without addition or diminution.

As to the marriage ceremonies in Denmark, they differ but little from our own. What marriage chiefly deserves notice is, that the parties are often contracted for years before marriage is solemnized in church, and as intimate before as after the ceremony. It is sufficient that it be performed before the woman brings forth her first child; this is no offence in the eye of the people, nor is it animadverted upon by the clergy. The epouls, however, are extremely solemn before friends; and the parties are then, and not before, deprived of the liberty of marrying elsewhere: yet we are told by some writers, that the first contract is valid in law, the marriage ceremony being esteemed only a public declaration of their engagements.

The Danes bury their dead with the utmost funeral pomp; and it is not uncommon to keep a corpse for years, in order to make preparations for the utmost magnificent interment. The poor indeed have their remains laid in the ground with less ceremony; tho' even among them it is usual to have a band of hired mourners, employed by the parish to attend the body to the grave.

With respect to the interest of Denmark, it may be collected from what we have said of its present state. The rapid progress of the Russians to a civilized, warlike, and potent nation, renders it indispensably necessary, that the crowns of Denmark and Sweden live in strict harmony, to secure the independence of both. As the maritime powers are, however, the strongest barriers against the encroachments of that vast empire, it is above all things necessary, that Denmark should cultivate their friendship; and this is equally important to the security of his majesty's trade and dominions. How far the present disturbances in Germany ought to induce his Danish majesty to break off his connections with France, and support his Prussian majesty, and the Protestant interest, at the hazard of breaking with Russia and Sweden, though with respect to the last he has little to fear amidst the civil commotions of the nation, it requires no great depth of fagacity to penetrate. But

Molesworth, ibid. Present State of Europe, ibid.
The history of Denmark.

we have already exceeded our limits, and must now enter upon the Danjë history, where we find such a long series of kings, as will render it impossible for us to enter upon a minute recital of all the important events, without swelling our work to an enormous size. However, as we believe no complete history of this nation has ever appeared in any modern language, we doubt not but the bare annals of so antient and famous a people will be acceptable to the curious reader.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the Danish Monarchs to the sixteenth Year of the Chrjstian Æra.

D A N.

ALMOST all historians agree, that Dan, the son of Humble, a native of Zealand, was the founder and first king of the country called Denmark, from his name. His polliceions and influence were very considerable, not only in Zealand but in the islands of Langland and Monæ; it was his courage, however, and skill in the art of war, that raised him to the crown of Denmark, and induced the inhabitants to chuse him for their king. He governed Zealand for his aged father, when the Saxons made an irruption into Jutland. The people, in despair, implored his assistance, promising him the sovereignty of the country, if he drove out the enemy. Dan, fired with ambition, immediately raised an army, marched against the Saxons, obtained a complete victory, and reaped the promised reward. Soon after his father died, leaving him sovereign of Jutland, Zealand, Langland, and Monæ, about one thousand and thirty-eight years before the birth of Chrjst (A). To strengthen his interest, and secure his possessions, he determined upon a strict alliance with the Saxons; and for this purpose married Grathe, a lady of great consideration among them, by whom he had two sons. After reigning forty years with the utmost justice and reputation, he died greatly lamented by his subjects.

H U M B L E.

This excellent prince was succeeded by his eldest son Humble, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people (B). His reign was short, according to some historians, and all agree that it was unfortunate; for he was deposed by his brother, and reduced to a private station, seven years after he had been raised to the throne.

L O T H E R.

LOTER now usurped the crown of his unfortunate brother, who supported his misfortunes with a constancy and magnanimity which declared him worthy of a better fate. The usurper governed the Danes with the utmost rigour and severity; he banished, or put to death, all the nobility whose power rendered them dangerous, or wealth excited his avarice. Suspicion, luft, and cruelty, made him at length intolerable to a people, whose spirit was not yet extinguished by oppresion. They revolted, and Lothir lost his life, on account of those very vices by which he obtained his crown (C).

S K I O L D O.

By the votes of the people, his son Skioldo, then a boy, was appointed to succeed Lothir. The sweetness of his disposition, his bodily strength, and his courage, distinguished even at that age, had determined the states not to punish the son for the crimes of the father; and the virtues which Skioldo displayed in the course of a long and prosperous reign, amply rewarded the justice of their choice (C). An extraordinary influence of his strength and in-

(A) Some writers deny that the kingdom of Denmark is so antient as Grammaticus, and the other authors we quote in the margin, affect. Gaffer in particular affirms, that Dan lived only four hundred and ninety years before Chrjst; but we must either suppose, that the reigns of the Danjë princes were uncommonly short, or that their historians have given lives of several kings who never existed; but Gaffer does not take it upon him to affect the latter; and the absurdity of the former supposition is too evident to require any refutation. Indeed, the regular and clear genealogy and chronology of those princes, put it beyond all doubt, that Denmark is one of the most antient monarchies in Europe.

(B) We are told by Saxo Grammaticus, and the most antient Danjë historians, that the electors fixed upon long fions which they raised on one end on the ground, and by their visibility, prognosticated the felicity of the future reign (1).

(C) J.e. Suanningius, in his Chronology of the Danjë kings, places Bogbio, the son of Humble, before Skioldo; but we find his conjecture confirmed by the authority of no Danjë historian (2).

3
The history of Denmark.

a. Trepidity happened at the age of fifteen. Being on a party of hunting, he seized upon a wild boar, of a monstrous size, and held the furious beast with his girdle until he was assisted by his companions; a specimen of his valour that rendered him more dear to his subjects, by whom he was already beloved. Soon after his reputation received additional lustre, by his engaging in single combat with the two most celebrated wrestlers and boxers of those times, whom he defeated. He married Acilda, a Saxons lady, who had been addressed by her king: this drew upon him a war with the Saxons, which terminated in the death of their prince, and the reduction of the country by Skiodlo. However, his lenity was no less conspicuous than his courage; he permitted the conquered Saxons to chase another king, contenting himself with a moderate tribute, to reimburse his people for the expenses of the war. After this he applied his mind to the arts of peace; he rewarded virtue, punished vice, and encouraged industry. It was his constant saying, 'That the true grantee of a prince consists rather in making his subjects happy, than in oppressing his neighbours, with a view to extend his sovereignty.' He was the patron of the poor, the protector of the injured, and the succour of the distressed. In a word, his virtues were so extraordinary, and his people so sensible of the blessings they enjoyed during his long reign, that all good kings were, for a series of ages, famed after him. Sinking at last under old age and infirmity, the nobles proposed that he should raise his son Gram to a partnership with him in the throne, in order to ease him of the weight of government, and instruct the young prince in the art of reigning. This proposition was vehemently opposed by Riige, a nobleman of the first distinction in Zealand, who was ambitious of fixing the crown upon his own head. Skiodlo immediately raised some troops, attacked the rebel, defeated and killed him, and after firmly establishing his son in the throne, expired, universally beloved and lamented. To this day the place where his palace stood is called Skiodlo-nisse.

G R A M.

Gram inherited the virtues as well as the crown of his father. His whole reign was a series of victories and conquests, arising from his ambition than the turbulence of his neighbours. The king of Sweden, taking advantage of the youth of Gram, made an irruption into Jutland with a powerful army; but he was attacked and slain by the young monarch of Denmark, who soon after annexed Sweden to his own crown. Gram discovering that Swarim, viceroy of Goaland, was conspiring against his life, in order to raise himself to the throne of Sweden, challenged him to single combat, and flew him. Scarce had he finished this gallant action, when honour called him to Norway, to revenge the disgrace of his sister, ravished by Suibdager, who had deposed her husband, and usurped the crown of Norway. After a course of victories gained over the Norwegians, at length he fell by the hand of Suibdager, and died with the reputation of a great prince, whose character was soiled with no other blemish than inconstancy and infidelity to his wives. He left behind him two sons, Guthorm, by Grot, his first wife; and Hadding, by Signe, his second, after repudiating the former.

S U I B D A G E R.

Suibdager, pursuing his victory, united the crowns of Denmark and Sweden to that of Norway, to neither of which he had any natural right. Moved by the prayers of Grot, the divorced wife of Gram, he replaced Guthorm in the throne of his father, on condition that Denmark should be tributary to him; gave Sweden to his own son Ajjon, retaining only Norway to himself; after which he was defeated and slain by Hadding, the second son of Gram, in a sea-fight off the coast of Sweden.

G U T H O R M.

Guthorm enjoyed the crown of Denmark but a short time: he found himself defrauded by the nobility, and hated by the common people, for floooping to hold a tributary crown. His father's virtues rote in their memory; they upbraided the son with them, which sunk so deeply into his mind, that he fell sick and died of grief, being succeeded by the brave Hadding, the avenger of his father's death, and conqueror of the usurper Suibdager.

H A D D I N G.

Hadding, the exploits related of this hero, which favour so much of fiction, that we will not venture to give them a place in our history. During his exile he traversed almost all the northern kingdoms, attended by Harpinga, a Danjle lady, who supported all the fatigues and hardships they underwent, with a more than masculine constancy and in-

---

trepidity. She shared all his misfortunes, conquered by his side, alleviated his griefs, applied balm to his wounds, and was at length the companion of his prosperity, after surmounting incredible difficulties. He was no sooner placed on the throne of Denmark, than A FSMOND king of Sweden, thirsting to revenge his father's death, attacked him with a numerous army; but he was so well supported by his faithful subjects, that he flew with his own hand in battle, Henry prince of Sweden, and afterwards the king his father, whole body he pierced with his lance. In this engagement Hadding received a wound in his foot, of which he was lame all his life after. Returning from this war, he found the treasury robbed in his absence, and immediately ordered Glamer, to whom he had committed the charge of his money and jewels, to be hanged upon a gibbet; an example that struck such terror as induced his accomplices to replace their share of the spoils.

WHILE Hadding was bufled in framing laws, and establishing good order and tranquility in his kingdom, he was suddenly attacked by Uffen, the second son of AFSMOND, who after his father's death had succeeded to the throne of Sweden. Uffen, aware of the valour and power of Hadding, would not venture upon an open war; but collecting a great fleet and army, he made a descent upon the coasts of Denmark, set fire to the towns, carried off the inhabitants, and after laying a great part of the country waste, retreated to his own kingdom, whither he was closely pursued by the Danes, after he had first secured his frontiers by strong guards and garrisons. What he wanted in courage, Uffen fully supplied in cunning; he declared battle, and so harassed Hadding with marches and countermarches, cutting off his provisions, laying waste the countries through which he must pass, and attacking his out-parties, that, reduced to the last extremity, he determined to hazard all to come to an engagement. As the Danes were by this time worn out with fatigue, and weakened by famine, the Swedes found it no difficult matter to resift their most strenuous efforts; upon which Hadding retired with prodigious loss, first to Helsingia, a northern province of Sweden, and from thence to Norway, where he applied to Hacquin the king for assistance. While the reinforcement was levying, he fell in love with Hacquin's daughter, married to a deformed nobleman of Norway, whom he challenged to fight. After having slain the husband, he obtained the daughter in marriage, with the consent of her father, herself making no scruple about espousing a king, though the murderer of her husband. The auxiliaries being ready to march, Hadding a second time led his army into Sweden, which so terrified Uffen, that he determined to effect by affaiins what he had not the courage to attempt by a fair and open war. Promising his daughter, a beautiful young lady with a large portion, to whoever would bring him the king of Denmark's head, THUMING, a nobleman of Sweden, undertook the inglorious exploit; but finding all his attempts frustrated, he had recourse to the Biarmes, a people at that time inhabiting the remoter parts of Finland. Still he was unsuccessful; but that nothing might be wanting to gain so noble a prize as the king's daughter, he applied himself to magic: here likewise all his arts were foiled by an old magician in Hadding's camp, who counterchecked all his plots and contrivances. At last, mad with despair, he made an assault upon the Danish camp, and was repulsed with great loss. Hadding purging his victory, resolved to put an end to the war, by besieging Uffen in Upfal, then the capital of Sweden. Uffen, to ward off the impending blow, sent ambassadors to the Danes, with terms of accommodation, and gave some of his nobility as hostages: upon which Hadding, who suspeeted no treachery, entered Upfal, and was splendidly entertained. The house was filled with affaiins, who were ready to execute their talenies on a signal given, before which they were fortunately discovered by some of Hadding's guard, and immediately put to death. To revenge the perfidy, Hadding purged the war against Uffen, attacked, defeated, and killed him in the field; but with a generosity becoming a conqueror, gave the kingdom to Hunding, Uffen's brother, and buried the royal corpse with funeral honours, which the villainous treachery of his life little merited. After numberless exploits performed in Jutland, Courland, Saxony, and Britain, he laid violent hands on himself, probably in disgust at the unnatural conduct of his favourite daughter Uvilda, who had made repeated attempts upon her father's life. Thus he fulfilled a prophecy well known among the Danes, Swedes, and Saxons, "That Hadding would escape " all the thares of his enemies, and the treachery of his own blood, only to lay violent " hands on himself." (D).


(D) We find in some historians, that Hadding, after his return from Britain, hanged himself in presence of his whole court. It was reported that he died in that island, and Hadding king of Sweden, celebrating his funeral rites, was drowned in a caldron of wort. Hadding's death is attributed to his grief for this misfortune. (1)

(1) Suanning. p. 30.
Hadding left two children by Ragnilda, a daughter of Hugh king of Ruffia. Frotho, the son succeeded to the crown of Denmark, and Suankhilda, the daughter, to the sovereignty of Sweden. Frotho, from his excellent qualities, was furnished Gismild, or Generous, inheriting all the virtues of his father, with his throne. On his accession he found the treasury so exhausted, that he was unable to advance the soldiers their arrears. To remedy this evil, without laying fresh taxes upon the people, he attacked a dragon, as tradition reports, or rather Draco, a famous pirate, who had laid up prodigious wealth in remote caves, which he defended by a strong body of desperate ruffians. Draco was slain, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was enabled thereby to enter upon the mighty designs which he had formed in his mind. In a word, he conquered Britain, Scotland, (for at that time the country south of the Fynd went by the name of Britain) Sleivwick, Ruffia, Petermania, Holstein, and other countries. He feigned upon London, the capital of Britain, by an ingenious stratagem; for causing it to be rumoured that he died in the camp, leave was asked of the Britis governor to bury the royal corpse in a certain temple in the city, and a treaty concluded for this purpose. The governor suspecting no treachery, admitted a corpse, attended by a numerous procession of supplicated mourners, who had concealed arms under their cloaths. Others dropped in afterwards; and when Frotho thought his strength sufficient, the signal was made for his men to fall upon the Britons, which they obeyed with incredible fury, flaying all before them till they got possession of the city, in spite of the desperate defence of the inhabitants. Returning thence to Denmark, he entered upon a fresh war with the king of Sweden, who had married his sister, and perished in battle, not by the hands of the enemy, but oppressed and borne down by the weight of his own armour, leaving behind him three sons, Haldan, Ræ, and Sei, and the reputation of a great warrior.

Haldane, the eldest, an ambitious, cruel, and unnatural prince, succeeded to his father’s crown, which he endeavored to render secure by the death of his two brothers, in a manner equally brutal and invidious. It is indeed suppos’d by historians, that they both aspired to the throne; the only circumstance that can at all palliate the king’s cruelty, who, not contented with polluting his hands with the blood of his brethren, steeped them in that of his most faithful subjects of all ranks; notwithstanding which he lived to an old age, the dread and detestation of his people. He left behind him two sons, Ræ and Heigo, the successors of his throne, but not of his vices.

Ræ and Heigo.

By right of seniority, as well as by the voice of the people, Ræ might have reigned alone; but he absolutely refused the crown upon any other conditions than sharing his power with Heigo: an uncommon instance of affection, founded upon kindred and affinity. Ræ was of a stature contemptibly small and mean; but this external defect he more than compensated by the greatness of his soul, his courage, generosity, and other manly virtues. He was a strict observer of justice, and the first prince who reduced the customs of the people, founded upon long tradition, to a written system of laws. Before his time, historians relate, that custom was the only rule of action. Murder, robbery, and theft, were punished, not as infractions of the law, but of the natural rights of mankind; Ræ was the first who specified the punishments consequent on certain crimes, and reduced the law imprinted by nature on the human mind, to a more fixed and definite meaning and system. He was the founder of the city Roskild, which exists to this day: and while he was busied in civilizing his subjects, framing certain rules for government, and decorating the country with churches and buildings, his attention was diverted from the arts of peace, which he cultivated so diligently, to engage in a war with the king of Sweden. Frotho I. had given that kingdom in truut to Renger, the late king, who constantly paid the promised tribute, but he dying, and his son Holbod succeeding to the throne, the young monarch was ambitious of throwing off the yoke, and holding his crown independent of Denmark. With this view he refused to pay the usual homage and tribute, which gave birth to the present war, that ended with the life of Ræ, who fell in battle, bewailed by his subjects, but most by Heigo, his brother and successor.

Heigo.

Heigo was a prince more addicted to war than his excellent brother. While he shared the throne with Ræ, he greatly enlarged the Danes dominions by the conquest of a num.

The history of Denmark.

Her of northern states; and now the first act of his prowess, since his reigning alone, was to the engaging in single combat with Hunding prince of Saxony. Him he flew in the field, and of consequence annexed Saxony to his own dominions, as had been previously agreed. Returning thence to Jutland, he drove out a body of Saxons who had taken possession in his absence. After this he engaged the king of the Vandals by sea, and coming off victorious, he stopped for refreshment at a little island in the Baltic, where he became enamoured of a girl of mean station, by whom he had a daughter, that afterwards became the mother of Rolf, who succeeded his father in the throne; an abominable inceft, which obscures all the former glory of his reign.

Scarce had Holgo finished the Vandal war, when resolving to avenge his brother's death, he marched against Hotbord of Sweden, whom he flew in the field of battle, reducing the whole kingdom to obedience. The more fully to satiate his revenge, he established a cruel law, by which a Dane might, on any provocation, put a Swede to death with impunity. Placing the crown on the head of Atiha, son of Hotbord, who had engaged to pay the tribute discontinued by his father, he returned to Denmark, and either from a disinclination to public affairs, or as other writers more probably suggest, from recollecting the horrid impiety he committed in debauching his own daughter, he laid violent hands on himself, and died a martyr to his crimes. He was, indeed, a prince in whom the noblest virtues and grossest crimes were blended: his military ability, and attachment to his brother, would have rendered his fame immortal, were not those virtues more than balanced by his unnatural, lustful, and shocking cruelty.

R O L F O.

The virtues of Rolf soon obliterated the memory of his disgraceful birth. The graces of his person equaled those of his mind, and his stature and strength were so extraordinary, that he was named Rago, a Danish word, expressive of these qualities. His valour and martial spirit did not, however, interrupt the peaceable felicity of his subjects; for tho' he withied for an opportunity of signalizing his prowess, yet he suppressed his inclinations to war from just views of policy, and a fatherly regard to the interest of his people. He was at length drawn into a war with his own step father, the king of Sweden, to punish his inhuman usage of the queen, who was mother to Rolf. The king of Sweden was killed in battle, and Rolf soon after perished by the treachery of a Danish nobleman, whom he had distinguished by numberless instances of his favour; and, among others, by marrying him to his father. No prince had ever more strongly engaged the affections of his people than Rolf, though ambition had pushed on his brother-in-law to this shocking parricide. His virtues were splendid; magnificence, generosity, and valour, were united in his person. Justice, clemency, and a strict regard to his promises, had set him far above all the former kings of Denmark, in reputation. In a word, historians are so full of his praises, that we might suspect them of painting with the pencil of fancy, if their portraits were not amply attested by facts superior to all expression.

H O T H E R.

Hothier, 14th king.

Rolf dying without children, the states immediately assembled for the election of a new king, and chose in his room Hothier, grand son by his daughter to Hading, the father of Frotho I. This young prince had been lent in his infancy to Norway, and educated at the court of that monarch with the greatest care and indulgence. Upon notice of the death of Rolf, he was advised by the king of Norway, to offer himself a candidate for the crown, who promised to assist him with all his interest and force. While preparations were making to execute this plan, a messenger arrived from Denmark, acquainting him of the election of the states, upon which he immediately set out for that kingdom. In gratitude to the king of Norway, he espoused his daughter, whom he raised to the throne of Denmark. By this marriage he involved himself in a war with Balder, a northern prince, who had paid his addresses to the princess, before Hothier had made any proposals to her. Several furious battles were fought between the rivals, when at length Balder was defeated and slain in a sea-fight, which gave name to that strait called to this day Balder Sound. This glorious victory brought on the death of Hothier; for Balder's father, resolving to avenge his son, summoned all his nobles, and, in a pathetic speech, recommended it to their care to wipe off their late disgrace, by some signal exertion of their courage. Upon which Bae, his son-in-law, undertook to finish the quarrel with Hothier, and accordingly challenged him to single combat. The king of Denmark accepting his proposals, called his council, and, as if he had some foreboding of his fate, he pressed the states to declare his son Rorick the successor:

Swaninck, Chron. p. 33.  
Meurs. p. 10.  
Fontan. p. 19.
he told them, that the event of war was doubtful, but the civil divisions which would happen in his kingdom certain, should it please the gods to deprive him of life before the succession was settled. Were his kingdom once secured against the calamities he foresaw, then would he cheerfully devote his life to glory, and the good of Denmark. The king’s speech had such an effect, that Rorick was unanimously elected heir-apparent to the throne, though then but a child; after which Höter went to meet his antagonist, by whose hands he fell (E).

Notwithstanding Rorick was appointed by the people to succeed to his father, the victorious Boe found means to lay aside this election, and fix himself in the throne; but how long he reigned, whether he died a natural death, or was deposed, history is silent; and, indeed, some of the most accurate Danish historians, omit him entirely in the catalogue of kings.

Meursius and Saxo Grammaticus alone affirm, that he never ascended the throne. We shall therefore continue the series of princes from Höter to his son, without interruption, as the point is disputed, and at this distance of time cannot possibly be determined with certainty:

Rorick Slynghibond.

Before Rorick, or, as some writers call him, Roderick Slynghibond, had fully arrived at the years of maturity, he found it necessary to head his own armies, and oppose a formidable league which threatened destruction to Denmark. The young monarch used the utmost diligence in levying forces, and equipping a fleet, and his endeavours were seconded by the affections of his subjects, who neglected nothing which might contribute to the glory of their kings, on which rested their own security. It had been stipulated in a treaty offensive and defensive, made between the Swedes, Conlanders, and some other northern powers tributary to Denmark, that they should unanimously throw off their submission to this crown, refuse all tribute and homage, and defend each other with all their forces, in order to reduce the pride and power of Denmark. This resolution was taken with spirit, but soon broke through, by the superior fortune and valour of the Danes, who, headed by their king, defeated the allies by sea and land, forcing them to pay a heavier tribute than before. Soon afterwards the victorious Rorick fell by accident in the sea, and was drowned, leaving behind him the reputation of a just and warlike prince, emulous of nothing so much as the affections of his people, and national honour. Other writers allude, that the cause of his death, as well as the duration of his reign, are very doubtful; but all agree in giving him the highest character (F). One circumstance, however, seems to prove, that his reign was not so short as Grammaticus alludes for; he left a son who succeeded to his throne, and a daughter whom he married to Harswandt prince of Jutland; yet they say he engaged in the Swedish war when he was scarce of age, and died soon after it was finished; consequently this war must have been of long duration, or Rorick must have survived it for a great number of years, as the reader will find by consulting the last note.

(E) It merits observation, that some antiquarians confounded Danz, the founder of the Danish monarchy, reign about the time that Saxo Grammaticus, Meursius, and Pontanus place Hoster, the 14th king, that is, the year before Christ 490. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the period allotted by these historians for a king’s reign, is as much too long, as that assigned by Geiger and others is too short. This prince is entirely omitted by Saxo Grammaticus, Meursius, and Pontanus; but we have ventured to insert him upon the authority of the accurate Sunningius, and the learned Lechander, who makes him the 16th king from Dan, the founder of the Danish monarchy (1).

(F) At this time Harswandt and Eggos, or Eggo, two brothers, reigned in Jutland, and paid homage and tribute to the crown of Denmark. The former had married, says Meursius, the daughter of Rorick, by which means he succeeded to his crown, soon after which he was treacherously murdered by his brother Eggos. Hamlet his son, succeeding that his uncle’s ambition occasioned his father’s death, feigned madness, the better to conceal his purpose of revenging his father’s murder, in which he at length succeeded, having stabbed Fiager with his own hand at a public festival, while he was surrounded by all his nobility. Many of the circumstances related by Saxo Grammaticus, are exactly copied by our great dramatic writer in the tragedy called Hamlet. The event, however, is different; for according to the historian, Hamlet enjoyed his uncle’s crown for a great number of years, and died with the reputation of one of the best princes that had ever filled the throne. However, all the most critics are of opinion that neither Harswandt, Eggos, or Hamlet, ever reigned in Denmark, affirming that Rorick was immediately succeeded by Fiager, who killed Hamlet, prince of Jutland in battle, as he was endeavouring by force to succeed to the crown of his grandfather Rorick. Pontanus and Sunningius positively affirm, that neither of these Jutland princes ever attended the Danish throne, though they admit the truth of all the other circumstances related by Meursius; indeed, Saxo Grammaticus himself does not place them among the Danish monarchs (2).


(2) Vid. Sunn. p. 57. Pont. l. i. p. 20.
The history of Denmark.

VIGLET, son to the preceding king, did not succeed to the throne without a bloody competition, in which he flew his rival Hamlet of Jutland. This was the only act of valour he performed in the course of a long life. His whole reign was more indolent and pacific than that of any of his predecessors. The mildness of his disposition drew on him the contempt of the warlike Danes; yet nothing could alter his resolution to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom.

GUILLEM.

After a reign of forty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by Guilielm, whom some writers call his son; though others are of opinion, he succeeded in prejudice to the right of Vermund, the avowed son of Viglet. We find nothing recorded of this prince, but that he reigned thirty-two years, leaving the throne vacant, and to be filled by the frates, who assembled during his last illness to appoint a successor.

VERMUND.

Vermund, the son of Viglet, next succeeded, who was no less remarkable than his father, for a mild, pacific, indolent disposition; but there were not wanting the seeds of courage, though circumstances never so fell out as to afford him an opportunity of displacing the valour of his ancestors. After a long reign he at length became the joyful father of a son, who, to appearances however, promised him no great felicity as he grew up. He arrived at the age of manhood before he was ever heard to utter a syllable; and many of his actions bespoke a weak intellect, bordering upon idiocy. The old king was greatly affected, and, to add to his misfortunes, was afflicted with fits of sight, in consequence of old age, and a malady that had seized him some years before. Under these circumstances the aged and venerable Vermund was infatuated by the prince of Saxony, who offered himself a candidate for a throne, which he said the spirit of the Danes ought never to permit being filled by a blind dotard, or a natural fool; for this was the purport of an insolent harangue, pronounced by his ambassador at a full diet of the frates of Denmark. Vermund, flung with reproach, forgetful of his old age and blindness, and eager to vindicate his majesty, replied, that the reproach thrown upon him was truly worthy of a Saxon; that a man of spirit would contend for the honour of defending a prince, sunk under age and infirmity, instead of endeavouring to aggravate his misfortunes, by deploring him of his just rights; and, finally, that notwithstanding blindness and decrepitude, he doubted not but the gods would give him still strength sufficient to repel all the attempts of so vain-glorious a boaster, in consequence of which hope he was willing to reft the fate of his crown upon the issue of a single combat between them. Assonished with the courage of the old prince, the Saxon ambassador declined the challenge, saying it was unworthy of his master to contend with a blind man, who had a son able to support his quarrel. The frates were silent at this reply, which Uffin, prince of Denmark, observing, rode up in a fury, and told the ambassador, that the king had a son, and Denmark a prince, able and willing to defend their rights and the honour of the nation. "Tell your insolent master, says he, that Uffin, whom he supposes unworthy of succeeding to the crown, will not only accept of his challenge, but fight finely against him and any other Saxon he will make choice of." Surprised at this intrepid reply from a prince who had never spoke before, or ever given the slightest proofs of spirit or understanding, the frates joyfully appointed the time and place for deciding the quarrel. They, however, represented to Uffin the ravines of engaging with two antagonists, each of them probably of equal strength with himself; but he was fixed in his resolution. Accordingly the parties met, and the old king ordered himself to be conducted to a precipice that hung over the sea, near the field of battle, resolving to put an end to his life, should his son be worfted, and the kingdom of Denmark disgraced. The combatants engaged with the utmost fury; Uffin, like the brave Horatius, on whom depended the fate of Rome, gradually retreated and defend himself, until he had separated the enemy, and exhausted their strength; after which he attacked the weakest with such intrepidity and strength, that he soon laid him dead at his feet. Now the two princes fought hand to hand, and Uffin perceiving his superiory, generously offered to grant the Saxon his life, if he would submit to pay him homage, and a tribute; but the other refusing, he laid him dead at one stroke, and was carried triumphantly off the field on the shoulders of the Danes nobility, who were overjoyed to find valour, strength, and understanding, united in the person of a prince, &

they had till then beheld with pity and contempt. Vermund did not long survive this glorious achievement of his son; excess of joy put an end to his life, and Uffen was raised by the unanimous voice of the people, to the dignity which he had so seasonably vindicated.

Olaus I.

Soon after his accession he changed his name to that of Olaus, and was surnamed the Merciful, from the generous proposal he had made to the Saxon prince, as well as from his natural good disposition. His reign was an uninterrupted series of felicity to his subjects, and victories over his enemies; but history relates no particulars. He married a lady of noble birth in Stéfwick, by whom he had a son, who was raised to the throne upon the death of Olaus.

Dan II.

The young king was called Dan, the second monarch of that name who had sware the Danes for his race. No prince was ever more beloved during the first years of his reign. His military capacity had greatly enlarged his dominions, and the tributes paid by foreign princes augmented the power, wealth, and glory of the state; but, flushed with success, he became insolent, cruel, and prodigal of his wealth and fame, dying at an advanced age, as much detested for his vices as before he was esteemed for his virtue.

Hugleth.

Hugleth was next elected king; but whether he was the son of the preceding monarch we have no account. All that history relates of him is, that he conquered in a sea-fight H Coun and Horgan, two of the chief persons in Sweden, who had long exercised piracy in the Baltic, and incurred all the coasts with a powerful fleet. He likewise kept the king of Sweden in awe, though he had raised a powerful army to support a resolution he had formed of discontinuing the tribute, and shaking off the Danes yoke. It would appear that his reign was uncommonly long, as from the year 225 before the birth of Christ, to the year 172, we find no other king mentioned; and indeed, some historians call him by the name of Hugleth the Little, second son to Dan.

Frotho II.

After the death of Hugleth, Frotho, the second of that name, surnamed the Vigorous, was raised to the throne. There never was a prince endowed with nobler qualities of mind and body; more courteous, generous, and brave; he soon became the darling of his people, and the terror of his rebellious neighbours, most of whom were tributary to his crown. He subdued Norway, after killing the king in single combat, and annexed it, with some islands in the Baltic before unconquered, to his dominions. Having reigned thirty years he breathed his last, leaving the crown, with the confent of the people, to his son Dan, who became the third monarch of that name.

Dan III.

In the very beginning of Dan's reign, the Saxons were so insolent, as not only to refuse payment of the tribute due to the sovereign of Denmark, but to insult on Dan's reimbursing them all the money extorted from them by his father, by Hugleth, Dan II. and by Olaus and Uffen; a demand which soon produced a war, in which they were forced to submit to their former condition. This prince engaged likewise in a war with Sweden, concerning the event of which history is silent. All we know is, that he was wounded in a single combat by the Swedes monarch. We are told, indeed, that after this he conquered all those states inhabiting the countries on each side the Elbe, to whom the Danes gave the general name of Saxons; after which he was seized with an acute fever, that carried him off in the prime and vigour of life.

Fridolf.

To him succeeded Fridolf, surnamed the Swift, who immediately, on his accession, entered into a close and intimate correspondence with the king of Halland; for at this time Halland was a separate and independent sovereignty. The intention of this league was to secure and protect each other's dominions against all enemies, to clear the seas of pirates, and thoroughly to reduce the Swedes and Norwegians, who wanted only a fit opportunity to shake off the galling yoke of Denmark. This treaty, like most other compacts between princes, was broke as soon as either party imagined he could take an advantage of the other. The monarch of Halland was the first aggressor; he raised an army, and made a descent...
defect on Denmark, at a time when security had rendered Frido II totally unprepared to receive him; but the vigour of this prince made him soon repent his treachery. Frido II assembled a powerful army, and defeated Haurlitt in a pitched battle, making great slaughter of his troops. In the pursuit Haurlitt was killed, and Frido II not only ceded the war, but fully revenged upon his invidious enemy, whose kingdom he annexed to his own dominions. After this we are told he carried his arms into Ireland, and having over-run a great part of the country, made himself master of Dublin, the capital. The same attempt he made on Britain, from whence, after sustaining a signal defeat, he scarce escaped with life. Chagrined with this repulse, he determined upon applying his mind to domestic affairs, and studied rather to make his old subjects happy, than to acquire new, in which laudable undertaking he died, at an extreme old age 2.

FOTO III.

Such was the reputation Frido acquired with the people during the last years of his reign, that they unanimously agreed to raise his son Frotho, then a child, to the weighty charge of governing a powerful kingdom. Guardians were immediately appointed him, and the affairs of the nation committed to a seelc council of the nobility, with this reserve, that all their decrees should be submitted to a general diet of the states, and there confirmed or repealed as the people thought proper. In this situation things remained for the space of fouren years, when the king took the government upon himself. The first years of his reign passed in indolence and inactivity, whence he gained the name of Frotho the Pacific; but the corruptions that had crept into the administration, waked him at length out of this lethargy, to an exertion of those extraordinary abilities, which, in a little time, acquired him the appellation of Great, and the reputation of the most valiant prince of his age. He carried on nine wars with the most powerful northern nation, and came off victorious in all. At length poison accomplished what neither the courage, the numbers, nor the animosity of his enemies could effect. A variety of fabulous circumstances relating to this event, are recorded by all the Danish writers; but we have omitted them as favouring too strongly of the ignorance and prejudices of those times, to be read with pleasure in a more enlightened age.

SECT III.

Comprehends the History of Denmark, to the Year 981 after the Birth of Chrift.

FOTO dying without male issue, the diet took the extraordinary resolution of making him king, who should write the best verses on the memory of the late monarch; and Hiar being adjudged the best poet, was accordingly raised to the throne, in reward of his superior genius. He was of that clafs of people called Sealdroes in Denmark, and Barus in other countries, whose business it was to roam about the country, retelling their productions at the houses of the great, and entertained by them as the repositories of the wit and learning of the times; all history, and the achievements of their ancestors being contained in those long tales and narratives composed by the ingenious bard. The poet did not long enjoy his exaltation, being deposed by Frido II, a relation to the late king, who had spent the greater part of his life in foreign service, and was now returned upon the news of his majesty's death, to lay claim to his crown. This he obtained by killing the poor bard in single combat, and convincing the states, by a relation of his conduct in the services in which he had been engaged, that his valour merited the highest distinctions. Pontanus indeed relates from Grammaticus, that Hiar, after several battles by sea and land, which he maintained with great obstinacy, was at length slain by his rival, in a sea fight on the coast of Jutland, the island Hiar, situated on the shore, taking its name from this unhappy event.

FRIDLEFF II.

No sooner was Frido II seated in the throne, than he sent ambassadors to Norway to demand Fjortb, daughter to that king, in marriage. The insolent refusal of the Norwegian monarch produced a war between the two kingdoms, which terminated in the death of Anund king of Norway, and in the espousal of Frido II with his daughter. We are told of a number of miraculous battles this courageous prince fought with certain giants.

2 Skuonng, Chron. p. 45. Gram. i. v. 3 Meur. i. ii.
of Norway, during a glorious reign of twelve years; at which period he died, greatly esteemed by his subjects, and respected by all the neighbouring states. 1

FROTHO IV. 2

Frotho IV, his son, but twelve years of age, was proclaimed his successor. This prince began to give very early proofs of his virtue and generosity: insomuch that before he arrived at maturity, he quashed a dangerous rebellion that had been raised by a combination of the principal nobility, to dethrone him, merely by the prudence of his conduct, and steadiness of his measures, without spilling a drop of blood. He obtained the favour of Generous, from the benevolence and humanity of his disposition, which was never to amply gratified as with the opportunity of bestowing favours on deserving objects. His courage was likewise displayed in several battles he fought with Sweiding and Harif, two Saxen lords, who had raised great armies in defence of their liberties, and with a view to throw off their subjection to Denmark. Sweiding perceiving that Frotho was invincible in the field, had recourse to treachery, pretended a perfect reconciliation, and invited the Danish monarch to a festival, at which he proposed destroying him by setting fire to the house. The good fortune of Frotho saved him, however, from this dangerous snare, and his valour turned the due punishment upon the infamous Saxen, whom he attacked sword in hand, and foun laid dead at his feet: but he died himself not long after, of a wound he had received from a poisoned weapon in the contest with Sweiding 3.

INGELL.

The states immediately assembled and chose his son Ingell, or Juggle, to succeed his father. This prince at first abandoned himself to a life of idleness and debauchery, into which he was artfully drawn by some of the nobility, who formed designs upon his crown, intending by this means to alienate from him the affections of his people. The foresight and natural good sense of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and recovered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of dissoluteness and pleasure. All of a sudden he discarded his old companions, and, like our Henry, assumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of Majesty. This dismission of the first nobility of the realm occasioned murmurings among them, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Here it was that Ingell distinguished his valor, his prudence, and his clemency. He first defeated his enemies, obliged them to submit to his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he esteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and securing their allegiance; but he first insisted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example. We find indeed a different character of this prince in Minus, who relates, that after the suppression of this rebellion, he fell again into his old courses, and ended his reign in the same inglorious manner in which he began.

OLAUS II.

Upon his death his son Olaus II. ascended the throne, inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten years, was a series of luxury, profusion, and the most scandalous luft and debauchery. He died however seemingly penitent, as appears by the speech he made to his sons on his death-bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their conduct the national honour, which had greatly suffered by his weak and dissolute measures.

FROTHO and HAROLD I.

Frotho V. and Harold I. sons to the late monarch, were both raised to the throne, sharing the sovereignty between them; one presiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land-forces of the kingdom. Frotho, as the eldest, chose the former province; a presumption that maritime employments were held more honourable and important than the land service.

1 Id. ib. Pontan. p. 24. l. i. 2 Saxo Gram. l. vi. et. Anfl. citat. 3 Saxo Gram. l. vi. Suannin.

P. 47.

(G) Saxo Grammaticus and Pontanus called this prince Olaus the first, although it appears, upon undoubted authority, and indeed upon their own, that Eife had changed his name to Olaus, who is, for this reason, properly distinguished by the appellation of Olaus the first (1).

(H) The Danish writers are divided in their opinions concerning the departments these princes agreed upon. Pontanus says, that maritime affairs were committed to Harold; though this probably happened after the miscarriage of his brother (2).

(1) Saxa p. 48. (2) Pontan. i. p. 27.
The history of Denmark.

Frotho entered first upon action, and made an unsuccessful descent upon some of the neighbouring coasts, his soldiers, most of whom were married, refusing to engage in any dangerous enterprise, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and Mursius expressly affirms, that the influence which Frotho's queen had over him, occasioned his disgrace. The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted his employment in disgust to Harold, who immediately established a maxim, that no married man should be enlisted into the sea or land-service; a measure that was attended with the happiest consequences. The soldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domestic cares, braved all dangers, and obtained numerous victories under the conduct of the brave Harold; after which they were permitted to return home, to settle and enjoy the fruits and glory of their toil and courage. Frotho was flung with envy at the success of his brother's arms, whose valour had so much eclipsed his own actions; and unable to support the sight of a perfidious, whose victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whose public character he deemed a tacit reproach, took the base resolution of having him murdered. His resentment had fortified his heart against the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity; he employed an affiant, accomplished his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy, the better to conceal it. But perjury is a crime, against which the Almighty seems, in a particular manner, to have pointed his vengeance. Frotho's own conscience was a sufficient accuser, and gave such evidence against him, as convinced the whole world that Harold met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his measures were dictated by frenzy and despair, which became visible in his countenance. He imagined he could not be secure while the children of Harold lived, and took measures to quiet his mind, by encreasing the number of his crimes, and superadding the murder of his nephews to that of his only brother. His designs, however, were frustrated by the vigilance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After concealing his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored his majesty that he would abate from shedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent nephews of life, after robbing them of a royal and brave parent. Frotho, pretending to be moved by the intreaties of this honest nobleman, had nearly accomplished his purpose by dissimulation what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young gentlemen into his hands, and was going to have them affronted, when their own address saved them: they pretended to quarrel, and desired leave to decide their dispute by the sword, which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animosity, might effect their purposes, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even cruel enough to be a spectactor of the fight, and thus his punishment was brought about by the invisible operations of Providence; for the princes, upon a signal agreed, turned upon their uncle, and in an instant laid him dead on the ground with their swords. Thus perished the treacherous and bloody Frotho, by the hands of his own nephews, after a reign rendered infamous to all posterity, by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the greatest ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the most valorous prince of his age.

H A L D A N E II. and H A R O L D II.

FROTHO was succeeded by the two sons of Harold, the eldest named Haldane, and the youngest called after his father. Haldane immediately engaged in a war with Sivard king of Sweden, for reasons with which we are unacquainted; after giving him frequent and signal defeats, he at length slew him in battle with his own hand. Erick, the son and successor of Sivard, to revenge his father's death, made a sudden descent on Denmark, with a powerful armament, while Haldane was taken up in deciding a dispute with some Saxons lords. Harold immediately assembled an army, and gave the Swedes battle; but the Swedes was not agreeable to his courage and the justice of his cause, for after an obstinate engagement he was slain in the arms of victory, which now immediately declared for Erick. Upon this Haldane immediately returned to Denmark, drove Erick out of his dominions, pursued him into Sweden, defeated him, and terminated the quarrel by the death of his enemy, whom he engaged in single combat. After this glorious tranfaction, he fitted out a powerful fleet against the pirates who infested his coasts, and was no less successful in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the close of his life, and in a very advanced age, he married the princess of Norway, and by her had a son born on the very day in which he died, of a lingering disease contracted in consequence of the fatigue and cold he sustained in his last campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious Haldane, commonly called the son of Thor, (a Dauneth deity) from his invincible courage and those generous qualities which seemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His name had spread itself over all the northern kingdoms, and in Sweden particularly his me-
The history of Denmark.

mory was no less respected than in his own proper dominions; such was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior.

UNGUIN, or HAGUIN.

The diet of the flates elected in the room of Haldane his cousin, nephew, or as some historians allege, his natural brother Unguin, or Haguin, king of the Goths. Some writers call this prince the son-in-law of the late king, tho' Meursius and Pontanus affirm, that Haldane's daughter had been given in marriage to Ebbo, a northern prince, in her father's life-time. All we know of this reign is, that it was short and bloody, the crown being obstinately disputed by Reginald, king of Sweden, by whom Unguin was slain.

S I W A L D.

REGNALDO did not, however, succeed in his designs, for the flates immediately elected Siswald in the room of his deceased father. The war still continued with Sweden, some say, from Reginaldo's continuing his claim, while others affirm, that Siswald renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. Pontanus, indeed, speaks of the Swedes war as if it had happened towards the close of Siswald's reign, and attributes the many quarrels in which he was at first engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raised contentions among all the northern princes, some of them endeavouring to force Siswald to comply with their proposals. Indeed, the transactions of his reign are so variously related, that we can affirm nothing of this monarch more than that he did not degenerate from the heroic spirit which had distinguished almost all the preceding kings of Denmark. His death is as variously related as his life, some writers affirming, that he died in his kingdom, while others affirm, that he ended his days a miserable exile in Scotland, whither he had been driven by Haco, the son of Hamund, who had defeated him in a sea-engagement; a circumstance which Siswald, Meursius, and other historians relate of Siswald II (1).

S I G A R.

SIWALD left behind him three sons, Sisgar, Algo, and Algoer, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, succeeded to his crown. We say by right of primogeniture; for though the Danes kept in their own hands the power of electing monarchs, yet they seldom set aside the royal issue, and particularly the eldest son, unless incapacity or some other reason rendered it necessary. This prince being of an indolent tame disposition, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different cast, and equally respectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The first act of Algo's administration, was the sending ambassadors to demand marriage Avilda, daughter to the king of Gotland, a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and disposition of her sex, exercised the profession of piracy, and was scouring the seas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign prince was offering sacrifices to her beauty at the shrine of love. Algo, perceiving that this masculine lady was not to be gained by the usual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary resolution of addressing her in a method more agreeable to her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in quest of her, and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two days without remission, thus gaining possession of a heart to be conquered only by valour. After this conquest of the brave Amazon, Algo turned his arms against other pirates who had infested the coasts of Denmark. In this expedition he fell in with a fleet commanded by the three sons of Hamund, king of Ireland, and immediately entered upon action. After continuing the whole day an engagement, which was fought with equal obstinacy on both sides, night separated the combatants, and next morning proposals were made for an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties. They each of them had sufficient proofs of the courage of their antagonists; and as neither harboured any personal resentment, they parted with hearty professions of sincere esteem and friendship.

Notwithstanding this treaty, Algo again renewed the war against the Hibernian princes, at the instigation of an old crafty Danishe nobleman, who persuaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a complete victory over those boisterous commanders. In consequence he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a second time, and after killing Helvins and Hamund, the two eldest of the brothers, was himself slain by the hand of Hagabert the youngest. The victorious Hagabert, hearing of the extraordinary beauty of the king of Denmark's sister,

GRAM. p. 110, & seq.

* Meurs. & Suaning. ibid. 1 Gram. l. 17.

(1) Suaningius relates, that Siswald gave his daughter in marriage to Ekbo Others, in preference to all the other rivals; and that, affrighted by his son-in-law, he attacked Reginald and slew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in single combat forty Sordio warriors, and concluded his warlike achievements by the death of Sterchater, a Swede of the greatest strength and courage of any person of his times (1).

(1) Ibid. p. 49.
The history of Denmark.

dressed himself in women's apparel, and found means to infinuate himself in quality of maid of honour to the princes, to whom he soon made a declaration of his sex and quality, and the motives which had compelled him to so extraordinary a proceeding. His youth, beauty, and love, soon wrought upon the affections of Signa, for that was the princes's name, and the consequence was the loss of her virtue, and of Hagabert's life; for the intrigue coming to Siger's ears, he ordered him to be hanged upon a gibbet without form of trial. This was so cruel a stroke to the fond Signa, that in despair she set fire to the palace, and afterwards strangled herself, putting an end to a life which would be inopportune to her, after the ignominious catastrophe of her lover. Siger was inconstant at the unhappy end of a sister and brother he loved with a tender affection; and his misfortune was aggravated by the melancholy situation of his kingdom, now invaded by a powerful army from Ireland, commanded by Haco, the king's fourth son, who was come to revenge the death of his brethren. Siger's grief did not, however, prevent his taking every possible measure for the security of his kingdom. He placed guards on the coasts, and took possession of all the strong posts through which Haco must pass to Rosfild and Lebtra, then the residence of the Danjbeh monarch; but all these precautions were eluded by the art and conduct of Haco: he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn swords in the right. So extraordinary a phenomenon as a moving forest terrified the Danjbeh out-guards, and made them abandon their posts without the least resistance; so that Haco met with no obstruction until he arrived with his army at Lebtra, where Siger was encamped with a body of forces. A battle ensued, and the Danjbeh monarch fell, while he was exerting a courage superior to what it was ever imagined he possessed.

S I W A L D II.

In his room was elected Siwald II. his son, by the unanimous voice of the people. So eager was the young king to expel Haco, or Hacquin, as Pontanus calls him, and to revenge his father's death, that he assembled an army composed of both sexes, and gave battle to the Irifb, after Haco had embarked near half his army. The fight continued for near three days without victory's declaring herself, till Haco fell towards the close of the third day; upon which a panic immediately seized his troops, who were slaughtered without mercy by the Danes, until they were fatigued with blood. Such was the carnage made on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of Valbrana, a word expressive of the horrible slaughter; though Meursius alledges, that this appellation was given to the field in which Siger was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion, that both princes perished in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the government of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the authority. Zealand was given to Hunding, Sebonen to Oftmar, Fienen to Hano, and Rorick and Hoiber were chosen to preside over Jutland, which countries would seem to have constituted the whole of the Danjbeh dominions at that period. In this situation was Denmark governed for the space of forty-one years, till Haldane, who had espoused Guritb, daughter to Siwald, was raised by her means to the throne.

H A L D A N E III.

This prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predecessors in valour, and the other qualities of a great king; but his strength was so remarkable as to procure him the surname of Strong. The manner in which he gained the consent of Guritb his queen to address her, was an extraordinary instance of his prowess; for he flew with his own single arm, twelve guards, the boldest men who could be found, placed round her person to deny access to all suitors; a precaution which some attribute to her chastity, and others, to the policy of the regents, who were sensible they must surrender their authority as soon as she was married. Some years after his accession to the throne, he engaged in a war with Vjset (K), a prince who had been his rival in the affections of Guritb. Several desperate battles were fought between them, in the laft of which Haldane was killed, yielding to the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and in love.

H A R O L D III.

After his death the flates met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell upon Harold, the son of Haldane. Harold began his reign with an attempt to complete the measures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refused to

* Saxo, ibid. Pontan. l. i. p. 35.  b Meurs. i. ii.  c Ibid. etiam Saxo Pontan. ibid.

(K) Vjset was son to Hunding, viceroy or regent of Zealand. He succeeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for several years after the accession of Haldane to the throne. Probably it is, that his refusal to surrender it was one of the chief causes of the war.
surrender their authority to Holde, though duly elected by the states. In this he was more successful, having obliged all the provinces to submit to the crown in the space of a few years. He began his operations with declaring war against Vifet, who had killed his father: him he destroyed at a festival, which Vifet gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of Schonen. He next directed his arms against the governor of Southern Jutland, and soon reduced that country, by the death of the governor, whom he slew in the field of battle. His next expedition was against the regents or governors of North Jutland, in which he met with the same success. Zealand and Fynne followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of Denmark was again reunited, and all those petty tyrants subdued and destroyed in the space of two years, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of Harold, who was now a second time proclaimed king of all Denmark. After this he restored by force to his throne and dominions Amond king of Norway, from whence he had been driven by a strong party that had declared in favour of his sister. During his residence in Norway, Jarl King of Sweden breathed his last, leaving three sons, Ingo, Olaus, and Ingell. Ingell the eldest succeeded to his throne; but, not satisfied with his paternal dominions, he and his brothers, supported by a powerful army, made a descent on Denmark. Meursus relates, that the brothers only meditated an invasion, the news of which coming to Harold, he immediately entered Sweden, attacked the forces commanded by Ingo and Olaus, whom he slew in the field, after entirely routing their army. This defeat obliged Ingell to sue for peace, and accept of the terms which Harold thought fit to impose.

The Danish monarch, equally generous in prosperity and firm in adversity, granted such conditions as Ingell ought to have been satisfied with; he seemed to acquiesce, expecting soon to find an occasion of wiping off the late disgrace. Accordingly he invaded Schonen, while Harold was lulled in profound security, and carried off by violence the sister of the Danish monarch, whom he eulogized. Hence the war was renewed, prosecuted with various successes, and at length happily terminated, Harold, as just as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the bloodless conquests, which must necessarily be attended with the blood and ruin of many of his subjects. He was scarce returned from Sweden before the influence of Ubbo, lord of Embden, or one of those states which now composed the circle of Welf- phalasie, called him again into the field. It was not long before Ubbo found cause to repent his temerity: for he was defeated and taken prisoner, but afterwards set at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Nor was this all; Harold married him to his daughter, secured his friendship, and by his means strengthened his own interest upon the continent: but his successes were not limited to these conquests; he reduced several nations upon the Rhine, took the Vandals, a people inhabiting that country on the Baltic, situated between the Vistula and the Elbe, into his protection, over-run Aquitaine, and a part of Britain, which, says Grammaticus, had withdrawn its allegiance from Denmark since the death of Frotho III. But what furs the equity of this monarch in the most conspicuous view, is that, after raising an army to punish the perfidy of Ingell king of Sweden, he not only defied from the enterprise on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant son, though the fairest occasion offered for annexing Sweden to his own dominions; a rare instance of moderation, which deserves to be recorded in honour of so many and more propitious circumstances, than his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the Danes nobly having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of Olo made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).

The glorious Harold was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to his uncle (L). His name was Olo, and first he was appointed to the government of Zealand; and, besides common soldiers he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of Schonen, which was ceded to the victorious King Olo.

OLO or OLAUS III.

The glorious Harold was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to his uncle. His name was Olo, and first he was appointed to the government of Zealand; and, besides common soldiers he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of Schonen, which was ceded to the victorious King Olo.

OLO, or OLAUS III.

The glorious Harold was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to his uncle. His name was Olo, and first he was appointed to the government of Zealand; and, besides common soldiers he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of Schonen, which was ceded to the victorious King Olo.

OLo, or Olaus.

(L) Poetacrus speaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, Olo polished the noblest qualities of mind and person, having this remarkable and remarkable resemblance about him, that his eyes fell like those of the batfish; meaning, perhaps, the feebleness of his countenance, which struck terror into his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the Danes nobly having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of Olo made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).


MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 8 K
The history of Denmark.

of Schouen by Ringo, who likewise obliged the Danes to submit to the authority of Hilde, a woman of a masculine spirit. Upon their remonstrances, however, he recalled her, and compensated her with the sovereignty of that country now called Slejewick, where she built the city of that name. Olo substituted in her place, whence it appears that Denmark was, in consequence of Ringo's victory, little more than a province of Sweden, though all the Danish writers omit Ringo's name in the list of their kings. Whether it was, that the Danes were uneasily under the administration of a prince imposed upon them by their invertebrate enemies the Swedes, or whether their disaffection arose from his own cruelty, as some writers affirm, is a point disputed by historians: certain, however, it is, that he was taken off by a conspiracy, formed against him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and his son Omund elected king: a presumption that Olo's misfortunes arose from personal b pique and mal-administration, more than from the resentment of his subjects against the Swedes'.

OMUND.

Omund, says Muryfirst, was elected, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which so promising a youth afforded, of his resembling in virtue his great uncle Harold. When arrived at age, his nobility advised him to think of encreasing the royal family by marriage. This made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of Ringo, whom he had seen and admired when he visited the court of that monarch in his youth: but to the accomplishment of his wishes there was an obstacle which he determined to surmount. Ringo had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his son-in-law a prince who had not signalized his valour. To render himself worthy of this honour, Omund entered upon a war with the king of Norway, who had lately refused to pay the usual homage to the crown of Denmark, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occasion. In his way he was joined by Oddo, a prince who had received some cauše of divulgt to the Swedifh monarch. Ringo was at this time cruising with a fleet off the coast of Ireland, and Oddo perfumed his new ally, that now was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of Denmark, curtaining the power of Sweden, and accomplishing his wishes with respect to Ringo's daughter. Perfumed with these arguments, Omund complied with Oddo's proposal of making a descent on Sweden, which was accordingly executed. Intelligence being sent to Ringo, he returned instantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed a victory. To render things more decisive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a second battle more bloody than the former, at the close of which Ringo was mortally wounded. Upon this he sent for Omund, and told him, that now he had given proofs sufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he should contentedly resign himself into the arms of death, as he had the happiness to see his family strengthened by the alliance of such a son-in-law; after which words he expired. Omund's next exploits were against Rafis, a warlike virgin, who usurped the sovereignty of some provinces of Norway, and endeavoured to extend her power over Denmark likewise. Her he defeated in a sea-fight, but not so decisively but the soon recruited her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. Omund not caring to hazard a defeat from a woman, determined to use policy, and by dint of gold weaned from her the allegiance of the Norwegians, who deflected her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom she had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to Omund, in acknowledgment of his services. Having honourably concluded some other wars in which he was necessarilv engaged, Omund preferred his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died sincerely regretted and eftected by his people, who immediately chose his eldest son to succeed him. He was, indeed, a prince equally skilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterared by the prudence and success of his administration, all memory of his father's cruelty.

SIWARD.

Sward, on his accession to the throne, was complimented by an embassy from the king of Sweden, who demanded his sister in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might affilt in uniting kingdoms always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, Sward complied, and the treaty was concluded. Hailand was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the Swedish monarch being befet by ruffians on the road thither, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the aúffains had been hired by Sward to murder him. Both kings having raised forces, they met on the confines of...
The history of Denmark.

Defects and kills in latitu
the king of Sweden.

a the spot appointed for a more friendly intercourse, and a battle ensuing, the Swedish monarch was slain, and his army totally defeated (M).

The war with Sweden in which Sweord was engaged, furnished some tributary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raised an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their sovereignty to great frights. Such was their success, and the ill fortune of Sweord, that he lost all his dominions except Zealand and a few inconsiderable islands. His spirit, however, was not broke; he raised fresh forces, and determined either to perish by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one Simon, and just as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general, after he had given a mortal blow to his antagonist, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his subjects, rather from a spirit of rebellion in them, than any fault in him. He left two sons; but they being carried off and kept prisoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room b.

BATHUL.

Bathul was raised to the throne less upon account of his own merit, which was but Bathul, inconsiderable, than from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and respect for the memory of Sweord. The state of Denmark was now truly deplorable; her dominions rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit sunk, and a king elected, the most unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of Denmark, but Zealand, Fanen, and those little islands, called the Danes Smalllands; Jutland, Norway, Schonen, Slesvick, Emden, and other countries on the continent, as several islands were dismembered from the crown. In this situation it would probably have remained, had not Jarmeric, the son of Sweord, fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty, returning into Zealand, and of asserting the dignity of his ancestors, which was sunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle Bathul, who now willingly resigned the burden of sovereignty, to which he found his own strength unequal.

FARMERIC.

The first endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He began with Sweden, that had led the way and encouraged his subjects in their rebellion, by which Gotbar the king got possession of Schoen, Jutland, and some other Danish provinces. He raised a great army, entered Sweden, defeated and killed Gotbar, and of consequence recovered all that the Swedes had taken from his father and uncle; thence he marched into Slesvick and Holsine, and soon reduced them: from Slesvick he marched into Pomerania, and thence to Sileia, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage, and a yearly tribute to the crown of Denmark. In a word, he not only recovered in a short time all the countries his ancestors had ever possessed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the Danish sovereignty. All this prosperity was not unattended with a mixture of adversity and domestic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of Jarmeric. He had discovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his second wife, and Breder, a son he had by this former. Enraged at a crime so unnatural, he gave orders they should both be instantly put to death, a sentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his son found means, thro' the favour of his keepers, to escape, and raise civil commotions, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he befieged, took, and put to death, in a strong castle which Jarmeric had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and Breder were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of Bisco's, a nobleman of great power and ambition; who, out of resentment or envy to Jarmeric, wanted to distract his councils. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and the son to such a height, that notwithstanding filial duty on the one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, they were both made to believe that their security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of Jarmeric, a monarch.

b Saxo, l. viii. Pontan. p. 34.

(M) The event of this battle is variously related, Mavor in particular affirming, that Sweord was defeated, and forced to retreat precipitately to Jutland, where he was a second time routed by the Swedes; a people who had revolted from his authority, and pursued to the island of Fanen; upon which he made peace with Sweden, by ceding Schonen to that crown (1).

(1) Mavor Hist. lib. ii. p. 31.
monarch inferior to none in valour and greatness of soul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and easily wrought on by these diabolical instruments, who never fail to infuriate all courts, and create divisions with a view of raising themselves.

BRODER succeeded to his father’s throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who soon had reason to repent their choice. The indolence and weaknesses of his reign encouraged several of the provinces recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the Swedes in particular took possession of Scbenen. This is all we know of him, history being silent concerning the manner of his death, and of most of the particulars of his life.

S I W A L D III.

He was succeeded by Siwald III. a prince who had arrived to a great age before he was raised to the throne. The transgressions of his reign are no less obscure than those of his predecessor; nor do we know any thing of the circumstances of the kingdom, until his son Snio was joined with him in the sovereignty.

S I W A L D III. and S N I O.

Now Denmark began to resume her wonted vigour, and immediately entered upon the recovery of Scbenen, and the revolted provinces, which were soon obliged to submit, and surrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. Snio in the next place resolved to secure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly sent ambassadors to demand the daughter of the king of Swedias Gotland, who were all put to death by this savage prince, under pretence of their being spies. Irritated at this indignity, Snio raised a powerful army, entered Gotland, laying the country waste with fire and sword. Gotbo, for that was the king of Gotland’s name, perceiving that his forces were unable to reft the rapid progress of the Danes, challenged Snio to single combat, a proposal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of the vanquished should submit to the conqueror. Upon this Gotbo declined the combat, sent his daughter into Sweden, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and himself forced to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious Snio. The king of Sweden married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleasures of love, was suddenly depoised of his wife and treasure, by a rapid defeat made on his kingdom by Snio, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occasion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their subjects, hardly any perons were left to cultivate the lands; the consequence of which was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, that a single grain of corn should be converted into malt, or used in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the desired effect, it was proposed by Aggo and Ebbo, two noblemen of Jutland, or of some other of the Danes provinces, that all the old men and children should either be put to death, or compelled to seek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable scheme coming to the ears of Cambora, or as other writers call her Magga, the king’s mother, a woman of an heroic spirit, she immediately entered the council-chamber, and in a very pathetic speech, represented the inhumanity of sacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to secure themselves possessions in foreign countries. It would better become, she observed, the piety and valour of the Danes to fend forth their young men upon expeditions, which required strength, vigour, and health; and thus supply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their share of the public stock of provisions. This, she said, would answer the same purpose as barbarously sacrificing with their own hands, those beings who gave them life, and those innocent tender babes, whose support depended on their parental fondness. She proposed, that if the enterprise appeared too dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, to lead it in person, and banish herself from her native soil, for the sake of her country, for the sake of humanity, and every principle the most dear and valuable to a true-born Dane. Snio immediately acceded to her proposal, and assembled the nobility and commons to settle the plan of migration. In this assembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in Denmark and the provinces, able to carry arms, should compose the colony: that it should be conducted by Aggo and Ebbo; and that the place of rendezvous should be that province lying between the Elbe and the Oder, and walked by

---

\[A\] *SAXO.* l. viii. *PONTAN.* p. 34. \[B\] *MEURS.* l. ii. p. 34. \[C\] *SAXO.* ibid. *PONTAN.* & *MEURS.* lib. citat. *SUAN.* p. 53.
The history of Denmark.

a the Baltic, the antient name of which is not determined (A). By this means plenty was introduced in Denmark, and Snie lived in peace to a good old age, after having by prudence and conduct restored his kingdom to its antient splendor, and without a single blemish upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of Sweden, which may be looked upon as the cause of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a still more destructive famine. We are not informed by any historian, whether Siweald his father resigned the throne to Snie, or whether he died soon after he had taken him a partner in the throne.

BIORNO.

b BIORNO his son succeeded Snie; a prince of little merit according to Saxo Grammaticus and Meursius, though Lyfshander, Pontanus, and Sunningius affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in Snie. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chasm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the Danisb history, Biorno alone standing in the space between Snie and Gernon; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of Christ, to the year 699 of that era; a period this the most busy but obscure in ancient history, during which all those very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which destroyed the Roman empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in Europe. Pontanus and others, to fill up this chasm, relate the expedition of the Wandali, Longobardi, Lombards, and other northern nations, giving at the same time a long list of Saxon and Sweden kings; but as these matters relate nothing to our history, we think it more satisfactory entirely to pass over this period, and resume our narrative with Gornon, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour (B).

GORMON I.

According to Lyfshander, Gornon was the fiftieth and second monarch who wielded the Danisb scepter from Dan, and a prince the most extraordinary of his age, not for the usual qualities of a king, but his profound skill in magic, and deep penetration into the secrets of nature. We must refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic skil, by Saxo, who ascribes them all to a strict correspondence he maintained with the parent of deceit; they might pass for truth in the age of that entertaining writer, but they will scarce furnish amusement in these enlightened times, where even fiction itself requires the affittance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was succeeded by his son Gotrick, surnamed the Generose.

GOTRICK.

Some writers call this prince Guitlach, and others Godfred; but we chuse to follow Gotrick, 52d king. In the first year of his government the Saxons rebelled, and he raised a powerful army to suppress them, which he soon effected, by giving them a signal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a Danisb prince, to send a present to the king of an hundred milk white horses, in token of their submission and vassalage to the crown of Denmark. Immediately after, he married the princesses of Norway, sending at the same time an ambassador into Sweden, to appease certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambassador's authority was despised, and himself killed by a large stone thrown at him in the mob; an insult which Gotrick thought it his duty to punish. In consequence he invaded Sweden, destracted the perfons concerned in the murder of his ambassador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he re. Sweden turned from Sweden before Saxony was over-run by Charlemagne's army, while Vittichmond lord

b Meurs. p. 36. c Saxo, l. 8. d Meurs. & Gram. ibid.

(A) Various are the conjectures of historians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony established itself, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called Lombards after their departure, and Winini or Winoli, before. The Danisb writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occasioned the migration happened in Snie's reign; though Paulus Diaconus, and other writers, make it later. Pijfer, a writer of credit, affirms, that they settled in the Isle of R根s and country adjacent, till the year 486, when they removed themselves to Pannonia, and other provinces of the Roman empire. As to their name, some derive it from their beards, Longo-Bard; others from their weapons called Bardens, or Longo-Bardens; but the curious reader will find a satisfactory account of this people, whether Lombards or Longobardi (for we make a dislinention) in the nineteenth volume of our Antient History, p. 12. 497. & sequent. (1).

(B) To supply the chasm, Lyfshander in his Genealogy of the Danisb kings, and Sunningius in his Chronicon Danicum, give the following table of kings; viz. Ranic II. Swan I. Guitlave II. Harold III. (according to them;) Erichall, Verrand II. Onund III. to whom succeeded Biorno his son, whom we have made the fon and successor of Snie. Of these princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inferring them.

of the country, unable to resist so potent a force, implored the assistance of Gotrick, whose father he had married; and the Danes monarch readily promised him speedy succour, because he feared the necessity of checking the growing power of Charlemagne, who, like an impetuous torrent, threatened to swallow up all Europe in one universal monarchy. Charlemagne's retreat to oppose the Saracens prevented a battle at this time with the main army; but some posts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of Saxony. When Charlemagne returned from Spain, Gotrick sent ambassadors to remonstrate to him, but Saxony was a fief of Denmark, which he thought himself bound to protect. He therefore requested him not to disturb the peace of that country, which would necessarily reduce the Danes to the necessity of opposing him with all their power, a measure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the highest respect for his majesty. As Charlemagne gave no explicit answer to this remonstrance, Gotrick resolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly sent a powerful reinforcement to Vitichond, which enabled him to drive the French out of the barrier towns, and Garrison them with Danes and Saxons. Charlemagne, offended at this presumption, sent an army under Conrad to reduce all Saxons to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army dispersed. Enraged at the indignity, Charlemagne entered Saxony at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly surprized Vitichond, who fled precipitately and took shelter with Gotrick beyond the Elbe. His army being destitute of a commander, became an easy prey to the French monarch, who determining to strike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four thousand Saxons to be executed, after which he retired with his army, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns.

Gotrick no sooner had advice of this defeat, than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the French garrisons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to Denmark, he heard that Charlemagne proposed sending his son Pepin with a mighty army, to invade the Danes provinces upon the continent, and resolved to oppose him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ships, with which he proposed making a descent on the coast of France, and by this means to weaken Pepin's army. In a word, such was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of Gotrick, that Charlemagne's empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, had not an unforeseen accident, and his usual good fortune, saved that powerful monarch. After Gotrick had over-run East Friesland, and some other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army straight to Aix-la-Chapelle, at that time the capital of Charlemagne's empire; he was stabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as some writers imagine, by Pepin, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own son, in revenge for his having repudiated his prince, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great Gotrick fell by the hands of an assassin, at a time when he was about to dispute the empire of Europe with the greatest monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, possessed of every quality which could gain the love of his own subjects, and the esteem and respect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his mighty competitor, appears from the exulting and indignant joy which Charlemagne expressed on the news of his death. The exact time of this event is disputed; but Suiningius, and some of the best writers, place it in the year 801 after Christ.

OLAU S IV.

Gotrick being killed, his eldest son Olaus, the fourth of that name, was elected king of Denmark. This prince is entirely omitted by many historians, and others place him after Hemming, though Saxo Grammaticus and Maurus expressly say, that he was the son and immediate successor of Gotrick. Olaus, while he was endeavouring to bring to justice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himself in a civil war, in which we have reason to believe he perished, though we do not find this circumstance mentioned by any writer besides Eric of Pomerania.

HE M M I N G.

According to the same author, he was succeeded by Hemming, his only child. The first act of this prince's administration was to conclude a treaty with Lewis the Pious, settling the limits of their respective dominions, which was effected to the satisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of Denmark, now comprehending great part of the German continent. After reigning for two years with great applause, this ex-

---

The history of Denmark.

DENMARK was divided between them, and a constant jealousy and perpetual wars ensued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and lose the respect it had so long commanded from the surrounding states. At last the condition of the Danes became deplorable. Siward's subjects deplored him, and raised the infant son Regner to the throne, which furnished his rival Ringo with a fair occasion of invading Zealand and Schonen, where he met with little resistance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the most cruel and ignominious death, all the inhabitants who refused to acknowledge him for their king.

In this critical situation, the people desired he would permit them to deliberate upon his proposal, which being granted, they assembled to debate on the measures which they ought to pursue. On the one hand their affection, and on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of Ringo terrified them. Various measures were proposed, and all were attended with a thousand difficulties; in consequence of which the assembly was ready to break up without coming to any conclusion, when Regner, though then but twelve years of age, spoke in the following manner. "To what purpose is it, my faithful friends, to irritate a powerful enemy, by an obstinate attachment to an unhappy prince, whom you love not? As differing your king, and flying from your colours without urgent necessity, would be a crime of the most heinous nature, so adhering to them at the hazard of your own lives, when you are sensible you cannot better the case in which you are engaged, is downright folly, and a treachery against the first principles of nature. Deceit in some cases is allowable; can it ever be practiced in a more just cause than the present, or with more probability of success? You must deceive the enemy you are unable to combat; you must counterfeit submission, until an occasion offers of reviving your principles, recalling your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppressor. Adverse fortune is never so easily surmounted as by yielding to it." This sensible oration from a child determined them to follow his advice, as soon as they had conveyed him safe into Norway. They accordingly submitted to Regner, and immediately gave notice of their intention to Siward, who without hesitation struck his tents and marched to give battle to his rival, equally desirous of coming to a decisive action. The armies met and engaged with unrelenting fury, until Ringo was killed and victory declared in favour of his adversary, who had likewise received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for Denmark, had this event happened earlier, though each was deserving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalship and ambition that reduced the kingdom to its melancholy situation, and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conquest by some foreign power.

REGNER.

Both these princes being removed by death, Regner was recalled from Norway, and re-occupied the throne (A). As soon as this prince had settled the domestic economy of his kingdom, which he found entirely ruined and confounded by the late civil discord, he marched into Norway against Froe, king of Sweden, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could easily reduce it before the situation of the Danes would admit of their sending forces to its relief. Froe had, indeed, defeated Siward king of Norway, and made prisoners of his wife and daughters, before the arrival of Regner. He had expelled them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the most cruel indignities and insults, which made them receive Regner as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was so highly inflamed by their piteous relations, that he marched instantly against the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle; but with a very dubious event, until Latghartha, a virgin of an heroic disposition, who had been ravished by the brutal Froe, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the Swedes every where before her, till she opened a way to their king, whom she pierced through the body before he was prepared to guard against her furious attack. The war being finished by this decisive action, Regner was so captivated with the bravery of the virago, that he sought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

(A) Authors differ considerably in the orthography of this prince's name, some calling him Regner, others Reginfred, and not a few Ragnulf. We have adhered to the orthography of Grammaticus, Monulfus, and Pantaleon.
The history of Denmark.

During the king's residence in Norway, the provinces of Scania, and Jutland revolted, and some commotions were excited in Zealand; his presence soon reduced affairs to their former situation, but not till he had given battle, and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generously pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were referred for an exemplary punishment. Another revolt soon however broke out, and was suppressed with the same expedition and vigour; to this succeeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat these obstinate delinquents with more severity, and to put it out of their power to disturb the course of government by their rebellious and refractory disposition.

Regner's marriage with the valorous Lathgartha was unfortunate; for she was supposed to aspire at the crown independent of her husband, against whose life she was unjustly thought to harbour designs; upon the discovery of which she repudiated her, and demanded, in marriage the daughter of Harthob of Sweden. Before he could obtain this lady, it was necessary he should fight the two greatest bullies in Denmark. This he performed with success, having killed them, and, in consequence, gained the prize, which had been coveted for by all the surrounding young princes, inflamed either with love or ambition. By this lady he had seven sons, Raibert, Dun, Vorb, Steward, Bivoro, Ager, and Ivar.

In the mean time the Cimbri threw off the Danish yoke, and chose a king, whom they called Harold Klang; upon which Regner raised an army in Denmark, and reinforced himself by a strong body of auxiliaries from Norway, which was afterwards strengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, which Lathgartha had equipped for his service, and commanded in person. Regner was astonished at this instance of her affection; but she frankly told him, that no inconstancy in his fide could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance she owed, both as his subject and his wife. "If, says she, "the charms of my person be faded in your eyes, it is requisite that I should endeavour to supply that loss by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of these kingdoms." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took on the inconstancy of her spouse. He marched with his army directly against the rebels, and began an action, which continued with great warmth and spirit without appearance of advantage to either side, till Steward, the son of Regner, was killed, which occasioned great confusion in the wing of the Danish army he commanded. Regner hearing of his son's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their misconduct, and rallying them with amazing spirit and resolution, while Lathgartha led on the wing the king had left, and put them to flight with such irresistible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

Having settled the affairs of this country, rewarded, and refreshed his soldiers, he led them without delay into Saxony, which he resolved to punish for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving here with a fleet of two hundred sail, he landed his men with such expedition, that the Saxons were subdued almost as soon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor Latharius, then encamped with a large army on the Elbe, gave battle to Regner, and was defeated; but the Danish monarch was prevented from pursuing his victory, by disturbances that were raised in Sweden after the death of their king Harthob, who, being taken out of the kingdom, raising one of their own number to the throne. Regner sent his sons with an army to reinstate the royal family, which they soon effected by a signal defeat, given the usurper. Sorlus, to the usurper was called, finding himself unable to combat the forces of the king of Denmark, sent a herald to declare that the issue might be decided by selecting a certain number of combatants out of each army; a proposal that was accepted. Sorlus chose one Stardo, the most famous swordman in Sweden, and his seven sons for his seconds; and on the side of the Dane, the three princes Bivoro, Fruldeff, and Raibert, offered themselves. The combat began in sight of both armies, and Stardo being killed, Sorlus and his children, unable to stand against the fury of the Danish princes, were soon forced to follow his fate. This conquest being obtained, the Danish army attacked the Swedes, and obtained an easy and decisive victory.

It would appear, that Regner went in person to Sweden; for we are told, that here he carried on an intrigue with a person of fashion, by whom he had a son called Ubo, who, born under an unhappy planet, says Meursius, afterwards contrived to dethrone the parent that begot him.

The death of Thora, his beloved wife, so grievously afflicted Regner, that he found it necessary to divert his mind by engaging in some foreign war. Accordingly he published an edict, ordering all his subjects who were harried either with idle children or servants, to send them to him for employment. As soon as he had raised a sufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the best order, and committed them to the care of a council, composed of twelve of the most prudent and worthy men in Denmark. After which he embarked.
embarked his troops, and made so successful a descent on Britain, that in a short time he reduced the island, not even the Orkneys escaping his arms. In his return to Denmark, he appeared some commotions, lest on foot in Norway by the pride and ambition of several of the nobility, who aspired at the crown. He was not long in Denmark before he married a third wife, by name Suulegce, and had by her three sons, Reynold, Widerc, and Erick.

The next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the Helfespont, against Dios king of that country, anciently called Myfia, who refused to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the ancestors of Regner. This war ended as successfully as the former, upon which he turned his arms against the Ruffians, who had lent considerable assistance to Dios, by which he was enabled to prolong the war. We are told by the Danish historians, that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations, charms, and their skill in magic, than in arms; that they railed such storms of hail and snow, as reduced the Danes to the last extremity, and had almost conquered him by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. Regner, after losing near half his army, was forced to retreat into Courland, where he was kindly welcomed and furnished with every necessity which the country afforded. Incensed at his late disgrace, he again entered Russia, with a resolution to bring the savage monarch to action. The king of Russia, for so he is called, foreseening Regner’s return, had procured a strong body of auxiliaries from the king of Finland, whose troops were exceeding expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon these succours, he ventured to attack the Danes, unable, on account of the mountains of ice and snow, to extend their wings, or draw out in order of battle. Regner, for this reason, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night professed the happy occasion he wished for; upon which he led his army with the utmost expedition and silence in the middle of the night, broke into their camp, while they were felicitating themselves with the notion of starving the Danes into submission. In this disorder he obtained an easy victory; and after taking sufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhospitable country.

The long absence of Regner furnished his bastard son Ubbo with an opportunity of displaying his ambition, and unnatural desire of depoping his own father, and feigning upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was assisted by his grandfather Eberno, a man of great power in Swedish Gotabland, where he raised a numerous army in support of Ubbo. But Eberno was defeated by Bjorn, who was left prefect of Gotabland by his father; and Ubbo meeting with a check from Ivar, the other son of Regner, went into voluntary banishment. Soon after, by the assistance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to surprize his father at sea in his return from Russia. He met with him accordingly, but was forced to yield to the superior valour and justice of the parent. In this action Eberno was slain among the first, and his head fixed on the prow of Regner’s galley, which so terrified Ubbo, that he made all the fail he could towards Zealand, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made prisoner, and slain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his escape.

Regner, who was born to be the first of heroes in the Danish annals, had no sooner suppered this domesitic foe, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; and this was no other than Daxo, the son of Dio, king of the Helfespont, whom he had lately overcome in several battles. The peace which Dio had concluded, was by no means sincere, and patched up only with intention of feizing the first opportunity of revenge. He submitted from necessity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by Widerc, Regner’s son, who was left in quality of lieutenant, Daxo retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majesty. Daxo embraced the opportunity of a fair that was held in the city, to perpetrated his base delign of massacring Widerc. Accordingly he invited that prince to a feast, and had concealed a number of armed assassins; but this scheme being frustrated by some business, which had prevented the lieutenant’s attendance, he went early in the morning to his house, attended with the assassins, dressed like peacants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to Widerc’s chamber, when the prince, alarmed with the noise, leaped out of bed, and placed himself, sword in hand, in the entrance. Here be bravely defended himself till he received a wound, was overpowerled with numbers, and taken prisoner. His valour had such an effect upon the treacherous Daxo, that he offered to share the kingdom with him, and to give him his sister in marriage, provided he would promise never to revenge this attack. But the generous Widerc preferring death to owing an obligation to his perfidious foe, resolutely replied, “That he defied no greater favour of his hands, than his imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing upon the infectious Daxo the vengeance of Regner.” Incensed at this haughty repulse, the cruel Daxo ordered him, with all his attendants, to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occasion, there feasting his eyes with the unhappy catastrophe of the valorous and noble-spirited Widerc. Advice of this barbarous action

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. 8 M coming
coming to the ears of Regner, it gave such a shock to his constitution, as had never unsettled his understanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his clothes, and committed all the other actions of frenzy and despair. This paroxysm of madness was succeeded by a fit of depondency and fullness, which it was feared would entirely destroy his reason; but the good sense of the queen Scanloge got the better of his grief, and routed him to a sense of his own condition, the situation of the kingdom, and the folly of lamentation, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an injured king and father. Convinced, with the many forcible arguments this lady advanced, he levied an army, marched into Dasso's country, defeated his army, took him prisoner, and, like a truly generous prince, again set him at liberty: "Enjoy that life, said he, "which would only be an unworthy atonement to the manes of my brave son; and let thy own conscience be thy punisher." However, to add to his mortification, he ordered that he should pay an annual tribute, and come in person, once a year, attended by twelve noblemen, all barefooted, in token of his submission. After this, leaving his son Eric his lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to Norway, where some new commotions began to disturb the public tranquillity. These he soon suppressed, and settling the affairs of that kingdom, left his son Biorno to preside over them.

Before his return to Denmark, his queen Scanloge died, a circumstance which threw him into a fit of deep melancholy, that could only be subdued by the din of arms; and now the occasion offered: for England and Scotland both refused to pay the usual homage. This obliged Regner to raise a prodigious armament by sea and land, which he transported into Scotland, and there fought a dreadful battle, which lasted three days, and ended in the defeat of the Scots, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought; for Regner lost his sons Dais and Rauberth, with a prodigious number of officers and soldiers in the engagement. Pating from hence into England, he fought there with equal success, and subjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after defeating Hella, the son of Haunus, who was unseated by a powerful reinforcement from France. Nor did Ireland escape the terror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for transporting his army to that kingdom, he flew Molbric, the Irish general, in battle, routed his army, and made himself master of Dublin, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. Before he returned to Denmark, his subjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled Harold, who had before been set up as king in Juthland. This prince reflecting upon the power and valour of Regner, resolved to make use of every precaution to withstand him, and secure the possession of his newly-acquired authority. Accordingly he sought the alliance of the emperor, which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Christian religion, and propagate it with all his power through his dominions. Harold, the better to secure the emperor's friendship, without any religion, immediately became a convert to Christianity; without faith, abjured infidelity, destroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in Sleuthwick, where the doctrine of Jesus was publicly preached. Regner arriving in Denmark, as these new schemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked Harold without delay, overthrew him, and forced him a second time to seek shelter in Germany. Then he destroyed the Christian temple erected in Sleuthwick, and restored the worship of the pagan gods; a circumstance which derogates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet received no conviction of the truth of the gospel, and had he embraced it, must have proved a convert from political motives: a reflection, which we think necessary, in answer to the ridiculous defamation of Christian writers. This last act, by them, was evidently punished by the Almighty; for Hella, king of England, revolting a second time, had seduced Ireland to second his views of independency. This once more drew the aged Regner into the field, where his usual good fortune, but not his valor, deserting him, he was defeated and made prisoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw him bound, into a dungeon filled with snakes, vipers, and poisonous animals, thus ingloriously putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial saying of this great king's in prison, determined Hella to set him at liberty; but too late, he had breathed his last before the order came to the jailor (A). Other writers have given a different account of the death of the great Regner; but we are of opinion, that the authority of Daniell writers ought, in facts respecting their own country, to weigh against the testimony of foreigners: we have therefore related it as we find it affected by Grammaticus, Pothinus, and Menulfus, who correspond directly in all the circumstances of his reign. His whole life was an uninterrupted course of glorious victories, wise measures, and noble generous actions. His repudiating his wife Lathgartha, a woman of low sublimity and elevated a soul, may be imputed to him as a weakness, if we suppose it proceeded from the inconstancy of

(A) Sunningius says, that Regner was defeated by Hella, in Ireland, expressly affirming, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, that the conqueror of the brave Danish monarch was king of that country. P. 63.

his
his nature. But this does not appear; on the contrary, Mævius and Grammaticus affirm, that this lady's chastity was publicly taxed; and it was unworthy of Regner to cohabit with a wife who had even been suspected of incontinence. Thus we see the errors of those writers, who place the coverture of the Danis kings in the reign of this monarch. It is true Harold was a Christian, if we may give that appellation to a man who professed this religion only to serve temporary views; but he never was king of Denmark, he was only an usurper, who, by means of a faction, was raised four months to the throne, during the absence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obscurity.

It is now difficult to fix with certainty the successor of Regner, and continue the series of Danis kings. The disputes and differences on this head, among writers, are numberless; and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them: we shall therefore adhere to those who have kept the nearest to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

IV A R.

According to the best authorities, Ivar was raised to the throne of his deceased father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after Regner's death, which happened, according to Mævius, in the year of Christ 826; and if we credit Pontanus and Suaningius, five years after. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, and, without hesitation, invaded England; but finding Hella too strong for him, he sent to his brothers for succours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement, soon turned the scale in favour of Ivar, who defeated Hella, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him prisoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp; but Grammaticus, with more probability relates, that Hella fell in battle (B).

The better to secure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in England, during which time the Danes revolting, raised his brothers Sivward and Eric to the throne. This news alarmed Ivar, and obliged him to have recourse to the assistance of the English, of whom he embarked a large body, and sailed with them directly to Hithert. At length he met with the Danes army, engaged and defeated it near Slopewick, after a very bloody and obstinate contest, in which the rebels lost twelve thousand men. He now resolved to keep the Danes in awe by his presence, and therefore sent his brother Anger to govern in England. Here Anger refrained but a short time before the English, uneasy under a foreign yoke, raised an army, and were on the point of reducing him to extremity, when Sivward, his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief; by which he was enabled to reduce them to their former obedience; and to prevent another insurrection, he cruelly massacred the pious king Edmund, with all the nobility of the court (C).

While these horrid transactions were carrying on in England, a rebellion was raised in Sweden by means of Oken, a man of a turbulent aspiring disposition. Thither Anger flew with an army of English, and engaging the enemy with too great impetuosity, was slain in the heat of the engagement; but we are not told which of the parties obtained the victory. Ivar outlived his brother but a short time; for he was carried off by fever in the fifth year of his reign; but not until he had acquired and merited the reputation of a great and warlike prince.

S I W A R D S N A K E - E Y E.

To Ivar succeeded Sivward, surnamed Snake-eye, his brother. In his youth this prince had distinguished himself by many extraordinary feats of valour in the field; but now having acquired the crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of peace, endeavoured to render industry, and promote the public tranquillity, that had so long been disturbed by a series of foreign and domestic wars. God, says Mævius, seconded his pious intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as pregnant with real felicity and true glory, as any which the annals of Denmark can produce. He died and left an infant son, chosen by the flates to succeed him in the throne (D).

(A) Suaningius and Pontanus entirely omit Ivar in their list of kings, though it is certain that Regner had a son of that name, of whom we have made frequent mention; and as these writers have chiefly made use of the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what testimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reason for these proceedings, we think ourselves excusable in adhering to the authority of that elegant historian.

(B) Mævius affirms, that Hella conquering Ivar's father, by the assent of the Roman forces, white standard was an eagle, he ordered an impression of this to be feared on Hella's back, his body to be fled, and sprinkled with salt, until he died in the most agonizing torture. P. 44.
The name of this young prince was Eric, surnamed Bern, or, as the Scotch to this day pronounce it, Bearn or Child. In his minority he was deposed by Eric, brother to the Harold we have frequently mentioned in the reign of Regner, who took the reins of government into his own hands, assumed the supreme authority, and by means of a faction, obtained the title of king: a revolution that happened, according to Meursius, in the year 847, though, more probably, just ten years later.

**ERIC the USURPER.**

Mindful that his brother was deposed soon after he embraced the Christian religion, he took the strongest aversion to the doctrine of Jesus, put all the ministers of the gospel in Denmark to death, and every where restored the pagan religion; from which we may infer, that Christianiity had now begun to take root in this kingdom. As Saxony and England had now begun to shew their uneasiness under the Danish yoke, and to raise armies for the recovery of their liberty, Eric struck up a league and strict alliance with the kings of Sweden and Norway, obtained large supplies of land and sea forces from them, raised himself a powerful army, and with an hundred thousand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, entered upon the reduction of England and Saxony, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually afflicting each other. Spreading terror wherever he went, the fame of his power was sufficient to reduce the revolters to obedience, and submit to the terms he thought fit to impose, before he had fet foot in either country.

It was after his return from this expedition that we may date the era of Christianiity in Denmark; for Eric was again brought back to embrace the truth of the gospel, in which both he and his brother Harold had been educated. Ansgarius bishop of Bremen, was the happy instrument of this conversion; in consequence of which Eric abolished the idols he had but lately restored, and published an edict of toleration, permitting all his subjects to follow the doctrine of Christ with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or such, perhaps, the inconstancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Christianiity spread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progress by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithstanding his devotion, never once thought of restoring the crown to the right owner: but the invisible hand of Providence brought about justice in a way which the usurper little expected, amidst the tranquillity in which he had hitherto possessed the throne. Guthorm, his brother's son, became his rival, and connected his own cause with that of young Eric, the son of Sigward, and the lawful king of Denmark. Violent were the diffensions raised among all degrees of men by this opposition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with Harold against Regner, or held places under the usurper, remained his fast friends; the rest of the nation in general, those who remembered the glorious Regner, and retained any sense of justice, gratitude, and compassion, took the side of Guthorm, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almost all the nobility of Denmark were slain, and the numerous progeny of Regner entirely extinguished, except the son of Sigward, the last hope of this illustrious family. The usurper too was slain, and by this means made way for the young Eric once more to mount the throne of his ancestors. At first he strenuously oppressed the growth of the Christian faith: nay, took the most vigorous measures to suppress and root it out of his dominions. He put several of the most devout and zealous Christians to death, who had refused to abjure their religion; others he forced or bribed into compliance with his will. He levelled all the churches even with the ground, and sent an army to ravage Saxony, chiefly because the people of that country had received the light of the gospel. Not long after, however, he not only withdrew his resentment, which had grievously oppressed the Christians, but published an intire liberty of conscience, and embraced himself the true faith, by means of the eloquent and prudent Ansgarius, to whom this as well as the former conversion is wholly to be ascribed. He erected, at his own expense, a magnificent church at Ripen, ordered the Pagan temples to be razed, and now became as bigotted a Christian, as a little before he had been a Heathen; thus acting in extremes, and probably in neither from conviction, but from superstition and prejudice. At the persuasion of Ansgarius, he appointed persons properly qualified to teach the gospel in every corner of the kingdom, allowed them handsome salaries, and took Ansgarius for his director, not only in spirituals but in temporals likewise; an office for which the good bishop was but indifferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remarkable instance of the weakness of the human understanding, which at different times,
The history of Denmark.

a times, and without any particular conviction, can maintain opinions diametrically opposite; he died the profylyte and chief supporter of that religion, which, but a few years before, he had persecuted with such cruelty and bitterness.

C A N U T E T h e L I T T L E.

ERIC left an only son called Canute, and afterwards surnamed the Little, or, according to some writers, the Hairy. As his infancy prevailed the states that a long minority might prove dangerous to the kingdom, they resolved to elect one of their own body, who should govern with the title and authority of a king during his life, the crown then to revert to Canute or his children. Accordingly Enigmnupe, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, was chosen by public counsel; but he was scarce seated on the throne, before Olaus king of Sweden entered the kingdom, feigned upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then transmitted it to his son Seward, who was slain some years afterwards by an insurrection of the Danes, in favour of Canute, now arrived at years of maturity.

In the very beginning of Canute's reign, a large colony of Danes went forth to look for new habitations (though for what reason we are not told) and settled themselves in Prussia, the eastern parts of Courland, and in Carelia. Now it was that Norway entirely shook off the yoke of Denmark, under the auspices of Harold, surnamed Yellow-bair (A), which is the only circumstance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with respect to his religious disposition; for Eric was either a zealous Pagan or bigotted Christian; whereas Canute was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the priests of all religions little better than pious impostors, whom it was necessary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great scandal upon his memory.

F R O T H O VI.

FROTHO VI. the son of Canute, succeeded him; but the year of his succession to the throne is disputed. He was the greatest warrior that wielded the Danish scepter since Regin. He reduced England, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predecessor, and first planted the Christian religion there, if we may credit the Danish historians. The better to propagate the faith in Denmark, he was preparing an embassy to pope Sergius III. to acknowledge his supremacy in spirituals, and to request that he would send some persons perfectly qualified to teach the gospel in Denmark, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to Emma, daughter to the king of England, by whom he had a son named Gormo, who succeeded to his crown.

G O R M O A N G L E II.

GORMO was surnamed Angle, or the Englishman, because he was born in England, where he likewise received the first rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for Denmark, and there received the crown, by the unanimous consent of the people. In his absence, the English again took the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deprive them of it, whether from indolence, or from a rectitude of opinion, a strict regard to justice, and affection for the country of his birth and education, is uncertain. Grammaticus indeed says, that his nature was mild, modest, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of one kingdom, and thought it impossible for a prince to do that justice to the subjects of two different and distant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to Harold V.

H A R O L D V.

The peaceable reputation which Gormo acquired, and the tranquillity which his subjects Harold V. enjoyed, was not lost or disturbed by Harold, who was a prince of much the same disposition.

He acted upon his father's principles, preferred ease and tranquillity to every other advantage, preferred the kingdom in just the situation he found it, and handed down the crown without additional lustre or stain to his son.

G O R M O III.

GORMO III. surnamed the Old, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a Gormo III. weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter.

\[\text{\textit{Aut. max. citat.}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Meur. p. 46. Saxo, I. ix, p. 178.}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Ibid.}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Ibid.}}\]
\[\text{\textit{Pontan I. iv.}}\]

\(\text{(A) Pontanus calls this prince Harold, Haerfaar or Fair-Hair.}\)

\textit{Mod. Hist. Vol. XI.}
to the king of England. He was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches, and banishing their clergy. Among other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed and razed the famous cathedral in Sleswick, and ordered the Pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly stood.

GORMO’s sons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their first exploits were directed against the Vandals, whom they subdued: next, they carried their arms against the English, who had for some time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the sceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to sign an instrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his decease. From England they passed into Ireland, and laid siege to Dublin, where Canute received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which Harold pushed the siege, took the city, settled the affairs of the country, and returned into Denmark.

While his sons were gathering laurels abroad, Gormo took arms against the Saxons, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Christian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliary Vandals, he destroyed the country before him with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor Henry the Fowler soon came to the relief of the Saxons, defeated Gormo, and drove him out of Sleswick. Pursuing his victory, he entered Holstein, passed into Sleswick, took the city of that name, then a town flourishing in trade, and gave it to his soldiers to be plundered. At a small distance from thence he built another town, transmitting thereby to posterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to Gormo, on condition that he would cease to pervert his Christian subjects, and permit liberty of conscience to all. Gormo was not acquainted with his son Canute’s death for some time after his return from Sleswick. When it came to his knowledge, it affected him so strongly, that he fell sick with grief, and died.

HAROLD VI.

Harold VI.

HAROLD his son was immediately elected king; but he refused to accept the crown, until he had first performed his father’s last obsequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no sooner crowned than he had to dispute the throne of England with Haquin, king of Norway. His claim to this was indeed indisputable, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of Ethelred, who had bequeathed his dominions, in exclusion of his own son; though, from motives of equity, Harold avoided disputing the crown with this last prince, and permitted him to wear it unmolested to his death. As Adelstan died without issue, he now thought he might fairly assert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpose. Haquin in the mean time invaded England; besides which, Harold had other reasons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was sufficient; a conduct which was owing to respect for his uncle and cousin, late kings of England, might not now be construed into indolence or cowardice, he therefore passed with a fleet into England; and sent another to support the claim of Harold, a prince of the Norwegian blood, who had craved his affiance. The king of Norway, hearing his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned thither before Harold of Denmark’s arrival in England. On the coast of Norway he engaged the Danish fleet commanded by Hovind and Carofo: but finding himself inferior in ships, he landed his men, and drew the enemy into a land-engagement, in which he defeated them; but did not live to enjoy his victory; for he was killed in the pursuit: by which means Harold, the pretender to this crown, succeeded him, and paid the promised tribute and homage to Harold of Denmark, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus Norway, once more, became a province to Denmark.

After Harold had settled the affairs of England, he failed against the Vandals, who committed horrid depredations on the coasts of the Baltic: nor had scarce rid his hands of this war, when his aid and protection were solicited by Stubbern king of Sweden, who was driven out of his own dominions by Eric. To enforce his request, Stubbern had brought along with him Cynthia his sister, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments. The stratagem had the proposed effect: Harold became enamoured of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power to reinstate him. Raising an army, he led it into Holstein; and marching from thence into Sleswick, he took by storm the new-built city of Henry the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made prisoners of the garrisons, leaving a sufficient number of his own men in their stead. He restored to this city the ancient name of Sleswick, and annexed it again to the dominions

1 Saxo, i. ix. = Id. l. x. p. 182.
a of Denmark. While he resided here, the Vandals resumed their piracies, and Harold again attacked them with such vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their strongholds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of Wollin, built in an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river Odern. This city he presented to Stubbern, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had seen him perform in the course of this war. He now therefore resolved to turn his arms against Eric, and to reestablish his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmost expedition, he led his forces through Halland against Eric. In the mean time advice was received, that Otha I. had entered Jutland with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the indignity offered the empire by the attack on Sleswick. Otha, indeed, gave other reasons for his conduct. He pretended to be the protector of Christianity, which Harold perjured; to be the ally of the Vandals, whom Harold conquered; and the lawful possessor of Sleswick, which the Dane took and plundered. The emperor found Jutland an easy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being infested by Harold to leave in the Swedish war. Some affright, that he proceeded to Dantzick, and thence going along the coast, flung a spear into the sea, marking that island as the boundary of his empire. Cranzius affirms, that he passed into the island of Funen, and there built a city called after his own name: but this we find denied by all the Danish writers; for the city which resembles his name was built, say they, by Othin, many years before the birth of Otha. The event of this war was, we know not. Some German writers assert, that Harold, collecting all his force, pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at Sleswick, to intercept Otha, which he did, and was defeated. On the contrary, Grammaticus writes, that Otha, hearing of Harold's march against him, retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind many necessities of his camp, which became so many trophies to the Danish monarch. All agree, that the princes having adjusted the preliminaries of a personal conference, met; and Harold, overcome by the arguments of Otha, and the clergy about him, embraced the Christian religion, solemnly and publickly abjuring Paganism. On this occasion he received baptism, Otha, the emperor, being sponsor; and the same ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During this congress Stubbern was defeated by Eric, who, in consanguinity of his victory, seized upon Halland and Bleking, two provinces of Schonen, belonging to Harold. This occasioned the latter to provide against all future irritations, by erecting that strong wall across the isthmus of Sleswick, which he called Danemark, or the work of the Danes. Some writers ascribe this wall to the emperor Otha, though for what reason, we are at a loss to conjecture: the very name sufficiently indicates the authors.

Midst these transactions, Harold king of Norway died, and his son Haquin succeeding, refused the homage and tribute which his father constantly paid to Denmark. This he believed was a seizable opportunity for claiming his independency, when Harold was engaged in quarrels with two such powerful monarchs, as the emperor Otha, and Eric king of Sweden. It fell out however, otherwise than he imagined; for Harold immediately demanded the usual homage, and levied an army to enforce his demand. Haquin refusing to comply, he sent a fleet and army thither, under the conduct of some of his generals, while himself marched against Eric, whom he defeated, and obliged him to sue for peace upon such conditions as were proposed by the conqueror. In the mean while his army was defeated in Norway by Haquin, and this was only the prelude to his future misfortunes; for his own son Sven, spurred on by ambition, and the intrigues of the Sambri and Cimbri, two powerful provinces, who were ready to revolt, aspired at his father's crown (A). Sven was accordingly crowned king at Weiburg, and a great force raised to support his claim; and indeed, such was his influence, that the seeds of disaffection began to spring up in every part of Denmark. Harold, however, determined not to be wanting in his duty, raised an army, and gave battle to his son, but was defeated on account of the treachery of his officers, many of whom went over with whole troops to worship the rising Sun. He next equipped a

a Saxo, ibid. Meurs. l. iii. p. 48.

(A) Grammaticus relates, that Harold, after defeating Eric, was buried in erecting a magnificent tomb to the memory of his beloved queen Gynerta, and that he employed all the inhabitants of the province in bringing together the necessary materials to the workmen. This servile occupation these proud and warlike people could not support without indignation, and this was it that alienated their minds from Harold. Harold seeing a stone of prodigious weight raised by the workmen, asked his jester, whether he had ever seen so prodigious a weight raised by human strength? "Yes, replied the jester, I have seen your son Sven run away with a whole king's dom;" intimating the design of setting him upon the throne, which was the first notice Harold had of the rebellion (1).

(1) Saxo, l. x. fleet 3
The history of Denmark.

fleth; nor was his fortune more favourable, for he was a second time defeated, and obliged to take shelter in Zealand, where he found means to refit his ships, with which he determined once more to hazard an engagement. The event was no less unsuccessful than the former: upon which he fled into Normandy, and obtained large supplies of men and ships from the duke. With this reinforcement he returned to Zealand, and once more gave battle to his son. Both were sensible that they now fought for the last stake, and the battle continued for two days with the utmost obstinacy. Great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides; but neither could resolve upon yielding the victory, and of consequence the crown. A treaty therefore was set on foot by some of the more moderate and prudent men in either army; to which the father and son assenting, a truce was settled, and next day appointed for a congress to adjust the particulars of the ensuing treaty. In the mean time Harold was killed by the hands of a common soldier, while he was walking in a grove near his camp, to relax his mind after the fatigue of the day, by which the crown devolved to Swen, without dispute or litigation. Thus died Harold, a prince of very shining qualities, and equally veried in the arts of war and peace. His piety was no less remarkable than his other virtues. Under him the Christian religion had made great progress, and three bishoprics were endowed in his dominions. He built many churches, founded monasteries, convents, and other religious houses; but what renders his memory respectable is, that he governed with equity, was a just king, a kind master, a tender husband, and an affectionate father, though he met with ungrateful returns from his son and subjects. His body was buried with great funeral pomp, his son paying those honours to his memory, which his ambition prevented his performing while he lived; and now only it was, that his subjects became sensible of his merit, and their own folly, when it was too late to remedy their fault.

S E C T. IV.

In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1147.

S W E N.

A S Swen was the first Danish monarch who had been bred from his youth, and publicly baptized in his infancy according to the Christian faith, we may date the perfect establishment of the gospel in Denmark in his reign. He was called Swen-Otbo, in compliment to his godfather the emperor, and surnamed Split-board, from some peculiarity observed about his beard. He was scarcely established in the throne, when it was perceivable that the minds of the nobility began to relapse into the idolatry of Paganism, and recur to their old superstition. Swen, willing to shew his gratitude to those men who had forfeited their fidelity, and hazarded their lives to procure him a crown, ordered the heathen idols again to be erected in compliment to them. He even went further, and perverted the clergy, tho' he never publicly abjured the doctrine of Christ, or feasted the sacred seats which his father had annexed to the church. Next he took up arms against the inhabitants of Wollin on the Oder, for having assailed his father in the late rebellion; but here he was thrice defeated by those brave and loyal islanders, and in the last engagement taken prisoner, and fet at liberty on paying a ransom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. This ransom was settled at three payments; but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made, which was raised by the generosity of the Danish ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose, the treasury being quite exhausted, and the country oppressed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former divisions of the ransom. Upon his return he made some laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they should inherit a third of the estates real and personal. Moreover, he redeemed with all possible expedition, all the jewels they had sold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, says Grammaticus; he still pursued his idiotatical courses, and perverted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. Eric of Sweden, contracting an alliance with the king of Poland and the emperor Otto, and besides, holding Swen in the utmost contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a handful of Vandal islanders, raised a great army and invaded Schonen. Swen marched against him; but was defeated in the first engagement, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into Norway, went to the court of Olaf, who had succeeded his brother Haquin, reminded him of the obligations his father Harold owed to the king of Denmark for placing him on his throne; but

---

was answered, that no ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of success by further applications to this monarch, he went to England, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Not thinking himself secure here, he retreated into Scotland, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handsomely at the public expense, for the space of fourteen years. Eric now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes, and softening the heart of Swen, he began to perceive the folly he had committed in persecuting the faith in which he had been instructed. He attributed his past calamities to the hand of God, who had thus justly punished his impurity, and returned with redoubled fervour and zeal to the profession of Christianity. His restoration soon followed, through the mediation of the king of Scotland, who exerted himself warmly in behalf of the unfortunate prince. On his return he recalled all the clergy he had banished, set at liberty, and compensated in the best manner he was able, the sufferings of those he had confined; and lastly convoked a diet of the states, to whom he related the circumstances of his banishment, by which he became the sport of his enemies, and the object of compassion of his friends. He had lost his crown and reputation, dearer than life itself, by the hands of a man who had been defeated, and driven out of Schonen, by his mother; whence it was visible that the hand of God had interposed, and made use of Eric as the instrument of his vengeance, in order to render his punishment and defeat the more disgraceful. As he could not now avoid acknowledging the justice and wisdom of that invisible Power whom they had impiously abjured, he requested his people, as

was their present and future happiness, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the gospel, and leave that false and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to punish and destroy in the end. His proposal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore resolved upon other means of accomplishing his will, and re-establishing Christianity. This was soon effected by the arrival of Peppe, a German divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not: Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was possessed of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to impress, in which perhaps conflated his supernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houses appropriated to their maintenance and residence, and a see given to Peppe, appointed to preside over the rest of the Danish clergy; but at the same time a suffragan of Adelage, bishop of Bremen. While Sweden was thus employed in promoting piety and the Christian religion, Olau, king of Norway, was taking measures for disturbing the public tranquillity. Apprehensive that Swen, after settling the internal economy of his kingdom, might resume his claim to supremacy, over Norway, he determined to anticipate his measures by levying a powerful army, and entering into strict league with Sweden. Swen, receiving advice of these intrigues, found means to counterbalance the machinations of Olau; by marrying the queen-mother of Sweden, by which he secured the friendship of king Eric; insomuch that they executed a treaty for the defence and propagation of Christianity, and the mutual security of their kingdoms. Olau was now enraged with disappointment, and, determined at all events upon revenge, he declared war. The fleets of Denmark and Norway met: they fought with inveteracy, and the latter was totally defeated and dispersed. Olau escaped out of the battle with a few ships; but was so closely pursued, that, to avoid the disgrace of being taken, and in the power of his enemy, he leaped into the sea, and was drowned. In consequence of this victory, Norway was again annexed to the crown of Denmark, and Swen immediately published an edict there in favour of the Christian religion. Having settled the affairs of Norway, he prepared to invade England, which had for some years thrown off its subjection to the crown of Denmark (A). Ebbeled II. held at this time the supreme authority in that kingdom, the particular condition of which

shall be related in its proper place. Here the Danish and English historians differ considerably in many important circumstances, and we shall have occasion to mention their several relations in our History of England, the proper place for such a disquisition. Sufficient is it for our present occasion, that a peace between Ebbeled and Swen was concluded, after the latter had over-run great part of the kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowledge his (B) sovereignty. In this island he breathed his last, much regretted for

---

(A) Vid Aut. Citat. ibid. Saxo Gram. i. x. (A) We must observe, that although Danish writers assert in general terms, that England was subject to the kings of Denmark, near three hundred years before Canute the Great, it is probable they never conquered above one or two divisions of the Saxen heptarchy. In these early times they were but a small people; as the Saxen had been about five hundred years before; their invasions were sudden, their ravages barbarous, and

their retreats quick. They probably exerted a profuse of homage from the conquered; but never reeded long enough in the country to enforce it by authority and power before Canute's reign, who first took the title of king of Denmark, England, Norway, &c. &c.

(B) Saxo Grammaticus relates, that the following proclamation was made by Swen; viz. that he had taken up arms with no intention of ruining the people of England.
The history of Denmark.

The exemplary piety, strict justice, and remarkable proofs of military genius and valour which he had displayed towards the close of life. There could not, indeed, be a stronger satire on the manners of his youth, than that total change of conduct he put on in his old age. The same man, who with the most criminal ambition, had sought a father's life, for the sake of a crown, was now contented with the bare homage of a prince, always esteemed a vassal by the kings of Denmark; permitting him to enjoy all the power, authority, and honours belonging to a king.

It is not very certain who was the immediate successor of Swen, though almost all historians allow that he had two sons, Harold and Canute. Saxo Grammaticus and Pentanes, take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the son of Swen; affirming that the latter, though youngest, was raised to the throne in preference to his brother.

H A R O L D.

On the contrary, Meursius and Lytchander number Harold among the kings, asserting, that he succeeded Swen by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the states, where some very extraordinary circumstances and reasons for laying aside the elder brother did not occur. Upon their authority we shall venture to inflect Harold in the list of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdness, profligacy, and intire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him so odious to a people always brave, and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful system of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a short time the honour he so little merited. He was deposed with every possible mark of disgrace and infamy, and his brother raised to the throne; of which he likewise had like to have been deprived, on account of his confluent engagements in foreign wars, the Danes neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes.

C A N U T E.

Canute, deservedly fam'd the great, began his reign with the invasion of England and Norway, both these kingdoms having thrown off the subjection they had promised to his father Swen. The talents of Canute for the cabinet and the field were greatly superior to his father's, and indeed equal to those of any prince who had wore the Danish diadem. The English recalled Ethelred their king, who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were ever in extremes, Canute perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of Denmark, and took his measures accordingly. But that he might not be opprest with such a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he must necessarily be engaged in, he temporized with the Vandals, and other northern nations, who claimed the fame independency with England and Norway, in order to direct his whole force against the two last kingdoms. England was his main object; and to prevent its receiving succours from Norway, he artfully drew Cnut the king's brother into his views, by perjurying him to lay claim to the crown. After this he failed for England; and in his way met, say the Danish historians, with the English fleet, commanded by king Edward in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement (C). At first, say they, victory, which was disputed with great obstinacy, seemed to incline to the English, when Thymon, a nobleman of Zealand, arriving with a reinforcement, soon obliged her to declare in favour of Canute. Numberless difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our history, and the strongest contrariety of sentiments in the English and Danish historians; but we shall leave them to be discussed in our History of England, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon such disquisitions, which very little affect the History of Denmark.

Canute had other motives than the power of Ethelred for returning to Denmark. His abode had furnished Olafus of Norway with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the Norwegians, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loss, but also to seek shelter in Russia, whither he was pursued by Canute's son, who ravaged a great part of that country, and totally subdued Ephesia, land, but of reducing them to that obedience they had to often promised after repeated defeats. He was willing, he declared, to allow Ethelred the same name and power of King of England, provided only that he acknowledged the sovereignty of Denmark; a proposal which was accepted by Ethelred, as he had not forces or a fleet sufficient to dispute it.

(C) These are the express words of Meursius and Pontanes, which are diametrically opposite to the relations of all English historians. According to these last, Ethelred reigned in England at this time, Canute landed without opposition; and, relying upon the dilatory disposition of the English monarch, imagined he should carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered Ethelred more prudent, and his vigorous measures obliged Canute to reembark for Denmark (1).

(1) Guicrius, p. 267.
a province of Livonia, at that time subject to the Muscovites, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of Denmark.

As the mean time Canute, after holding a personal conference with the king of Sweden, to discuss some disputes which threatened to disturb the public tranquility, and settling the affairs of Denmark, was preparing to embark again for England, where he imagined his presence would be advantageous to his affairs upon the death of Edbert. But the old king of Sweden dying before the fleet intended for England was ready to put to sea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that Omnund, the young king of Sweden, was taking measures to reinitiate Olof of Norway, in his throne and dominions. Omnund, in fact, not only granted Olof a passage to Norway through his dominions, but affixed him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was soon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the ports against Canute. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of Sweden, that the former should invade Zealand, and the other Danjib islands in the Baltic, while the latter should make a descent on Jutland: they had moreover endeavoured to stir up an insurrection in England, where the malcontents were to declare themselves at the very time when he should be most engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and such a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in such a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this aspiring and ambitious king.

But his policy, his penetration, courage, and readiness, frustrated all their designs, and turned their intrigues against themselves. He procured some of the most faithful noblemen of Zealand to carry on a secret correspondence with Olof, and to promise that they would take up arms, with all their vassals, as soon as his fleet appeared. Several other designs they formed; and appeared so earnest and sincere, that Olof, having no suspicion of treachery, had nearly been surrounded by Canute's fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promised insurrection. Thus were all the measures of Olof overthrown, without the loss of a man, and himself forced to retreat with such precipitation, as equalled the disgrace of a defeat. As soon as Canute had refreshed his troops, he passed with such celerity to Sibben, that he surprised, defeated, and flew in battle the king of Sweden.

HAVING now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next measure was to raise such civil commotions in Norway, as would render it impossible for Olof to disturb the peace of Denmark. With this view he artfully distributed large sums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged Harold the king's brother, to renew his claim to the crown, and, in a word, took such effectual and politic steps, as not only answered his purpose, but ended in the death of Olof, who, as some affirm, had been murdered, by a conspiracy formed by his brother Harold; and, according to the relation of others, was deposed and put to death by his own nobility, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of Denmark.

CANUTE was now the most formidable potentate perhaps in Europe. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and England, were tributary to him; his alliance was courted by the greatest monarchs; and even the emperor Conrad sought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to Helfstein. When Conrad was afterwards deposed, he reaped the fruits of Canute's friendship; for, by means of his interest and power, he was again restored to the imperial dignity. After this he embarked for England, in which country he spent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of so many distant kingdoms, too great a weight for any single person, he resolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of Denmark to his second son Hardi-Canute; to Harold, the eldest, according to the Danjib historians, he gave the crown of England; and to Swen, the youngest, he assigned Norway (A). As we shall have occasion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our History of England, to avoid repetition, we shall only subjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in England, after he had reigned with great applause for the space of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deservedly enrolled with the greatest princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by conquests, glorious victories, and the most refined policy: the last years of his life were amiable by temperance, a strict regard to justice, affability, clemency, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and respected by his subjects. But this is not the place to expatiate on his character, of which we only trace the out-lines (B).

(A) Our English historians in general labour under a mistake concerning the issue of this monarch. They call Swen king of Norway the eldest son of Canute, and affirm that he was born before his father became king of England, which is an assertion directly opposite to the relations of Danish historians (1).

(1) Vid. Mavus. Hist. i. iii. p. 54.

(B) The Danish writers relate an anecdote of this prince, which we do not find mentioned by any English historian. 

Aug. citat. ibid. 1 Saxo, i. x. Meurs. i. iii. p. 55. Vid. Aut. citat. ibid.
This prince, the second son of Canute, obtained the appellation of Hardi-Canute, or Harde-Knute, from the difficulties he combated, and the valorous actions he performed in Russia, when his father had sent him thither in pursuit of Olaus king of Norway. He was preparing to invade England, then governed by his brother Harold, when some insurrections among the Norwegians, who were desirous of recalling the Olaus family, rendered his presence in that country necessary. His transactions in Norway are variously related. Some affirm that he sent an army thither, which was defeated by Magnus, the son of Olaus, the elected king of Norway. Others are of opinion, that in order to prosecute his voyage to England, Hardi-Canute entered into a treaty with Magnus, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother Swen was unworthy; but still obliged him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Denmark. Be this as it will, certain it is that Hardi-Canute equipped a great fleet, and failed to Bruges in the Low Countries, at that time the residence of his mother Emma, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of Harold. Here it was that he was met by the English ambassadors, sent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an English king, we shall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the history of that country. Sufficient for our purpose it is, that he reigned king of Denmark from the year 1035, one year before his father's death, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whose character was compounded of the most detestable vices and the noblest virtues. His valour and generosity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, ferocity, intemperance, and debauchery, composed the former 1.

**MAGNUS.**

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of Hardi-Canute, Magnus, the son of Olaus, king of Norway, succeeded to the throne of Denmark, in consequence of a compact between him and Hardi-Canute, that the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other historian, nor was it in the power of Hardi-Canute to bequeath his crown, without the consent of his people. On the contrary, Murerius affirms, that Magnus invaded Denmark with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of Hardi-Canute. It was the dread of his power that induced the states to elect him, in order to avoid the necessity of being compelled into that measure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of Denmark and Norway; for by this time the English had renounced the Danzig blood, and raised Edward, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne. His election was uncontested; but Swen, the nephew of Canute the Great, by his father, soon after the accession of Magnus, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he should be strongly supported by England, in consequence of a promise he had received from Edward, and some other steps he had taken in that country. This Swen is spoken of as if he had been king of England after Hardi-Canute's death; for Grammaticus and Murerius both say, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of Harold, Gudrun's son, who betrayed him, and was the great instrument of expelling the Danes out of that illand. Relying upon this support it was that he disputed the crown of Denmark with Magnus, intending to use force, should his application to the states prove ineffectual. Both his devises were now frustrated, and the Danes driven out of England, which they could never afterwards recover.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate occurrences, Swen determined not to relinquish his claim: he had the address to gain over a great number of the Danzig nobility to his interest, and by their means equipped a fleet in Jutland, with which he gave battle to Magnus, and was routed, being forced to take shelter in the island of Fyen. Here he refitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unsuccessfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or dispersed, himself escaping with a sledge ship to Zealand, whither the conqueror pursued him, and obliged him to retire to some of the remoter provinces of Sweden.

This war being ended, Magnus resumed his operations against the Vandals, with whom it seems he was at war before Swen occasioned the late commotions. He had slain their historian. Having in his cups killed one of his soldiers, he immediately assembled the people, and insisted upon his being tried by a jury, who brought him in guilty, but referred the sentence and punishment to his own pleasure. He had before rated the price of murder at a certain pecuniary sum, a third of which went to the king, a third to the relations of the deceased, and a third (by the Danzig writers) to the army. He now decreed, that himself should pay nine times the value of the usual fine; and to remove difficulties about his own third, he ordered it should be given to the clergy (1).

---

1 Crantz: spud Meurs. l. iii. Saxo, l. x. 2 Pontan. l. v. p. 178.
The history of Denmark.

a prince Rætorius, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to Magnus, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they over-run with a multitude of troops the coasts of Jutland, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, Magnus raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at Slesvick to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the Vandals were left dead on the field, and that those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but Meursius reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand, affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number.

This victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of Good's He is surman-
and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring Swein, and offering their lives and fortunes for the exirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the Vandals that Magnus died by a fall from his horse, which took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers allege, that he was drowned in the Baltic, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed under him all the felicities which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years.

8 W E N III.

After the death of Magnus, Swein, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in Swein III. Sweden, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by 74th king.

b His death and character.

From his mother, who was sifter to Canute the Great, he took the surname of Hrithir; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, made the Danes elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct in Harth-Canute. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had sided with Magnus against him, would have been glad to see any other person upon the throne, as they dreaded the resentment of a prince whose pretensions they had so strenuously opposed. Another circumstance besides the necessity from kindred, contributed greatly to Swein's promotion. The late defeat of the Vandals had greatly weakened that people; but then it increased the animosity to the Danes, in the same proportion it diminished their strength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer, than when Denmark was embroiled in a civil war, which would inevitably happen, had any opposition been made to Swein's elevation.

d The prudent men foreknew, and chose therefore to turn the hazard of his resentment, for having taken part with Magnus against him, than to expose the kingdom to certain destruction, from the incursions of so barbarous, cruel, and incensed a foe, as the Vandals.

Swein began his reign by making some regulations in the church, and settling the jurisdic-

e tion of the several bishoprics, concerning which some disputes had arisen among the clergy. While he was busied in this manner, the Norwegians recalled Harold, the brother of their king Olaf, and placed him on the throne, after he had lived a great number of years an exile. Harold knowing that Swein was elected king of Denmark, and finding that his power was insufficient to dispute with that monarch, scrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of Denmark, until a fit occasion should offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off so shameful a vassalage. He seized the opportunity of Swein's being engaged in a war with the Vandals, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the pre-

f mendation to invade part of the Danjib dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings soon recalled Swein, who gave him battle, and with prodigious loss. A great part of his fleet was taken without a single man on board, the seamen plunging themselves into the sea to avoid the disgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in consequence of the repeated victories gained over them. Meursius relates, that Swein having first gained a complete victory, but generously letting the captives at liberty, Harold immediately renewed the fight, while the Danjib monarch was wrapped in security, and easily defeated him. Swein being thus conquerer, took refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the small islands, from whence he went over to Sch债券n and Zealand to recruit


* 8 P
his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loss sustained from his too great humanity. As a
soon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again sought the enemy in
the Baltic. To prevent his ships deferring him, he had them chained together, and the
nearly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would
probably have obtained a victory, had not Harold received a reinforcement, which greatly dis-
dpirited the Danes, or rather a number of Germans who served in the fleet, and now sepa-
rated themselves in the night, to prevent the consequences of a defeat, and their falling
into the enemy’s hands. Swen, whose courage was invincible, renewed the battle the next
morning, notwithstanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up
by resolution what he wanted in strength, fought with utmost fury, and most obli-
strate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his
ill fortune. 4

**Harold**, not satisfied with two victories obtained over the Danes, landed his forces,
and laid waste all the coasts of the islands and Dannib continent, burning, destroying,
and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the rest Slefwick. Swen was forced to
content himself with harraffing Harold in his march, not being able to raise a force sufficient
to give him battle; but when he had left reason to expect it, Providence wrought a happy
change in his situation. The civil divisions in England had raised Harold’s ambition to
extend his conquests and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part
with Godwin’s children against their sovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced
Swen; gave him no disturbance about the consequences of his absence from Norway; he,
therefore resolved upon an expedition to England, where he was killed; by which means
Swen recovered the peaceable possession of all his dominions. Harold’s sons Olaus and
Magnus shared their father’s dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with Swen,
which was confirmed by the marriage of Olaus with the daughter of Swen.

The death of Harold II. king of England, plain in a battle fought with William of Nor-
mandy, called the Conqueror, furnished Swen with an opportunity of putting in his claim to
the crown of England, as the only remaining descendant of Canute the Great. He had kindly
received the two sons and daughter of Harold, who took refuge with him upon their fa-
ther’s death; and the latter he married to the prince of Ruffia. He accordingly equipped
his fleet of two hundred sail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the com-
mand of his sons Harold and Canute. On their arrival in the mouth of the Humber, they
were suddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were resolved at any rate to
throw off the unpopular tyrannical yoke of William. After a series of transactions,
which will be recited in the English history, they retired, at the persuasion of Osbern, bro-
ther to Swen, who had been corrupted by the gold of Normandy. The king his brother
was so incensed at this meanly venal action, that on the return of the fleet, he immedi-
ately ordered Osbern into perpetual banishment.

A few years before Swen’s death, the Vandals again revolted, from their dislike to the
Christian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they last
received from Harold. After overturning and ruining all the Christian churches among
them, setting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a bishop and several Christian pre-
lates, they entered Holstein with fire and sword, and made the country an entire defarr.
They moreover pillaged the city of Slefwick, levelled the churches with the ground, and in
derision broke the crucifixes which mistaken piety had erected in different quarters of the
town. But the greatest insult upon Swen was, the manner in which they treated his sister
Syris, whom they stripped naked, and in that condition sent to Denmark. With such ce-

drinity did they execute all these barbarities, that they had over-run the provinces of Sle-
fwick and Holstein, before Swen had intelligence of the irruption. 5 He immediately raised
an army to revenge these injuries, but soon dropped his resolution, and wasted his time in
unfebrable acts of devotion at Rofchild. Superition had now weakened all his facul-
ties; priests became his privy-counsellors, and all the duties of a king, and of a man were
abhorred in a narrow zeal and criminal bigotry to the pageantry of religion. His subjects
were oppressed with taxes to support the luxury and pomp of the clergy, to purchase plate,
and other church ornaments, and to endow religious foundations. Hence it is that the
clergy alone have extolled the character of this prince, as the most munificent, pious, and
merciful prince that ever filled the throne of Denmark; notwithstanding his incontinence
was so great, that of fifteen sons he left behind him, not one was legitimate; and he had
polluted the house of God by the cruel murder of several of his nobility: an offence which
he sufficiently expiated by his munificence and generosity to those who assumed the power of
granting abolution for the most heinous crimes.

---

* Mure. lib. iii. c. i. † Idem ibid. ‡ Saxo Gram. i. xi. § Idem ibid. Pontan. & Mure. ibid.
The history of Denmark.

a. Ths prince died of an acute fever in Jutland, while his son Canute was quelling a rebellion which appeared in Ecbonia, that province of Livonia which the Danes preferred from the time that Harald Hvitke conquered it. When Swen perceived that his dissolusion was approaching, he assembled all the nobility about him, and obliged them to promise that they would choose his eldest son for their king, and after him the next surviving brother; in consequence of which obligation, five of his children successively arrived at that dignity; an instance that cannot perhaps be equalled in the history of the world. As to the character of this prince, his unfortunate battles with Harald of Norway prove him a great warrior; for military talents are not always to be estimated by the event. His excessive indulgence to the clergy at the expense of his people, who were almost ruined by his pious donations, proved him either to be naturally weak, or at least emaciated by superstition. The number of his illegitimate children demonstrated him to be libidinous; and his misappropriating a number of his nobility as they were offering their devotions in church, is a testimonial of his cruelty and impiety, however he might throw a veil of grimace over the latter; but his conduct in the Norwegian war are sufficient proofs that his natural disposition was brave, liberal, and generous to a degree of weakness.

HAROLD THE SIMPLE.

Harold the eldest son of Swen, was elected in the second year of his father, after warm disputes about the succession. The noble qualities of Canute, a younger son, had raised a strong party in his favour; but the promise made to the late king, and Harold's gold, at length prevailed: upon which Canute went over to Schonen, there to carry on the war against the Vandals, that had been left unfinished by his father. This was a kind of honourable voluntary banishment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealousy, or disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom. So prudent and moderate a conduct in a young prince of known ambition wrought such an effect on Harold, surnamed the Simple, that he gave him the kindest invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the crown; but Canute adhered to his first resolution, either foreseeing that a divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or disdaining to share the supreme power, with a brother whose capacity he despised.

Some writers place an inter-regnum of four years about this time; but whether after the death of Swen, or of Harold, we cannot affirm; nor do the best historians make any mention at all of such a chasm in the regal government; for Harold was elected by the first diet that assembled after the death of his father, and Canute, who then reigned in Jutland, was immediately recalled on the death of his brother.

Before Harold mounted the throne, he made the largest promises to the people of framing new laws, such as would redress all the grievances consequent on those at that time in force, and of governing them with the most scrupulous regard to justice, and the public good; but the first part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one instance. This was a law by which criminals, where positive evidence was wanting, should be allowed to clear themselves by an oath, and, without passing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was usual in Denmark, and all the other kingdoms in Europe. The law was received with universal approbation: after which Harold, as if he had sufficiently established his reputation, renounced himself to the most shameful incontinence and sloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and suffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the most scandalous corruption, licentiousness, and venality; in which situation Canute found it at the death of his brother, who survived his elevation but two years, according to Grammaticus and Meursius, though the latter acquaints us, that some writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of six years.

CANUTE THE PIous.

Canute was recalled by the states on the death of his brother, and appointed his successor. Grammaticus says, that this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Christian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had carried on in his brother's life time against the Vandals, was for the sake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to punish the impiety of those infidels with more success and severity. Nor did he ever relax in this design until he had accomplished it, by obligeing several idolatrous nations lying on the frontiers of Livonia and Muscovy, to receive the


(A) Here fresh chronological difficulties occur, some writers affirming, that Harold the Simple began his reign in the year 1085; on which year Swen died, according to them; and among these is the judicious Pentanus. Suaningius, on the contrary, whose industry and erudition cannot be called in question, places Harold 1079 and 1081, if we suppose him to have reigned but two years; or if we rather suppose him to have reigned six, between 1075 and 1080-1.
the truths of the gospel. Having happily finished this war, he married Eitha, daughter to the earl of Flanders, and then applied himself to curb the licentiousness, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of Harold. But sensible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the most rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the strictest observance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by shewing his own compliance to them, in the same manner he required of the meanest subject. The effect answered his most languid expectations. Every man was ambitious of emulating his sovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favours; and this rendered them universally sought after. In a word, Canute’s reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in Denmark, in which temperance, chastity, liberality, justice, and all the heroic and social virtues were cultivated from the king to the peasant: an abounding influence to what a pitch of piety and virtue a nation may be brought by the example and practice of a discerning monarch.

After civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, Canute next applied himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which he made several useful regulations. The first was to detach the body of the clergy entirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church, such as inspecting into the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy; prescribing the forms of public worship, &c. The power of the bishops, however, was greatly augmented, for they were reigned to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the senates and nobility of the highest quality. Such was his regard for the bishops, that he even invested them with the civil sword, and permitted them to go to war with all the power of independent monarchs; an institution which plainly shews, that all the good senec of Canute was not proof against the craft of superstition and priesthood; as nothing could be more absurd than this authority committed into the hands of eight prelates (for that was the number of bishops in Denmark) while all the rest of the clergy were wholly cut off from civil connections, and deprived of that weight which alone could give influence to their doctrine, or declare them of the same function with those dignified prelates.

But it was not the least glory of Canute, that he paid the utmost respect to men of learning, and promoted the study of arts and sciences by his own private benevolence, as well as by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he annexed to the ecclesiastical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning, to a pitch dangerous to himself, and oppressive to the people. Canute’s bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; besides the numberless establishments he made in their favour, he granted them the tythes, which occasioned an universal disaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raised from the sweat of the labourer, and the oppression of the useful husbandman and mechanic.

In this situation were the affairs of Denmark, when Canute, laying aside civil and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of England. He communicated his intentions first to his brother Olaus, who greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the senate, who did not discourage the project. Upon this Canute equipped a fleet, and raised an army with all possible expedition. The earl of Flanders, and a great number of English exiles residing at that nobleman’s court, rejoiced at the occasion that was likely to restore them to their own country, whence they were driven by William’s severity and partiality to the Normans. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until Canute had finnished some public business, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, he discovered that his brother Olaus had been secretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon which he immediately set out with a few troops for Slitebridge, of which his brother was governor, to secure his person, and bring him to public justice. Olaus had, however, so gained upon the affections of the soldiers, that they refused to obey the king’s orders to seize him: upon which Eric, brother both to Olaus and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him bound in chains to his majesty. Canute, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother’s blood, sent him to his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, with directions that he should be treated in a manner suited to his rank, but so narrowly watched as to prevent his return to Denmark. In the mean time, the tools of Olaus had so wrought upon the minds of the soldiers by their artful insinuations, that they disbanded themselves before the king’s return, which obliged him to postpone his expedition to England, and convokc another diet, before he could raise an army.

This diet he opened with a speech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his ancestors,
The history of Denmark.

a ancestors, by the faithful attachment of their subjects; of their conquests in the different parts of Europe, and particularly in England, which country they held for two hundred years in subjection, and now left from the indolence and pusillanimity which laid hold of the once intrepid Danes. He represented to them the shame of deferring their monarch, who was in full pursuit of glory, conquest, and dominion; and of so scandalously abandoning a cause, which required no more than their presence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would result to Denmark, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfertile country, from the conquest of an island abounding with all the conveniences and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could reduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emissaries of Olau were indefatigable, and the minds of the people wholly alienated from their sovereign from the time he had granted the tenth's to the clergy. They inflamed upon the revocation of this decree, and Cannus was unhappily oblige to confirm it. The people role in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to seek shelter in the island of Funen, where he soon after perished through the treachery of a nobleman, in whole fidelity he placed his greatest confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother Olau, would have governed happily. His valour, justice, generosity, and piety, were universally acknowledged; but a certain easiness of temper, and tincture of enthusiastic devotion, betrayed him into weaknesses that were the original causes of his unfortunate end. In a word, the reader cannot but perceive a striking analogy between his character and melancholy catastrophe, and that of our Charles I. Both were princes, who, but for the peculiar circumstances of the times, would have reigned equally beloved by their subjects, and esteemed by foreigners; both fell the sacrifices of amiable foibles, dangerous indeed in monarchs, but greatly admired in private life.

O L A U S, surnamed the Hungry, or Famished.

CANNUS's death was no sooner known, than the friends of Olau set every spring at work to procure his liberty, and raise him to the throne. They doubted not but they should enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the instruments of his promotion. Accordingly a sum of money was raised for his ransom, and his brother Nicholas sent to the earl of Flanders to conduct Olau to Denmark (G). On his arrival his brother Eric, who had seized him in Steflwick, retired with his family into Sweden, not doubting but the young king would deeply repent an action which had occasioned his long imprisonment.

The first act of Olau's government was the showing his gratitude to his brother Nicholas, then confined in Flanders, and sending thither a large sum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to several popular regulations, in order to secure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his resentment, on account of their eloping the cause of Cannus: but he was interrupted in the midst of this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in consequence of a bad harvest, prevailed so much, that the richest people in Denmark were forced to supply the want of bread with roots, and other vegetables, while the poor, who were unable to procure even these, perished in the streets and highways. Nor was this all: the heat of the preceding summer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occasioned such a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the most deplorable pestilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Both these terrible calamities, of famine and pestilence, seemed to contend which should most afflict the miserable Danes. Thousands of souls were swept off by each, and public fastings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beseech God to remove so insupportable a scourge, which they now looked upon as the just punishment of their late rebellion against the best of monarchs. Swen, bishop of Roskild, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appease the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleased God to put a stop to the plague, and to mend a plentiful harvest, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of Olau, who, oppressed with grief at the miseries of the nation, died suddenly, and, as some affirm, upon the following occasion. It had long been customary for the nobility to dine with the king on Christmas-day, and they were accordingly invited by Olau. When dinner was served up, the king called for bread; but was told, there was not a bit in the kingdom.

b Saxo Gram. i. xii. Pontan. l. v.

(G) In the conduct of Nicholas, we find a remarkable instance of brotherly affection; for the earl of Flanders refusing to let Olau at liberty, Nicholas offered himself a prisoner in his room, was accepted, and voluntarily

(1) Saxo Gram. i. xii. Pontan. l. v. p. 220. Mervf. i. iv.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XI. SQ a reply
a reply that struck him with such horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beseeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the sins of the nation. His prayer was heard; for he instantly expired, and the famine ceased. We must however observe, that this anecdote is not very consistent with the account given by the best writers, and even by Grammaticus himself, though he relates this story; for they all affirm, that the famine was removed by the ensuing plentiful autumn. Some writers allege, that OlauS reigned only seven years; but Aelius, a contemporary historian, affirms, that he wore the crown for eight years and nine months.

Eric III. 78th
king.

OLAUS dying suddenly, the states immediately assembled to elect a successor; and it was unanimously agreed, that a deputation should be sent to Eric, then an exile in Sweden, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was possessed of many heroic and amiable virtues, Denmark began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign he entered upon a war with the Vandals, who had protected two notorious pirates, banished out of Schonen for their crimes; and, under their conduct, committed the most impudent depredations and robberies on the high seas, as well as on the coasts of Denmark. Fitting out a fleet, he inveigled their capital in the Isle of Rugen; and, after a brisk siege, took it by assault. Then, to deprive those pirates of this strong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town to thoroughly dismantled, that for a great number of years it did not recover its ancient strength and splendor. He next purged the pirates into all the different ports of the Baltic, and punished severely those who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by these examples. Eric's nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he saw the security of Denmark depended on the extirpation of this nest of thieves. After having wholly subdued the Vandals, as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetrated enough soon to discover the true character of their sovereign. His residence here was but short, when the Vandals made a fray as rendered it impossible for Eric to attack and punish them, before they quitted his dominions. Enraged with this insult, he raised a body of troops, and, entering their country, so severely chastised them, that during his life they never again attempted giving the least molestation.

On his return he sent a deputation to Rome, setting forth the virtues and piety of his brother Canute, who perished a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged mob, and requesting that his name might be enrolled in the calendar of saints, which petition was honourably received and granted by his holiness, who had too much policy and breeding to refuse a request from so potent a monarch, which at the same time implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long after the pope, Pachial II. found an opportunity of displaying his power more amply to the Danes; for a dispute, concerning some temporalities, arising between Eric and the bishop of Bremen, that prelate went in person to Rome, and, laying the cause before his holiness, obtained a verdict, though Eric refused for some time to stand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the conclave. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in person to Rome to supplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy see, by the most respectful submission and deepest contrition; the account, however, of this event, is very obscurely related by all the Danish historians.

After Eric's return from Rome it was, that a musician boasting of his skill on the harp, assered, that his power over the faculties extended so far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their understanding, and render them frantic by force of harmony. Eric, who greatly doubted the truth of the musician's asseveration, ordered him to give a specimen of his skill, and was himself the first instance of the truth of what he asserted; for his passions were so wound up, that in an extasy of madness he flew like a moaniac round the apartment, and in his transport killed four soldiers of the guard, which the musician observing, immediately changed his cadence to a soothing strain, and soon allayed the violent transports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, Eric rewarded the musician, and after making all possible recompense to the relations of the deceased, vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For some time he concealed his intention from the states; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimously renounced all against his design, which must inevitably involve the kingdom in numberless calamities. They embraced his feet, and bathed them with their tears, be-
The history of Denmark.

The feething that he would not expose to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but Eric was inflexible. He accordingly pursued his journey, and passing through Greece was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor Alexius. From Constantinople he took ship for Cyprus, and there ended his days a short time after his arrival. His death afflicted Barbilda his queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that she survived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the same tomb. This event fell out, according to Grammaticus and Surningius, in the year 1101 after the birth of Christ, although an author quoted by Mervius, places it four years earlier; and thus Denmark was deprived of an excellent king, through a false and mistaken devotion. Eric was furnamed the Good, from an excessive benevolence in his disposition, which rendered him the sure friend and patron of the distressed and unfortunate. His affability was so great, that he conversed with his meanest subjects, received their complaints, and relieved them, either by his authority, or out of his own private purse: yet had he the address of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a subject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and respected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was so great, that he was never under the necessity of exerting his authority in the senate: the irresistible persuasion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it; and if he was ever opposed, it was only that his people might have the satisfaction of yielding to the sweetness of his oratory. However absurd his piety may appear in these more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times: in other respects he practised the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inseparable from true religion; and the last act of his reign showed his strict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by such as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good must have sufficiently abided him from an obligation rashly entered upon.

When Eric departed for the Holy Land, he left his son Harold regent of the kingdom: but the states being made acquainted with his death, recalled Nicholas, paid his ransom to the earl of Flanders, and placed him upon the throne, out of respect to the promise they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the severity of Harold's manners, which they foresaw would render them unhappy, if they raised him to the throne. Before the arrival of Nicholas, Swein, relying upon his interest with the diet of Wiburg, put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was hastening thither when he was seized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. Ubbo, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to espouse his cause; but he declined the crown out of respect to his younger brother, whole capacity, he modestly declared, was more adequate to the weight of governing; a rare instance of self-denial and brotherly love.

Nicholas, 7th king. A.D. 1107.

Thus the sceptre was put into the hands of Nicholas, who at first wielded it with great applause; but falling off in his character, and degenerating from the virtues of his ancestors, and from his own, he fell into the utmost contempt (H), and involved himself and his people in a variety of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillity had its first rise from Henry, son to Godofichal, prince of the Vandals. This prince, after the destruction of his country in the last reign, lived privately for some years in Denmark; but, on Eric's setting out for the Holy Land, found means to recover his hereditary dominions. He was nephew to Nicholas, and had frequently besought him to restore his mother's portion; but had always met with a harsh refusal. This irritated the young prince, and determined him to have recourse to arms. Entering into an alliance with the Nordalbingi, a people of Lower Saxony, or properly the Holsteiners, he soon subdued all that country lying between the Elbe and Sleswick. Thence he made such terrible incursions into the duchy of Sleswick, that Nicholas, who at that time reigned in the capital, was forced to double his guards, and provide for the security of the city. For this purpose he sent to the several parts of his dominions for troops, and unfortunately committed that trust to Elise, a nobleman, who held a clandestine correspondence with Henry, and stipulated with him to betray his royal master. With this view he used all possible delay in marching the troops; and, to cover his treachery, was continually sending express to Nicholas, representing the occasion of his dilatoriness, and raising some new difficulty. At length the infantry arrived, and with them Nicholas, at Elise's perfusion, determined to give battle to Henry. The event fell out as the traitor foretold: Henry's horse broke and put in confusion the Danish

Some of the Danish provinces laid waste by the Vandals.

(H) Here would seem to be an inter-regnum of six years, as Eric died in the year 1101, and Nicholas was not placed in the throne until the year 1108. It is probable, that Harold, during this period, held the office of regent; and so indeed we find it affected by Surningius, though this fact is omitted by all the other historians. Vide p. 74.

infantry.
infantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of Eïce was discovered. Nicholas was defeated, and forced to retreat with precipitation into Denmark; where he no sooner arrived than he divested the treacherous Eïce of all his employments, and consigned his estate, believing that, and its necessary confluence, poverty, to be a more severe punishment than death itself.

In the mean while Henry, grown bold by his victory, made more dreadful incursions into the Danilo territories, and, laying waste all the sea-coasts, made an attempt on Stæwik; but was repulsed with loss. Canute, the son of Eric, the heathen, and nephew to Nicholas, perceiving the misery to which this fine duchy of Stæwik was reduced by the cruelty of the Vandals, requested the government of a country which had been restored, on account of the danger, by many of the nobility. With a great deal of intreaty and intercessions, he at length obtained it, and immediately set out to perform the duties of his employment. His first measure was to offer proposals of peace to Henry, which he assured him he would willingly enter into, without any other conditions than his indemnifying the duchy of Stæwik for her losses, and the king of Denmark for the expenses he had been at in the war. These were terms which he was sensible the haughty spirit of Henry, now rendered more insolent and untameable by prosperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raising a body of troops with the utmost expedition and secrecy. With these he marched in the middle of the night, with all possible silence, directly to a castle on the frontiers of Stæwik, where Henry kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to surround the place before the Vandal prince received any intimation of his march. In this situation, Henry, perceiving that refusal would be fruitless, mounted his horse, and by a secret path made his escape, leaving the castle to be plundered by the Danilo soldiers, who did not fail to retaliate the many injuries they had received from him.

HENRY's escape occasioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a strong body of troops, with which he had frequent skirmishes with Canute, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the Dane, tired out with the tediousness of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehension, determined to finish it by one decisive stroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and then defeated Henry, who had hazarded a battle. The consequence was, that Henry fled to the most supplanting and abject terms, promising to submit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impose. His submission was immediately accepted by the magnificent Canute, who, says Grammaticus, after Virgil, was satisfied with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horse, attended only by an escort of twenty persons, and entering Henry's dominions with more valor than discretion, sent a messenger to his castle to acquaint him with his arrival. The Danilo messenger entered the castle just as Henry was sitting down to dinner; upon which he instantly seized his arms, and ordered all his people to stand on their defence; but being told that Canute was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. These brave princes embraced each other with tears, signed a peace, and entered into the strictest friendship, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the esteem which Henry conceived for Canute, that on his death-bed he appointed him the guardian of his infant-children, and put the government of his kingdom wholly into his hands; and, after his death, Canute found himself raised by his means to be Duke of Mecklenburg. Thus the valor and generosity of Canute not only secured the duchy of Stæwik to the crown of Denmark, but strengthened the interest of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a state of hostility with the Danes, and procured to himself the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without art, intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor invested him with the title of king of the Vandals, for which purpose he visited the imperial court.

This prince reigned some years with the utmost reputation, esteemed, beloved, and respected by all good men; but his reign was at length disturbed by contentions, which arose between his sons. Ambition had fired the breasts of these young men, and had like to have proved fatal to the duchy of Stæwik; but as these transactions have no immediate relation with the History of Denmark, it will be sufficient to add, that the prudence of Canute triumphed over the headstrong ambition of his children, whom he reconciled with a parental authority, as well as by the esteem and awe with which his character impressed their minds.

In the mean time, the king of Sweden dying, the Gfragotke chose another king in his room; but the Swedes, believing that the right of election belonged only to themselves, put to death the Gfragotk king, and chose Magnus, the son of Nicholas king of Denmark. This prince marrying a daughter of the king of Poland, was by that means involved in a war with Prætilias, prince of Selacione, into which he likewise drew

The history of Denmark.

Denmark, Poland, and Sweden, being combined against Prussia, he found himself under the necessity of making proposals of peace extremely advantageous to the allies; but Nicholas would admit of no overtures until he had subdued the greater part of Schleswig: after which he insisted upon the conquered prince’s making his submission in person; and was weak and perfunctory enough to break the parole of honour he had given for the security of Prussia, and retain him prisoner, until the remonstrances of Canute, king of the Vandals, obtained his liberty. Nicholas afterwards thanked the generous Canute for this interposition, which, he said, had saved his and the national reputation, which must have received an indelible stain from so notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation against the adjuviers of such unworthy and dishonourable measures; yet, after all, his generosity proved the ruin of the noble-minded Canute. His enemies increased in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion at his superiority of character; far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirror of true honour, that only shone to reflect with redoubled force their own disgrace. They found means of infiltrating into the head of the credulous Nicholas, that ambition was the basis and spring of all Canute’s actions; that, far from being satisfied with the crown he wore, and with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, he aspired at a still higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an easy way for his ascending the throne of Denmark. As his own children were in the number of accusers, the weak Niokes, the more readily credited these fancies, equally false and insidious, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing Denmark of its greatest ornament and support.

In the mean time, Nicholas prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his son with a princess of Poland; for which purpose the nobility and valets of Denmark appeared with all possible magnificence at Ribe, and among the rest Canute, who eclipsed them all in splendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumstance added fewel to the fire that was soon to consume him. The king of Denmark was now convinced of the truth of all those treacherous insinuations that were daily whispered in his ear; while Canute, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations carried on against him, gained the esteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out against him, when a sudden revolt in Pomerania called him to his own country, and for a time postponed his fate. Here he quickly subdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to Denmark to receive his sovereign’s applause; but how was he thunderstruck at the cold reception, nay, the stern aspect of the sly Nicholas, on his approaching that throne, to which he added so much lustre. Instantly he besought his majesty, to acquit him with the caufe of a conduct fo different from what he flattered himself with; he offered to submit his actions to the moft minute scrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expressed himself with so noble but respectful firmness of mind, that queen Margaret, a woman of great prudence and virtue, eftoued his caufe, and, during her life, frustrated all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent prince, however, falling into a dangerous malady, he soon lool that day of his hope and and patroness of merit. On her death-bed she sent for Canute, and told him, “that his greatest enemies were those whom nature and duty ought the most firmly to bind to his interest. She recommended to him to establish harmony and tranquillity at home; to gain the love and confidence of his own children, which would be a certain barrier against all the insinuations of other enemies. They had, she said, the king’s ear, who allowed great weight to the allegations of those who were suppos’d best acquainted with the private designs of their own father. She was now departing out of life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that this intelligence, the goodness of the Almighty, the justice of Canute’s caufe, and his own integrity, prudence, and virtue would surmount all difficulties, preserve Denmark from the calamity of a civil war, and enable him to triumph over all his adversaries.” With which words this pious and noble-minded prince resigned her last breath. Canute was moved no less with the death of so generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was shocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholesome advice of his queen. Before he had settled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her majesty’s death, prevailed upon the king to have him solemnly cited before a general diet of the states, where he was accused of heinous crimes, and particularly of a design upon the crown of Denmark; but such was the eloquence of Canute, inspired by conscious innocence, that even now he baffled all his foes, and fully convinced Nicholas of his honour and loyalty.

2 Saxo, l. xiii. Pontan. ibid. Meurs. l. iv. 3 Aut. citat. ibid.

NOTwithstanding
The history of Denmark.

Notwithstanding this victory, it was not long before malice found means to renew the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who soon wrought a change upon the mind of Nicholas, and persuaded him that he could not expect Magnus, his son, should ever succeed to his crown, while Canute enjoyed such a share of popularity as even affected himself, and made him totter in the throne. An accident added strength to her suggessions; for Nicholas going to Sleswick, the government of Canute, both kings had occasion to appear with their royal badges at some public assembly, when Nicholas entering first, leant on himself on his throne at one end of the hall, and was soon followed by Canute, who did the fame in the opposite end without remembering to pay the expected compliments at his first entrance. As soon as he recollected himself, he leaped down in the utmost confusion to apologize for the omission; but Nicholas continued it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wrested it into the most invidious sense. In consequence the king assembled, with the utmost privacy, the leading men of the faction, and, after having bound them to secrecy by an oath, declared his wish, that so dangerous a person as Canute might be taken off, in such a manner as would not excite the clamours of the people, whose idol he was (A). The manner of the oath was unusual, in order to render it more solemn; for it was taken neither in a kneeling, sitting, or standing posture, but with their faces prostrated on the ground. After this the manner of executing their design was committed to Magnus, who professed the art of dissimulation in the greatest perfection. This person invited, according to the annual custom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on the Christmas Eve. Canute was not forgot, and he, desirous of wiping off the late omission, did not fail to obey the summons, that he might shew his respect for his sovereign. He was treated by Magnus with the most extraordinary instances of enmity. The perfidious friend told him, that the generosity of his conduct, and steady adherence to virtue, had blotted out all suspicions in the king’s mind, and united the whole kingdom in one chorus of applause, and admiration of his great qualities. He said, that intending a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he would request it of Canute, as a proof of his friendship, that he would charge himself with the guardianship of his children, and superintendence of his affairs during his absence, as there was not a perfon of whole capacity and integrity he entertained so high notions. In a word, he said every thing which could flatter, cajole, and confirm Canute in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, because he spoke truth, though it was for the bale and most perfidious purposes. After he had sufficiently lulled Canute’s suspicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he proposed visiting aifter in the country, whether he would carry but few attendants, fixed upon this as the proper occasion for his destruction. The day arrived, and Canute, who had no suspicion of treachery, though his wife had sent a messenger from Sleswick to acquaint him of the conspiracy, set out with no more than four attendants (B). He was attacked in a little wood by Magnus, supported by a large body of conspirators, and slain before he scarce had any suspicion of the treachery of this artful friend, and with such circumstances of deep dissimulation and savage cruelty as render this story one of the most pathetic in history, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. Thus fell the generous, the great Canute, the ornament of Denmark, and the greatest hero of his age. His virtues, which had raised him from a private station to a throne, were now the cause of his death, by the hands of wicked conspirators, who could not see, without envy, themselves eclipsed in the eyes of the people by such superlative merit (C).

The news of his death soon reached Roskild, the then residence of the court, and the king himself could not help shedding tears at the loss of this great man, though he was privy to the plot. The people were inoffendable, they poured out imprecations against the murderers, and nothing prevented an universal insurrection besides the consideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recall him to life. His friends solicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp becoming his quality and merit, in Roskild; but this he prudentiy declined, from an ap


(A) Grammaticus says, that it was not the king, who could not be brought to consent to the death of Canute, but his son Magnus, won over by the art and intrigues of his stepmother the young queen, that prevailed at this clandestine meeting (1). Other historians mention the king as if personally there (2).

(K) His wife Ingeburga receiving some intelligence of the plot, sent a trustworthy messenger with the utmost expedition to inform him of his danger; but Canute, like a truly generous mind, fled the intelligence as the effects of her love and fear, saying, that it was impossible Magnus could be such a villain, and so mean a hypocrite (3).


prehension
The history of Denmark.

a prehension of the conseqences that might flow from affecting a sight as his mangled corpse being exposed to the people. He was therefore privately interred at Ringved, without any other monument than what he had stablished in the hearts of the affectionate Danes, who to this day adore his memory.

MAGNUS, after this infamous exploit, returned to Roskilde; but could with difficulty escape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was so strong, that he soon quelled all opposition, and began publicly to boast of what he had performed. He now looked upon himself as the immediate and sure succesor to the throne, assuming, in all respects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but he could little foresee how just and ineritable are the ways of Providence, which, sooner or later, never fails to punish the wicked and unjust. Ingeburga, the wife of Canute, was delivered of a son, and her guards were appointed him.

b Canute's wife delivered of a son, and guardians appointed him.

An inscription of the people to revenge the death of Canute.

The king soon had intelligence of this transaction, and immediately consulted. After the primate, in whose fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what steps should be taken in so dangerous a conjuncture. After many proposals it was determined, that Magnus should be concealed, and that the king should immediately proceed to Ringved, and there convoke the people. His edict was published, and when the day arrived, Eric made a speech adapted to inflame the minds of the populace, which had a violent effect, until the prince appeared, and by his winning manner and persuasive eloquence appeased the tumult, and determined the people to receive their sovereign with becoming respect. While the prince was gone to introduce the king, Eric, seizing the opportunity, made a short speech, which soon routed them to their former sentiments, and confirmed them in their resolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a fullen murmuring, which ran through the whole assembly; upon which Eric again rose, and told him, that the friends of Canute, and the nation in general, demanded that justice should be executed on the murderers of that great man. He was supported by the whole assembly; and the king found it necessary to his own safety that he should promise that Magnus should immediately be sent into perpetual exile, which was all he could obtain in his behalf from the people, who thought they had shown great lenity in sparing so unworthy a life.

In compliance with his oath, Nicholas lent Magnus to Ophrogoth, where, by his influence, he was created king; an instance of paternal affection against which the people shewed no refentment: but, unhappily, he was perfuded soon after, by those who had been engaged with Magnus in the conspiracy, to recall him to Denmark, as his heir-apparent. This railed a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged Eric and Harold immediately to convene the people at Ringved. Here they set forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which, they affirmed, rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a resolution of the assembly, that both he and Magnus should be perfecuted as enemies to the nation: the assembly farther insisted upon Eric's accepting the crown, which, out of policy he refused, until he should merit it by his services, and some signal acts of valour. An army, however, was instantly raised, with which Eric marched directly to Jutland, where Nicholas at that time was, and would immediately have made him prisoner, had not the policy of Truro, bishop of Ripon, diverted his intention. This prelate made use of such specious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged arose from necessity, rather than affection for Magnus; he related so many plausible schemes, which he determined to execute as soon as opportunity offered, that Eric's impetuosity was checked; and he encamped in the place he then was, with a view to receive proposals from Nicholas. His troops were fuffered to forage, and wander round the country, as he had no suspicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. This was the opportunity which Eric defended, Nicholas wanted, and he improved it to such advantage, that attacking Eric unprepared,
The history of Denmark.

He totally dispersed his army, after having made great slaughter in his camp. Eric's rage, at this fresh instance of his perfidy, was inconceivable; and, indeed, the disaffection of the nation rose now to such a height, as not to be satisfied with less than the lives and crown of Nicholas and Magnus. Another assembly was held, and Eric now accepted the sceptre which he before refused: an army was raised with all expedition, and ambassadors were sent to crave the afTinity of the emperor Lotharius, in revenging the cause of Canute, for whom he had always professed the strongest friendship. Lotharius promised every thing to the ambassadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extension of the empire, which he thought might easily be effected by feizing upon the Danish provinces, bordering on his dominions, during the heats of a civil war. For this purpose he levied an army; and marching into Holstein, he found Nicholas encamped with a strong body of forces behind the wall of Danewerk. Here, instead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created Magnus a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. Eric, who had come to Sleswick with a fleet to support the emperor, was astonished at his treachery; and, upbraiding him with perfidy and cowardice, told him, that Magnus, he doubted not, would return his favours with the same ingenuity he had done those of Canute: a prognostic that was soon verified by the event; for Magnus, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conscience, fell upon the rear of the Imperialists, cut them off, and obliged Adolphus, who led that part of the army, to save his life by swimming.

In the mean while, Eric, having no hopes of afTinity from the emperor, returned to Zealand, and there received ambassadors from the king of Norway, who demanded the infant son of Canute in marriage for his daughter. Pleased with the hopes of so powerful an ally, as this connexion would produce, he assured the ambassadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleasure embrace every opportunity of cultivating his friendship by the strongest ties; to testify which, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

Both parties now prepared for war; and Nicholas drew to his side all the bishops of Jutland, and several of the principal nobility of the kingdom, besides the conspirators, who were all strongly attached to his interest. In Eric's army were his brother Harold, with his two sons, who could not help enploying his honest cause, though they were displeased at his elevation in preference to Harold the elder brother, the bishop of Roskilde, and Chriistian, a nobleman of great influence and personal valor, to whom he gave the command of the forces intended to oppose the king in Jutland, while himself with the fleet should attack Magnus. He soon came up with his antagonist, and, after a brisk action, totally destroyed and took his fleet, Magnus making his escape in a boat. But this good fortune was counterbalanced by a victory which the king gained over Chriistian by land, who was made prisoner, and carried to Sleswick. Before Eric received advice of his general's defeat, he was so elated with his own good fortune, that he entered the gut of Alberg, with intention of landing his forces, joining Chriistian, and gaining an easy victory over the king. This rendered him less rigid in point of discipline, so that he permitted the soldiers to relax themselves after their confinement on board by strolling round the country; an imprudence which the king did not fail of turning to advantage. He attacked Eric in this situation, and defeated a great part of his army. Nor was this all his loss; for Harold, his brother, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's cause bore a better aspect, deserted him, and carried over a strong reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for Eric, the winter came on, and prevented the king pursuing his advantage, or even keeping the field.

Before the next campaign Sweden revolted, and created Litter, a nobleman of high rank, sovereign. He immediately assumed his independency by a very extraordinary act, which was no other than debauching Uldida, wife to king Nicholas, whom, for the more security, he had sent into Sweden. Early in the spring Nicholas took the field, joined battle with Eric, greatly inferior to him in strength, and obtained to complete a victory, that Eric was forced to fly into Norway, accompanied only by his wife, his natural son Sven, and a few attendants. Here he was at first kindly received, until Nicholas bribed the Norwegian king to put him to death, or deliver him into his hands; but Eric escaped this danger by means of the queen his niece, who privately sent him notice of what was transacting. Upon this he instantly wrote to his friends in Langland, to send a ship to Norway to carry him off. The ship arriving, he artfully contrived to escape from the castle, where he was confined under pretence of being secure against the machinations of Nicholas, by inebriating the guard. As the ship's crew were determined to hazard all for their king, he soon found himself as safe as to wunder a force could make him, and waited into the midst of his friends in Langland. As they coasted along the shore, they

* Meurs. 1. iv.  b Sazo Gram. 1. xii. Pontan. 1. iv.  c found
The history of Denmark.

found several of Magnus's ships entirely deflected by the crews, who were making merry on shore; and to prevent their being again serviceable, they bored them through the bottoms, and sunk or destroyed them, with all possible silence and expedition. The report soon spread that Eric was escaped; but Magnus was in no condition to pursue him, his fleet being wholly destroyed *.

ERIC, having now got among his friends, resolved to make one more attempt to revenge Canute's caufe, punish the perfidious Magnus, and establish himself on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His first step was to hang Ulbo, whom Nicholas had made governor of Langland; an ignominious death he justly merited, as one of the principal conspirators against the life of Canute. After this he made a defiance with a small fleet on Schonen, which he soon reduced, by means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themselves dissatisfied with their present government. Early in the spring king Nicholas entered upon measures to stop the progress of his rival. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, assembled the bishops and his most warlike vassals, and sent a number of scouts abroad to examine into the situation, number, and condition of Eric's force. It was not long before advice was received, that Eric was boldly marching to attack the king, though supported but with a handful of men. The scouts, who had probably been corrupted by Eric, further declared, that he appeared like something supernatural, riding upon a white horse that raised him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. Nicholas perceived, that either fear or treachery had occasioned this phenomenon; but his soldiers judged otherwise, and fled with great precipitation to the ships, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confusion Eric attacked the king, and after making great slaughter of his troops, entirely defeated him, having slain Magnus in the field, who in this last act played the hero, clashing rather to die honourably than escape by an ignominious flight *.

This news reaching Norway, the king Magnus was so incensed at his wife for the information she had given Eric, by which he escaped, that he sent her back to Denmark. As to king Nicholas, he escaped with Harold into Jutland, where he assembled a council of the nobles, and declared Harold the successor of his son Magnus, not from any personal regard he had for him, but to render it his interest to oppose his brother Eric with all possible violence and animosity. His next step was to go in person to Stenwicke, in order to reconcile the inhabitants to him, who were greatly incensed at the murder of Canute their governor. His friends had done all in their power to dissuade him from this measure; but he was obstinately bent on it. There had always been an annual festival held at Stenwicke, in which all the members of which were obliged, previous to their admission, to vow revenge against whoever should injure any individual of the society. Canute, while he lived, had been constantly president of this social club, and by his affability, kindness, and generosity, had entirely won their affections. On the king's arrival they instantly flew to arms; and in the space of a few minutes the city-gates were shut, the walls surrounded with armed men, every thing in commotion, and all means of escape cut off from Nicholas who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to support the consequences with the intrepidity of a hero. His friends advised him to take sanctuary in St. Peter's church; but this he refused, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that means aggravate the crime of his infuriated people. However, he endeavoured to seize upon the citadel; but was slain in the tumult that arose between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned for the space of thirty-five years, according to Saxo Grammaticus and Meurzius; though Pontanus and Suainius place his death in the year 1135; and all writers agree, that he ascended the throne in 1107. When his friends represented to him the danger of his going personally to a city, he strongly attached to Canute, he told them, that majesty had nothing to fear from shoemakers and taylor's, yet did he fall by the hands of those very citizens he affected to despise, leaving this useful lesson to his successors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the surest guardians of the crown; and popular hatred the most dangerous enemy in a free constitution (A).


(A) With Nicholas ended the reign of Swein's fifth son, agreeable to the promise he had on his death-bed exacted from his nobles; a circumstance rather glorious to his memory than fortunate in the issue, as each reign was afflicted successively with some uncommon misfortunes, which the reader must have observed in the perusal of the preceding pages.
As soon as the burghers had executed their design upon the king, they marched in a troop to the prison, in which 

He flies into Norway.

He returned with an army, and Eric has his

The history of Denmark.

E R I C IV.

S CHRIJHORN had been confined since his defeat, and set him at liberty. Their next step was to proclaim Eric king, agreeable to a former election in a full assembly of the nobility and commons of Zealand and Schonen. Eric having as yet no intelligence of what had been transacted in Slesewick, was making preparations for finishing the war. Accordingly he passed over with his fleet to Jutland, and here was first made acquainted with the death of Nicholus. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, or the public tranquility, could be sufficiently establish'd while his brother Harold lived, and claimed the ensigns of sovereignty, he resolved to march against him. Harold, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and Eric's approach, was greatly perplex'd how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's; and hazarding a battle would therefore be exposing him to the most imminent danger; yet he had no other alternative than flying into banishment. His two eldest sons continued faithful to Eric, and were now in his camp; Harold however persuading himself, that probably they were not destitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, resolved to consult them secretly in what manner he should act in so dangerous a conjuncture. A trusty friend had access to them, and they, without hesitation, requested that he would escape with all expedition to the king of Norway, assuring him, that risking a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus they acquitted themselves like faithful adherents to Eric, and like dutiful children to Harold; but the former, having some intimation of this secret correspondence, had them seiz'd, and, after a short imprisonment, ordered them at the instigation of Chrihorns, to be drowned in the river Isey, into which they were plunged headlong.

As soon as Eric had settled the state of affairs in Jutland and Slesewick, he returned to Zealand, where he found Harold supported by a strong body of Norwegian auxiliaries and proclaimed king of Denmark at a diet held in that island. On this intelligence Eric speedily returned to Jutland, and ordered five of the six remaining sons of Harold to be put to death, without remorse or pity, for their innocence and affinity to himself. As for the youngest son Olau, he made his escape in a peasant's dress to Sweden.

In the mean while the Vandals, encouraged by the intestine divisions in Denmark, made a sudden irruption into Holstein, and laid waste with terrible desolation every place through which they passed. To repress their insolence, Eric got together a fleet of eleven hundred sail, embarking in each vessel four horsemen, with their proper accoutrements, besides foot, with which armament he passed over into their country, and soon reduced it. From thence he went to the isle of Rugen to punish the inhabitants, who had not only affiz'd the Vandals, but renounced Christianity, exercised the most abominable and prophaned pagan superstitious, and, what more immediately concerned the state of Denmark, the most desperate piracy on the high seas. Having subdued them, he compelled the whole island to banish idolatry, to establish funds for the resident of a bishop to instruct them in the duties of the Christian religion, and to swear allegiance to the crown of Denmark. However, they did not long continue their submission; for Eric was scarce returned to Denmark before they restored their idols, and banished the Christian prelate. He was preparing to punish them with more severity, when the return of Harold, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. History relates, that he soon removed this rival brother by affaimation; but we no where find the particular circumstances mentioned.

During Eric's residence in Denmark, some disturbances arose in Norway, that terminated in the ruin of king Magnus. Harold, who claimed the crown in consequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had so engaged the hearts of the Irly, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they sent him to Norway, attended with a considerable body of troops. An insurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they insifled, that Magnus should receive him as his colleague. This he refus'd, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary Irly, and defeated Harold, who took shelter in Denmark, where he was kindly received by Eric. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the distress'd, were the motives of Eric's conduct. He considered this as a favourable occasion.
The history of Denmark.

occasion of punishing Magnus for his treacherous attempts upon his life, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality. Harold solicited his aid, and Eric made no scruple of promising it as soon as he had put an end to the affair in which the revolt of Rügen now involved him. Against these insulars he set out a second time, and so totally subjected them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for some years; after which he applied himself to the performance of his obligations to Harold; he augmented his land and sea-forces, and passed over to Norway with a very formidable army, attended by Harold. Here he took some sea-port towns; but Magnus declining battle, he returned to winter in Denmark, resolving to resume his operations early in the spring.

Next year he returned with a superior force, and coming to a decisive action with Magnus, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. His victory disgraced by his cruelty; for, to prevent all attempts to reanimate the unfortunate king, he put out both his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and after this barbarous castration, enclosed him for life in a monastery, raising Harold to the throne.

Having finished the war in Norway, he returned to settle the domestic economy of Denmark, which had fallen in great confusion during the long series of civil and foreign wars, in which the nation was for several years engaged. While his mind was thus usefully employed, an unfortunate dispute arose among the bishops about the archbishopric of Lund, then vacant. Efbil, bishop of Roskilde, supported by the people, and Rico, bishop of Slesvig, for whom the king entertained a personal friendship, on account of his attachment, during the civil war, were the candidates. Efbil raised an army, and obliged the king and Rico to retire to Jutland. Here they levied forces, returned to Zealand, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him prisoner, keeping him in close confinement, until he was released at an exorbitant ransom, and the strong intercession of the most powerful of the nobility.

This dispute being for a time laid aside, the king resumed his attention to redress the grievances of his subjects, in which he met with numberless difficulties; for, in eating the burden of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and, in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only rivetted the chains of the former. This soon raised a ferment in the nation, which could be composed only by his death; an event that was treacherously brought about, while he was publicly administering justice in full court, near Ribe, where he was stabbed by one Plogus, surnamed Black, a nobleman of great distinction in Jutland. Thus died Eric, after a reign of scarce four years, resigning with his last breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by such acts of popularity and justice, as long endeared his memory to the commons of Denmark.

He obtained, says Pontanus, the surname of Edmund, from his courage and the dangers he had surmounted; and of Harefoot, from his agility and swiftness, according to Murer and other writers.

The royal family being almost extinct in the male line, great disputes arose in the diet about the succession. Some proposed Sten, the natural son of the late king; others again supported the claim of Canute, son to Magnus, and grandson to Eric; while a third party, headed by Obriier, of whom we have made mention in the late civil war, espoused the cause of Valdemar, the son of Canute king of the Vandals, by his wife Ingeburga. There were many reasonable objections started against all the three candidates: the first was a bastard son to a prince, who was himself the fruit of an illegitimate embrace: the second was a minor, and the son of a prince detested by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite Canute, and banished the kingdom by a solemn decree of the diet: and lastly, the third was so young, that dreadful consequences were apprehended from so long a minority as must ensue from his election. However, the influence and address of Obriier furred this last difficulty, as the people were greatly disposed to favour the offspring of a person they had perfectly adored. He sent privately for Ingeburga, and introduced her and her infant son to the people, with a pathetic speech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was sudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but Ingeburga, aware of the dangers to which the child must be ex- poused by this exaltation, would by no persuasions consent to his election, until a regent should be appointed. She farther intimated, that the regent should actually enjoy the badges and authority of majesty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cause for conspiring against the life of her son, removed. This was a wise precaution suggested by maternal tenderness, that probably secured the crown afterwards to Valdemar. So strenuously did she maintain this point, that Eric, surnamed the Lamb, from the mild-
neds of his disposition, was chosen regent, or rather colleague to Valdemar, and sole king during the young prince's minority. He was the son of Hæquin, who had married the late king's daughter, and related to Eric the Good, by the marriage of his son Herold (A).

It was his temper which gave rise to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquility, caused no jealousy, left ambition might tempt him to disturb the public quiet.

ERIC V. farnamed the I. A. M. B.

ERIC V. had scarce ascended the throne, when the divisions among the clergy broke out afresh with redoubled vigour. Ešbil, bishop of Rosfbild, as soon as death had removed Eric, who was the greatest obstacle to his aspiring views, went over to Schonen, and by the consent, and even at the perjury of the inhabitants, assumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed asking the permission of the new king. The people were enamoured of the late archbishop; and as Ešbil was his relation, they strenuously insisted that the dignity should be kept in the family. This induced Eric, farnamed the Lamb, to maintain the pretensions of Rico, bishop of Slefwich, patronized by the late king, and likewise to curb the ambition and insolence of Ešbil. Observing, however, the obstinacy with which the whole province of Schonen espoused his cause, and that degrading him would necessarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the design rather than disturb the tranquility of the kingdom. The dispute about this archbishopric of Lunden was the first occasion the kings of Denmark had to repent their having invested their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to such a pitch of grandeur, as rendered them haughty, insolent, and even dangerous to their sovereigns. In some measure to gratify Rico for his disappointment, Eric made him chancellor of Denmark, and gave him the bishopric of Rosfbild, vacant by the removal of Ešbil.

Amidst these transactions, Olaus, the son of Harold, who escaped the massacre in which his brothers perished, by order of the late king, now returned to Sweden, and publicly demanded his father's estate that had been confiscated. This the king refused, pleading a law passed in the reign of Frosto the Great, by which the estates of all persons who had taken up arms against their king and country were forfeited to the crown. Olaus finding that he could not avail himself of intreaty, law, or force, had recourse to plots and conspiracies. He endeavoured one night to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber; but was prevented by the guards, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and fled a second time into Sweden. Returning thence into Schonen, he levied forces, assumed the regal dignity, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. Ešbil, notwithstanding his quarrel with the king, raised forces to oppose him, and performed the part of a loyal subject, but unsuccessfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to Lunden, and was there besieged by Olaus. After defending the city, which was secured by no walls, with great bravery, he was at length, from the scarcity of provisions, forced to surrender it upon honourable terms. Some writers say that he was taken prisoner, and dismembered, after swearing allegiance to Olaus, which oath he broke as soon as Eric's army came near enough to protect him. He offered his services to this prince, and took it upon him to crush the rebellion, provided his majesty would furnish him with a suitable army, which was readily granted. As soon as the pretender found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in search of the enemy, who did not decline battle. Here he was a second time vanquished, and returned to the king with apologies that were easily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unskilfulness in a profession so appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate.

OLAU.S, elated with his two victories, began now to assume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to Eric and Ešbil, deposed the latter from his archbishopric, and placed another in his room; revoked all the decrees made in this and the last reign; and lastly, sending his army into winter-quarters, making Lunden the repository of their arms, he went over to Schonen with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himself in quiet possession of the throne. This imprudent security would have wrought his destruction, had not fortune interposed for his safety; for Eric receiving (A) Grammaticus, Pontanus, and Murfius, makes use of the word consanguineus, to express this affinity, that Eric's son, and not by any mixture of blood with his own, he married his own son (1).

improperly, as the alliance arose by the marriage of

(A) Vid. As. 3. citat. ibid.
intelligence of his total neglect of military duty, collected a small body of forces, and passing over
in the night, attacked the enemy just as their camp was ready to break up, and while
everything was in the utmost confusion and disorder. The consequence was a complete
victory, having taken four of Olau's generals, dispersed his whole army, pillaged his camp,
reduced Lund, seized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new bishop, appointed
by Olau in the room of Efesil, or, as others imagine, Efesil himself, for having
trivially and unfortunately himself to be twice defeated in the field. Olaus

Olaus escaped to Sweden, from whence he soon returned with another army, and gave
battle to Eric, in which he was a second time defeated at Glinsforp. Nor did this destroy
his hopes, or any way dispirit him; for we are told, that in the same campaign he fought
no less than twelve obstinate battles with Eric, in all of which he was unsuccessful. He
had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himself to circumstances, and retrieving
the situation of affairs, after they had been given over as lost by all other men; but he never
fluctuated at the means, whether honourable or not; his whole object was success in whatever
manner it was obtained. Finding therefore that all attempts in Schonen would be vain,
he passed over suddenly into Zealand, and was here defeated by Rico, bishop of Roskild.
Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the island,
and concealed himself with a strong party of desperadoes in a wood adjacent to Rico's palace.
This he attacked furiously in the night; but finding the doors too strong to be forced, he
called out for fire to confound the building. Rico upon this demanded a parley, which
being granted, he was going to remonstrate with Olaus, when he was treacherously slain by
his order, before he had well passed through his own gate.

After this infamous action Olaus returned to Schonen before Rico's death could be
known there; but Eric took his measures so well, that he had almost put an end to the
war with a sudden attack on the enemy, in which Olaus narrowly escaped being made prison
er. This was only a short reprieve from the fate which impended; for he was soon after
defeated and slain in a bloody battle fought just as he was upon the point of quitting Schonen.

This dangerous rival being removed, Eric applied his attention to composing the state
of the kingdom, greatly disturbed by this tedious war. He married the sister of the
bishop of Bremen, remunerated the nobles with some beneficial grants of estates forfeited
in the late war; for the zeal and fidelity with which they had served him, and distinguished
himself by many acts of piety, justice, and popularity; until at length he fell into an inactivity
and idleness, that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted
out a fleet against the Vandals, who refuted their piracies; but a lazy humour had now so
strongly possessed him, that loitering on the coast of Zealand without keeping proper
watch, he was surprised by the enemy; and very nearly taken prisoner. It is supposed that
his fondness for his young queen had totally emasculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent
to every consideration but domestic felicity, which he indulged to an excess of
indiscretion. He now returned home after his shameless flight, without again attempting
to wipe off the disgrace; or repress the insolence of those barbarians. Next year he was
feared with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent
natural qualities, were they not corrupted, and at last obliterated by a shameful idleness,
the consequence of too uxorious a disposition. On his death-bed he was weak
enough to put on a monk's habit, looking upon that as a sure passport to the mansions of
bliss; and in this apparel assembled his nobility round him, delivering to them his cteper.
Yet though he resigned the badges of authority, he could not bear to have a successor
mentioned; for when that was proposed by one of the nobility, in order to put a stop to
the incursions of the Vandals, he turned round in wrath, and expired with sentiments of
remonstration (O).


(O) It deserves notice that Helmbold affirms this

prince's surname was *Spar (imitating an authority somewhat inferior to the badges of majesty) and not *Lamb (1);

though it is probable he might have receive the former appellation after the death of Eric, and the other be

fore.

(1) Helm. Chron. Slav. i. i. c. Iviii.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XI. 8 T